

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Louise Arbour to David Scheffer re US monetary contribution to International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda Trust Fund (1 page)	03/05/1997	P4/b(4)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17213

FOLDER TITLE:

Africa-Human Rights

2012-0869-S

kc910

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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Tanzania: Visit to the
International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
(Training Workshop and Remarks)
Arusha, Tanzania

Context

You will visit Arusha, Tanzania, where the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has its courtroom and administrative headquarters. The U.S. is a strong supporter of the Tribunal. Your visit to the International Criminal Tribunal presents an opportunity not only to view the court and meet the Chief Prosecutor of the Tribunal (and Chief Prosecutor of the Yugoslavia Criminal Tribunal), Justice Louise Arbour, but also to drop in on a first-of-its-kind training workshop on rape indictments which is scheduled to be held at the Tribunal from March 23-26.

The Tribunal is headquartered in the multi-story Arusha International Center. The courtroom is on the ground floor. Justice Arbour will greet you on arrival at the entrance to the building. She will then present Judge Laity Kama, President of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. This would be a courtesy greeting only; Judge Kama speaks little English.

Justice Arbour will accompany you to the training workshop on rape indictments, which would be in progress. The training workshop, which will be attended by 10-15 Tribunal employees, is designed to help them investigate and prosecute crimes of sexual violence. Staff from the Office of the Prosecutor for the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal will conduct the workshop for their counterparts with the Rwanda Tribunal. The training will enhance the skills of the Tribunal investigators and prosecutors to prepare indictments and, ultimately, prosecute those responsible for mass rape and sexual assaults. The U.S. Government has made a \$50,000 contribution toward the funding of this workshop. Patricia Sellers, an American employed by the Yugoslav Tribunal, will co-chair the training workshop along with Justice Arbour.

On March 25, the training workshop organizers plan to stage a mock "indictment review" by using a series of fictitious witness statements which have been compiled specifically for this purpose. In so doing, the ICTR staff members will go through the different steps of analyzing witness statements, drafting an indictment and drafting a motion for witness anonymity. Additionally, one mock witness statement will be taken during the meeting. You will spend about 20-30 minutes observing the workshop in progress and participating in the discussion.

You and Justice Arbour will leave the workshop and proceed to a large conference room where the judges and Tribunal staff will be gathered. The workshop participants will also join this group. Justice Arbour will introduce you; you will then greet the staff and make brief remarks emphasizing U.S. Government support for

the Tribunals and stress the importance of pursuing rape indictments. Your remarks will be recorded for broadcast into Rwanda via a U.S.-funded program for providing reliable reporting about the Tribunal trials to the Rwandan people. Survivors of the Rwandan genocide have mixed feelings about the Tribunal, upset that it cannot apply the death penalty, concerned about its slow progress and administrative problems, and feeling (probably incorrectly) that the Tribunal occasionally gets custody of alleged genocidists who otherwise would have been extradited to Rwanda.

Following your remarks, Justice Arbour will accompany you back to the entrance, stopping en route for a photo op in the Tribunal Courtroom. Other photo opportunities during the visit could include your participation in the training workshop, the greeting of Judge Kama, or a group shot of you with the U.S. government employees of the Tribunal (between 5-10, depending on how many come from Kigali).

Objectives

- o Reinforce U.S. support for the objectives of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.
- o Underline U.S. interest in the Tribunal's efforts to pursue indictments, including for crimes of sexual violence.
- o Stress the continued need to implement reform at the Tribunal to make it an effective body.

Talking Points for Workshop Observation

- Those responsible for organizing and directing the genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law must be brought to justice.
- It is important that crimes of sexual violence be addressed. This workshop is an important step for the work of the Rwanda Tribunal as it carries out its important mandate.

Elements for Remarks

- 1) Underline the importance of the tribunal:
 - I am pleased to have the opportunity to visit Arusha and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and to have an opportunity to meet Justice Louise Arbour. We support Justice Arbour in carrying out immensely difficult work and we appreciate President Kama's hospitality and his own hard work.
 - The importance of this Tribunal, and that in Yugoslavia. in ensuring that criminals who perpetrate genocide and ethnic cleansing are brought to justice cannot be underestimated.

- The Tribunal, created by the UN Security Council in 1994, can be a powerful tool. Under international law, all countries have an obligation to extradite persons sought by the Tribunal to Arusha. To date, 21 indicted war criminals have been indicted and 13 of those are in custody. Eleven are being held here in Arusha.
- With its investigative and prosecution staff and international mandate the Tribunal can help bring the masterminds of the genocide to justice.
- The Tribunal will fulfill an important function beyond that of adjudicating individual cases -- that of a truth commission. In front of the world media, the trials of persons such as former Army Chief of Staff Bagosora will record the details of the 1994 genocide on permanent record.
- (If asked) The U.S. is pleased domestic trials on crimes committed during genocide have begun in Rwanda as well. We hope this process will be conducted with as much concern as possible for both the victims and accused.

2) Discuss the importance of the tribunal's effort to prosecute sexual crimes.

- The workshop held by the Tribunal today is an important step in the Prosecutor's efforts to indict those responsible for the mass rapes and other sexual crimes that occurred during the genocide.
- Rape and sexual assault on a large scale were committed during the Rwandan genocide of 1994. It is essential that these crimes be investigated and prosecuted by the Tribunal and not dismissed as simple unfortunate by-products of war.
- By prosecuting those who advocated and carried out the Rwanda massacres, the Tribunal can serve as a deterrent-- putting all would-be criminals on notice that this type of violence will not be tolerated by the international community, including sexual assault and rape as a war tactic.
- International vigilance and prosecution of criminals can help prevent another genocide, and another refugee crisis like that which followed the massacres in Rwanda. Women and children are always the first to suffer in war and as refugees. This Tribunal can help stop the cycle of violence which drags down women, children, and consequently entire countries.

3) Advocate continued reform to increase the effectiveness of the Tribunal.

- The Rwanda Tribunal faces other challenges, too. Recently, the UN Inspector General issued a strong report detailing the extent of serious problems, particularly in the management of the Tribunal.
- The mismanagement deeply affected the Tribunal's ability to carry out its tasks.
- The important work of the Tribunal investigating genocide, rape and other war crimes cannot come to fruition unless the Tribunal addresses its management problems which have prevented it from working effectively.
- In response to the report, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan dismissed two high Tribunal officials, and we are hopeful that other steps recommended by the report to improve the Tribunal are implemented and will enable it to efficiently carry out its important work.
- The UN should be commended for bringing the tribunal's problems to light and Secretary General Annan should be complimented for taking decisive action.
- The U.S. supports the goals of this Tribunal, and will monitor its progress in implementing reform and carrying out its important work closely. This work is far too important to fail for lack of effort to make the necessary reforms.
- The President and Secretary Albright are firmly committed to supporting the work of this Tribunal. The U.S. is the largest contributor: our total contribution is over \$12 million, including donation of computers and many other resources, and 10 Americans are currently on the staff of the Office of the Prosecutor.
- The U.S. facilitated the convening of a training workshop on sexual assault indictments held here this week, and which I had the opportunity to observe today.
- I thank the judges and the staff of the Tribunal for their dedication to this historic undertaking. I also recognize the contributions of the Americans who work for the office of the Prosecutor in the pursuit of justice.

Tanzania: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

The UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) on November 8, 1994. Though the Tribunal is dependent in administrative and financial matters on the UN, as a judicial institution it is independent of any one State or group of States, including the Security Council. The Security Council gave the ICTR the power to prosecute persons responsible for genocide, and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda, between January 1 and December 31, 1994. An estimated 800,000 minority Tutsis and Hutu moderates were murdered during that period.

The Tribunal's Court and Registrar are located in Arusha, Tanzania. The cases are tried before a panel of three judges; the Tribunal has two three-person "trial chambers." To date, the Tribunal has indicted 21 individuals, 13 of whom are in custody. However, the administrative problems at the Tribunal have prevented it from closing the books on a single case. It's first trial began in January 6 of this year, and additional trials are expected to commence this year. The investigative work of the ICTR is currently run out of the Office of the Prosecutor in Kigali, Rwanda. Two attorneys from the Department of Justice have been hired by the Tribunal and form the core of its prosecution experience. In addition, the U.S. has eight investigators and case managers working for the Tribunal's Kigali office.

The aim of the Tribunal has been to indict and try the key figures involved in planning and carrying out the genocide, and leave the trials of lesser figures to the Rwandan justice system. Under the terms set up by the UN Security Council, the maximum sentence is life in prison. This causes an anomaly, since those tried by the Rwandan justice system can be sentenced to death.

The U.S. has been the single largest benefactor and strongest political supporter of the Tribunal, contributing \$12 million to its support. Secretary Christopher announced a new U.S. voluntary contribution of \$650,000 to the Tribunal during his visit last October. A small part of that sum is being used to fund the training workshop on the prosecution of crimes of sexual violence being held at the Tribunal in late March.

The Tribunal has been in the news recently because of an internal audit performed by the UN equivalent of Inspector General. The report found extreme and widespread mismanagement at the Tribunal -- as the UN report concluded, "not a single area functioned effectively."

The UN inspector's report underlined that: the finance department had no accounting system at all; unqualified and incompetent people were hired; unacceptable procurements were made;

construction of a second courtroom has not even started; and the registrar, the man who was supposed to manage the tribunal, spent more than half his time traveling, including 32 days of travel in one period of a month and a half.

Upon the release of the internal audit report, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan took swift steps to fire two top Tribunal officials -- the Registrar and the Deputy Prosecutor -- held responsible for much of the mismanagement. Annan has selected a new Registrar, a Nigerian. Justice Arbour is searching for a qualified Deputy Prosecutor from Africa. The U.S. was strongly supportive of the investigative audit, and of Kofi Annan's quick corrective action. However, the other underlying management problems noted in the inspection report have not yet been addressed. The Tribunal has also had problems with protecting witnesses inside of Rwanda; several have been killed.

There have also been tensions between the Tribunal and the government of Rwanda. The Tribunal's mandate extends to investigating crimes perpetrated through December 1994. The government of Rwanda is concerned that incidents involving the RPA (the rebel movement which took power and stopped the massacre in the spring of 1994) may become the subject of investigation. In early March a computer was stolen from the home of one of the Tribunal's security officers in Kigali which may have contained information on ongoing investigations. The Government of Rwanda also recently called for the removal of Chief Prosecutor Arbour.

After significant international pressure to ease conditions in overcrowded and makeshift prisons housing in excess of 85,000 people suspected of committing crimes during the period of genocide, the Rwandan government began domestic trials in January of those accused of committing various crimes including murder, rape and robbery. The domestic trial process is hampered by a lack of trained lawyers and judges, many of whom were killed in 1994. The international community is finding it difficult to confront the Rwandan government on the lack of defense representation due to the earlier strong pressure to start the trials. The Rwandan populace appears cautiously supportive of the trials as a concrete step to met out justice. Several convictions and at least one acquittal have been issued in the last two months.

On a domestic note: The administration has a pending request for a \$1 billion advance appropriation to pay off our UN arrears. There is great resistance in some quarters on the Hill to this request. It is important to note that opponents to the request may use any indications that the Administration is soft on UN reform to stall this request. The Tribunal's problems have been specifically highlighted by this group.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA

**STATEMENT ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE SPOKESMAN
OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

70037

1. After reviewing the report of the Office of Internal Oversight Services on the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the Secretary-General discussed its findings with his senior advisers at Headquarters as well as the President of the Rwanda Tribunal and the Prosecutor. He also held separate meetings with Mr. Honoré Rakotomanana, Deputy Prosecutor and Mr. Andronico Adede, Registrar. He concluded that the findings of the investigation that there are serious management and operational deficiencies required decisive action.
2. In view of the high importance the United Nations and the international community attach to the work of the Tribunal, the Secretary-General decided that the continuation of the two officials of the Tribunal in their posts would not be in the interests of the United Nations and of the work of the Tribunal in a case involving human tragedy of incalculable proportion.
3. Following the discussions with the Secretary-General and accepting that the best interests of the United Nations and the Tribunal are overriding concerns, Mr. Rakotomanana and Mr. Adede submitted their resignations from their respective posts, the latter also resigning from the Organization. The Secretary-General has accepted their resignations and administrative procedures are being taken to separate them from the Organization. It should, however, be noted that the investigation found no evidence of corruption or misuse of funds.
4. The Secretary-General has decided, in consultation with the President of the Tribunal, to appoint Mr. Agwu Okali (Nigeria) as the new Registrar of the Rwanda Tribunal with immediate effect. Mr. Okali is currently serving as Director and Deputy to the Assistant Secretary-General for HABITAT in Nairobi. He had worked in the Office of Legal Affairs and served as Director of the HABITAT Office in New York.
5. The announcement regarding the replacement of the Deputy Prosecutor will be made shortly.

26 February 1997

IO PRESS GUIDANCE
February 27, 1997

FIRING OF RWANDA TRIBUNAL OFFICIALS

Q: What is our comment on the firing of two officials of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda?

A:

- WE SEE YESTERDAY'S ACTION AS AN AFFIRMATION OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S COMMITMENT TO UN REFORM.
- THE RECENTLY-RELEASED REPORT BY THE UN OFFICE OF OVERSIGHT INSPECTION SERVICES MADE IT CLEAR THAT MAJOR CHANGES HAD TO BE MADE IN ORDER TO IMPROVE OPERATIONS AT THE TRIBUNAL.
- WE BELIEVE THIS MARKS A TURNING POINT FOR THE TRIBUNAL. WITH NEW PERSONNEL IN KEY POSITIONS, THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENHANCE THE OPERATIONS OF THE TRIBUNAL.

Q: What is our view of their successors?

A:

- WE UNDERSTAND THAT MR. AGWU OKALI OF NIGERIA HAS BEEN NAMED AS THE NEW REGISTRAR, EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH HIM AND BEING OF ANY ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE.

(NOTE: A new Deputy Prosecutor has not yet been named.)

Q: What is the status of the Tribunal's work?

A:

- THE FIRST TRIAL IS IN PROGRESS IN ARUSHA. OTHER TRIALS ARE SCHEDULED TO COMMENCE LATER THIS YEAR, AND INVESTIGATIONS ARE PROCEEDING APACE.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1997

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A28

THE WASHINGTON POST

U.N. Chief Fires Top Officials of Rwanda

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

War Crimes Tribunal

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 26—Secretary General Kofi Annan has fired the chief administrator and deputy prosecutor of the U.N. war crimes tribunal for Rwanda after an internal investigation found widespread mismanagement and incompetence, the United Nations announced today.

U.N. spokesman Juan-Carlos Brandt said Annan had accepted the resignations of Andronico Adede of Kenya, the chief administrator, and Honore Rakotomanana of Madagascar, the deputy prosecutor, because "continuation in their posts would not be in the interests of the United Nations and of the work of the tribunal in a case involving human tragedy of incalculable proportion."

The tribunal was established by the Security Council two years ago to try persons implicated in the massacre of more than half a million Tutsis and moderate Hutus during the tribal strife that engulfed Rwanda in 1994. Several months ago, the United Nations was rocked by complaints from Western staff members and media reports that the tribunal's functioning had descended into chaos because the administrators had given jobs to unqualified friends, relatives and lovers, discriminated against non-Africans and misused tribunal funds and equipment.

The situation posed the first serious test for Annan, who took office Jan. 1 promising to subject the United Nations to top-to-bottom reform. Western diplomats and private organizations in the human-rights field warned that failure to take stern action would be viewed in the world community as a sign of weakness and indecisiveness. But Annan, a na-

tive of Ghana who was elected as the candidate of Africa, also was aware that some African governments deeply resented the idea that a housecleaning in the U.N. bureaucracy should begin with the largely African Rwanda tribunal staff.

Two weeks ago, a report by Karl Paschke, the U.N.'s equivalent of an inspector general, said that while there was no evidence to substantiate charges of corruption and racism, his investigators had found massive mismanagement and waste at every level of the tribunal. Noting that "not a single administrative area . . . functioned effectively," Paschke left Annan little room for leniency.

Paschke recommended discharging Rakotomanana. But he left to

Annan a decision about Adede, noting the tribunal had been hampered by inadequate administrative and personnel support from U.N. headquarters in New York. The tribunal's headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania, is headed by Adede, and Rakotomanana directed a prosecution branch office in the Rwandan capital, Kigali.

After Paschke's report was made public, many non-African judges and others associated with the tribunal privately contacted the secretary general's office and the media to repeat earlier charges that administrators hobbled their work through bureaucratic interference. Despite Paschke's findings, some asserted

anew that the tribunal was rife with racism and nepotism.

Brandt said that following talks with Annan, Rakotomanana and Adede had submitted their resignations "accepting that the best interests of the United Nations and the tribunal are overriding concerns."

Named as Adede's replacement was Agwu Ukiwe Okali of Nigeria, a graduate of the London School of Economics and Harvard law school, who has been serving in the U.N. habitat office in Kenya. A new deputy prosecutor will be named later.

The tribunal so far has indicted 21 people, and now is conducting its first trial against Jean-Paul Akayesu, a former Rwandan mayor charged with inciting the public to murder.

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United Nations
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International
Criminal Tribunal
for the former
Yugoslavia

Tribunal Pénal
International pour
l'ex-Yugoslavie

International
Criminal Tribunal
for Rwanda

Tribunal Pénal
International pour
le Rwanda

Office of the
Prosecutor

Bureau du
Procureur

Ref: 970032/LA/sz

5 March 1997

Dear Mr. Schoffer:

Per our conversation, I am submitting a modified proposal to the Government of the United States regarding the round-table to assist the Office of the Prosecutor [OTP] for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in confronting crimes of sexual violence.

As I have previously indicated, the experience of the staff of the Yugoslav OTP is perhaps one of the most valuable resources available to the Rwanda OTP. Therefore, the primary objective of this round-table discussion is to be a training seminar which will be conducted by staff members of the Yugoslav OTP for their counterparts in Rwanda. In that end, key Yugoslav staff members, which have already been identified, will go to Arusha and offer information to the Rwanda staff on investigating and prosecuting crimes of sexual violence.

However, I do believe that the round-table's secondary objective should be to provide a confidential forum for the staff of both tribunals to openly identify and discuss anticipated problems. It will allow us to develop a closer working relationship, a consistent operational practice and a better understanding of the difficulties surrounding prosecution of sexual violence as well as protection of witnesses and victims within an international jurisdiction.

For the round-table to satisfy the two requirements which I view as necessary for its efficacy, I respectfully request that the US Government allocate \$50,000 to the Rwanda Tribunal for a frank discussion which will be held in Tanzania on the last week of March 1997 between the two offices of the Prosecutor. If my proposal is accepted, we would like our access to the US funds to be as simple and as convenient as possible. Therefore, due to the shortage of time, I would appreciate if the money were deposited as soon as possible into the Rwanda Tribunal's Trust Fund. The account number of the United Nations General Trust Fund at the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York is: (b)(4)

(b)(4) In depositing the money, please refer to the: "U.S. contribution to the ICTR, Trust Fund for Rwanda".

Please find attached my proposed outline for the event. Once again, let me thank you for your assistance and support. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Judge Louise Arbour

Prosecutor

Mr. David Scheffer
via: Sean Murphy
Embassy of the United States of America
Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ The Hague

I C T R

International Criminal Tribunal
for Rwanda



T P I R

Tribunal pénal international
pour le Rwanda

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
Tribunal pénal international pour le Rwanda

Arusha International Conference Centre
P.O. Box 6016, Arusha, Tanzania
Tel: 255 57 4207-11/4367-72 or 1 212 963 2850—Fax: 255 57 4000/4373 or 1 212 963 2848

ICTR Fact Sheet (March 1997)

Origin: The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was established on 8 November 1994 by Security Council Resolution 955 to which the Tribunal's Statute was annexed.

Jurisdiction: The Tribunal has the mandate to prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for such violations committed in the territory of neighbouring States, between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994.

Location: Arusha, (decided by Security Council Resolution 977 of 22 February 1995). The Office of the Prosecutor is in The Hague, Netherlands, and the Deputy Prosecutor is based in Kigali, Rwanda.

Judges: President Judge Laity Kama (Senegal), Vice-President Yakov A. Ostrovsky (Russia), Lennart Aspegren (Sweden), Tafazzal H. Khan (Bangladesh), Navanethem Pillay (South Africa), William H. Sekule (Tanzania).

Prosecutor: Justice Louise Arbour (Canada) from 1 October 1996. Justice Richard Goldstone (South Africa) served as Prosecutor from the inception of the Tribunal up to 30 September 1996. The new Deputy Prosecutor is in the process of being appointed.

Registrar: Mr. Agwu Ukiwe Okali (Nigeria).

Budget: The General Assembly, in its resolution 50/213C of 6 June 1996 decided to appropriate to the Special Account for the ICTR a total of USD 32,52,000 gross (USD 29,404,100 net) for the period of 1 April to 31 December 1996. The interim budget approved for 1997 is estimated at \$46,732,700 (net).

Indictments: 14 indictments have been issued concerning 21 individuals.

Custody: The ICTR has set up the United Nations Detention Facility in the complex of the Arusha prison. 13 indicted individuals are presently in custody (eleven in Arusha, one in Switzerland, and one in the United States).

Trials: Two trials have begun:

The first is that of Jean-Paul Akayesu which started on 9 January 1997, and the second that of George Anderson Nderubumwe Rutaganda on 18 March 1997.



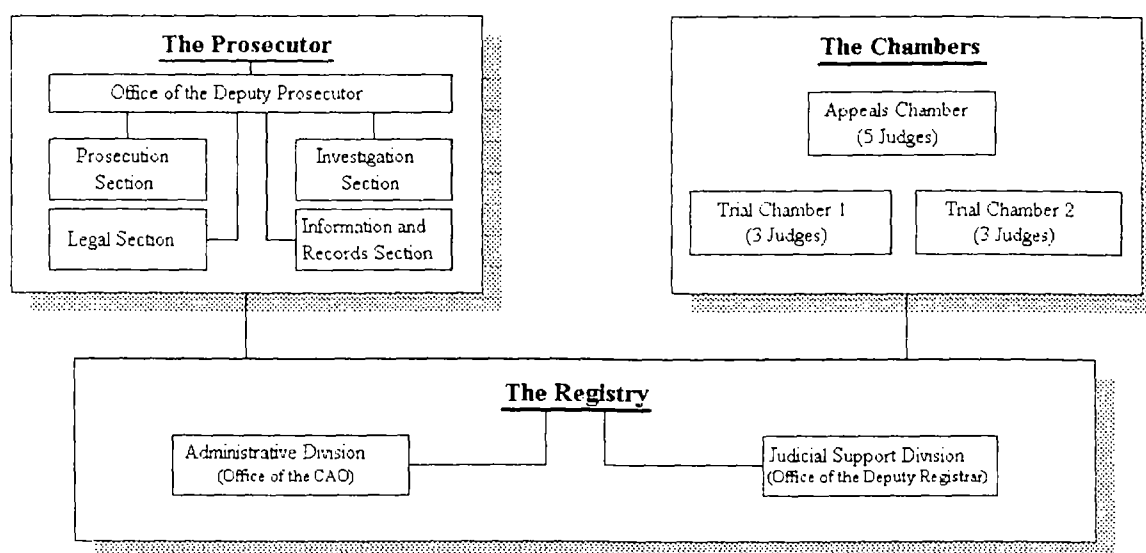
**International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
Tribunal pénal international pour le Rwanda**

Arusha International Conference Centre
P.O. Box 6016, Arusha, Tanzania
Tel: 255 57 4207-11/4367-72 or 1 212 963 2850—Fax: 255 57 4000/4373 or 1 212 963 2848

**INTRODUCTION
to the
INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA
(ICTR)**

March 1997

ICTR's Organizational Chart



The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established by the Security Council under Resolution 955 of 8 November 1994 for the Prosecution of persons responsible for Genocide and other serious violations of International Humanitarian Law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for genocide and other serious violations of International Humanitarian Law committed in the territory of neighbouring States, between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994.

The ICTR governing bodies

A - The Chambers

The Chambers are composed of two Trial Chambers and an Appeals Chamber. Each Trial Chamber is composed of three Judges. The Appeals Chamber, which is composed of five Judges, serves both the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

B - The Office of the Prosecutor

The Office of the Prosecutor is composed of four principal sections: the Prosecution Section, the Investigations Section, the Information and Records Section and the Legal Section. The Prosecutor herself/himself is appointed by the Security Council to serve both Tribunals (ICTR and ICTY).

C - The Office of the Registrar

The Registrar is responsible for the administration and servicing of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The Registry consists of a Registrar and such other staff as may be required.

**International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
Tribunal pénal international pour le Rwanda**

Press and Information Office
Bureau du Chargé de la Presse et de l'Information

Arusha International Conference Centre
P.O. Box 6016, Arusha, Tanzania

Tel: 255 57 4207-11/4367-72 or 1 212 963 2850—Fax: 255 57 4000/4373 or 1 212 963 2848

Information File
(Unofficial)

Introduction

Recognizing that serious violations of the Humanitarian Law were committed in Rwanda, and acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda by virtue of Resolution 955 (1994) of 8 November 1994. This action is also to contribute to the process of national reconciliation in Rwanda and to maintaining peace in the region. In Resolution 977 (1995) of 22 February 1995, the Security Council decided that the seat of the Tribunal would be located in Arusha.

1. ICTR Law

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda is governed by its Statute, which is annexed to Security Council Resolution 955. The Rules of Procedure and Evidence, which the Judges adopted in accordance with Article 14 of the Statute, establishes the necessary framework for the functioning of the judiciary system. The Tribunal consists of three organs: the Chambers and the Appeals Chamber; the Office of the Prosecutor, in charge of investigations and prosecutions; and the Registry, responsible for providing overall judicial and administrative support to the Tribunal.

2. Jurisdiction of the ICTR

- ⇒ Ratione materiae: Genocide, crimes against humanity, violations of Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and of Additional Protocol II shall be punishable;
- ⇒ Ratione temporis: crimes committed between 1 January and 31 December 1994;
- ⇒ Ratione Personae et ratione loci: crimes committed by Rwandans in the territory of Rwanda and in the territory of neighbouring States, as well as non-Rwandan citizens for crimes committed in Rwanda.

3. The Judges

The Judges were elected in May 1995 by the General Assembly pursuant to Article 12 of the ICTR Statute. The Chambers are composed of 11 Judges with 3 Judges for each of the two Trial Chambers and 5 Judges for the Appeals Chamber, which is shared with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The 6 Judges of the two Trial Chambers sit in Arusha. The

Judges elected a President, the Honorable Judge Laity Kama (Senegalese), a Vice-President, the Honorable Judge Yakov Ostrovsky (Russian) and a Presiding Judge for each of the two Trial Chambers, Honorable Judge Laity Kama for Trial Chamber 1 and Honorable Judge William Sekule (Tanzanian) for Trial Chamber 2. The other Honorable Judges include: Mr. Lennart Aspegren (Swedish), Mr. Tafazzal Hossain Khan (Bangladeshi) and Ms. Navanethem Pillay (South African).

4. The Office of the Prosecutor

The Office of the Prosecutor is headed by the Prosecutor, the Honorable Justice Louise Arbour of Canada, who succeeded Justice Richard Goldstone of South Africa. She was appointed by the Security Council and officially took up her post on 1 October 1996. The Honorable Justice Louise Arbour serves as the Prosecutor for the Tribunals for both Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia. In accordance with Article 15(3) of the Statute, the Honorable Justice Louise Arbour is assisted in her duties by two Deputy Prosecutors, one for each Tribunal. The headquarters of the Office of the Prosecutor for Rwanda is located in Kigali. The office was opened on 21 March 1995 when the Deputy Prosecutor arrived in Kigali, Rwanda.

5. The Registry

The Registry is headed by Registrar, Mr. Agwu Ukiwe Okali, who was appointed on 26 February 1997 by the Secretary General, after consultation with the President of the ICTR. His predecessor was appointed in September 1995 and took office in Arusha in November 1995. In accordance with Article 16 of the Statute, "The Registry shall be responsible for the administration and servicing of the International Tribunal for Rwanda".

6. State of Affairs

- * The first indictment, charging 8 accused, was issued 28 November 1995;
- * One trial will soon be over and the other ones are scheduled for 1997;
- * Currently, there are 14 confirmed indictments against 21 accused, and 13 detainees (11 in Arusha, 1 in Switzerland, 1 in the United States). In addition, upon an order of the ICTR, two other suspects are in custody in Cameroon.

7. Budget and Human Resources

The interim budget approved for 1997 is estimated at \$46,732,700 (net). A revised budget will soon be submitted. This budget provides for posts for ICTR personnel. Among these, 187 are professional-level posts and the remaining 195 fall under general services. Currently, the ICTR also enjoys the assistance of seconded personnel. In all, there are 37 professionals, of whom 36 are based in Kigali and 1 in Arusha.

**International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
Tribunal pénal international pour le Rwanda**

Arusha International Conference Centre
P.O. Box 6016, Arusha, Tanzania
Tel: 255 57 4207-11/4365-72 or 1 212 963 2849/2850—Fax: 255 57 4373/4000 or 1 212 963 2848

Judge Laïty Kama (Senegal)

(President of the Tribunal and Presiding Judge of Trial Chamber I)

Judge Laïty Kama was born in 1939 in Dakar. He began his career as a Magistrate in Senegal in 1969, after which he successively became Examining Judge in Diourbel (1969-1973), Deputy Public Prosecutor (1973-1974) and Public Prosecutor in Thiès (1974-1978). For 15 years he was then Assistant Public Prosecutor at the Court of Appeal and the Assize Court in Dakar. Lastly, in 1992, he was appointed First Assistant Public Prosecutor at the Supreme Court of Appeal. Judge Kama was instrumental in the establishment of the *Ecole nationale de la Magistrature du Sénégal* in Dakar, where he taught for 20 years.

As an expert, he represented Africa in the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, established by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Judge Kama presided over the drafting sessions of Benin's new code of criminal procedure. As a member of the Senegalese delegation to the (UN) Commission of Human Rights in Geneva from 1983 to 1990, he participated in the negotiations of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Later, he conducted seminars on human rights and the administration of justice (1991 in Kigali and 1993 in Bujumbura).

Judge Lennart Aspegren (Sweden)

(Member of Trial Chamber I)

Judge Lennart Aspegren was born in 1931. He began his career within the Swedish judicial system as a Magistrate in 1958. After serving in various courts of civil and criminal law, he was appointed Judge of the Stockholm Court of Appeal in 1979. Judge Aspegren also served as Legal Adviser to his Government, mainly within the Ministry of Finance from 1969. From 1979 to 1996, he was Under-Secretary for Legal Affairs at the Ministry for Public Administration, and, in 1991, his duties were extended to include International Affairs, with particular emphasis on relations with the European Community. During the period 1994 to 1995, he served as Judge at the High Court for Social Welfare, in addition to being judge of the Swedish Labour Court from 1980 to 1996.

Furthermore, Judge Aspegren was chairman of several governmental commissions of enquiry from 1992 to 1995. In his official capacity and as an expert in public management, he took part in many international negotiations and conferences. He served not only in the OECD, the ILO, the UNDP and other organisations, but also provided consultancy services to a number of governments the world over. In 1995, he directed a bilateral project, in South Africa, on the restructuring of the legal system, including the judiciary.

All the six Judges of the two Trial Chambers were elected on 24 and 25 May 1995 by Decision 49/324 of the General Assembly of United Nations.

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Judge Tafazzal Hossain Khan (Bangladesh)
(Member of Trial Chamber 2)

Judge T.H. Khan was born in 1925. He was enrolled as an advocate in the then East Pakistan High Court in March 1951, as an advocate of the Pakistan Supreme Court in 1956 and as Senior advocate in 1982. Judge Khan was elected President of the Supreme Court Bar Association, the apex body of the country's legal practitioners, in 1978-1979 and 1995. He was appointed Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in 1981. Simultaneously, he held the portfolio of the Ministry of Land Administration and Land Reform, as well as that of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

In 1982, he was appointed Minister for Education, Sports and Culture, as well as Minister of Religious Affairs. He attended General Assembly sessions of the United Nations in 1992 and 1994 as a member of the Bangladeshi delegation. In 1992 he was elected member of the Sub-Commission of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Judge Yakov Arkadievich Ostrovsky (Russian Federation)
(Vice-President, Member of Trial Chamber 2)

Judge Yakov A. Ostrovsky was born in 1927. He was Professor of International Law at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, as well as a Member of the Scientific Council of the Moscow Institute of International Law. Judge Ostrovsky was Council Member of the Moscow Association of International Law; Consultant on International Public Law and Humanitarian Law to the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation.

From 1960 to 1966, he was appointed Chief of Social and Legal Problems Desk in the USSR's Permanent Mission to the United Nations. He represented the USSR in the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. He has worked on a wide range of international law issues, especially in the field of Human Rights and, since 1987, he has been Legal Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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Judge Navanethem Pillay (South Africa)
(Member of Trial Chamber 1)

Judge Navanethem Pillay was born in 1941 and became the first black woman to start a law practice in Natal (1967). From 1967 to 1995, she was senior partner of a law firm. Judge Pillay was the first black woman attorney to be appointed acting judge of the Supreme Court in South Africa and lecturer at Natal University (department of Public Law 1989).

Judge Pillay is a trustee of Lawyers for Human Rights and the Legal Resources Center, as well as a member of both the Women's National Coalition and the Black Lawyers' Association. She was appointed Vice-President of the Council of University of Durban Westville by President Nelson Mandela. Judge Pillay is Chair of Equality Now, an international human rights organization for action on women's rights, based in New York.

Judge William Hussein Sekule (Tanzania)
(Presiding Judge of Trial Chamber 2)

Judge William Sekule was born in 1944. He was State Attorney, Senior State Attorney and Principal State Attorney from 1970 to 1979 at the Attorney General's Chambers. He was Director of Public Prosecution from October 1979 to April 1987 and Judge at the High Court of Tanzania since April 1987. Judge Sekule was a member of the Board of the Faculty of Law, University of Dar Es Salaam (1978-1987) and a member of the Police and Prison Service Commission from 1978 to 1987.

He participated in the meeting of the 7th United Nations Congress on The Prevention of Crime and The Treatment of Offenders, at Addis Ababa in 1983. In 1993, he was elected one of the Vice Chairmen of the meeting of the Thirty-ninth session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. During that Commission's session he was also Deputy Leader of the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE APPEALS CHAMBER

Antonio Cassese (Italy)
Presiding Judge

Judge Cassese was born in 1937. He has been Professor of International Law in the faculty of Political Science at the University of Florence since 1975 and Professor of International Law at the European Political Institute in Florence since 1987. He has represented the Italian Government on many occasions at United Nations meetings on human rights and at the Geneva Diplomatic Conference on the Humanitarian Law of armed conflicts (1974-1977). Until his election as a judge of the Tribunal in 1993, Judge Cassese was President of the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment.

Adolphus Karibi-Whyte (Nigeria)

Judge Karibi-Whyte, born in 1932, is also a Justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria. He has been chairman of a number of tribunals and judicial inquiries in his country, including the Civil Disturbances Tribunal. He has nearly 20 years of judicial experience as well as 10 years at the Supreme Court, together with experience within the Ministry of Justice.

Haopei Li (China)

Judge Li, born in 1906, was Legal Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and part-time Professor of International Law at Beijing University. In addition to his teaching duties in China, Judge Li is a member of both the Institute of International Law and the Permanent Court of Arbitration. He has represented China on a number of occasions on international committees and was the Chinese representative to the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties between States and International Organisations. Judge Li was also one of the drafters of the first Criminal Law of China and of the Law of Criminal Procedure.

Datuk Lal Vohrah (Malaysia)

Judge Vohrah (born in 1934) served as a High Court Judge in Malaysia for more than 15 years. He has attended several international meetings, including the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties at Vienna in 1969, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at Caracas in 1974 and inter-State negotiations on the delimitation of territorial sea and continental shelf boundaries.

Sir Ninian Stephen (Australia)

Judge Stephen, who was born in 1923, began his career at the Bar in the early 1950's. He was appointed to the Supreme Court of Victoria in 1970, where he sat in both civil and criminal jurisdictions prior to being appointed to the High Court of Australia in 1972. Judge Stephen was appointed to the Privy Council in 1979 and consequently sat as a member of its Judicial Committee. In 1982 he was appointed Governor-General of Australia, a position he held until 1989.



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Justice Louise Arbour (Canada)
(Prosecutor)

Justice Louise Arbour was born in Montreal in 1947. She was admitted to the Quebec Bar in 1971 and the bar of Ontario in 1977, and served for 13 years as Associate Professor of Law and later Associate Dean at Osgoode hall Law school at York University (criminal law, criminal procedure, evidence, droit civil). Justice Arbour became a member of the bench in December 1987, first as a trial judge at the Supreme Court of Ontario and, in 1990, at the Ontario Court of Appeal. In April 1995 she was chosen to lead an official investigation into the operations of correctional services in Canada, based on allegations by female inmates at the women's prison in Kingston (Ontario).

Until her appointment to the bench, she served as Vice President of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. Additionally, she is a life member of the Association des Juristes d'Expression Française de l'Ontario. **Justice Arbour was appointed Prosecutor by the Security Council of the United Nations on 29 February 1996.**

Deputy-Prosecutor (is not appointed yet)



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Agwu Ukiwe Okali (Nigeria)

(Registrar)

Mr. Okali was born in 1943 in Nigeria. He began his career as a Legal Advisor to Housing Innovations, Inc., a community-based U.S. Government supported inner city housing renewal enterprise in Boston firm in 1970. He served as Assistant Counsel at Connecticut General Insurance Corporation, a major US Corporation (now CIGNA Corporation) with special responsibility for international commercial transaction, Antitrust and Trade Regulation matters and Agency Law from 1971 to 1975. Since 1974 he is a member of Connecticut State Bar. He joined the United Nations in 1975 at the Office of Legal Affairs and also served in the United Nations on International Trade Law (UNCIRAL) as responsible in diverse legal matters. Mr Okali was appointed as Secretary of the 58-member Commission on Human Settlements and Chief of External Relations of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) soon after its creation in 1979. In 1987 he became Director of UNCHS (Habitat) in New York Office until 1991, when he was recalled to UNCHS Headquarters in Nairobi for a position of Director in the, Office of the Executive Director and Special Programmes, where he supervised the preparation of the Conference of Section United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II).

Currently he serves as Deputy Executive Head of Habitat undertaking day-to-day management functions, in addition to specific supervisory responsibility for Administration, Fund Management, relations with governments and general institutional and legal matters. He directed major investigation for OLA and DPA ordered by the Secretary-General in relation to the Somalia operations. **Mr Okali was appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as Registrar of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (UNICTR) on 26 of February 1997.**

Deputy Registrar
(in the process of being recruited)

Mohammed Said (Ethiopia)
(Acting Chief of Administration)

Mr. Mohammed Said was born in 1932 in Ethiopia. He began his career as Chief Accountant of the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Mr Mohammed Said joined the United Nations in September 1965, where he held several high positions. From 1979 to 1987 he was a Deputy Director UN/Accounts Division, Office of the Controller. From 1987 he was Executive Officer, United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development, New York until 1990, when he became the Director of Administration, in the International Trade Centre, Geneva, Switzerland. In 1991 he was appointed as an advisor to the Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Administration and Management, in New York.

Mr Said has been on several United Nations Peace Keeping Operations as Chief of Administration, namely, Naqura (Lebanon), Luanda (Angola) and Western Sahara. **Mr. Said was appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as Acting Chief of Administration since November 1996 to assist the Tribunal in its start-up operations.**

Status of cases at the 21th March 1997

- * The first indictment, charging 8 accused, was issued 28 November 1995;
- * Currently, there are 14 confirmed indictments against 21 accused, and 13 detainees (11 in Arusha, 1 in Switzerland, 1 in the United States). In addition, upon an order of the ICTR, two other suspects are in custody in Cameroon.
- * The following accused are in custody at the ICTR Detention Unit located in Arusha, Tanzania:
 1. Akayesu Jean-Paul - transferred to Arusha on 26 May 1996. Trial started on 9 January 1997 and recessed approximately two months later. It is scheduled to continue on 12 May 1997;
 2. Bagosora Théoneste - transferred to Arusha on 23 January 1997;
 3. Kanyabashi Joseph - transferred to Arusha on 7 November 1996;
 4. Kayishema Clément - transferred to Arusha on 26 May 1996. The trial is scheduled to start on 8 April 1997;
 5. Nahimana Ferdinand - transferred to Arusha on 23 January 1997;
 6. Ndayambaje Elie - transferred to Arusha on 7 November 1996;
 7. Nsengyumva Anatole - transferred to Arusha on 23 January 1997;
 8. Ntagerura André - transferred to Arusha on 23 January 1997;
 9. Ntakirutimana Gérard - transferred to Arusha on 25 November 1996;
 10. Rutaganda Georges - transferred to Arusha on 26 May 1996. The trial started on 18 March 1997;
 11. Ruzindana Obed - transferred to Arusha on 22 September 1996. The trial is scheduled to start on 8 April 1997.

The other accused are:

1. Ladislav Ntaganzwa;
2. Elizaphan Ntakirutimana (USA);
3. Charles Sikubwabo;
4. Ignace Bagilishema Ntaganda;
5. Aloys Ndimbati;
6. Vincent Rutaganira;
7. Mika Muhimana;
8. Ryandikayo;
9. Alfred Musema (Switzerland);
10. Elizer Niyitigeka.

2 June 1997



**Press Release
SG/SM/6245/Rev.1*
AFR/9/Rev.1***

**SECRETARY-GENERAL CALLS FOR EFFORTS TO UNLEASH AFRICAN 'THIRD WAVE'
BASED ON DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

Address to OAU Stresses Governmental Authority Based On Popular Will, Not Forceful
Overthrow of Elected Governments

Following is the address given today by Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the Annual
Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at
Harare:

It is an honour and a privilege for me to be here in Harare today, addressing the leaders of
Africa at this Annual Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of
African Unity (OAU).

On behalf of us all, I pay tribute to President Robert Mugabe. We thank him, and the
Government and people of Zimbabwe, for the warmth of their welcome and the graciousness
of their hospitality.

As a son of Africa, I am proud of the close cooperation between the OAU and the United
Nations that is now almost commonplace throughout the continent. That we are working so
well together is in no small part a tribute to the strong personal commitment of African leaders
and to the dedication of the OAU's dynamic Secretary-General, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim.

We must intensify and improve still further our joint efforts for peace and development.

The challenges facing Africa are neither new nor simple. Yet today, we have a duty to face
them together. We owe this to our peoples, in the name of our ideal of peace, prosperity and
democracy.

Peace could bring a world of boundless promise, a world of democracy, justice, equality and
sustainable development.

So I wish here to restate the unswerving commitment of the United Nations to establish peace,
eliminate poverty and initiate sustainable economic growth in Africa.

Yet peace-building will require the construction -- difficult and often thankless -- of a more just
society and a more sound economy. This is a long and arduous enterprise, to be constructed
step by step, stone by stone, school by school, understanding by undertaking.

At times, the way will seem difficult. But I am convinced that a reward lies at the end of the
road -- a reward which tomorrow will form part of the daily reality of our children and all of

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Africa.

Africa has, in the past five decades, been through a series of momentous changes. First came decolonization and the struggle against apartheid. Then came a second wave, too often marked by civil wars, the tyranny of military rule, and economic stagnation. I believe that a new era is now in prospect, Africa's third wave.

Let us make this third wave one of lasting peace, based on democracy, human rights, and sustainable development.

Portents of this third wave are all around us. We salute the democratic transitions in Namibia, in Mozambique, and, most recently, in South Africa.

In Angola, two and a half years after the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, the peace process is at last taking root.

In Liberia, the United Nations mission, working hand in hand with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the OAU, is helping to establish a durable and democratic peace.

In Western Sahara, the United Nations is redoubling its efforts to find a solution to that long stalemate.

In the Congo, we have seen a sudden shift in power. A long period of despotic rule has been brought to an end. A truly historic opportunity beckons. The entire world was relieved to see the transition take place in relative peace, and all welcome President Kabila's commitment to constitutional rule and to the holding of democratic elections.

It is necessary even now that the protection of human life and full respect for human rights are given the highest priority, and that the rule of law should quickly return to that vast and vibrant country. The United Nations asks that we may tend to the weak and the displaced, so that this new beginning may be an affirmation of the sanctity of life.

How do we build on these positive elements throughout our continent, to unleash Africa's third wave in full force?

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My friends, I speak to you as a fellow African, and I speak to you from the heart: we will succeed to the extent that we embrace the primacy of democratic rule, the inviolability of human rights, and the imperatives of sustainable development.

The success of the third wave begins with a single and simple proposition -- the will of the people. The will of the people must be the basis of governmental authority in Africa, and governments, duly elected, should not be overthrown by force.

Last week, military elements in Sierra Leone toppled a democratically elected government. The Secretary-General of the OAU, the Government of Zimbabwe, and other African leaders spoke for all of us when they expressed their revulsion.

Africa can no longer tolerate, and accept as faits accomplis, coups against elected governments, and the illegal seizure of power by military cliques, who sometimes act for sectional interests, sometimes simply for their own. Armies exist to protect national sovereignty, not to train their guns on their own people.

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Some may argue that military regimes bring stability and predictability, that they are helpful to economic development. That is a delusion. Look at the example of South America, where the militaries are back in their garrisons, democracy thrives, and economies soar.

Accordingly, let us dedicate ourselves to a new doctrine for African politics: where democracy has been usurped, let us do whatever is in our power to restore it to its rightful owners, the people.

Verbal condemnation, though necessary and desirable, is not sufficient. We must also ostracize and isolate putschists. Neighbouring States, regional groupings, and the international community all must play their part.

The success of Africa's third wave depends equally on respect for fundamental human rights. The conflicts which have disfigured our continent have, all too often, been accompanied by massive human rights violations.

I am aware of the fact that some view this concern as a luxury of the rich countries for which Africa is not ready. I know that others treat it as an imposition, if not a plot, by the industrialized West.

I find these thoughts truly demeaning, demeaning of the yearning for human dignity that resides in every African heart.

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Do not African mothers weep when their sons or daughters are killed or maimed by agents of repressive rule? Are not African fathers saddened when their children are unjustly jailed or tortured? Is not Africa as a whole impoverished when even one of its brilliant voices is silenced?

We cannot afford to lose one life, spare one idea, relinquish one hope, if we are to succeed on our chosen course. So I say this to you, my brothers and sisters, that human rights are African rights, and I call upon you to ensure that all Africans are able fully to enjoy them.

Let us work together and with the United Nations to develop good governance and respect for the rule of law. When we succeed, Africa will have taken a great step forward.

Finally, the success of the third wave hinges on instituting sustainable development throughout Africa. The United Nations is committed to playing its full part in the struggle for sustainable development. Our continent is blessed with immense human and natural resources.

Imagine a day when assistance from the United Nations is no longer needed for humanitarian emergencies or post-conflict reconstruction, but can be redirected at long-term development needs.

Imagine a day when the outflow of capital from Africa to service debt is dwarfed by an inflow of capital-seeking job-creating investments. No -- you do not need to imagine.

For experience elsewhere in the world has shown that it can happen, and that it can happen quickly.

I pledge the full support of the United Nations, its agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions. We will continue our long-standing efforts to help create an enabling environment for economic growth and prosperity. We will continue to assist your efforts to device new

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investment strategies and trade practices.

In addition, the institutional reforms that I will present to governments in July will be designed to make the United Nations a more effective instrument, reducing costs at the centre while enhancing assistance in the field. Africa should be a major beneficiary of these reforms.

To take root, sustainable development also requires major policy initiatives at the national level. Democratization and the rule of law, including respect for human rights, are indispensable. Getting economic fundamentals rights is axiomatic, but sustainable development requires more.

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It needs to provide access by all members of society to development opportunities. It must ensure that the property of the farmer, the shop-owner and the manufacturer is secure. It requires that education be prized, health care provided. It implies that renewable resources be managed, not depleted.

Civil society can and must play its part. Once every citizen has a real and lasting stake in the future -- politically, economically, and culturally -- there will be no limits to what our peoples, the peoples of Africa, can achieve.

My friends, the promise of Africa's third wave beckons. Our turn has come. We can eradicate poverty, settle our scattered people, restore hope, and achieve dynamism. Africa needs external assistance, and Africa deserves it; but in the final analysis, what stands between us and the future is ourselves.

Democratic rule, respect for human rights, and sustainable development are the means that will get us there. Let us embrace them -- for Africa, and for Africa's children.

* * * * *

SPEECH OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY MEN'S
RESIDENCE, SIMONSBURG
JUNE 7, 1966 12:00 pm

We have, you and I, many differences of view and opinion. I have great respect for the fact that you invited me here despite these differences. And I take comfort and encouragement from it as well.

For the essential difference between free men and the subjects of totalitarianism is that free men can give voice and expression to their beliefs; they can engage in the great dialogue on which the Western Tradition has been built. So I am glad to be here at Stellenbosch -- at this town and university which have played such a great role in South African history.

Here Adam Tas began the fight against the exploitation of the East India Company, and earned a new middle name. From here the fathers of the Voortrekkers took the first steps on their long and lonely road; to leave this green and pleasant place must have been hardship in itself -- and a measure of the sacrifice that men will make to achieve their independence and a future for their posterity.

It was in the name of freedom that our forefathers -- yours and mine -- struck off the chains of Europe and sailed uncharted oceans three centuries ago. It was in this name that three times we together poured forth our blood and treasure -- twice in the world our fathers left, and once on the frontiers to the East. And so we will stand again, as our children will stand in their turn; for, as Goethe tells us, "He only earns his freedom and existence who daily conquers them anew."

If we -- all of us -- are to conquer anew the freedom for which our forebears gave so much, we must begin with a dialogue both full and free.

In the world of 1966 no nation is an island unto itself. Global systems of transportation and communications and economics have transformed our sense of geography, and outmoded all the old concepts of self-sufficiency. Whether we wish it or not, a pattern of unity is woven into every aspect of the society of man.

We are protected from tetanus by the work of a Japanese scientist, and from typhoid by the work of a Russian. An Austrian taught us to transfuse blood, and an Italian to protect ourselves from malaria. An Indian and the grandson of a Negro slave taught us to achieve major social change without violence.

Our children are protected from diphtheria by the work of a Japanese and a German, from rabies by the work of a Frenchman, and cured of pellagra by the work of an Austrian. We all owe our very existence to the knowledge and talent and effort of those who have gone before us. We have a solemn obligation to repay that debt in the coin in which it was given - to work to meet our responsibilities to that greater part of mankind which needs our assistance - to the deprived and the downtrodden, the insulted and injured. Those men who gave us so much

did not ask whether we, their heirs, would be American or South African, white or black. And we must in the same way meet our obligations to all those who need our help, whatever their nationality or the color of their skin.

And if we live in the shared blessings of knowledge and progress, we live also in the shared dangers of a hazardous globe. Worldwide contest of ideology, along with awesome developments in the speed, the range and the impact of modern weaponry, have made the very notion of isolationism obsolete. Even the traditional distinctions of diplomacy -- between belligerents and neutrals, between external and internal affairs, between a state of war and a state of peace -- are slowly losing their meaning.

No longer can a spectator be certain that the blood and mud of the arena will not some day engulf him as well. No longer can any people be oblivious to the fate and future of any other. And no longer can any nation -- no matter how wealthy or well-armed -- be as free as it once might have been to ignore a far-off war or warning, to shrug off another nation's crisis or criticism, or to defy the concerns or the contempt of mankind.

Communist nations or others, may build a wall of stone or a curtain of bamboo. But they cannot build a modern society without exposing their citizens to the ideas and ideologies of other systems. No nation is more opposed to Communism than the United States. We reject its theory that human beings exist for the benefit of the state, that the state is more important than the individual or the family. We reject totally its restrictions on freedom of the press, of protest, of speech, of movement, of exercise of the political process. But the United States is not afraid to hear the voices and view points of communism. We do not jam their broadcasts or exclude their scholars or repress their books.

At times in our history, we have reacted too hastily and harshly to the fear of threats from within and without. But any times of suppression have been times of fear and stagnation, the years when the locust has eaten. We do not intend to repeat those years -- even now, in the midst of a war in Vietnam. For we will not abolish the substance of freedom in order to save its shadow.

No nation would have so little confidence in the wisdom of its policies and its citizens that they dare not be tested in the free market place of ideas. Societies concerned with the importation of ideas are those which fear what Jefferson called "the disease of liberty." But those with confidence in their own future, in their citizens, and in the durability of their ideals, will welcome the exchange of views -- just as you are doing now.

I am here in South Africa to listen as well as talk, less to lecture than to learn. "Whatever our disagreements, neither your country nor mine is under any illusion that there is only one side to any issue, or that either of us can coerce or quickly convert the other to share our point of view. But asserting disagreement without debate is as meaningless as asserting unanimity without discussion. Let us find out where we disagree -- and why we disagree -- and on what we can agree.

If history is a guide, a future Prime Minister of this nation may now be sitting in this room. But all of you, whether Prime Minister or not, will have a major role to play as educated people in the twentieth century.

For beyond these walls is a world to be helped, and improved, and made safe for the welfare of mankind.

What kind of world is it, waiting there for you?

It is a world of change -- unparalleled, unsettling, dizzying change. The certainties of yesterday are the doubts of today, and the folly and mockery of tomorrow. Every problem we solve only reveals a dozen more of increasing complexity. Every hill we climb shows only a higher rise beyond.

Your country and mine have created wealth unmatched in the history of man; but we have not yet learned to turn that wealth to the service of all our people.

Your country and mine gained freedom from colonial domination, and set an example for seventy nations around the world; but we have not yet learned how to help those new nations to achieve the economic, social and political progress which their people demand and deserve.

Your country and mine, and dozens of others, have achieved a terrible capacity to destroy our enemies, and five nations have found the secret of weapons that can destroy the world; but we have not yet learned to prevent these weapons from destroying the very societies they were designed to protect.

In your country and mine, we fought for and achieve freedom for some of our people; but we have not yet learned, as Thomas Paine said, that "no man or country can be really free unless all men and all countries are free."

And in every continent -- from Jaipur to Johannesburg, from Point Barrow to Cape Horn -- men and women are claiming their right to share in the bounty which modern knowledge can bring, in the justice which men have sought from Biblical times onward. They look to us for help and hope. And the real question before you -- as before the young people of any country -- is whether we will help give them that future.

We must begin with the light of reason -- with fact and logic and careful thought, unblinkered by the shades of prejudice and myth. In this fantastic and dangerous world, we will not find answers in old dogmas, repeating outworn slogans, fighting on ancient battlegrounds against fading enemies long after the real struggle has moved on. We must change to master change. We must retain what is best of our traditions, and take pride in the accomplishments of our forebears. But as Lincoln said, "we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves." And for this we look to youth, the new children of a time of change.

Yet the very education which equips you for service to mankind also prepares you for a place in society far removed from the problems for whose solution you are so desperately needed.

The laboratory or the office of the medical specialist are far away from the ailing children of Peru or Tanzania or Soweto. A college graduate is far away from a man with a different color of skin, deprived at birth of the chance to work out his destiny as an individual or a father or as a human being. The philosopher's

It will require a constant effort and will to keep contact, to remind ourselves every day that we who diet have a never-ceasing obligation to those who starve -- and to work to meet that obligation.

There are opportunities for that service everywhere: in government, in international organizations both public and private, and even if you choose a private profession.

The English word 'idiot' and the Afrikaans 'idioot' both come from the Greek word for one who did not participate in public affairs. But our words 'university' and 'universiteit' both come from the Latin for 'all together.' The need is for individual participation; for each of us to try; to "make a difference," as President Kennedy believed every man could do.

It would be simpler to follow the easy and familiar path of personal ambition and private gain. It would be more comfortable to sit content in the easy approval of friends and neighbors instead of risking the friction and controversy that comes with public affairs. It would be easier to fall in step with the slogans of others than to march to the beat of an internal drummer -- to make and stand on judgments of your own. And it would be far easier to accept and stand on the past, than to fight for the answers of the future.

But Goethe told us that Faust lost the liberty of his soul when he said to the passing moment, "Stay, thou art so fair." There would be no surer way for us to lose our freedom and the true meaning of our heritage than to make that same mistake.

**OPENING ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA
TO THE FOURTH SESSION OF PARLIAMENT
Cape Town, 7 February 1997**

SA
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Union

Madame Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly;
Honourable Chairperson and Deputy Chairpersons of the National Council of Provinces;
Honourable Members of Parliament;
Distinguished guests;
Ladies and Gentlemen:

A new year is upon us, once more affording us the opportunity to account in a comprehensive manner to the citizens on the awesome responsibilities they have mandated us to fulfil.

All of us, in the executive and legislatures, the majority party and Members in the opposition benches, are called upon to outline practical programmes to improve the nation's quality of life.

Again and again over the past year, the people showed remarkable commitment to the country's well-being. They took advantage of resources offered through RDP projects. They turned adversity into opportunity in the export market. They excelled in international sporting events, including the Olympics and Paralympics. And they joined hands to raise awareness around crime, and actually to work together to combat it.

In practical action, a new nation is being forged; a nation whose New Patriotism and sense of pride derive not only from ideas in our hearts, but also from concrete progress made in improving the well-being of all.

Our task is to mobilise all our people, to create more and more opportunities, to ensure that the citizen's potential is given the fullest expression. We have to do this and more, sensitive to the feelings of the majority and the minority, the haves and the have-nots, those who have the media to communicate their ideas and those deprived of such resources.

We can all derive pride from the fact that we took a historic step in this direction last year through the adoption of the new constitution: the basic law of our land reflecting the nation's yearning for a rising quality of life, in circumstances of democracy, peace and respect for human rights.

In a sense this is the first session of the new parliament.

And allow me to take this opportunity to welcome members of the National Council of Provinces, the living embodiment of co-operative governance. Their presence here already starts to redefine relations between government and the people: not abstract national or regional or local people, but South Africans, requiring and deserving of the highest professional service from their elected representatives.

Last Friday, I had the honour to thank our erstwhile Senators for their service to the nation. I wish to reiterate that today.

At the same time as they infused the debate in these chambers with their unique knowledge and expertise, they were also pioneers at an important moment of creation, the culmination of which is national parliament as we have it today.

The major restructuring of parliament represented by these changes epitomises the maturing of our democracy. Of no less significance is the process that led to the adoption of the constitution: including mass involvement on the one hand, and the meticulous approach of the Constitutional Court on the other. With each major judgement, this Court grows in stature and places our democracy on a higher pedestal.

Co-operative governance and the New Patriotism also mean a loyal opposition: an opposition that

opening of parliament - 7/2/97

<http://www.sacs.org.za/level1/parlopen.htm>

threat to national security.

However, when all is said and done, success depends on our whole society adopting a new value system. For, in many ways, by buying stolen goods, conniving with unscrupulous business-persons to evade tax, allowing criminals to lord it over communities, we do become our own worst enemies.

We also become our own worst enemies by co-operating with forces which commit crimes such as murder and destruction of property, in the name of campaigning against gangs and drugs. We must mobilise against crime yes; but as partners in a law-governed society that respects our legitimate government and other citizens; a law-governed society that does not tolerate illegal occupation of land and houses.

As a result of the tireless efforts of the police, the intelligence community, the national defence force as well as the affected communities and political, religious and business leaders, we have all but eliminated political violence. For this, all these sectors and others must be commended.

Yet with the kind of timing, selection of victims and political rationalisation that are bizarre in the strictest sense of the word, some individuals decided a few weeks ago to use bombs to challenge our democracy. We have examined these dark clouds and we are certain that the storm they threatened to bring has been averted.

Let me reiterate that there is no reason at all for any of our citizens to seek redress through violence. The avenues are there in the constitution and the structures it sets out for airing grievances. It will be the height of folly for anyone to seek to provoke the patience of a people who have elected, against their own deep emotions, to forgive and to reconcile. For their retribution will be decisive and telling.

Honourable Members;

Let me take this opportunity to commend the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the magnificent work they are doing to realise their mandate. We did not expect their work to be easy. And we are struck by the impact they are making on the national psyche, for theirs is a process that hurts as much as it cleanses.

We are confident that they will be able to meet their deadline; and we hope that the recent decision they and the Freedom Front persuaded us to take on the amnesty deadline will assist in their work. In this regard, and in the interest of an inclusive process, I take this opportunity to place before parliament the recommendation that the cut-off date for amnesty be extended to 10 May 1994.

As it inches towards the truth, the TRC is helping to seal the coffin of a heinous system and to unearth what remnants of the old networks that may still be burrowing in our midst. It is helping to consolidate our democracy; and thus to complement the magnificent work of the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission and other such institutions.

Another set of institutions critical to the advancement of our society are the Youth and Gender Commissions. We are confident that the Youth Commission will this year start to make its presence felt throughout society, promoting the interests of this precious asset to our nation.

After considering recommendations from parliament, I have accepted the names put forward for the Gender Commission. I wish to congratulate the Chairperson, Thenjiwe Mthintso, and the other Commissioners-designate whose names will be made known in a media statement during the course of the day.

Let me also take this opportunity also to welcome the new Chief Justice of the land, Ismail Mahomed; and to assure him and the judiciary that we shall promote their independence and do our bit to make their work easier.

Madame Speaker;

ADDRESS OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

JUNE 8, 1966

I have been in your country only a short time; yet you already have made a strong and deep impression. I have flown from Pretoria to Cape Town; going back in three hours over the road which was first covered with great difficulty over many years. I went up the Indian Ocean coast to Durban; and now I return to Johannesburg.

Everywhere I have been impressed with the warmth and the interest of all of the people of South Africa, of all political persuasions and races. Everywhere I have been impressed by your achievements, the wealth you have created in this continent which so sorely needs the blessings of progress.

Above all, I have been impressed with South African youth: not just those young in years, but those of every age who are young in a spirit of imagination and courage and an appetite for the adventure of life.

President Kennedy once said that Averell Harriman, who negotiated the Test-Ban Treaty at the age of 72, was the youngest man in Washington. There are many like him here in South Africa.

These young-spirited people are like young people in my country, and all over the world, seeking to build a better future -- to make their mark on the tablets of history. They are restless, impatient with the past, with the vain quarrels of a day that is gone; and in this too they are more closely joined with their fellow young people than to the older generation anywhere.

And those who seek change and progress in South Africa are very special. So many of those I have seen, so many who are here in this hall, are standing with their brothers around the globe for liberty and equality and human dignity; not in the ease and comfort and approbation of society, but in the midst of controversy and difficulty and risk.

Your fellow students, and men all over the world, will take heart and example from your stand. And that is why your work is so important: for men will flock to the banners of the courageous and the right; but as the Bible tells us, "if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

Will you sound the trumpet? And what is the battle, to which we all are summoned?

It is first a battle for the future. The day is long past when any nation could retreat behind walls of stone or curtains of iron or bamboo. The winds of freedom and progress and justice blow across the highest battlements, enter at every crevice, are carried by jet planes and communications satellites and by the very air we breathe.

So tomorrow's South Africa will be different from today's -- just as tomorrow's America will be different from the country I left these few short days ago: different for the astronauts who returned from their journey -- and for James Meredith who did not complete his journey. Our choice is not whether change will come, but whether we can guide that change in the service of our ideals and toward a social order shaped to the needs of all our people. In the long run we can master change not through force or fear, but only through the free work of an understanding mind -- through an openness to new knowledge and fresh outlooks which can only strengthen the most fragile and the most powerful human gifts -- the gift of reason.

Thus those who cut themselves off from ideas and clashing convictions not only display fear and enormous uncertainty about the strength of their own views; they also guarantee that when change comes, it will not be to their liking. And they encourage the forces of violence and passion which are the only alternatives to reason and the acts of minds freely open to the demands of justice.

Justice -- a demand which has echoed down through all the ages of man -- this is the second battle to which we are summoned. And let no man think that he fights this battle for others; he fights for himself, and so do we all. The Golden Rule is not sentimentality, but the deepest practical wisdom. For the teaching of our time is that cruelty is contagious, and its disease knows no bounds of race or nation. Where men can be deprived because their skin is black, in the fullness of time, others will be deprived because their skin is white. If men can suffer because they hold one belief, then others may suffer for the holding of other beliefs. Freedom is not money, that I could enlarge mine by taking yours. Our liberty can grow only when the liberties of all our fellow-men are secure; and he who would enslave others ends only by chaining himself, for chains have two ends, and he who holds the chain is as securely bound as he whom it holds. And as President Kennedy said at the Berlin Wall in 1963, "Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free."

In the last analysis, as President Kennedy told the American people in 1963, "The heart of the question is whether all men are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow-men as we want to be treated."

"If an American" -- or, I would add, any man -- if a man, he said, "because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public school available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to change the color of his skin and stand in his place?"

Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay?"

It is the question before us in the United States; it is the question before you in South Africa; it is the question before all of us in every corner of the globe.

Will we -- within our own countries, and among the mass of struggling humanity -- use our advantages to bring help and hope to their outstretched hands?

South Africa is the pre-eminent repository of the skill and knowledge and wealth of this continent.

If you can answer the great questions -- if you can sweep unjust privilege into the dead past, if you can show the dispossessed and the diseased, the hungry and the untaught, that there is a better life for them and a fair place in the sun for their children -- if you can do these things, then all of us will take heart from your example, and this continent can take its place in the modern world.

But if you cannot do these things, then your shadow will fall long across this continent -- and the common cause of men everywhere, in the United States and in South Africa, will be sorely tried and deeply injured.

There are those who say that the game is not worth the candle -- that Africa is too primitive to develop, that its peoples are not ready for freedom and self-government, that violence and chaos are unchangeable. But those who say these things should look to the history of every part and parcel of the human race. It was not the black man of Africa who invented and used poison gas or the atomic bomb, who sent 6 million men and women and children to the gas ovens, and used their bodies as fertilizer. Hitler and Stalin were not black men of Africa. And it was not the black man of Africa who bombed and obliterated Rotterdam and Shanghai and Dresden and Hiroshima.

We all struggle to transcend the cruelties and the follies of mankind. That struggle will not be won by standing aloof and pointing the finger; it will be won by action, by men who commit their every resource of mind and body to the education and improvement and help of their fellow-man.

And this is the third aspect to our battle: to fight for

We are patriots. We believe in our countries and wish to see them flourish. But the countries we love are not abstractions. They are not the frozen in yellowed parchment or constitutions. They are not the sum total of their buildings and shops, wealth and power. We are our nations -- you and me and millions like us. A great American writer, Mark Twain, once answered that question by saying, "What is the country?" It is the common voice of the people. Each -- by himself and on his own responsibility -- must speak. Each must for himself decide what is right and what is wrong, and which course is patriotic and which is not. Otherwise it is to be a traitor, both to yourself and to your country."

This is the heaviest responsibility of all -- a burden men have often refused by turning rule and ideology, belief and power, over to an all-powerful state. History is full of peoples who have discovered it is easier to fight than think, easier to have enemies and friends selected by authority than to make their own painful choices, easier to follow blindly than to lead, even if that leadership must be the private choice of a single man alone with a free and skeptical mind. But in the final telling it is that leadership, the impregnable skepticism of the free spirit, untouchable by guns or police, which feeds the whirlwind of change and hope and progress in every land and time.

So what President Kennedy said to the youth of America, I now say to you:

That it is you who have to decide -- you "who have the longest stake, you who are the most concerned for truth, who have the least ties to the present and the greatest ties to the future."

Here among you, at this great university, I know what your decision will be.

DRAFT #9

Sunday, March 22, 1998

5:00 pm **DEPART** The White House **EN ROUTE** Andrews Air Force Base

5:10 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews AFB

5:25 pm **WHEELS UP** Andrews AFB **EN ROUTE** Accra, Ghana
[flight time: 9 hrs 20 min., +5 hrs]

Monday, March 23, 1998

7:45 am **WHEELS DOWN** Accra, Ghana

8:00 am- **ARRIVAL CEREMONY**

8:30 am Tarmac
Airport, Accra, Ghana

8:35 am **DEPART** Airport, Accra, Ghana **EN ROUTE** Ministries Creche (DWM Daycare Center)

NOTE: At this point, POTUS will proceed to OSU Castle for Bilateral Meeting

8:55 am **ARRIVE** Ministries Creche

9:00 am- **MEETING/TOUR** with Mrs. Rawlings and 31st December Women's Movement
9:55 am Members at Ministries Creche [31st DWM Daycare center].

10:00 am **DEPART** Ministries Creche **EN ROUTE** OSU Castle

10:10 am **ARRIVE** OSU Castle

10:20 am **DEPART** OSU Castle w/POTUS **EN ROUTE** Independence Square

10:30 am **ARRIVE** Independence Square

10:35 am- **POTUS ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GHANA**
12:05 pm Independence Square

12:15 pm **DEPART** Parliament **EN ROUTE** OSU Castle w/POTUS

12:25 pm **ARRIVE** OSU Castle

12:35 pm-12:45 pm **HOLD**

12:50 pm-2:05 pm **POTUS and FLOTUS LUNCH** with President and Mrs. Rawlings
OSU Castle

2:10 pm **DEPART** OSU Castle **EN ROUTE** Technoserve w/POTUS

2:30 pm **ARRIVE** Technoserve

2:35 pm-3:55 pm **TOUR TECHNOSERVE/PEACE CORPS PROJECT DISPLAYS**

4:00 pm **DEPART** Technoserve **EN ROUTE** Airport

4:25 pm **ARRIVE** Airport

4:30 pm-4:55 pm **REMARKS TO US EMBASSY STAFF**

5:15 pm **WHEELS UP** Accra, Ghana **EN ROUTE** Entebbe, Uganda
[flight time: 4 hrs, 30 minutes, +3 hrs]

12:45 am **WHEELS DOWN** Entebbe, Uganda

1:05 am **DEPART** Entebbe Airport **EN ROUTE** Kampala Landing Zone

1:25 am **ARRIVE** Kampala Landing Zone

1:40 am **DEPART** LandingZone **EN ROUTE** Sheraton Hotel

1:50 am **ARRIVE** Sheraton Hotel

Tuesday, March 24, 1998

[10:00 am-10:25 am] **POTUS BRIEFING TIME**

9:50 am **DEPART** Hotel **EN ROUTE** The Heifer Project [w/Mrs. Museveni]

10:15 am **ARRIVE** The Heifer Project

10:20 am-10:50 am **VISIT** Heifer Project w/Mrs. Museveni
[Casual]

10:55 am **DEPART** Heifer Project **EN ROUTE** State House
[Ride w/ Mrs. Museveni??]

11:35 am **ARRIVE** State House

NOTE: Photo w/Presidents

11:40 am-
12:25 pm **LUNCH** w/ the Musevenis

12:30 pm **DEPART** State House **EN ROUTE** The Hotel

12:35 pm **ARRIVE** Sheraton Hotel

12:40 pm-
1:20 pm **DOWN TIME**

[1:30 pm-
1:50 pm] POTUS SPEECH PREP/

1:55 pm **DEPART** Hotel **EN ROUTE** Kampala LZ w/POTUS

2:05 pm **ARRIVE** Kampala Landing Zone

2:15 pm **DEPART** LZ **EN ROUTE** Jinja LZ

2:35 pm **ARRIVE** Jinja LZ

2:45 pm **DEPART** LZ **VIA** Motorcade **EN ROUTE** Kisowera School

3:00 pm **ARRIVE** Kisowera School

3:05 pm-
3:25 pm **TOUR** Kisowera School w/POTUS

3:30 pm-
4:30 pm **EDUCATION INITIATIVE ANNOUNCEMENT**
Kisowera School

4:40 pm **DEPART** Kisowera School **EN ROUTE** Jinja LZ

4:55 pm **ARRIVE** Jinja LZ

5:10 pm **DEPART** LZ **EN ROUTE** FINCA LZ

5:30 pm **ARRIVE** FINCA LZ

5:40 pm **PROCEED** on foot to FINCA Village

5:45 pm-
6:45 pm **VISIT FINCA VILLAGE** w/POTUS

6:50 pm **PROCEED** on foot to LZ

7:05 pm **DEPART** FINCA LZ **EN ROUTE** Kampala LZ

7:30 pm **ARRIVE** Kampala LZ

7:40 pm **DEPART** Kampala LZ **EN ROUTE** Sheraton Hotel

7:50 pm **ARRIVE** Sheraton Hotel

EVENING OFF

Wednesday, March 25, 1998

8:45 am **DEPART** Sheraton Hotel **EN ROUTE** Kampala LZ

8:55 am **ARRIVE** Kampala LZ

9:10 am **DEPART** LZ **EN ROUTE** Entebbe Airport

9:30 am **ARRIVE** Entebbe Airport

9:45 am **WHEELS UP** Entebbe Airport **EN ROUTE** Kigali, Rwanda
[flight time: 50 minutes, -1 hour]

9:35 am **WHEELS DOWN** Kigali, Rwanda

9:50 am **PROCEED** to TBD

10:15 am-
11:15 am **EVENT TBD** -Kigali Airport
POTUS/FLOTUS MEETING W/REFUGEES

11:20 am **PROCEED** to TBD

11:30 am-
12:15 pm **POTUS REMARKS**
Kigali Airport

12:50 pm **WHEELS UP** Kigali, Rwanda **EN ROUTE** Entebbe Airport

2:40 pm **WHEELS DOWN** Entebbe Airport

2:55 pm-
3:10 pm **ARRIVAL CEREMONY**

3:15 pm **DEPART** Entebbe Airport **EN ROUTE** Kampala

NOTE: At this time POTUS will proceed to Regional Leaders Meeting

4:00 pm **ARRIVE** Hotel

4:00 pm-
4:25 pm **DOWN TIME**

4:25 pm **DEPART** The Hotel

4:40 pm **ARRIVE** Makerere University

4:45 pm-
5:10 pm **MEET & GREET -**

5:15 pm-
5:45 pm **SPEECH - MAKERERE UNIVERSITY**

5:50 pm **DEPART** Makerere University
 EN ROUTE Botanical Beach Hotel

6:35 pm **ARRIVE** Botanical Beach Hotel

7:05 pm-
7:30 pm **OTR**
 Botanical Beach Hotel

7:35 pm **DEPART** Botanical Beach Hotel w/POTUS **EN ROUTE** Airport

7:50 pm **ARRIVE** Airport

7:55 pm-
8:20 pm **REMARKS TO US EMBASSY COMMUNITY**

8:35 pm **WHEELS UP** Entebbe **EN ROUTE** Cape Town, South Africa
 [flight time: 5 hrs, 25 minutes, -1 hr]

1:00 am **WHEELS DOWN** Cape Town, South Africa

Thursday, March 26, 1998

MORNING OFF

1:00 pm- **VISIT VICTORIA MXENGE HOUSING**
1:45 pm

1:50 pm **DEPART** Victoria Mxenge **EN ROUTE** Hotel

[2:50 pm- **POTUS BRIEFING/SPEECH PREP TIME**
3:30 pm]

3:35 pm **DEPART** Hotel **EN ROUTE** Parliament

3:55 pm **ARRIVE** Tuynhuis/Parliament Grounds

4:00 pm- **ARRIVAL CEREMONY**
4:30 pm

4:35 pm **PROCEED** to Parliament Chamber

4:45 pm- **POTUS ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT**
5:45 pm

6:00 pm- **COURTESY CALL WITH SPEAKER**
6:20 pm

6:35 pm **DEPART** Parliament **EN ROUTE** Ambassador's Residence

[6:30 pm- **AMBASSADOR JOSEPH'S DELEGATION RECEPTION**
8:00 pm Ambassador's Residence]

EVENING OFF

Friday, March 27, 1998

[8:30 am- **POTUS BRIEFING for BILATERAL MEETING**
8:45 am

9:15 am- **POTUS/MANDELA BILATERAL MEETING**
10:00 am

10:10 am- **BRIEFING TIME FOR PRESS CONFERENCE**
11:10 am

11:20 am-
11:50 am] **POTUS/MANDELA PRESS CONFERENCE**

10:15 am-
11:15 am **YOUNG WOMEN LEADERS MEETING [T]**

11:20 am **DEPART TBD EN ROUTE** Tuynhuis/Parliament

11:45 am **ARRIVE** Tuynhuis/Parliament

12:15 pm **DEPART** Tuynhuis/Parliament **EN ROUTE** Dock w/POTUS & Mandela

12:35 pm **ARRIVE** Dock

12:45 pm **DEPART** Dock **VIA** Boat **EN ROUTE** Robben Island

1:05 pm **ARRIVE** Robben Island

1:15 pm **DEPART** Dock **EN ROUTE** Guest House

1:30 pm **ARRIVE** Guest House

1:35 pm-
2:15 pm **LUNCH**

2:20 pm **DEPART** Guest House **EN ROUTE** Tour

2:25 pm-
3:30 pm **TOUR ROBBEN ISLAND** w/POTUS and Mandela

3:35 pm **PROCEED** to Dock

3:45 pm **DEPART** Dock **VIA** Boat **EN ROUTE** Cape Town

4:05 pm **ARRIVE** Cape Town

4:15 pm **DEPART** Dock **EN ROUTE** Hotel

4:25 pm **ARRIVE** Hotel

4:30 pm-
6:00 pm **DOWN TIME**

6:00 pm **DEPART** Hotel **EN ROUTE** LZ

6:15 pm **ARRIVE LZ**

6:30 pm **DEPART LZ EN ROUTE** Vergelegen Wine Estates

6:50 pm **ARRIVE** Vergelegen Wine Estates

7:00 pm-
9:00x pm **STATE DINNER**

Saturday, March 28, 1998

8:30 am **DEPART** Hotel **EN ROUTE** Airport

9:00 am **ARRIVE** Airport

9:05 am-
9:30 am **REMARKS TO US EMBASSY STAFF**

9:45 am **WHEELS UP** Cape Town **EN ROUTE** Johannesburg, South Africa
[flight time: 1 hr, 55 minutes]

11:40 am **WHEELS DOWN** Johannesburg

12:00 pm **DEPART** Airport **EN ROUTE** Soweto/Johannesburg
[drive time: 25 minutes/40 minutes]

[12:00 pm-
1:30 pm] **POTUS TRADE & INVESTMENT EVENT - TBD**

2:35 pm-
3:55 pm **OTR LUNCH - Soweto**

4:00 pm **DEPART** Location TBD **EN ROUTE** TBD

4:25 pm **ARRIVE** TBD

4:30 pm-
5:15 pm **MICROCREDIT, Soweto**
Candlemakers
[POTUS-WREATH LAYING/TOUR HECTOR PETERSON MEMORIAL]

5:25 pm **DEPART** TBD **EN ROUTE** Thokoza

5:55 pm-
7:05 pm **ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON THE FUTURE**
Thokoza

7:15 pm **DEPART TBD EN ROUTE** Hotel

TBD pm **ARRIVE** Hotel

TBD pm-
TBD pm **REMARKS TO US EMBASSY STAFF**

Sunday, March 29, 1998

TBD **CHURCH** - Location TBD

TBD **DEPART TBD EN ROUTE** Airport

TBD am **ARRIVE** Airport

11:00 am **WHEELS UP** Johannesburg **EN ROUTE** Gaborone, Botswana
[flight time: 45 minutes]

11:45 am **WHEELS DOWN** Gaborone, Botswana

12:00 pm-
12:30 pm **ARRIVAL CEREMONY**

12:35 pm **DEPART** Airport **EN ROUTE** US Ambassador's Residence

12:50 pm **ARRIVE** US Ambassador's Residence

12:55 pm-
1:40 pm **MEETING** with Mrs. Masire, US Ambassador's Residence [T]
[POTUS/Masire Bilateral]

1:45 pm **DEPART** US Ambassador's Residence **EN ROUTE** State House

1:50 pm **ARRIVE** State House

2:05 pm-
3:00 pm **RECEPTION**

3:10 pm **DEPART** State House **EN ROUTE** Airport

3:25 pm **ARRIVE** Gaborone, Botswana Airport

3:40 pm **WHEELS UP** Gaborone **EN ROUTE** Kasane
[flight time: 1 hr, 25 minutes]

5:05 pm **WHEELS DOWN** Kasane

5:20 pm **DEPART** Airport **EN ROUTE** Lesomo Village

5:40 pm **ARRIVE** Lesomo Village

5:50 pm-
6:50 pm **VISIT LESOMO VILLAGE/KHOTLA MEETING**

7:00 pm **DEPART** Lesomo Village **EN ROUTE** Mowana Lodge

7:20 pm **ARRIVE** Mowana Lodge

Monday, March 30, 1998

DOWN

Tuesday, March 31, 1998

Today is the Vice President's Bday

10:00 am **DEPART** Lodge **EN ROUTE** Airport

10:20 am **ARRIVE** Airport

10:35 am **WHEELS UP** Kasane **EN ROUTE** Gaborone

12:00 pm **ARRIVE** Gaborone

12:15 pm **DEPART** Airport **EN ROUTE** The University of Botswana

12:35 pm **ARRIVE** The University of Botswana

12:45 pm-
1:15 pm **BRIEFING/SPEECH PREP**

1:25 pm **PROCEED** to Room TBD

1:30 pm-
2:30 pm **ROUNDTABLE w/African Environmental Experts**

2:40 pm **DEPART** The University **EN ROUTE** Airport

3:00 pm	ARRIVE Airport
3:05 pm- 3:30 pm	REMARKS TO US EMBASSY STAFF
3:35 pm	DEPART Hangar EN ROUTE VIP Terminal
3:40 pm	ARRIVE VIP Terminal
3:45 pm- 4:05 pm	MEET & GREET with PRESIDENT AND MRS. MASIRE
4:10 pm	PROCEED to Air Force One
4:20 pm	WHEELS UP Gaborone, Botswana EN ROUTE Dakar, Senegal [flight time: 7 hrs, 55 minutes, -2hrs]
10:15 pm	WHEELS DOWN Dakar, Senegal
10:30 pm	DEPART Airport EN ROUTE Hotel
10:45 pm	ARRIVE Hotel

Wednesday, April 1, 1998

[9:30 am- 10:00 am]	POTUS BRIEFING TIME
10:10 am	DEPART Hotel EN ROUTE Presidential Residence
10:35 am	ARRIVE Presidential Residence
10:40 am- 10:50 am	ARRIVAL CEREMONY
10:55 am- 11:35 am	MEETING WITH MRS. DIOUF [POTUS/DIOUF Bilateral]
11:40 am	PROCEED to Foyer
11:50 am- 12:50 pm	RECEPTION
1:10 pm	DEPART Palace EN ROUTE LZ

1:25 pm	ARRIVE LZ
1:35 pm	DEPART LZ EN ROUTE Thies
2:05 pm	ARRIVE Military Base, Thies [POTUS - VISIT ACRI TRAINING EXERCISES]
2:15 pm- 3:30 pm	FLOTUS - TBD
3:40 pm	DEPART Thies EN ROUTE Dal Diam Village
4:05 pm	ARRIVE Dal Diam
4:15 pm- 5:30 pm	VISIT DAL DIAM
6:00 pm	DEPART Dal Diam VIA Marine One EN ROUTE Dakar LZ
6:45 pm	ARRIVE Dakar LZ
EVENING OFF	

Thursday, April 2, 1998

9:00 am- 10:15am	MEETING with TOSTAN/ANTI-FGM VILLAGE WOMEN Hotel
10:30 am- 11:45 am	PANEL DISCUSSION w/Democracy and Human Rights Activists
11:55 am	DEPART Hotel EN ROUTE TBD
12:20 pm- 1:00 pm	OTR
1:05 pm	DEPART TBD EN ROUTE Dock
1:20 pm	ARRIVE Dock
1:35 pm	DEPART Dock VIA Boat EN ROUTE Goree Island

1:55 pm	ARRIVE Goree Island
2:15 pm- 2:45 pm	TOUR SLAVE HOUSE
	TOUR WOMEN'S MUSEUM [15 - 20 minutes]
2:55 pm- 3:45 pm	TOUR GOREE ISLAND
3:50 pm	PROCEED to TBD
3:55 pm	ARRIVE TBD
4:00 pm- 4:15 pm	HOLD
4:20 pm	PROCEED to TBD
4:30 pm- 5:15 pm	REMARKS
5:20 pm	PROCEED to Dock
5:35 pm	DEPART Dock VIA Boat EN ROUTE Dakar
5:55 pm	ARRIVE Dakar
6:10 pm	DEPART Dock EN ROUTE Airport
6:40 pm	ARRIVE Airport
6:45 pm- 7:15 pm	REMARKS TO US EMBASSY STAFF
7:20 pm	PROCEED to Air Force One
7:35 pm	WHEELS UP Senegal EN ROUTE Andrews AFB [flight time: 8 hrs, 15 minutes, -5 hrs]
10:50 pm	ARRIVE Andrews AFB

11:00 pm

DEPART Andrews AFB **EN ROUTE** The White House

11:10 pm

ARRIVE The White House

FLOTUS: USAID Assistance to Trauma Clinics (\$500,000)

BACKGROUND: The northern region of Uganda has been afflicted by slow economic growth and civil strife over the past decade while the rest of the country has experienced high levels of growth and relative peace.

Though the majority of Acholi seek full integration into the national economy and peaceful return to daily activities, they are being victimized by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)-- which, comprised of deeply disaffected Acholi, is serving to destabilize and prevent northern reintegration into the broader national economy. The LRA conducts raids into Acholi territory from Sudan, destroying property, raiding cattle, killing civilians and soldiers alike and kidnapping Acholi children. To date, thousands of children have been kidnapped as recruits for the LRA; many of these have been killed. The New Yorker magazine recently reported that this situation of child brutality is among the worst in the world.

Very little attention has focussed on the plight of the families and children in Northern Uganda. Village groups are often on their own trying to find their children and provide treatment for the traumas these children have experienced.

USAID PROGRAM: USAID proposes to assist the extremely limited number of organizations based in Northern Uganda which are attempting to provide assistance to the victims. The program (\$ 500,000) will help community-based groups to find and repatriate abducted children and provide appropriate medical treatment, including trauma care to individuals and families.

TALKING POINTS

- o I have recently come to understand the terrible conditions and experiences that the children of northern Uganda are experiencing at the hands of the Sudan-back rebels.
- o It is high time for the International Community to take formal notice and state unequivocally that this cannot, and will not continue.
- o As an initial step, the USG -- through the Agency for International Development -- will provide direct assistance to community-based groups providing assistance to kidnapped children and their families.
- o I am pleased to announce a grant of \$ 500,000 to assist local groups to identify and treat the terribly abused children and families in the north.

442.34

UGANDA USAID Deliverable: Women's Initiative (\$2 million)

De-centralization and the Role of Elected Women Officials

Direct Assistance to Women: A key component of helping Uganda in its transition to a grass-roots democracy will be assisting Ugandan women who have been granted political representation to wield political power effectively. Many women will be assuming office for the first time in a never-before tested political structure - decentralization.

USAID proposes to work through a partnership of local NGOs, associations, and International NGOs and organizations to raise both the awareness and technical capacity of women leaders to assure that this bold political move is a success and can serve as an international model. Two million dollars (\$2 million) has been set aside for this activity.

BACKGROUND:

Decentralization: In one bold stroke, The Local Governments Act of 1997 changed the entire structure and function of government in Uganda, effectively ending central ministry control over the allocation of resources. Almost all functions, powers, responsibilities and resources have been devolved to Uganda's 45 districts in which locally-elected officials (one-third of which are constitutionally mandated to be women) prepare integrated budgets and make and carry out political decisions.

Comparisons to the U.S. federal system are unavoidable and the US has direct and valuable experience to share with Uganda as it struggles to implement this new political experiment. Historically, Uganda's internal political problems have been linked to regional and ethnic polarization which has pushed past governments to become centrally-controlled, autocratic and repressive. Decentralization moves decision-making directly to the local government authorities and ordinary citizens and by-passes (tribal) federalism.

The GOU is well aware that without careful planning and implementation, the move to grassroots democracy may well result in ineffective government and renewed regional and ethnic tension. The government -- through the Ministry of Local Government (MOLG) and the Decentralization Secretariat (DS), [a parastatal with a short-term mandate], -- has a remarkably clear vision of the political re-organization of Uganda and its operational consequences. However, it currently lacks the resources or capacity to chart a clear course to reach that goal. With USAID assistance, the GOU is finalizing its strategic framework which will allow USAID and other donors to pool their resources and identify discreet areas in which to assist in this ambitious undertaking.

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FLOTUS: USAID Assistance to Trauma Clinics (\$500,000)

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- o It is high time for the International Community to take formal notice and state unequivocally that this cannot, and will not continue.
- o As an initial step, the USG -- through the Agency for International Development -- will provide direct assistance to community-based groups providing assistance to kidnapped children and their families.
- o I am pleased to announce a grant of \$ 500,000 to assist local groups to identify and treat the terribly abused children and families in the north.

FLOTUS: Northern Uganda Initiative (\$ 2 million)

BACKGROUND: Economic growth in the northern region has lagged behind the impressive economic growth seen in the rest of the country. This is due primarily to 1) the end of Acholi military predominance, which constituted their primary source of income since colonial times; 2) depletion of the Acholi's cattle from cattle raids, comprising most of the population's wealth and savings; and 3) the current insecurity which precludes rehabilitation activities from occurring. At the current time, the Acholi community is being victimized by the rebel activity of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) which is made up of fellow Acholis. The LRA -- which is estimated at 2000 strong and directly supported by the Government of Sudan -- raids communities, steals cattle and other assets, kidnaps children, and kills Ugandans -- in both the civilian and military communities.

USAID PROGRAM: The new USAID activities will provide jobs to rebuild roads, small dams, schools and community health clinics. These activities will provide assistance for people affected by ongoing rebel activity and complement the Government of Uganda's development and social investment in the less-developed north.

This Initiative is important and innovative: These US resources will leverage resources from other donors including a potential \$100 million investment from the World Bank. It also heralds a new approach by the USG to support people in crisis to take control of their own fate and build a stable situation where a sustained, healthy livelihood is possible. It is a prime example of the President's Greater Horn of Africa Initiative (GHAI) which seeks to prevent conflict and improve food security in the East Africa region.

TALKING POINTS:

- o I am pleased to announce provision of \$ 2 million over the next three years -- through the US Agency for International Development -- for a new Northern Uganda Initiative.
- o The program will provide jobs for those affected by ongoing rebel activity in rehabilitating roads, dams, schools and community clinics.
- o This program heralds a new approach by the USG -- as part of the President's Greater Horn of African Initiative -- to help Africans in crisis and post-crisis to take control of their own fate and build sustainable livelihoods where families are safe.
- o It will also focus the attention of other partners on the need for additional resources to this area. The World Bank -- among others has agreed to support these efforts.

Katy- This could be announced
POWERment NETWORK *ANY where by*
Flotus-Rubin

An electronic network bringing together elected women in Africa and the United States, dedicated to strengthening the role of women in the African political process.

Proposed language:

Under the leadership of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, USAID will bring together a network of the leading female elected officials in Africa and the United States to share information and lessons learned on their respective efforts to increase the participation of women in - and impact on - the political and economic development process. As part of this process, USAID will establish POWERNET, an on-going and informal electronic conference through which these women will be able to link their plans, strategies and approaches to further democratization and good governance, improved economic policy management and a broad array of development activities.

Illustrative Stakeholders:

Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF)
 Center for Development and Population (CEDPA)
 Uganda Women's Network
 African Federation of Women Entrepreneurs (AFWE)
 Center for Conflict Resolution (CECORE)

\$1 million
part of
bring network
to Africa

Illustrative Successes:

Gambia - Appointed first woman Vice President
 Malawi - Constitution mandates minimum representation of women
 Liberia -

\$1 million - possibly deliverable
for +10 hrs

monce
 Rubin - this was dropped at some earlier point, however, we could, if you wanted it, make this net - ie we could allow Flotus to encourage and agree to fund the money (about 150K annually) to make it happen - let me know your thinking
Philip