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African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Guinea Meeting (4 pages)	05/12/1999	P1/b(1)
001b. talking points	Guinea (4 pages)	05/12/1999	P1/b(1)
001c. report	Government Report (1 page)	09/13/1995	P1/b(1)
002a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Senegal Meeting (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
002b. talking points	Senegal (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
002c. report	Government Report (2 pages)	12/20/1996	P1/b(1)
003a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Mali Meeting (5 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
003b. talking points	Mali (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	Howard Jeter to Secretary Richardson/Reverend Jackson re Benin Meeting (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
004b. talking points	Benin (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
004c. backgrounder	Benin (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
004d. report	Government Report (2 pages)	02/03/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
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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]
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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Ghana Meeting (5 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)
005b. talking points	Ghana (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

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ADDRESS GIVEN BY REV. LEON SULLIVAN

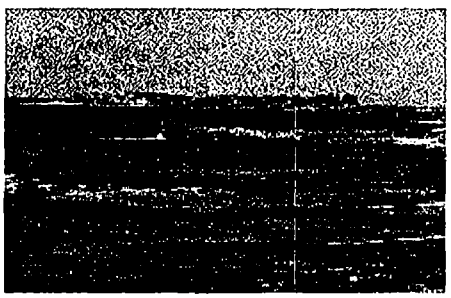
AT FIRST PLENARY SESSION

THIRD AFRICAN-AFRICAN AMERICAN SUMMIT

DAKAR, SENEGAL, MAY 3, 1995

Now, though, we must move ahead. For we have only scratched the surface in helping with the greater needs. And it is hoped that from ideas and recommendations already coming out of our deliberations that we will be able to go much further in assisting the populace, especially the children of Africa. We must do more as a Summit for debt relief, because although we have made some progress it is minimal compared to the need, for more than Three Hundred Billion Dollars remains to be lifted, which in the words of the Chairman of the Summit Presidential Executive Committee, "is a milestone around our necks" which if not removed -will mean the greater hobbling of poorer African countries, and Africa will never be able to meet even the basic needs of its people and its children.

An African President communicated to me in a recent communique, "Heads of State must take a greater initiative in helping with-the lifting of the burden of the debt and support a special effort within the Summit to vigorously help bring it about." Time is of the essence. The debt continues to mount, And if something is not done soon there will be little economic hope for many of the countries, most of whom cannot even service their debt.



Also, it is vital that a greater effort be made to deal with the problems of unfair commodity pricing on African products and goods, and to see that Africans have a voice in the pricing of their commodities in the one-sided markets in order that workers in the fields can get a fair price for their labor, and prevent the kinds of social and political problems that occur as workers see themselves to be poorly treated . It is time for Commodity Exchanges to be established, like stock markets, in every nation in Sub-Saharan Africa. And we have already begun discussions in the United States to help bring this about.

And we must all gain a greater appreciation for the importance and the value of American and other companies doing business in Sub-Saharan Africa. To this end African nations must find better ways to remove the red tape that prevent companies from investing, and give assurances to the companies that there will be open and free markets, and democracy, and let them know that profits, property and goods -will be protected and safe. African nations have the resources and manpower, the companies have the resources and the know how, and it is time that it all be brought together for viable and productive results.

We have here at these sessions some of the giant corporations of the world ready to help us, and to do business in Africa on a greater scale: GM, General Electric, Owens Corning, AT&T, EDS, and we have Kentucky Fried Chicken. It has been said if we put Kentucky Fried Chicken in every country we can turn the economies of Africa around.. And the companies know that there can be no colonialistic dealings with African nations anymore. And that the Principles of Fair Employment and Corporate Responsibility will be expected in Africa today wherever they go. And it will be our intention to help see that-the spirit of these Principles be utilized in dealings throughout the region.

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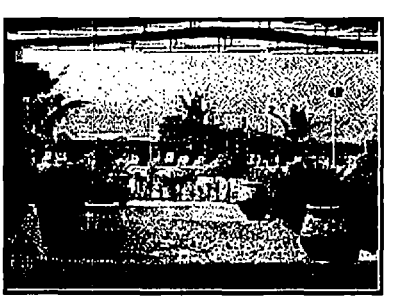
So it is our hope that at this Summit deals will be made and that the nations and the companies will link up as never before. This cooperation between companies and Africa is imperative for future development. Most of the nations in Africa are still locked primarily into foreign trade patterns that were established in the colonial era. This means that the bulk of their trade -- both exports and imports -- is concentrated with European trading partners. It also means that fluctuations in industrial production in Europe have a great impact on economic activity in Africa. If African countries are to gain some degree of insulation from the ups and downs of Europe's economies, they must find wider markets- especially in America and Asia. This is why new partnerships formed here are so important

If we work and move and plan together, African can do anything any other parts of the world have been able to do, and in a short period of time. if in thirty years Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and other parts of Asia can go from dirt -roads, wooden plows and straw huts to the making of automobiles, computers and hi-fi sets, African countries can do it too. It is my hope and prayer that African countries and the companies will come together to help make this happen and using Principles of democracy, corporate responsibility and human rights, a bright new day lies ahead.

This Summit marks a time of opportunity for Africa that must not be lost. Together, as nations and companies, using new principles of democracy, corporate responsibility and human rights, a bright new day lies ahead.

Finally, under girding all I have said, it is time that African Americans assume greater responsibility for the needs of Africa. African Americans have more to share and give to Africa then any other people in the world. Black Americans have an annual income and purchasing power in excess of Four Hundred Billion Dollars a year. We have more educated Blacks in the United States than all other Blacks combined in the entire world. Blacks in the lowest infant mortality rates in spite of all of our problems.

And African Americans have more political strength to effect the domestic and foreign policies of their government than any other place on earth. The time has come for African Americans to help Africa with educational skills, our money and our political power and stop just complaining about what others are not doing for Africa. God helps those who help themselves. And it is for time African Americans to help our brothers and our sisters in the Motherland. We have an obligation and a responsibility to do so Africans are our cousins, and brothers and sisters. As Black people we are one family, and in this world today, we rise together, or we fall together. We must help each other.



It should not be that Africans have so little and African Americans have so much and we not share with the children of Africa what we have. It should not be that African Americans can drive around in Mercedes and BMW's and Cadillacs and a host of Africans and children have no shoes to wear. It should not be that African Americans have the finest schools to go to and one-half of the children of Africa have no schools to go to at all. It should not be that African Americans have typewriters to write on and computers to learn on and videos to learn from and most African children who go to school at all, do not have pencils to write with, paper to write

on or books to road from.

It should not be that African Americans have water and electricity and all the benefits of the modern world and most of Africa's people have to walk miles to steams to collect water to carry back to their families on their heads. It should not be that African Americans have the best medical care in the world and thousands and thousands of African children have to push themselves around in the streets on their hands and on their deformed knees. It should not be that we see in our newspapers and on TV hundreds of thousands of our Black people in Rwanda and Burundi lying dead in the streets and in the fields and African Americans do nothing to help them some way with their plight. We pray for them, but these people also need material help: food and clothes and medicine and water to help them to live and other things to help them get on their feet.

And it is time that African Americans woke up, and realized wherever we come from and whatever we look like, and wherever we go, that we are all Black together in this world, and we had better learn to help each other, or there will be more difficult and darker days ahead for us in Africa and in the United States. We have been sleeping too long... and it is time that we woke up and helped ourselves.

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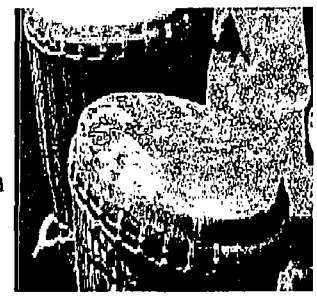

Therefore, when we return from this Summit to the United States it is our intention within the next few years, to mobilize tens of thousands of African Americans in a "Support Africa Campaign." And it is our plan when we get back to contact 250,000 Black churches, Fraternities, Sororities, community organizations, county organizations, teachers, government workers, doctors, judges and court workers, lawyers, beauty shops,-barber shops. pool halls, youth groups and senior citizens groups throughout America to become involved in a "Support Africa Campaign." This plan will be developed with the use of computers and electronic networks that will - link individual participants by the thousands to specific countries in Africa with the greatest needs. And when necessary in emergencies, by pushing a button we will have thousands and thousands of African Americans focusing on single countries with assistance such as Rwanda. Burundi, Somalia, Liberia and other nations that need help most. It will take a little time for the plans to be fully be put in place, but preparation has already begun and we intend to have thousands of participants enrolled in this effort by the end of this year. And in future years these numbers will grow and grow. These Supporters for Africa will not attempt to deal with large projects, such as the building of roads and dams and buildings, but they will use their resources to help with the basic human needs of the people, such as: pencils for schools that have no pencils, books for schools that have no books, shoes for children who have no shoes; clothes for children who have no clothes, and the providing of medical equipment and supplies for children who have no clinics or hospital care. And I expect and hope those here today from the United States to be a part of this plan. And we are seeking, the involvement of others: pharmaceutical distributors, education, food suppliers, clothing manufacturers and others, because in the United States we are going to call on everybody and every company in America who can help us as we help ourselves. And we are going to do what we can to help make it all happen.

Also, we intend with this Plan to start self-help investment groups of African Americans putting our dollars together to help with housing, businesses, and with basic needs of our people in America and in Africa. We know investment groups work, because we have already done it. A number of years ago in Philadelphia, a few hundred African Americans put together $10.00 a month for 36 months, and with that money, without any government help, we built Progress Plaza in Philadelphia, the largest Shopping Center owned, built and managed by Black people in the United States. Also, with a growing number of participants adding to the original group, for $10.00 a month in this 10-36 Plan, we built additional shopping centers, apartment houses, human services centers, factories, senior citizens housing complexes, and we supplied hundreds of scholarships to young people to help them to further their education and go on to college.

It is our plan to see that this example is utilized and developed throughout the United States to help our citizens and to help Africa. We have already begun to form what are called self-help investment programs (SHIPS) to raise funds for these-efforts. In these SHIP groups a network of one hundred investors each, we will put $30.00 a month in for 36 months, putting together $1000 over three years, and with friends and supporters we will see matched ever dollar invested by the people in the SHIPS with an extra invested dollar. And a major bank has already committed itself to loans in to support every SHIP project.

Already these SHIPS are being put in place in Philadelphia, and other cities in the United States. 75 percent of the, investment resources of these SHIPS from the people will be used in America to help with the rehabilitation and business development of our inner cities, and the remaining 25 percent used for investments and businesses in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is our intention to see that 1000 of these SHIPS will be launched in the United States to help America and Africa in the next decade.

We are going to push the government for more and greater help, because it is the government's responsibility to help us in America and in Africa. But we do not intend to wait on the government anymore. As we push the government; we shall push and help ourselves.

We are not waiting only on other people, even governments to help us with our problems now. It is time that we pooled together and united for our own self improvement. This is a new day for Africa and African Americans. A new Movement has now been born and we shall work together and pray to see what the end will be.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, My Friends, do not give up because of the problems we see all around us, and the lack of concern today for Africa and for Black people in Africa, America and everywhere. God still lives and God and Allah is with us.

Much I have I spoken of today seem impossible to achieve, but God deals in impossible things. I have seen Him work even in South Africa when many said apartheid would never end, but with the help of God and the cooperation of many, we have seen miracles realized in South Africa, because today South Africa is free, and Nelson Mandela is President of South Africa.

In my life I have seen impossible things happen. I have seen miracles realized and with prayer and work and cooperation among us, so it will be in Sub-Saharan Africa. God will create miracles for us throughout the world if we pull together and trust in him. Especially cooperation among us is important because one of the major problems we face in Africa and America is the rivalries and jealousies among our people. If we get rid of our rivalries and jealousies and begin to work together in Africa and in America, God will help us to do anything.

A wise man once said: Try to climb the tallest- tree in the forest and if you fall at least you will land on the tops of the shorter trees. I say to you today, we are striving to climb the tallest tree in the forest. The most exploited and neglected region in the world is Sub-Saharan Africa.

There will be those who will not want us to reach the top, and obstacles will be placed in our way by so-called friends and foe, but we must continue to climb as high as we can for the future of Africa and our children and our children's children is at stake in America and around the world. From this Summit we must keep on climbing as high and as far as we can, and if we fall, at least the world will know that we tried, and we will land on the top of smaller trees.

God bless us in this Summit as we plan ahead for Africa and the future of our people. And let us walk together and not get weary, for there is new hope for us and a great new future in the Promised Land.

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Choose Your Destination Go

LEON SULLIVAN'S COMMITMENT TO FIGHT RACISM A LIFELONG ENDEAVOR

(Now seeks to provide economic opportunity in Africa)

By Robert Fullerton
USIA Staff Writer

July 8, 1997

Washington -- Throughout his life the Reverend Leon Sullivan has fought racism in U.S. society, and in particular has labored to improve economic opportunities for blacks.

For Sullivan, a retired preacher and the first black person to sit on the board of directors of the giant General Motors Corporation (GMC), good jobs and a chance to get them or to form one's own business are the keys to greater freedom and a better life for blacks everywhere.

Africans first became aware of Sullivan in 1977, when he formulated what became known as the Sullivan Principles, guidelines for American corporations doing business in apartheid South Africa.

Sullivan, now 74, gradually has broadened his efforts to include all Africans by forging business links through a series of African African-American Summits he initiated in 1991. From July 21 to 26, Sullivan will chair his fourth such event in Harare, Zimbabwe.

And while developing business and economic opportunities will be the primary thrust of the Harare summit, Sullivan also will outline more plans for another of his initiatives: improving education opportunities for children on the continent. In March, Sullivan announced a $1 million gift for African schools from financier-philanthropist George Soros for Sullivan's International Foundation for Education and Self-Help; he plans to send 1,000 teachers to Africa to improve the skills of teachers there -- 450 already have been assigned to posts in many of the 47 sub-Saharan countries. Due to his efforts, some 300,000 books and other supplies have been shipped to schools in Ethiopia to launch the Schools of Africa Campaign.

"If you can't read, you can't lead," Sullivan has said on several occasions, adding that the "very young children" and their mothers will form "the main backbone" of the continent and its future.

Born in Charleston, West Virginia, in 1922, Sullivan was brought up by his grandmother after his parents divorced. He has recalled that as a boy separation between blacks and whites in Charleston and elsewhere was accepted as normal. For instance, he lived in an all-black neighborhood, attended an all-black school, and had only black friends. By age seven he began to question why the races were so separated from one another. And by age 10 he had resolved to stand up against bigotry, prejudice, and discrimination.

Following his grandmother's death during his sophomore year in high school, Sullivan began to serve as pastor of two Charleston area churches; he was ordained as a Baptist minister at age 17.

While attending West Virginia State College (B.A., 1943) a few years later on an athletic scholarship, Sullivan met the influential congressman and pastor Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Powell, impressed by Sullivan's energy and enthusiasm, suggested he come to New York when he graduated. Sullivan did and Powell helped arrange a job for him with Bell Telephone Company while he studied theology at Union Theological Seminary (1945) and sociology at Columbia University (M.A., 1947).

In New York Sullivan also met A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters -- the first recognized black-controlled trade union in America -- and became involved in the

early Civil Rights Movement. From Randolph, Sullivan has said, he acquired massive community organization and non-violent direct action skills, which he would use in his own protest programs later.

Married to Grace Banks in 1945, in 1950 Sullivan became pastor of the Zion Baptist Church in North Philadelphia, where he would remain for the next 38 years. It was at Zion that he earned his reputation as a civil rights leader, working tirelessly to improve the lives of blacks living in slum neighborhoods. Within a year he had formed a 2,000-member Philadelphia Committee and anti-crime program which won the respect and support of police and the National Chamber of Commerce.

Meanwhile, Sullivan had become convinced that permanent inroads for blacks would not be made until they could get jobs and steady incomes. For instance, his Youth Employment Service, opened in the basement of a church, aimed to end delinquency among young people by finding jobs for them. As the Civil Rights Movement made strides in the 1950s to end racial segregation, Sullivan outlined a program of "selective patronage" to gain economic opportunities for blacks. His followers in North Philadelphia now patronized only those businesses that practiced fair hiring and promotion of blacks; those businesses that discriminated against blacks were boycotted. The program, and similar ones now adopted by other civil rights leaders, gradually altered private industry's employment practices for blacks nationwide.

Another major initiative founded by Sullivan in 1964 was the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), which offered blacks courses in several occupational fields, expanded job-training programs, and placed 5,000 disadvantaged blacks in jobs the OIC had trained them for. By 1993, OIC maintained training programs in 80 cities and had trained one million men and women for jobs.

Appalled by the brutal apartheid policies in South Africa, Sullivan turned his attention to sub-Saharan Africa in the 1970s. Using leverage he gained as the first black appointed to the GMC board in 1971, Sullivan convinced the corporation to withdraw its business in South Africa. By 1977 he had formulated a set of ethical directives which stated specifically how American-owned companies doing business in South Africa ought to equitably treat and promote black South African workers. By the 1980s, with apartheid still entrenched in the country, Sullivan urged the Reagan administration to enact a trade embargo and establish sanctions against South Africa.

Sullivan's first summit at Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, in 1991 brought together 1,000 black Americans and 4,000 African government officials. Their goal was to improve economic and living conditions for blacks in South Africa. Sullivan also made plain to participants that he would not cease his efforts on behalf of South African blacks until Nelson Mandela was released from prison, apartheid was eradicated, and equal voting rights were conferred by the South African government.

Subsequent summits were held at Libreville, Gabon, and at Dakar, Senegal, the latest, at which the newly freed Mandela took part -- many decades after Sullivan had begun his efforts to end racism in America and promote economic opportunity for blacks.

As to why he initiated the summits and what they mean for Africans and African-Americans, Sullivan noted in Dakar:

"The time has come for African-Americans to help Africa with educational skills, our money, and our political power and stop just complaining about what others are not doing for Africa. God helps those who help themselves. And it is time for African-Americans to help our brothers and our sisters in the Motherland. We have an obligation and a responsibility to do so -- Africans are our cousins, and brothers, and sisters. As black people we are one family, and in this world today, we rise together, or we fall together. We must help each other."

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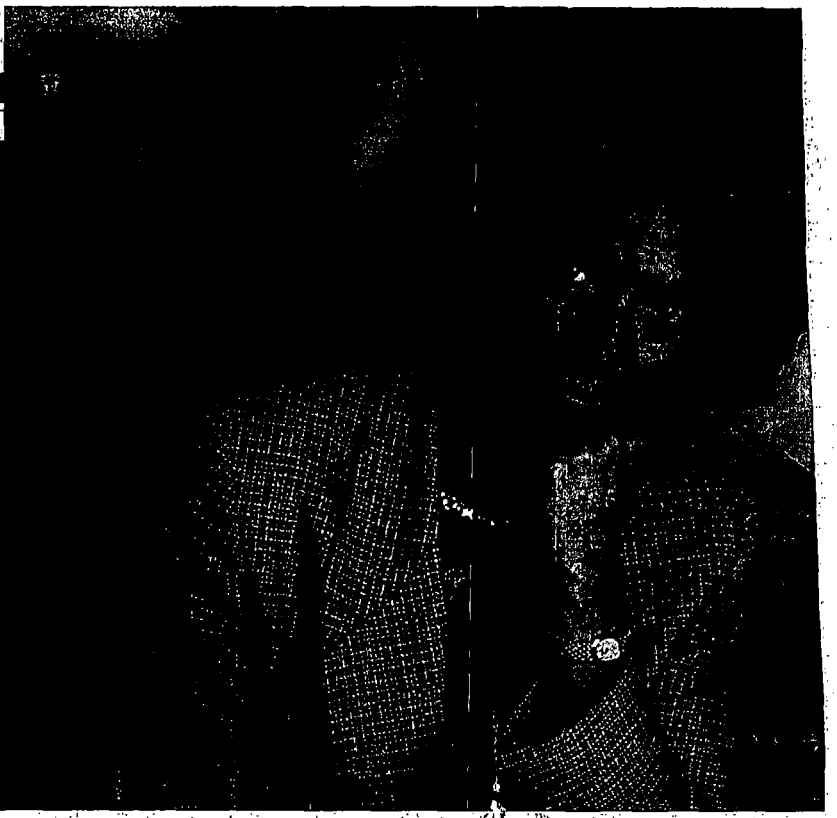
"There's a lot of variability during perimenopause, and a burgeoning interest in research. We really need to understand midlife."



Surveying health: *Sherry Sherman of the National Institute on Aging oversees a national study of women ages 42 to 52*

most certainly in your 40s, your hormones start to betray you. Estrogens, progesterone and other reproductive hormones no longer work together with the precise timing of a Rolex, but instead act like "a Swiss watch that's gotten rusty," says Dr. Wulf Utian, a reproductive biologist at Case Western Reserve University and executive director of the North American Menopause Society. That is a radically new understanding of perimenopause. Despite claims that its symptoms reflect plunging levels of estrogen, and that women should seek relief through estrogen replacement, perimenopause is marked by hormones riding a roller coaster. Breast surgeon Susan Love, in her "Dr. Susan Love's Hormone Book," calls it "the mirror image of puberty," and that has important implications for treatment.

There is no typical perimenopause, just as there is no typical puberty. But in general perimenopause brings, first and most obviously, wacky menstrual periods: more often, less often, heavier or lighter. It can also worsen PMS, cause night sweats, diminish libido and cause skin, hair and vaginal walls to thin and dry out. Each of these reflects changes in the river of hormones coursing through a woman's body. The better a woman understands these changes, the better care she is likely to get from her doctor, for although perimenopause has been recognized by the American medical establishment since the 1970s, many doctors had not heard of it before the 1990s. It still isn't part of most med-school curricula, and there are still physicians who dismiss a woman's perimenopause symptoms as all in her head. Here's what really happens:

■ Follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) is secreted by the brain's pituitary gland. True to its name, FSH stimulates eggs to mature. Older ovaries have gotten a little deaf to these signals, so the brain has to pump up the volume: it emits more FSH in order to get some response from the ovaries. "FSH gets cranked up as the pituitary tries to drive the poor ovary to make estrogen," explains Mary Jane Minkin, an OB-GYN at Yale University School of Medicine. FSH also, indirectly, dilates blood vessels that lie just beneath the skin. Dilating a blood vessel can produce a feeling of warmth and may be a cause of hot flashes and night sweats. An FSH level above 30 (in units called milli-international units per milliliter), as measured in a blood test o the first six days of a woman's perio most reliable indication that she is menopause. But it's not foolproof. test is done in a month when the has a normal period, her FSH may normal. That's why the test should be peated the following menstrual cycle, bu $200 a pop, that gets a little pricey. Mir tells her patients not to even bother.

■ Progesterone is secreted from empty follicles (little sacs within the ovaries tl contain one ovum apiece). To become em ty, the follicle obviously has to release ovum; that's ovulation. But if no egg ripen no ovulation occurs, and no progesterone released. It's progesterone that both stab lizes the uterine lining and signals when t slough it off. Without progesterone, a per menopausal woman can therefore miss pe riods. "Some women are skipping period all over the place," says Minkin, while oth ers have "screwy bleeding." Progesteron also affects moods: it binds to the same site in the brain as does a neurochemical, callec GABA, that tamps down anxiety (Valium also binds to these GABA sites). The precipitous drop in progesterone after a woman gives birth may trigger postpartum depression; its gradual falloff during the second half of a woman's monthly cycle may usher in th PMS blues. How much progesterone level dip during perimenopause, and what effec that has, varies from one woman to the nex and from one month to the next. But an oth erwise inexplicable weepiness during one 40s might reflect diminished progesterone

■ Levels of estrogens rocket up tenfold as in 1,000 percent—during puberty. The

Relief effort: *Perimenopause has brought Sharon Mezzina, 43, of Darien, Conn., hot flashes, fatigue, dry skin, memory problems and irregular menstrual bleeding. To alleviate her symptoms, she has tried everything from Premarin to black cohosh root to vitamins and minerals.*

KATHERINE LAMBERT (TOP); NINA BERMAN-SIP

It can masquerade as insomnia, moodiness, forgetfulness or depression. But physicians now understand that in the years before menopause, women ride a hormonal roller coaster. The grab bag of symptoms that it brings has a single underlying but treatable cause, so you don't have to take it lying down. By Sharon Begley

ESTROGEN

Understanding Perimenopause

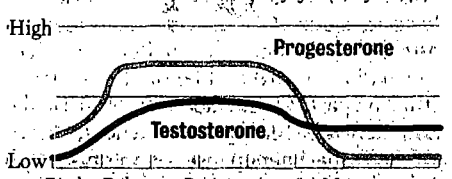
FOR A PROFESSIONAL PARTY PLANner like Bonnie Leopold, irritability is about as welcome as gate crashers. But there it was: Leopold, 48, of Manhattan Beach, Calif., started feeling nonstop grouchy and snappish. She also got hot flashes so often that she didn't dare leave the house without her portable fan. And when she had two menstrual periods in one month, she was convinced she had ovarian cancer. Susan Santacaterina, 46, a Chicago nurse, didn't think she had a fatal disease, but after suffering for months from insomnia and headaches before every period, she had an MRI scan of her brain anyway. Donna Lambert, 47, sums up her situation like this: "I feel like I'm brain-dead." The former day-care director, who lives in Charlottesville, Va., walks into rooms and wonders why she is there; once able to memorize a two-page grocery list, Lambert now can't go shopping without one.

The three women's disparate symptoms would seem to suggest they've got totally different illnesses. But, in fact, they're all on the same wild hormonal roller-coaster ride, and it's called perimenopause.

If you like the prospect of menopause, you'll love perimenopause. Literally "around menopause," perimenopause begins when hormone-related changes kick in, as long as 10 years before menopause. Menopause itself begins 12 months after a woman's final period, and in the United States comes at an average age of 52. If you define perimenopause as lasting 10 years, then more than 20 million American women are now going through it. Perimenopause promises many of the same hot flashes, concentration gaps, mood swings, sleep troubles and migraines associated with menopause, as well as irritability and memory loss, with an added sweetener: the symptoms come earlier and last longer. As early as 35 but al-

Hormonal Fluctuations

Researchers are beginning to understand more about hormonal ups and downs over a woman's lifetime. A likely journey:



SOURCE: DR. BRIAN WALSH, BRIGHAM AND WOMEN'S HOSPITAL, BOSTON

JOHN RIZZO

ateau between the ages of 25 and 40 or). It's downhill from there, as estrogen vels fall by that same tenfold amount, to ne tenth their peak, once a woman has assed through menopause. As for what appens between the plateau and the val-y—during perimenopause—researchers re scrambling for answers. Despite the rumbeat of stories about how perimeno-ause is marked by a relentless fall in es-rogen levels, one thing estrogen levels do *ot* do is decline gradually, like a skier lown a bunny slope. Most researchers be-eve instead that estrogen fluctuates wild-during perimenopause. A 1996 study led researchers at the University of Wash-ton found that all 16 women 40 to 45 om they studied had overall estrogen vels comparable to the 12 twentysome-ings in the group. But during the first ew days of their monthly cycle, the older women experienced a rise in estrogen to a level *higher* than in the younger women. So while estrogen levels may decline overall after 40, they decline like a skier on a slope studded with moguls—from towering bump to towering bump. "The best way to think about it," says endocrinologist Richard Santen of the University of Virginia, "is up, down, up, down, stop."

A typical woman might have very low estrogen at the beginning of her menstrual cycle. That could give her hot flashes for two weeks, explains Susan Love. (But you needn't expect the worst: although as many as 70 percent of women in their 40s experience irregular menstrual periods, only 30 percent suffered hot flashes in the three years before menopause, a 1991 study found.) Low estrogen will also goad the pituitary to churn out more FSH. That, in turn, will stimulate the ovaries to produce twice as much estrogen as normal, ushering in the PMS-like symptoms of high estrogen-low progesterone.

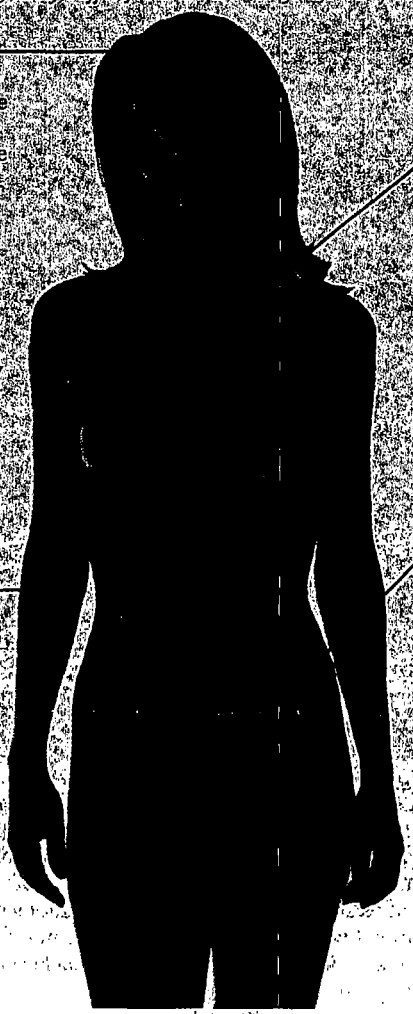
What can women do to alleviate the symptoms of perimenopause? Some things are easy calls. It makes sense to avoid alcohol and spicy foods to minimize hot flashes, and to swear off caffeine (especially after midday) to sleep better. Weight-bearing exercise (that includes walking) stimulates the production of new bone, which is a good way to enter menopause itself. But after these no-brainers, the treatment advice depends on what a woman's hormones are up to (or down to).

Say a woman has erratic estrogen levels. The surest sign of such a hormonal roller coaster is weird menstrual cycles, but also mood swings like those of PMS. More doctors are therefore recommending birth-control pills, which even out hormone levels. Alesse, Lo-estrin and Mircette are called low dose, but in fact they contain enough estrogen to suppress ovulation (that's the original point of the pill, after all). This wallop of estrogen "will basically shut down the ovaries," says Dr. Brian Walsh of Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston, so they no longer secrete estrogen. Hormone levels, now set completely by the medication, settle down. (A woman who smokes or has high blood pressure should not take the pill, however, because it can raise her risk of fatal blood clots. And all women need to consult their doctor about the best way to alleviate the symptoms of perimenopause.)

If a perimenopausal woman is suffering from a dearth of estrogen, she needs different treatment. How can she tell if she's running on empty? Estrogen stimulates production of the brain chemical serotonin, which, among other jobs, regulates sleep and emotion. Less estrogen can bring insomnia and mood swings. In addition, estrogen can twiddle the body's thermostat—the hypothalamus, which sits deep inside the brain. "When estrogen declines," says Walsh, "it causes the temperature center to become unstable." That can trigger hot flashes. Chronically low estrogen can also impair verbal memory. How bad can the memory loss be? Novelist Anna Quindlen, 46, wrote in 1997 about waking up in the middle of the night and "forgetting the names of my children." The reason, new research shows, is that estrogen stimulates

Changes Before 'The Change'

There is no typical perimenopause. Some women experience few or no symptoms. Others are not so lucky; they suffer from a wide range. Some of the most common.



Memory lapses and loss of concentration Some women who take estrogen report an improvement in cognitive function.

Headaches May be caused by fluctuating hormone levels. Some women begin to suffer migraines.

Mood swings Changes in hormone levels may interfere with the production of the body's mood-regulator serotonin. Some women feel anxious or weepy.

Dry skin A decrease in the protein collagen—which may be linked to a decline in estrogen—means less elasticity and more wrinkles.

Bone loss Declining reproductive hormones translates to less protection for bones. The problem is at its worst after menopause.

Hot flashes Many perimenopausal women experience them, mostly around the head and upper body. They usually last several minutes. Nocturnal hot flashes, which are known as night sweats, can lead to insomnia.

Erratic menstrual cycles A classic symptom of perimenopause. Cycles vary widely from 18 days to missed periods. Excessive bleeding is common.

Vaginal dryness As estrogen levels decline, the vaginal wall thins and becomes less elastic. Intercourse may become painful.

Urinary incontinence As the vaginal wall weakens, the bladder loses support and urination is harder to control.

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...y?

The body of a seventysomething man makes more than twice as much estrogen as that of a woman the same age. This is because small amounts of testosterone, which the testes produce throughout life, are converted to estrogen.

What You Can Do

You don't have to suffer. Both traditional and alternative medicine can help with the hot flashes, night sweats, moodiness and menstrual irregularities of perimenopause.

PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

Low-dose birth-control pills Pills such as Alesse combine the hormones estrogen and progestin (synthetic progesterone) to alleviate perimenopausal symptoms that result from roller-coastering hormone levels.

Hormone-replacement therapy Pills such as Premarin boost estrogen levels. But if your symptoms reflect erratic hormone levels, rather than falling ones, HRT might make them worse.

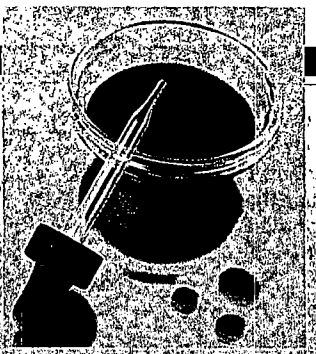
VITAMINS AND DIET

Vitamin B_6 Available in supplements or foods such as chicken, this vitamin helps turn amino acids into the neurotransmitter serotonin, which affects mood. The RDA for women 31 to 50 years old is 1.3 mg.

Vitamin E This antioxidant may alleviate hot flashes. The RDA is 8 mg for women 31 to 50.

Soy Loaded with plant estrogens, soy may reduce hot flashes. Available in capsules, soy milk, soy flour and tofu (about 2 ounces contain 45 mg).

Flaxseed An herb containing omega 3 fatty acids that may reduce heavy menstrual bleeding. Sprinkle 1 to 3 tablespoons of crushed flaxseed on cereal each day or use a few teaspoons a day of flaxseed oil in cooking.



Evening-primrose oil, pills

HERBAL SUPPLEMENTS

Evening primrose About 3 grams a day of the oil from this plant might help alleviate breast tenderness and regulate hormone levels.

Black cohosh root Available in capsules and tinctures, this root seems to work like estrogen, reducing hot flashes and relieving painful periods.

Dong quai A Chinese herb, it is often taken to relieve menstrual cramps. But a recent study found it's no better than placebos. Women typically take 4.5 grams a day in capsules or tinctures.

Kava Made from the root of a shrub, kava purportedly helps reduce mood swings, irritability and stress. It is usually taken in 60- to 120-mg capsules.

Chasteberry This berry may help with menstrual irregularities and painful breasts, apparently by increasing progesterone levels. Available in capsules or tincture.

St. John's wort The flowering tops of this plant have been called "natural Prozac" because they seem to lift depression and anxiety. The capsules and tinctures should not be taken with prescription antidepressants.

SOURCES: AMERICAN BOTANICAL COUNCIL; NANCY SIEKOWITZ, R.N., M.S.N., WESTPAC; EBSE; NATIONAL FOOD AND NUTRITIONAL BOARD, AMERICAN DIETETIC ASSOCIATION

neurons to sprout new branches, helps generate new synapses and triggers production of substances that promote neuronal growth—all of which weave brain neurons into networks that learn and remember.

To kick estrogen levels back up, hormone-replacement therapy might seem an obvious choice. Bonnie Leopold, the party planner, swears by the Vivelle estrogen patch on her backside. A two-inch clear oval that resembles a nicotine patch, it slowly releases the form of estrogen called 17 beta-estradiol; she credits it with wiping away her irritability. But many doctors are wary about putting premenopausal women on HRT; such use is not approved by the Food and Drug Administration. An authoritative 16-year study of some 40,000 nurses found, in June 1997, a 43 percent higher risk for fatal breast cancer among postmenopausal women who took HRT for 10 years or more. Other studies have shown a risk even at five to seven years, says Dr. Nananda Col of New England Medical Center in Boston. That makes starting HRT at, say, 42 a potentially dicey proposition. "It would seem to me that giving estrogen when somebody's got high levels already," says Dr. Gerson Weiss of New Jersey Medical School, "is not the best idea."

Women who reject HRT often turn to "natural hormone replacement." Supplements like black cohosh (one used by Native Americans) promise to deliver phytoestrogens (from plants) and relieve perimenopausal symptoms (chart). But this market is so underregulated that you can't be sure what's in any of these pills; few have been thoroughly studied. They probably won't cause any harm, but a surer bet is to obtain phytoestrogens from foods like soy (as tofu, soy milk, tempeh, miso) and flaxseed oil. How much do you have to eat? In one study a daily regimen of six tablespoons of soy flour reduced hot flashes, sleep disturbances, depression and loss of libido. You don't have to close your eyes and hold your nose, either. The 1998 book "Estrogen: The Natural Way" contains more than 250 phytoestrogen-packed recipes for, among other delicacies, orange-apricot bars, noodles with creamy sesame sauce and mackerel-and-onion quiche.

Patching it up: *To Bonnie Leopold, 48, the irritability and hot flashes were bad enough. But when she had two periods in one month, she was sure she had ovarian cancer. Learning she was simply in perimenopause, she started wearing an estrogen patch to relieve symptoms.*

Although some women's health activists complain that doctors are "pathologizing" a normal stage of life, there are two sound medical reasons for acknowledging perimenopause. The first is that if a woman doesn't understand that waking up every night at 3 has the same underlying cause as the worst PMS she's ever suffered, and that her insomnia is in turn related to irregular periods and mood swings and an inability to remember where she was in a conversation before the phone rang, she may wind up with a fistful of symptom-by-symptom prescriptions. She'll get sleeping aids, tranquilizers, antidepressants and appointments with therapists, but not treatment for the underlying hormonal swings. Worse, if doctors don't recognize that hormonal upheavals kick in long before menopause, they may dismiss women's perimenopausal complaints as imaginary. "It used to be thought that women didn't really have symptoms until their final period," says Walsh. "But in reality, hot flashes are worst about three or four years before that. If you wait for her final period before you listen to her concerns and treat her, you'll miss most of the misery."

The second reason to recognize perimenopause is to treat it as a wake-up call. You are approaching the next stage of your life, but you've got advance warning. So heed it: give up cigarettes, eat right, exercise, reduce. That way, when you go through menopause itself you will be in the best shape you can. In the meantime, just knowing that your crazy symptoms have a name and a cause might be relief enough. ■

With CLAUDIA KALB *and* KAREN SPRINGEN

JOHN RIZZO (TOP); LARA JO REGAN—GAMMA LIAISON

It Was Good To Meet You

Hi Sandra,

It is difficult to express the inspiration that caught up with me after our meeting in Accra and in your office particularly on Tuesday June 29, 1999. In short, you made my day and thank you for this and more of the kind of collaboration we will be expecting from your end with regards to assisting women empowerment and capacity building. Please do not forget to link up to the sources of financing and partnership you offered in this regards.

Best regards.

Tangi Robinson

National Investment and Savings Cameroon
B.P. 987
Douala

A/To Mrs Nimman,

M Good luck in your

Strive for a better

human environment

and comfort.

Robinson

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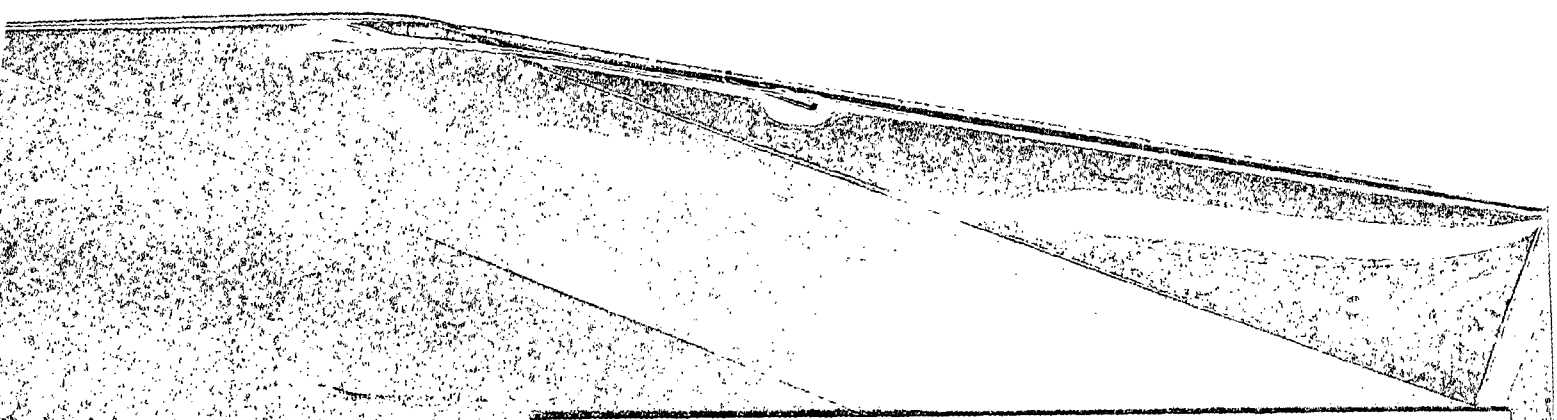

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1420 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W.
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WASHINGTON, DC 20005
202-638-1950

June 10, 1999

Ms. Sandra Thurman
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of the Office of AIDS Policy
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Sandra,

Please find attached a copy of the letter to President Clinton regarding the recent trip to Africa. I thoroughly enjoyed the time that we spent together on the trip, and look forward to working with you in in the future. I am so proud to be your colleague and friend. Keep on keeping on, and God Bless!

Anita R. Estell

Hey girl!
I am ready
for that martini.
Will call you soon
to schedule.
Much love,

VAN SCOYOC ASSOCIATES, INC.
COMMERCIAL BANK BUILDING
1420 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W.
SUITE 1050
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

(202) 638-1950
FAX (202) 638-7714

Anita R. Estell
Vice President

June 2, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

As a former Clinton appointee who joined the private sector in 1993, I am writing to let you know how much I appreciate having an opportunity to be a part of the delegation you sent to Africa to participate in the Africa/African American Summit coordinated by Reverend Leon Sullivan. It was, without equivocation, one of the most extraordinary experiences of my life

I have been actively engaged in Democratic politics since 1987 when Ron Brown first helped me obtain a position on the House Appropriations Committee with Former Representative Louis Stokes. From there, I joined the Clinton/Gore Transition team in 1992, and eventually served as a special assistant to Secretary Richard Riley.

During my tenure in Washington, I have had the opportunity to work with many of the individuals who participated in the presidential mission, as well as many of the other summit participants. Having known many of these individuals for years, words cannot adequately express the joy and pride I feel in seeing so many of my African American and other colleagues represent the White House and the people of the United States. Your Administration's commitment to placing African Americans (as well as other persons who keenly understand the complex issues affecting communities of color) in senior advisory roles is unparalleled and cannot be overstated. The sensitivity, expertise and commitment that these individuals bring to our nation's domestic affairs and international relationships undoubtedly will have an indelible and profound impact on a number of key policy objectives cutting across the federal spectrum.

In this regard, I want you to know that Secretary Alexis Herman and Reverend Jesse Jackson were key players in making the trip both successful and enjoyable. Additionally, I want to commend the efforts of Minyon Moore, who has provided consistent and tireless assistance in working with me on a number of issues including the Africa visit as

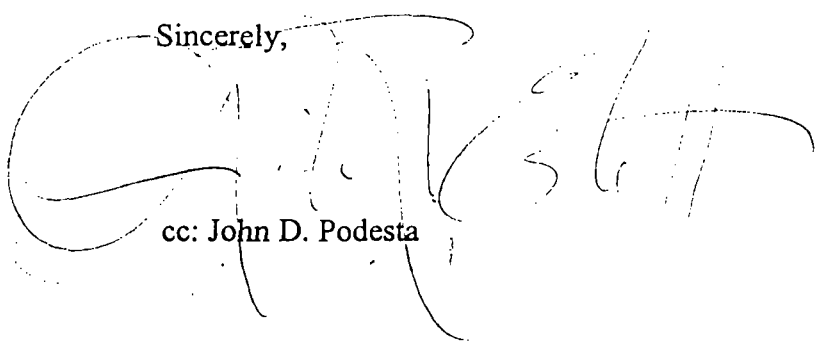
well as other issues related to Mrs. Rosa Parks, the City of Compton, California, our nation's historically black colleges and universities, minority women's concerns, and other efforts.

Other members of your team that I would like to recognize include Ben Johnson, Sandy Thurman, Robin Saunders, Brad Mims, Gordon Linton, Calvin Humphrey, George Persons, Singleton McAlister, Frankie King, and Janae Roscoe. I witnessed, first-hand, the passion and intense commitment that each of these individuals bring to building bridges, and reconciling the complex issues associated with HIV/AIDs, transportation, energy, developing countries and other matters. Also, Ambassador Robinson, working with Ambassador Koomson, played a key role in making us feel at home.

As stated previously, your commitment to Africa and people of color generally is both historic and unparalleled. I thank you for your vision, courage and leadership in this area, and I particularly want you to know how much I appreciate the wisdom you continue to display by surrounding yourself with such a talented team of advisors. In this regard, I know Secretary Riley, initially, and Bob Nash ultimately, have provided tremendous assistance in helping you meet your objectives of inclusion.

May God bless you and keep you as you continue to display audacious leadership in making a place at democracy's table for the people at home and abroad who traditionally have been excluded.

Sincerely,



cc: John D. Podesta

AFRICA AFRICAN-AMERICAN SUMMIT

MAY 18 - 21, 1999

BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Guinea Meeting (4 pages)	05/12/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

RESTRICTION CODES

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001b. talking points	Guinea (4 pages)	05/12/1999	P1/b(1)

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001c. report	Government Report (1 page)	09/13/1995	P1/b(1)

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002a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Senegal Meeting (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

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OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
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002b. talking points	Senegal (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

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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)]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002c. report	Government Report (2 pages)	12/20/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

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]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Mali Meeting (5 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. talking points	Mali (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. memo	Howard Jeter to Secretary Richardson/Reverend Jackson re Benin Meeting (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. talking points	Benin (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004c. backgrounder	Benin (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004d. report	Government Report (2 pages)	02/03/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM
SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

TO: AF - PDAS Carson

FROM: AF/S - John Blaney

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Mogae on the Margins of the Fifth African-African American Summit

Background

Independent since 1966, Botswana is Africa's longest continuous democracy. The U.S. enjoys excellent relations with Botswana, underscored by the visits to Gaborone and Chobe Game Park, last year, of President Clinton and the First Lady. More recently, Foreign Minister Merafhe co-chaired with Secretary Albright the roundtable discussion on Democracy and Human rights during the U.S.-Africa Ministerial, a testament to Botswana's enduring reputation as a democracy and its human rights track record. Botswana is a recipient of the Corporate Council on Africa (CCA)'s 1999 Global Marketplace Award for opening up its economy to the world market.

National elections are slated to take place in October. President Mogae, who succeeded President Masire a year ago, when the latter retired from office, recently affirmed his intention to seek re-election on the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) ticket. Many experts assess that Asian financial troubles have considerably damaged diamond sales worldwide, and that Botswana's diamond-dependent economy may suffer as a result. Finance and Development Planning Minister Kedikilwe recently announced the country's first deficit budget in eighteen years for the budget year starting in July.

As a founding member of the anti-Apartheid Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), Botswana helped shape the present-day Southern African

Development Community (SADC). Botswana was instrumental in bringing South Africa into the fold after the 1994 elections, and continues to be a well-respected member. The SADC Secretariat is headquartered in Gaborone.

Talking Points

- We were very pleased that Botswana was named a recipient of the Corporate Council on Africa Marketplace Award. This is a fitting tribute for the great strides you have taken to open up the economy.

- Aware that Botswana recently announced its first budget deficit in 18 years, because of fallen diamond revenues. At the same time, understand that efforts to diversify the economy have been underway for some time. What is the state of play? Which sectors hold the most promise for Botswana?

SADC and Regional Issues

- Last month, several U.S. agencies participated in the highly successful inaugural meeting of the U.S.-SADC Forum which Botswana so ably and generously hosted.

- We are committed to continuing and broadening the U.S.-SADC dialogue.

- Botswana has been a model for democracy and human rights in the region. We are concerned about apparent erosion of these principles in neighboring SADC countries? What can be done to prevent permanent regression?

- The GOB has been fairly activist on the issue of HIV/AIDS in recent times, signaling concern about the economic and security implications. Can this activism be conveyed to or shared with other countries facing similarly debilitating infection rates? If the recent discussions at the US-SADC Forum are any indication, there seems to be growing momentum among many SADC governments to take action.

Mogae Bilat

Drafted:
AF/S: P Kim-Scott

Cleared:
AF/S: D Booth

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 13, 1999

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM
SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

TO: AF - Johnnie Carson

THROUGH: AF - Witney Schneidman

FROM: AF/S - John Blaney

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Swaziland (GOS) King Mswati III at the African-African/American Summit in Accra: Date, Time, Venue TBD

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Promote democratic reform, including relaxing legal restrictions on political parties, through the ongoing Constitutional Review Commission process.

2. Urge the GOS to proceed with enactment of new labor legislation which Parliament tabled on May 12 in view of pending AFL-CIO challenge to Swazi duty-free entry into the U.S. under GSP.

3. Congratulate the Government of Swaziland (GOS) for its new role as Chair of the Southern Africa Inter-State Defense and Security Committee. Applaud GOS efforts to facilitate Angola-Zambia talks to reduce tension between the two countries.

II. BACKGROUND

Commitment toward political reform: Swaziland is an executive monarchy with ultimate executive, legislative, and judicial power vested in King Mswati III. Although an elected parliament exists and political formations function openly, parties have been legally banned since 1973. A Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) which the King set up in 1996 has stagnated, due in part to withdrawal of "progressive" members who viewed it as stacked against their interests. Events in Lesotho last year deepened Swazi mistrust of multiparty democracy. However, earlier this year, the King registered his own impatience with the

CRC by serving notice publicly that he expects it to wind up its work this calendar year--a virtually impossible task.

Although we have not given the CRC open-ended support as an institution, we financed specific projects to assist last year's local and parliamentary elections and other democratic processes. These included compilation of a constitutional framework document, expert civic education assistance from South Africa's "streetlaw" NGO and the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and postage-paid mail-in forms designed to encourage citizens to submit their views to the CRC. Additional Economic Support Fund (ESF) funding in the amount of $200,000 will allow NDI to continue its civic education program started prior to the 1998 local elections.

Swazi Assumption of Chair of SADC Inter-State Defense and Security Committee (ISDSC): Swaziland's Foreign Minister Albert Shabangu took over the rotating Chair of the ISDSC in March. Among other regional matters raised during the March meeting in Mbabane, Shabangu was instrumental in facilitating dialogue between the Angolan and Zambian delegations and thereafter with shuttle diplomacy between the two capitals in an attempt to reduce tensions between Angola and Zambia. On May 11 and 12 he chaired talks in Mbabane between Zambian and Angolan intelligence officials. They agreed to continue dialogue under ISDSC auspices.

Enacting industrial relations legislation: Our most pressing bilateral issue revolves around workers' rights concerns with the harsh industrial relations legislation enacted three years ago in an effort to contain Swaziland's trade unions, which had mounted work stoppages for political reasons. An AFL-CIO petition filed two years ago remains pending with the US Trade Representative, challenging Swaziland's access to duty-free entry under GSP. Last July, the Swazi Cabinet approved a revised act produced by a consensus of business, labor and government that satisfies international labor conventions. Enactment was delayed when parliament was dissolved for new elections. The new Parliament formed after the October 1998 parliamentary elections tabled the act on May 12. During the interim, we have continued to emphasize the need to pass acceptable labor legislation. The Swazi delegation at the March Ministerials in Washington appreciated the

urgency of the matter. We do not believe the draft act will meet significant resistance. [Note: Foreign Minister Shabangu who was instrumental in passage of the flawed 1996 labor legislation in another Cabinet capacity may be present at the meeting with the King.]

Economics/Trade/Investment: The King is likely to express strong interest in attracting American investment and disappointment that more has not materialized. Coca Cola, General Electric, a Kansas coal company, a Virginia transport management firm, a Kentucky food processor, and a South African affiliate of Southwestern Bell are already there. McDonalds, General Motors, and the Detroit-based Barden Group have been actively considering investments. Swaziland was tentatively identified as a bold African economic reformer last year for purposes of the African Growth and Opportunity Act once it passes. However, to retain that status, it will be imperative that Swaziland follows through on current economic and social reform commitments.

A focal point of last year's Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund (SAEDF) meeting in Windhoek was King Mswati's desire for Fund involvement in Swaziland. As a result SAEDF CEO Steve Weddle and Johannesburg-based FCS Minister Counselor Millard Arnold visited Mbabane in June 1998 to brief the King personally and hold high-profile public discussions with Swazi business people. The King has since expressed disappointment that SAEDF personnel have not returned to Swaziland and that no projects have taken shape in the country. In response to the King's continuing interest, an SAEDF representative plans to visit Swaziland in June to look into pending proposals.

Mechanics: If possible, Swazi Foreign and Trade Minister Albert Shabangu should be included in the meeting with the King so that dialogue on Angolan/Zambian tensions can be fully addressed. Mbabane Public Affairs Officer Robin Smith is in Accra and can be used to help set up meetings and act as notetaker.

Talking Points

- We commend your attempt earlier this year to accelerate pace of the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) on constitutional reform.

- What can be done to broaden its legitimacy and persuade progressives to contribute?

- Last year we financed some civic education projects through the National Democratic Institute (NDI) prior to your local elections. Perhaps our recently approved $200,000 grant to NDI can help provide some expertise to assist the CRC process.

- I understand that Swaziland now has the Chair of the SADC Inter-State Defense and Security Committee and that your country has been facilitating talks between Angola and Zambia. What progress has been made?

- We applaud your efforts to reduce tension in the region.

- What are prospects for rapid final enactment and implementation of the labor legislation? I understand the matter was tabled in Parliament last week.

- This step would respond to the AFL-CIO petition filed against Swaziland's duty-free eligibility under GSP and bring the country back into full conformity with International Labor Organization conventions.

- Last year we tentatively identified Swaziland among the bold African economic reformers earmarked for enhanced dialogue with the U.S. and enhanced GSP benefits once the African Growth and Opportunity Act passes.

- To retain the status of a bold economic reformer and attract American investment, it is imperative that Swaziland follows through decisively on current economic and social reform commitments such as passage of labor legislation that would help create industrial harmony.

- Passage of the labor legislation would also allow Swaziland to participate fully in new initiatives for trade with the U.S. outlined in recent discussions in Washington attended by Swazi officials.

- As you are aware, the President extended GSP benefits for rule of origin purposes to SADC members that have ratified the SADC Trade Protocol. I would urge you to

ratify the protocol to enhance Swaziland's GSP eligibility.

- (if raised) We understand your disappointment that Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund (SAEDF) personnel have not returned to Swaziland since June 1998 and no projects have materialized.

- (if pressed) We are aware that the cost of SAEDF funds, the large magnitude of its typical projects, and the need for private sector predominance in eligible investments have probably all militated against activity in Swaziland.

Drafted by AF/S:CGhee, X79857, 5/13/99
WZ - Accra Summit

Cleared by: AF:WSchneidman
AF/S:JBlaney
AF/S:JBooth
DRL:RWard
DOC:ARobinson (substance)
NSC:EBarks-Ruggles

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520
May 12, 1999

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM
SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

TO: AF - Johnnie Carson

FROM: AF/C - Frances Jones

SUBJECT: Meeting with Gabon's President Omar Bongo at African-African American Summit in Accra, time and venue, TBD

BACKGROUND

Gabon is a democracy in progress. Although President Bongo, who has been president for 32 years, instituted democratic reforms in 1994, progress has been uneven. Legislative and local elections in 1996 were not well organized or transparent. Nevertheless, opposition candidates won control of city hall in the largest Gabonese cities. The Presidential election in December 1998 was judged by most foreign observers to be flawed but generally representative. Bongo's reelection to another 7-year term was assured by the fragmentation of the opposition, his unequalled national stature, and his campaign's access to resources available only to a long-time incumbent. Since his reelection (with 66% of the vote), he has called for dialogue and cooperation with the opposition and expressed an interest in instituting some of the electoral reforms recommended by the International Foundation for Election Systems in its pre-election study. Bongo understands that his legacy and Gabon's international reputation require continued democratization. He will have to work hard to overcome the opposition of an entrenched Old Guard.

Gabon is the third largest oil producer in Africa. Petroleum accounts for 40% of GDP and well over $1 billion in exports to the U.S. Several U.S. oil companies operate in Gabon, such as Amerada Hess, Marathon, ARCO, Amoco, and Mobil. Oil production has peaked but Gabon has failed to prepare for this by diversifying its economy. Moreover, low prices for oil, timber, and manganese are squeezing the Gabonese economy and its Extended Financing Facility with

the IMF has lapsed. The international financial institutions are insisting that Gabon improve the administration and audit of government revenue, curtail extra-budgetary expenditures, and make more progress in privatizing parastatal firms. Although Gabon possesses one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa, distribution of wealth is skewed and social indicators are poor. The French have long been dominant in Gabon. The Gabonese insist they are no longer a French preserve and welcome other, especially American, investors. Gabon needs to conform to IMF/World Bank guidelines in order to qualify for debt relief and prepare for hard economic times ahead.

President Bongo has been a good friend to the U.S. Recently on several occasions he allowed U.S. forces to conduct NEO operations on Gabonese territory and waived visa formalities for evacuated Americans. He took the lead with peacekeeping operations in the C.A.R., and tried to negotiate conflicts in C.A.R., Congo-Brazzaville, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In the past year, while serving on the UN Security Council, the Gabonese have been unwavering in their support of U.S. positions on Kosovo and Iraq. Foreign Minister Ping told Ambassador Ledesma that Bongo gave Gabon's UN delegation standing instructions to work closely with the U.S. Beginning this month, the Gabonese have assumed the UNSC Presidency. We need to use this meeting to again thank President Bongo, who craves international recognition, for his positive role in the region and on the UNSC. President Bongo met with A/S Susan Rice and NSC Senior Advisor for Africa Gayle Smith in Houston on April 26 when they sought to dispel Bongo's perceptions that they had blocked him from meeting President Clinton in Washington the previous week.

TALKING POINTS

- Congratulate you on your reelection last December.

- Understand that you are interested in establishing a permanent electoral commission in Gabon. Encourage you to follow through.

- We also want to encourage you and the efforts of your new Finance Minister in pursuing economic reform. Restructuring the Gabonese economy and working more closely with the IMF and World Bank to qualify for debt relief will be key to helping Gabon face the economic challenges ahead.

- Appreciate your cooperation and support on the UNSC on Iraq and Kosovo.

- Once again, thank you for your hospitality to our armed forces and Amcits during evacuation operations from neighboring countries in recent years.

GABON

U.S. Policy/Bilateral Issues

The U.S. enjoys good relations with Gabon although President Bongo and the Gabonese often feel taken for granted. Bongo apparently feels that his own stature and that of his country is best served by cooperating with the U.S. He has consistently been helpful in recent years in the region and on the UN Security Council when it most counted, even though he has received little in return. In Gabon we have a Peace Corps program and small DHRF, SSH, and IMET programs.

Our bilateral relations suffered momentarily in April when a meeting which Bongo believed he had with President Clinton failed to materialize. Bongo's annoyance was exacerbated by a press report alleging that AF A/S Susan Rice had vetoed his White House visit. In a subsequent meeting with Bongo at the Corporate Council for Africa conference in Houston, Rice soothed Bongo's feelings. Nevertheless, U.S. interlocutors should be alert to continued sensitivity about his inability to meet the President.

Watch out for:

- 1) Indications that Bongo does not feel sufficiently appreciated by the U.S.;

- 2) Another appeal for help in setting up a White House visit;

- 3) A request for economic assistance, particularly help with debt relief; and

- 4) Renewed offer of Libreville to serve as host city for a proposed African Center for Strategic Studies. (FYI, a letter from President Clinton to President Bongo sent on May 11 said that Gabon's offer will receive all possible consideration among a number of promising sites.)

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM May 17, 1999
UNCLASSIFIED

TO: AF - P/DAS Johnnie Carson

FROM: AF/RA - Charles Snyder

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Ibrahima Fall, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, Department of Political Affairs May 18-20 on Margins of Africa-African American Summit in Accra, time and venue TBD.

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Exchange views with ASYG Fall on recent developments in West Africa, especially in Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Nigeria.

2. Receive from ASYG Fall, the United Nations perspective on the problem of small arms transfers in Africa.

II. APPROACH

Ibrahima Fall is the UN Assistant Secretary General with responsibility for Africa I, Africa II, West Africa and Security Council Affairs. You will meet Fall on the margins of the Africa-African American Summit to discuss the range of West African topics, particularly the conflicts in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. You will also wish to engage Fall on the subject of sanctions and the flow of small arms into areas of conflict in West Africa.

Nigeria continues to bear the lion's share of the responsibilities for the ECOMOG peacekeeping forces in

Guinea Bissau and Sierra Leone. You will want to discuss with Fall a strategy for keeping Nigeria engaged in the region after its return to civilian government at the end of May.

III. PARTICIPANTS

U.S.	UN
AF P/DAS Johnnie Carson	Assistant Secretary General Ibrahima Fall
AF NOTETAKER	

Attachments:

Talking Points

J: CARSON-FALL MTG

Drafted: AF/RA Thurmond Borden
Cleared: AF/RA Charles Snyder
AF/C Frances Jones
AF/W Denise Mathieu
AF/E Don Yamamoto

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM May 17, 1999
UNCLASSIFIED

TO: AF - P/DAS Johnnie Carson

FROM: AF/RA - Charles Snyder

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Salim A. Salim, Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, May 18-20 on Margins of Africa-African American Summit in Accra, time and venue TBD.

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Discuss with SYG Salim recent developments in Ethiopia-Eritrea, DROC and the Great Lakes, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Nigeria.

2. Receive from Salim a briefing on the upcoming OAU Summit in Algiers July 8-14.

II. APPROACH

A major irritant in U.S.-OAU relations was removed when Libya surrendered for trial in the Netherlands two suspects in the December 1988 bombing of PanAm 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. Last July in Ouagadougou, at the OAU Heads of State Summit, the OAU passed a resolution calling on member states to ignore UNSC sanctions against Libya if the United States and U.K. did not accede to demands that the two Libyan suspects be allowed to stand trial in a neutral third country. Angered by this OAU resolution, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee placed a "hold" on the USG's FY98 contribution to the OAU Peace Fund of $2 million. Following the SFRC lead, the OMB cut the FY99 allocation for the OAU as well. This year the Bureau is seeking to identify about $1 million from other funding accounts (mainly ESF) as a contribution to the OAU to support its Conflict Management Center

and mediation efforts in the Ethiopia-Eritrea and other conflicts.

When SYG Salim was in Washington for the U.S.-Africa Ministerial, we urged him to meet key members of Congress and Congressional staffers to address some of their concerns about U.S. funding for the OAU. For various reasons, these meetings did not take place. Now that the Libya issue has resolved itself, Salim and the OAU should try again to "sell" its activities to Congress. In particular, the OAU needs to be able to explain to Congress its conflict prevention, management and resolution activities and successes and the mechanisms it has in place which ensure that donor assistance is spent wisely and can be accounted for.

Recently, the UK began working with the OAU to design a comprehensive action plan for improving the operation of the Conflict Management Center (CMC) within the OAU. We welcome the British involvement and hope other western donors will work with the OAU to make it a more dynamic and effective institution. Salim might use the work plan as a vehicle for showing Congress that the OAU is serious about efforts to improve its operations.

III. PARTICIPANTS

U.S.	OAU
AF P/DAS Johnnie Carson	Secretary General Salim A. Salim
AF NOTETAKER	

Attachments:

Talking Points

J: CARSON-SALIM MTG

Drafted: AF/RA Thurmond Borden
Cleared: AF/RA Charles Snyder
AF/C Frances Jones
AF/W Denise Mathieu
AF/E Don Yamamoto

Oau and Conflict Resolution

Since 1993, the United States has supported the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) efforts to enhance its conflict prevention, early warning, mediation and low-cost observing and monitoring of conflict in Africa. In the African Conflict Resolution Act of 1994, Congress said that "$1.5 million for each of the fiscal years 1995 through 1998 should be used" to assist the OAU in building its conflict prevention, management and resolution capabilities.

Our funding has been used in the main to establish a Conflict Management Center (CMC) within the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa. The Center has a staff of eleven officers that monitors conflicts throughout Africa and supports the OAU Central organ for conflict resolution, roughly the OAU's counterpart of the UN Security Council. Our assistance has also been used to equip an OAU 100-man quick reaction military observer force. (This is not a standing force. Member states must second personnel upon request of the Central Organ.)

The U.S. has contributed nearly $8 million since 1993 to the OAU and had budgeted $2 million for it in FY 1998. In June 1998, at the OAU Heads of State Summit in Ouagadougou, the OAU passed a resolution challenging the UNSC sanctions regime imposed on OAU-member Libya for its failure to surrender for trial in Scotland or the U.S. two suspects in the 1988 Lockerbie Pan Am 103 bombing. Staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were angered by this resolution and concerned about the OAU's overall ineffectiveness and lack of strong controls over spending. Staff placed a "hold" on any distribution of funds to the OAU.

Believing the OAU represents the best prospect for building up an indigenous Africa capability, the Bureau is planning to contribute about one million dollars from its Economic Support Funds (ESF) account to the OAU in FY 1999 primarily to support OAU efforts to mediate the border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. In 1999, the Bureau is further providing $400,000 of ESF directly to the Julius Nyerere Foundation and $200,000 directly to the West Africa Small Arms Moratorium. Previously, the USG had channeled donations to these institutions through its contributions to the OAU.

Recently, the UK began working with the OAU to design a comprehensive action plan for improving the operation of the Conflict Management Center (CMC) within the OAU. We welcome the British involvement and hope other western donors will work with the OAU to make it a more dynamic and effective institution.

Talking Points

- A major impediment to better U.S.-OAU relations has been removed now that Libya has turned over the two suspects in the Lockerbie Pan Am 103 bombing for trial in the Netherlands.

- We believe the OAU continues to be the best organization that we can work with to create an effective conflict prevention, management, and resolution capability within Africa.

- OAU effectiveness in conflict resolution has been hindered by the difficulty of marshaling a common political will among its 53 member states. Poor planning, lack of upper-mid-level initiative (SYG Salim makes all decisions) and a lack of resources have also had a negative impact.

- The United States welcomes the initiative of the UK to design a comprehensive action plan to increase the effectiveness of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention.

- We urge Secretary General Salim and the OAU to build bridges of understanding with the U.S. Congress. The Bureau would be pleased to offer its council on how this might be done.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005a. memo	Howard Jeter to Johnnie Carson re Ghana Meeting (5 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

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]
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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005b. talking points	Ghana (3 pages)	c. 05/1999	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National AIDS Policy Office

OA/Box Number: 21073

FOLDER TITLE:
African-African American Summit, 5/17-21/99 [4]

2007-1550-F
kc1298

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THE GREAT LAKES REGION

Democratic Republic of the Congo

There are indications that the Congolese rebels and their Rwandan and Ugandan allies are preparing to attack Mbuji Mayi, which is defended by Congolese government, Zimbabwean and ex-FAR/Interahamwe troops. An attack on Mbuji Mayi would likely involve heavy fighting in an urban setting with concomitant civilian casualties. It could bring Rwandan and Ugandan troops in direct conflict with Zimbabwean, and possibly Angolan and Namibian, troops, thereby further exacerbating regional tensions.

Parallel efforts are underway to address the internal and external issues underlying the war. On the internal side, Kabila is preparing to host a national dialogue, and has invited Sant' Egidio to play a role. While there are reports that the meeting could take place as early as April 30 in Rome, it appears that the timing, venue, and composition of the meeting have not been finalized.

On the external side, Kabila, Museveni, Isaias and Qadhafi recently signed an ambiguous agreement calling for, inter alia, an immediate cessation of hostilities, the deployment of an African peacekeeping force and the withdrawal of foreign forces. Rwanda and the rebels have said they are not bound by it. After finally winning a seat at the table for cease-fire negotiations, the rebels walked out of the April 16 - 17 Lusaka meeting on cease-fire implementation. Rwanda did not attend the meeting, claiming it was not informed in time to make the necessary arrangements.

We have coordinated on the Congo with EU Special Envoy Aldo Ajello and with key EU countries, notably France, Belgium and the United Kingdom. We usually see eye-to-eye with Europeans on objectives, although there are some differences regarding tactics. Ajello, for example, was too quick to press for Chiluba to step aside in favor of Chissano as the lead regional mediator. Also, the French seem more inclined than we are to give Kabila the benefit of the doubt and less inclined to take a tough position with him.

Talking Points

- We look forward to continued close cooperation with the OAU on the Congo.

- It is important for international community to give a consistent message to Kabila and the other belligerents.

- We are particularly concerned now that the rebels and their allies may be planning to launch an offensive on Mbuji Mayi.

- We have instructed Embassies Kampala and Kigali to urge the Ugandan and Rwandan governments, as well as the rebels, to cease-hostilities, and specifically to refrain from attacking Mbuji Mayi.

- We also look forward to continued cooperation with other international donors regarding humanitarian issues, including efforts to relocate the people currently in danger in Congo.

Burundi

Burundi is fully engaged in the Arusha peace process. Special Envoy Wolpe and EU Special Envoy Aldo report good progress on the internal partnership. On the external Arusha process, Wolpe and Ajello agree that participants should prepare to discuss substantive questions, such as reform of the Burundian justice system and the army. Both Facilitator Julius Nyerere and Burundian President Buyoya have expressed their goal of completing a framework Arusha agreement by the end of the year, which may be optimistic.

The question of how and what kind of development aid to provide to Burundi is significant for the peace process. The United States and the international donors agreed at a January donors' meeting in New York to expand humanitarian aid to Burundi but not to provide structural development assistance, especially balance of payments aid, until an Arusha agreement was signed.

We and the current president of the EU, Germany, are also concerned about funding for the Arusha peace process. We understand the EU is planning to provide 1999 funds for Arusha. It is important to fund Arusha, since its negotiations are central to a successful outcome to the Burundian peace process. The United States has just contributed $150,000, and has $250,000 in the pipeline. We hope to make an additional contribution to Arusha this year.

Talking Points

- The U.S. cooperates closely with the EU and other international donors on a wide range of Great Lakes issues, including the Arusha peace process.

- Now that the external Arusha peace process has made good progress, it is time for its participants to grapple with substantive issues such as reform of the Burundian justice system and the army.

- We need to present a united front on structural development assistance to Burundi and to coordinate closely with one another on the issue.

- We welcome the news that the EU plans to make a substantial contribution to the Arusha process this year; the U.S. will also provide 1999 Arusha funding.

Rwanda

In Rwanda, our policy is to a large extent driven by our efforts to overcome the effects of the genocide. President Clinton's Great Lakes Justice Initiative and the International Coalition Against Genocide are two programs that we plan to apply in Rwanda. Rwanda's involvement in the Congo has obliged us to suspend our military assistance programs. We continue to urge Rwanda to implement programs on national reconciliation and improve human rights. The first post-genocide local elections in March were a step forward, although we do not expect any significant relinquishment of Tutsi-dominated governmental power as a result. We are concerned by recent ferment in the Rwandan parliamentary system, which has led to the expulsion of many deputies, and will monitor this aspect of the internal political process carefully.

We are pleased with progress made in terms of structural adjustment and a commitment to adopting economic policies consistent with World Bank and IMF requirements. As a result, the Bank has approved a $75 million loan for Rwanda.

Talking Points

- Through initiatives on justice and the prevention of genocide, we have worked closely with the government to overcome the strains of the genocide on the internal political process.

- The Congo conflict complicates our relationship.

- Rwanda has made commendable efforts to put its economic house in order in compliance with World Bank and IMF policies.

- Rwanda is making some progress on national reconciliation and human rights, although it still has a long way to go.

Guinea-Bissau

Our cautious optimism about the progress of the peace process in Guinea-Bissau received a serious setback with news of renewed fighting on May 6-7. While the facts remain unclear, it appears that Junta leader Ansumane Mane attempted to disarm a "Praetorian Guard" of Vieira loyalists on May 6. When this was resisted, fighting broke out, leading to the quick defeat of most of the Vieira forces. President Vieira has taken refuge in the Portuguese Embassy. During the May 6-7 fighting, Junta forces destroyed the Presidential Palace and the French Cultural Center; at last 50 persons were killed. There are conflicting reports from Junta spokesman concerning their plans for Vieira. The Junta may allow him to depart the country for Portugal, where he has been offered asylum. Alternatively, he may be held for trial on charges of treason and corruption. Prime Minister Fadul, who was in Lisbon when the fighting broke out, has reportedly returned to Bissau. Junta leader Ansumane Mane has denied any intention to seek power for himself. He has said that, with Vieira out of the picture, he is ready to leave politics to the politicians.

The U.S. has issued a press statement condemning the coup and the removal of President Vieira, who was democratically elected, from office. We have asked the Junta to guarantee the safety of President Vieira and his family and encouraged a quick return to stability and constitutional order. We have also urged that preparations for national and Presidential elections, scheduled for November, move forward expeditiously. France and several ECOWAS governments have also condemned the coup.

The renewed outbreak of fighting came at a time when peace had appeared to be moving ahead smoothly. ECOMOG forces had made steady progress in disarming combatants and visiting diplomats had reported a strong desire on all sides to avoid further conflict. The UNSYG has named a Representative to Guinea-Bissau who was expected to open a

Peacebuilding Office (UNOGBIS) in Bissau in the near future, and a UN-hosted Donors Conference last week had begun to consider assistance that Guinea-Bissau badly needs to rebuild its shattered economy. It is not possible at this point to know whether the renewed fighting will seriously delay these initiatives.

Talking Points

- The recent news of renewed fighting in Guinea-Bissau is extremely discouraging.

- While the facts are not in, we understand that President Vieira may soon be evacuated from Bissau to another country.

- We deplore the renewed fighting and hope you will join us in sending this message to the Junta in Guinea-Bissau.

- While we deplore the circumstances that may oblige President Vieira to seek refuge outside of Guinea-Bissau, we call on the Junta to safeguard his life, the lives of his family, and the lives of all innocent citizens.

- We hope you will join us in calling upon the Junta to return to the barracks. It is essential that the Government of National Unity places a priority on paving the way for the legislative and Presidential elections called for in the Abuja Agreement.

- We believe the renewed fighting indicates the continued volatility of Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau remains a tinderbox that can re-ignite the region.

- For this reason, it is essential that we continue our support for ECOMOG and, indeed, that we expand it. Donors should not to lose sight of the long view. It is essential that we remain committed to the restoration of Guinea-Bissau's economy and civil society.

Ethiopia-Eritrea

Since fighting resumed in early February the context of the Eritrea-Ethiopia peace process has changed substantially. Eritrean troops were driven from Badme, after which Eritrea accepted the OAU framework agreement that Ethiopia had accepted months earlier. However, Ethiopia then demanded Eritrea's unconditional and unilateral withdrawal from all contested areas, notably undisputed Ethiopian territory occupied by Eritrea since June 1998 near Zela Ambessa. Following strong USG urging, on April 14 Meles stepped back from this hard position and publicly offered a cease-fire in return for an explicit commitment by Eritrea to remove its forces unilaterally from contested areas. In view of this offer, we will encourage Eritrea to show flexibility on withdrawal. To be most effective, our efforts should be supported by the UNSC, UN Secretariat, and the OAU. Similarly, we should to be ready to apply coordinated pressure on Ethiopia if its war objectives widen to include destruction of the 200,0000-strong Eritrean military, occupation of uncontested Eritrean territory, or toppling the Eritrean regime. Such pressure could include strong condemnation and possibly an arms embargo or other political and economic sanctions.

Talking Points

- The USG continues to insist on an immediate cease-fire and speedy implementation of the OAU framework. We look forward to working closely with you on these two priorities.

- We believe a force of international observers to oversee a cease-fire and demilitarization of the border should be prepared to deploy when an agreement is reached.

- Preparations should also be made for delimitation of the border and its demarcation, as well as institutional arrangements to resolve property and compensation issues related to the conflict.

Sierra Leone

RUF representatives have made public a position paper for talks with the government. The RUF calls for:

- --The immediate, unconditional release of jailed RUF leader, Foday Sankoh;
- --Imposition of an immediate ceasefire;
- --Installation of a four-year interim government in Sierra Leone;
- --Deployment of a neutral peace monitoring force to verify compliance with the ceasefire.

Both the Government and rebels are now saying that they want direct peace talks to begin May 17 in Togo, however, fierce fighting is continuing. Rebel forces attacked ECOMOG forces near Port Loko and Masiaka on May 7-8 inflicting heavy casualties on Malian peacekeepers. A UNOMSIL Human Rights Team conducted an assessment of the humanitarian and human rights situation, finding widespread abuses commited against the civilian population by rebel forces. Although it is possible that negotiations may begin May 17, we do not expect them to come to a quick conclusion. There has been very little contact between the two sides since the RUF began its insurgency eight years ago and what little contact there has been has engendered even greater distrust.

Critical issues remain unresolved, including how to monitor the ceasefire, open humanitarian corridors, and ensure the release of civilians abducted by the RUF. We hope to convince both sides to accept Malian troops as cease-fire monitors until the UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone is able to respond. Mali has troops in Sierra Leone as part of the ECOMOG peacekeeping force. We have also urged the RUF, Nigeria, and Kabbah to avoid an escalation of hostilities that could derail the peace process.

The degree of RUF leader Foday Sankoh's control over his forces remains uncertain. While RUF commanders continue to proclaim their loyalty to Sankoh, there have been indications of major splits within the organization. Two principal RUF leaders, self-styled RUF Chief of Defense Staff Sam Bockarie, and

Chairman of the former AFRC military junta Johnny Paul Koroma, have not so far participated in the RUF talks in Lome.

Several regional countries are playing unhelpful roles. Liberian President Taylor is close to Bockarie and recently imported about 60 tons of Ukrainian arms and ammunition via Burkina Faso, which we believe was delivered to the RUF and Liberian forces fighting in Sierra Leone. Libya has made known its interest in the RUF participating in a Government of National Unity. The Ivorians are piqued that the peace process has moved to Lome, but it is not clear whether they want to be an honest broker or if they have another agenda. A commitment to end external interference in Sierra Leone will be an essential part of any global peace agreement, but we prefer that regional players stay out of the process until the GoSL and RUF have made some real progress.

The UNSC Sierra Leone Sanctions Committee met April 23 to consider the recent arms shipment to Liberia. Although a majority of the Committee agreed that letters should be sent to Liberia, Burkina Faso and Ukraine, France prevented consensus. France initially protested that there was insufficient evidence of Burkinabe involvement and that Burkinabe actions did not constitute a violation and later argued that Burkina should be given an opportunity to present its case before letters were sent. Following the meeting, Burkina Faso sent a letter to the Committee denying the charges and (falsely) claiming that the weapons never left its territory. Both the Committee Chair (Argentina) and the UK threatened to take this issue to the Council the following week if France prevented further action.

Britain and Nigeria also made their displeasure known in Paris with good effect. On the April 29 IO A/S Welch met with his new French counterpart Pagnoan who stated that France favored a "sending a strong warning to Burkina Faso, but within limits," pointing out that France's relations with Franco-phone Africa could be affected. The May 3 Sanctions Committee meeting agreed to send letters to Burkina Faso, Liberia, ECOWAS, and Great Britain (because of involvement of a Gibraltar company in the arms transfer). The UK welcomed French support for all the letters "albeit ten days late." Also on May 3, AF/RA Director Charlie Snyder reinforced our concerns on Ukrainian arms flows to African conflicts with the Ukraine Deputy Foreign Minister.

The rebel insurgency in Sierra Leone is sustained through illicit trade in diamonds, estimated at over $40 million per annum, that is conducted largely through in Monrovia, and which

sustains arms, ammunition and fuel supply involving international syndicates based in Ukraine, Russia and elsewhere. In concert with the UK, the Department is exploring options for bringing greater pressure to bear upon the Belgian, Ukrainian and Russian Government, DeBeers and the Central Selling Organization to tighten controls over these flows.

U.S. Assistance to Sierra Leone: We began providing logistical support to ECOMOG's operation in Sierra Leone in May 1998 in order to help ECOMOG bring an end to "Operation No Living Thing." Since then, we have provided $7.9 million worth of logistics via PA&E and $1 million in medical supplies and equipment to treat Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers wounded in Sierra Leone. We hope soon to provide another $5.8 million in logistical support and a $3-5 million drawdown of DoD equipment and training. So far in FY 99, we have also committed over $38 million in humanitarian assistance for Sierra Leone.

Talking Points

- We hope the Lome talks will lead to a genuine peace process between the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone.

- We believe a workable peace agreement would include:
  - a ceasefire;
  - release of prisoners and abductees;
  - opening of humanitarian corridors;
  - real disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants;
  - formation of a professional and diverse military under civilian control;
  - transformation of the RUF into a political party and holding of elections (but only after disarmament);
  - regional agreement to end external interference in Sierra Leone.

- Concerned States should lend diplomatic support to the peace process by urging all parties (GoSL, Nigeria, RUF) to adhere to a ceasefire and avoid an escalation of hostilities that could derail the talks getting underway in Lome.

- Continued arms trafficking to the Sierra Leone rebels by Ukraine, Libya, Burkina Faso, and Liberia is very disturbing. It adds fuel to the fire in Sierra Leone and increases the likelihood that the conflict will spread to other states in the region.

- We need to begin to explore options now about how to use a small, highly-mobile UN monitoring force to help monitor the ceasefire.

- In the meantime, we hope to convince both sides to accept Malian troops as ceasefire monitors. ECOMOG forces in Sierra Leone include a battalion of Malian troops.

- We also need to maintain the other half of the dual-track process. We support the Nigerian-led ECOMOG force that has re-established a measure of stability to Freetown and surrounding areas.

- With all that we are doing in Kosovo, we must show that we care about the lives of Africans as well.

Nigeria

Nigeria's May 29 Presidential inauguration will mark an important milestone in its transition to civilian democratic rule. The United States supports this transition, concentrating our efforts on four key areas:

- building democratic institutions;
- encouraging continued internal reform, including economic policy reform, energy sector privatization, and law enforcement, including counter-narcotics, cooperation.
- rebuilding relationships with the military; and
- supporting Nigeria's commitment to regional security and stability.

The USG channeled $5 million to NGOs which provided expertise and support for the local, state, National Assembly, and Presidential elections. Also, USAID has continued its longstanding health and population programs, which during the transition have been used as platforms to encourage women to play a more active role in civil society, reinforcing nation-building efforts, and broadening political inclusion.

In addition to the programs outlined above, the USG is training the 10,000 elected officials. The USG will also initiate civil-military programs and address conflict resolution issues, especially, but not exclusively, in the Niger Delta. Total USG assistance to Nigeria in FY99 will total $28.2 million. The effectiveness of these programs and appropriate avenues for future assistance will be determined by an inter-agency assessment team in June.

On the economic front, Nigeria has already been placed on a fast-track Staff Monitored Program (SMP) by the IMF which could lead to an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) as early as June or July. We have urged President-elect Obasanjo to seek debt restructuring rather than debt forgiveness to re-establish Nigeria's credit-worthiness and attract investors.

Another key factor in Nigeria's economic recovery is the settlement of violent disputes which have disrupted oil production in the Niger River Delta. The Delta accounts for 85%-90% of Nigeria's oil production, with the remainder

coming from offshore concessions adjacent to the Delta. These disputes are complex economic, ethnic, environmental, and generational issues with no clear solution.

On February 26, the President announced a Vital National Interest (VNI) narcotics certification for Nigeria. We are urging the GON to take the steps necessary to earn full certification, including extradition of fugitives wanted in the U.S., arrest and prosecution of major drug traffickers, asset seizures from traffickers and money launderers, and implementation of Nigeria's own National Drug Strategy and money laundering regulations. We are also telling the GON that a VNI certification is temporary and that continued poor counter-narcotics performance can lead to future decertification. Long-term assistance to Nigeria is dependent on performance-based certification. A joint USG/EU assessment of Nigerian counter-narcotics efforts has been tentatively scheduled for the end of June.

Renewal of direct ties between the U.S. and Nigerian militaries is an integral part of our support for Nigeria's transition. DoD is formulating new IMET and E-IMET programs to be implemented after May 29. Other, more robust, forms of defense cooperation will follow, assuming continued democratic civilian rule.

As Nigeria makes the transition to democratic governance, we can expect that it will become a much more active diplomatic player in ECOWAS, the OAU, and the UN. Strengthening the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a medium for promoting regional economic and political integration will remain a key foreign policy priority for Nigeria, a goal which we share.

The Government of Nigeria will have to make many difficult and fundamental policy changes to become the partner we wish in the next two years. Our assistance is critical to Nigeria's taking these difficult steps. Regardless of the amount of effort and money we invest, however, success is not assured. We must remain flexible, to deal with the inevitable bumps in the road, and responsive, to take advantage of any unanticipated opportunities. Nigerians deserve a functioning democracy, a strong economy, and a government that is transparent and accountable. We want to see that happen.

Talking Points

- The success or failure of Nigeria's transition to civilian democracy will influence all of West Africa, and indeed the entire African Continent.

- Our budget for assistance to Nigeria this fiscal year, $28.2 million, will not, by itself, have a significant impact on Nigeria's democratization efforts.

- It is important that international donors coordinate their efforts.

- We plan to send an inter-agency assessment team to Nigeria in June. When they return, we should have a much clearer idea of what is needed and what we can do. We would like to meet with you then to further coordinate our efforts.

- We are concerned about President-elect Obasanjo's excessive expectations on debt forgiveness. We believe it is important to support debt restructuring if the GON continues to carry out reforms.

- We continue to encourage the Nigerians to increase their cooperation in counter-narcotics efforts. The joint U.S./EU assessment mission in late June will be a valuable tool in evaluating Nigeria's progress.

- Senior Treasury Department officials have asked Nigerian Finance Minister Usman to change his country's position and vote in favor of the African Development Bank's (AfDB) Fifth General Capital Increase (GCI-5) package. I also discussed this issue with Vice President-elect Atiku.

- We have explained that a "No" vote for the institutional reforms portion of the proposal translates into a "No" vote on the entire GCI-5, and that we have no desire to dilute the African character of the bank. Our Ambassador in Nigeria will follow-up these contacts with another meeting with Usman.

- We have initiated a modest program of renewed training for the Nigerian military, scheduled to start shortly after May 29.

- A possible ceasefire and UN monitoring is being discussed for Sierra Leone. We have urged the Nigerians not to withdraw their troops precipitously from Sierra Leone at this delicate stage of negotiations.

- Under Secretary Pickering was in Nigeria last week and pressed for continued presence in Sierra Leone, economic reform, and the need to tackle corruption. Both President-elect Obasanjo and members of his transition teams made encouraging statements on these topics.

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Ext. 7-2214 5/6/99

Drafted: DWAbell

Cleared: AF/W:HFJeter ok
AF/W:Dmathieu ok
AF/W:SmcIlvaine ok
AF/EPS:Dhermann info
DRL:Ssutton ok
P:Jsequeira ok
S/P:Smorrison info
D:Kdoherty ok
AID:Dkrumm ok
INL:Mcook ok

Small Arms Initiative

The U.S. is implementing Secretary Albright's small arms initiative for Africa. We will soon contribute $200 thousand to the UNDP center that is coordinating assistance to the West African Small Arms Moratorium, and are considering further assistance to the Moratorium in the area of enforcement training. We are also investigating the possibility of assisting selected countries to destroy stockpiles of weapons declared in excess of defense needs We are working with European and Central Asian states through NATO's Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) to take steps to ensure that their cold war stockpiles do not find their way to Africa.

In addition, we plan to provide technical assistance and training though existing institutions, with the goal of building stronger law enforcement networks. We will work with the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO) and the Kampala-based United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFRI), both of which have experience working with curbing the proliferation of small arms.

SARPCCO has identified the need for transparency, information sharing and strengthening customs regimes as critical to stemming the flow of small arms into areas of conflict. The U.S. has also identified these as priorities and is exploring, with SARPCCO, means of supporting the southern African states.

Finally, South Africa and the Central African Republic have told us that they would like the UN to convene a conference on curtailing small arms trafficking to Africa. While we cannot agree to a UN conference, we would be prepared to discuss during the 1999 UNGA strengthening existing UN embargoes and adopting a voluntary moratorium on arms shipments to African conflict areas. We are in fact planning to introduce a proposal at the next meeting of Wassenaar's General Working Group to establish voluntary moratoria on arms sales to regions of conflict in Africa.

Talking Points

- The U.S. is discussing or plans to discuss with the Africans a wide range of mechanism to control and monitor small arms flows. We are interested in hearing what the UN is planning and in exploring ideas for cooperation.

- The U.S. strongly supports the West African Small Arms Moratorium. At the U.S.-Africa Ministerial in March, Ministers pledged to respect the Moratorium and urged further measures to combat small arms flows to Africa.

- The U.S. is also planning to introduce a proposal at the next meeting of Wassenaar's General Working Group (May 22-23) to establish voluntary moratoria on arms sales to regions of conflict in Africa.

- We are considering ways of assisting states to destroy stockpiles of excess weapons, which are particularly susceptible to theft and resale to criminal gangs, paramilitaries, terrorists and insurgents.

- We will discuss this, as well as other aspects of the problem in the EAPC's Ad Hoc Working Group on Small Arms Proliferation in Brussels on May 28.

- With SARPCCO, the U.S. has offered to assist in redesigning/updating the SARPCCO basic border control course. We would like to provide joint firearms training, which would include: basic law (including model regulations), marking, tracing, registration, licensing, case studies and border enforcement.

- With UNAFRI, the U.S. is discussing creating an inventory of current African border control and firearms laws and regulations. This information would be shared with African small arms centers and assist in designing better firearms legislation in countries without appropriate legislation. The information would help to identify and design law enforcement training needs.

- We are thinking about setting aside a couple of days at this fall's UNGA to discuss strengthening existing UN embargoes and adopting a voluntary moratorium on arms shipments to African conflict areas.

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Cleared:AF/RA:CSnyder
AF/RA:JGardner
INL:GBaker
IO/UNP:HThomas
EUR/RPA:JWalser
S/P:LFeinstein
PM/PPA:SCostner
PM/RSAT:CDennis

SWAZILAND

Commitment toward political reform: Swaziland is an executive monarchy with ultimate executive, legislative, and judicial power vested in King Mswati III. Although an elected parliament exists and political formations function openly, parties have been legally banned since 1973. A Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) which the King set up in 1996 has stagnated, due in part to withdrawal of "progressive" members who viewed it as stacked against their interests. Events in Lesotho last year deepened Swazi mistrust of multiparty democracy. However, earlier this year, the King registered his own impatience with the CRC by serving notice publicly that he expects it to wind up its work this calendar year--a virtually impossible task.

Although we have not given the CRC open-ended support as an institution, we financed specific projects to assist last year's local and parliamentary elections and other democratic processes. These included compilation of a constitutional framework document, expert civic education assistance from South Africa's "streetlaw" NGO and the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and postage-paid mail-in forms designed to encourage citizens to submit their views to the CRC. Additional Economic Support Fund (ESF) funding in the amount of $200,000 will allow NDI to continue its civic education program started prior to the 1998 local elections.

Enacting industrial relations legislation: Our most pressing bilateral issue revolves around workers' rights concerns with the harsh industrial relations legislation enacted three years ago in an effort to contain Swaziland's trade unions, which had mounted work stoppages for political reasons. An AFL-CIO petition filed two years ago remains pending with the US Trade Representative, challenging Swaziland's access to duty-free entry under GSP. Last July, the Swazi Cabinet approved a revised act produced by a consensus of business, labor and government that satisfies international labor conventions. Enactment was delayed when parliament was dissolved for new elections. The new Parliament formed after the October 1998 parliamentary elections tabled the act on May 12. During the interim, we have continued to emphasize the need

to pass acceptable labor legislation. The Swazi delegation at the March Ministerials in Washington appreciated the urgency of the matter. We do not believe the draft act will meet significant resistance. [Note: Foreign Minister Shabangu who was instrumental in passage of the flawed 1996 labor legislation in another Cabinet capacity may be present at the meeting with the King.]

Economics/Trade/Investment: The King is likely to express strong interest in attracting American investment and disappointment that more has not materialized. Coca Cola, General Electric, a Kansas coal company, a Virginia transport management firm, a Kentucky food processor, and a South African affiliate of Southwestern Bell are already there. McDonalds, General Motors, and the Detroit-based Barden Group have been actively considering investments. Swaziland was tentatively identified as a bold African economic reformer last year for purposes of the African Growth and Opportunity Act once it passes. However, to retain that status, it will be imperative that Swaziland follows through on current economic and social reform commitments.

A focal point of last year's Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund (SAEDF) meeting in Windhoek was King Mswati's desire for Fund involvement in Swaziland. As a result SAEDF CEO Steve Weddle and Johannesburg-based FCS Minister Counselor Millard Arnold visited Mbabane in June 1998 to brief the King personally and hold high-profile public discussions with Swazi business people. The King has since expressed disappointment that SAEDF personnel have not returned to Swaziland and that no projects have taken shape in the country. In response to the King's continuing interest, an SAEDF representative plans to visit Swaziland in June to look into pending proposals.

Talking Points

- We commend your attempt earlier this year to accelerate pace of the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) on constitutional reform.

- What can be done to broaden its legitimacy and persuade progressives to contribute?

- Last year we financed some civic education projects through the National Democratic Institute (NDI) prior to

your local elections. Perhaps our recently approved $200,000 grant to NDI can help provide some expertise to assist the CRC process.

- What are prospects for rapid final enactment and implementation of the labor legislation? I understand the matter was tabled in Parliament last week.

- This step would respond to the AFL-CIO petition filed against Swaziland's duty-free eligibility under GSP and bring the country back into full conformity with International Labor Organization conventions.

- Last year we tentatively identified Swaziland among the bold African economic reformers earmarked for enhanced dialogue with the U.S. and enhanced GSP benefits once the African Growth and Opportunity Act passes.

- To retain the status of a bold economic reformer and attract American investment, it is imperative that Swaziland follows through decisively on current economic and social reform commitments such as passage of labor legislation that would help create industrial harmony.

- Passage of the labor legislation would also allow Swaziland to participate fully in new initiatives for trade with the U.S. outlined in recent discussions in Washington attended by Swazi officials.

- As you are aware, the President extended GSP benefits for rule of origin purposes to SADC members that have ratified the SADC Trade Protocol. I would urge you to ratify the protocol to enhance Swaziland's GSP eligibility.

- (if raised) We understand your disappointment that Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund (SAEDF) personnel have not returned to Swaziland since June 1998 and no projects have materialized.

- (if pressed) We are aware that the cost of SAEDF funds, the large magnitude of its typical projects, and the need for private sector predominance in eligible investments have probably all militated against activity in Swaziland.

Drafted by AF/S:CGhee, X79857, 5/13/99
WZ - Accra Summit (Other Principals)

Cleared by: AF:WSchneidman
AF/S:JBlaney
AF/S:JBooth
DRL:RWard
DOC:ARobinson (substance)
NSC:EBarks-Ruggles

BOTSWANA

Botswana, Africa's oldest continuous democracy, is a British style parliamentary democracy, with executive authority vested in an indirectly-elected president. The tribal tradition of "rule by consensus" is the basis of Botswana's modern political process at all levels of society. Since independence in 1966 only three men have held the office of President--Sir Seretse Khama, who died in office in 1980, was succeeded by his Vice President, Sir Ketumile Masire. The latter retired from office on March 31, 1998, at the conclusion of President Clinton's historic visit to Botswana. His successor, former Vice President and Minister for Finance and Development Planning Festus Mogae recently affirmed his intention to seek re-election in the upcoming October elections. Botswana has a very good human rights track record. Problem areas have included domestic violence, the rights of women and non-Tswana minorities, and occasional misconduct by police and the military. Botswana is a founding member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) headquartered in Gaborone.

Botswana attained independence in 1966 as the poorest country in the world. The discovery of gem quality diamond pipes in 1967, combined with prudent fiscal policies over the next 30 years, spurred phenomenal economic growth. Today, high literacy rates, an estimated per capita GDP of $2,800 for a population of 1.5 million, and widespread health and education facilities have established Botswana at or near the top of almost every comparison of vital statistics in Africa.

The U.S. enjoys excellent relations with Botswana, underscored by the visit, last year, of President Clinton and the First Lady. More recently, Foreign Minister Merafhe was invited to co-chair with Secretary Albright the roundtable discussion on Democracy and Human rights during the U.S.-Africa Ministerial, a testament to Botswana's enduring record in these areas.

WATCH OUT FOR ...

Nonetheless, Botswana faces structural economic challenges. More than half the population--predominately rural dwellers--exists outside the formal economy, and rural poverty is a serious problem. Migration to urban centers has strained housing and jobs, contributing to official unemployment of 21% (potentially as high as 40%). Other challenges include HIV/AIDS prevalence throughout society: Approximately 14% of the population are HIV positive, and 25% of persons aged 15 to 49 are infected. The Government is actively engaged in trying to reverse the trend and President Mogae has undertaken a strong public leadership role.

ZIMBABWE

Nineteen years ago, the United States stood in the vanguard of nations celebrating the birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe, a promising new African democracy under African leadership. The U.S. played a vital role in helping to effect the transfer from white minority to black majority rule, and was deeply involved in the Lancaster House negotiations that helped create the new republic. For almost two decades, we have continued to honor our commitment to help realize the vision of a prosperous and democratic nation, providing more than $700 million in development assistance.

The second largest economy in the region, and an emerging market, Zimbabwe is about the size of California, with a population of nearly 12 million. It shares borders with Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Mozambique and South Africa. Chief hard currency earners are tobacco, gold, chrome and tourism.

Today, President Mugabe and the ruling ZANU-PF party are facing their most serious political, economic and social challenges since independence. In the past 18 months, Zimbabwe has experienced anti-government demonstrations mobilized by trade unions, spontaneous "food riots" and other protests sparked by dramatic increases in the costs of staple foods, and national work stoppages that have brought the country to a halt. The government (GOZ) also faces increased demands to address official corruption and the challenges of an HIV/AIDS infection rate that reportedly is causing some 1,200 deaths a week among the general population. Zimbabwe's August, 1998, entry into the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo) on behalf of embattled President Kabila has helped accelerate economic decline. Signs of the country's increasingly dire straits include the depreciation of the local currency by more than 50 percent and an estimated annualized inflation rate of more than 45 percent. Relations with international financial institutions such as the IMF have been difficult.

The United States is committed to remaining actively engaged with the government and people of Zimbabwe, to help maintain the progress achieved to date and to enable Zimbabwe to emerge an even stronger regional partner in democracy and economic prosperity in the next century.

WATCH OUT FOR ...

Land Reform. Although race relations have been relatively stable considering the country's apartheid-like pre-independence history, tensions have been sharpened by the government's sudden

and strident efforts to fulfill its pledge to redistribute land more equitably. Nonetheless, despite strong rhetoric from the leadership threatening to confiscate primarily white-owned commercial farms, the government so far is standing by its promise to international donors to implement land reform transparently and lawfully.

Human Rights. Government sensitivity about its unpopular military deployment in the Congo has contributed to some backsliding on human rights, as evidenced in the unlawful military detention and torture of two journalists last January. At the same time, the victims have challenged the government in the courts and, thus far, Zimbabwe's touted judiciary seems to be living up to its reputation for independence. Other areas of positive change underway include an increasingly vocal and organized civil society, and efforts to reform the legislative branch.

Bilateral Relations. As has been evident from news accounts in the government-controlled press, the March 7 arrest of three private American citizens in possession of "weapons of war" regrettably fueled suspicions of a U.S. conspiracy to bring down the Government. While nothing could be further removed from reality, and our official protests notwithstanding, elements of the government (including the government-controlled press) appear to be keeping the conspiracy theory alive, even attributing IMF failure to disburse funds to such a conspiracy.

NIGERIA

When he is inaugurated May 29, Olusegun Obasanjo will be the first elected, civilian President of Nigeria since the early 1980s. This transformation of Africa's most populous country came about because Nigeria's military ruler Sani Abacha died suddenly nearly a year ago. His successor, General Abdulsalam Abubakar, devised and carried out an historic transition to elected civilian rule, including elections at local, state and national levels that will culminate in a new, civilian, democratic government on May 29.

Why is this important to us? The United States wants to see this transition succeed. A West Africa that is secure, stable, democratic and prosperous would generally be supportive of USG bilateral, regional and global interests, represent a valuable economic partnership, and require fewer resources for humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping activities. The key to realizing this vision for West Africa is Nigeria, the most populous and among the most influential countries in Africa. Nigeria is also potentially a very wealthy country.

Nigeria is the second largest market for U.S. exports in sub-Sahara Africa; 8% of U.S. oil imports come from Nigeria; and with appropriate economic reforms, Nigeria could be the economic locomotive of the region and an economic powerhouse on the continent.

Nigeria also leads ECOMOG peacekeeping operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. These efforts are intended to produce the stability and security West Africa needs to prosper.

What are we doing to help? Since September 1998, The U.S. has been funding initiatives to help ensure "free and fair" elections. USAID and the Department of State committed $5.0 million for international observers, domestic monitors, voter education, trained party poll watchers and the media to help engender confidence in the elections' results. U.S. NGOs were engaged to perform most of this work.

Throughout this transition period, more traditional U.S. AID programs, including health and population programs,

have been funded at $13.2 million this fiscal year. In addition to these programs, the U.S. will provide the following support to the transition during the fiscal year:

- $7 million for training elected officials and carrying out civil-military programs;

- $2 million for training elected officials and key civil servants;

- $7 million for direct technical assistance and training by U.S. Agencies and Departments such as Justice, including DEA, FBI, and INS, Treasury Financial Center, Customs, and the Secret Service for their Nigerian counterparts.

The U.S. is also a major supporter of the Nigerian-led ECOMOG effort to bring peace and stability to Sierra Leone. The U.S. plans to field an interagency assessment team to Nigeria in June or July to evaluate current programs and to develop future initiatives to best meet Nigeria's needs.