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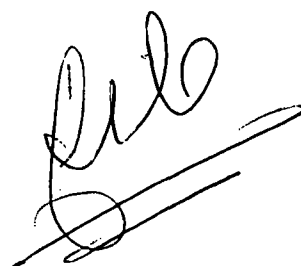
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THE
NATIONAL
SUMMIT
ON
AFRICA

**Draft National
Policy Plan of Action
for
U.S. – Africa Relations
in
the 21st Century**

Washington, DC
February 16th-20th, 2000

**National Summit on Africa
Draft National Policy Plan of Action
Document No.: DPOA /WDC**

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THE NATIONAL SUMMIT ON AFRICA

16-20 FEBRUARY 2000, WASHINGTON DC

PARTICIPATING IN THE DELIBERATIVE PROCESS (POLICY DISCUSSIONS) A PREPARATION GUIDE FOR STATE AND AT-LARGE DELEGATES

Background: One of the National Summit on Africa's goals is to develop a nationally shared Policy Plan of Action to guide U.S.-Africa relations during the 21st Century. During 1998-1999, the National Summit on Africa held six regional summits across the country (Atlanta for the Southeast region, Chicago for the Midwest region, San Francisco for the Pacific/West Coast region, Boston for the New England region, Baltimore for the East Coast region, and Denver for the Mountain/Southwest region). Participants in each regional summit engaged in discussions about how best to build strong and mutually beneficial U.S.-Africa relations. Based on these discussions, each regional summit produced a regional policy plan of action for U.S.-Africa relations based on participants' recommendations.

The six Regional Policy Plans of Actions have been amalgamated into one Draft National Policy Plan of Action for U.S.-Africa Relations. This Draft National Policy Plan of Action will be discussed, amended, and adopted by state and at-large delegates at the national summit event to be held in Washington D.C. February 16-20, 2000.

The success of the National Summit on Africa's deliberative process depends on the active participation of state and at-large delegates. As a delegate, your primary task is to engage in the deliberative process to create a National Policy Plan of Action for U.S.-Africa Relations in the 21st Century. In order to successfully complete and adopt a comprehensive and powerful Policy Plan of Action, delegates must make adequate and informed preparations PRIOR to coming to the national event in Washington D.C. The National Summit has developed the following guidelines to help delegates prepare to participate in and contribute to the deliberative process (policy discussions) PRIOR to coming to the national event in February 2000. Your active (and informed) participation is critical to the success of the National Policy Plan of Action, so please read this guide carefully.

Individual Delegate Preparation:

Delegates should read the following carefully PRIOR to coming to Washington:

- For background information, please read the Historical Framework Paper, which provides you with a history of U.S.-Africa relations;
- For more in-depth information, please read the Thematic Working Paper relevant to the theme that you will be participating in at the national summit;

- Please read the Draft National Policy Plan of Action, which is the **WORKING** document for the national event. **Remember to bring your copy with you to Washington as there will not be any copies available on site.**

The Deliberative Process Rules of Procedure (Document Number: NSROP/1) will be the official document governing deliberations during the Committee Workshop Sessions at the national summit. This document will be available on our website by mid-January 2000.

Please note that the Rules of Procedure are not meant to constrain your participation in the deliberative process. Given the seriousness of the task at hand and the fact that we are expecting more than 500 delegates in each Committee Workshop Session, the rules are meant to ensure that deliberations are conducted in a fair and just manner, and that the National Policy Plan of Action is completed in an organized, efficient, and timely way.

Understanding Your Draft National Policy Plan of Action: In amalgamating the six regional policy plans of action into one Draft National Policy Plan of Action for U.S. Africa Relations, all the recommendations adopted on any given issue at the regional level were brought together under one composite recommendation. In cases where regional summits made similar or complementary recommendations on any given issue, we have consolidated these into one. For example, on the issue of debt, the recommendation in the National Draft has taken all the approved debt-related recommendations emanating from the six regions and merged them to create one recommendation. In cases where regional recommendations addressed more than one issue, we have disaggregated these into their component parts. This has meant moving text around so that we could organize the recommendations by subject or issue. Additionally, some recommendations have been re-written for accuracy, clarity and for purposes of getting the document to flow. Thus, recommendations in the National Draft may not always read exactly as they were adopted at the regional summits. Even with these modifications, the National Summit on Africa has sought to include every single recommendation that was adopted at the regional level.

All the recommendations in the document are identified by their regional summit of origin:

- **SE** – Southeast (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee)
- **MW** – Midwest (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin)
- **PAC** – Pacific Coast (Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington)
- **NE** – New England (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont)
- **EC** – East Coast (Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, Virginia, West Virginia, Virgin Islands)
- **MSW** – Mountain Southwest (Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Texas, Wyoming)

In undertaking the amalgamation, we found that during the course of the regional summit process tremendous progress had been made toward achieving nationwide consensus. That is, on some issues all six regions agreed to adopt without amendment, some of the text and recommendations that were contained in the Original Draft Policy Plan of Action (the document) used during the regional summit process. Given this nationwide agreement, we have boxed these recommendations, set them out in **bold text** and marked them **“CLOSED”**. These **“CLOSED”** recommendations will not be opened up for discussions during the national summit event.

State Delegation Preparations:

Delegates are expected to work with others in their state delegation to accomplish the following objectives prior to coming to Washington:

- arrive at consensus on recommendations contained in the Draft National Policy Plan of Action;
- identify three (3) priority recommendations to anchor the National Policy Plan of Action that emerges from the deliberations at the national event; and
- develop a follow-up mechanism to ensure that the resulting Policy Plan of Action is implemented.

Working with your Draft National Policy Plan of Action: The deliberative process at the national event is scheduled so that there are five Committee Workshop Sessions meeting simultaneously. Each state delegation will be allocated seats/votes equal to 20% of its total number of delegates in each Committee Workshop Session. (Each delegate will, therefore, be able to participate in only one Thematic Workshop Committee). States should, therefore, divide their delegations into five equal groups (one for each of the Committee Workshop Sessions) prior to coming to Washington. The five themes and Thematic Workshop Sessions are:

- Economic Development, Trade and Investment, and Job Creation
- Democracy and Human Rights
- Peace and Security
- Sustainable Development, Quality of Life, and the Environment
- Education and Culture

Each of these groups should read through the section of the Draft National Policy Plan of Action relevant to its assigned theme area, and decide what positions the state delegation will take on each recommendation. **Please work to arrive at consensus on any given recommendation.** Your task is to amend the recommendations as you see fit. This means that you may:

- a. adopt a recommendation as-is (i.e. as it appears in the Draft National Policy Plan of Action)
- b. revise a recommendation by adding words to it
- c. revise a recommendation by deleting words from it;
- d. discard an entire recommendation; and
- e. add an entirely new recommendation (for example, if you feel that the Draft National Policy Plan of Action has omitted to address a particular issue, you may submit a new recommendation to fill the gap)
- f. adopt a regional recommendation as an alternative to the composite recommendation.

Remember that recommendations are to be directed not only to the public sector (federal, state, and local government) but also to the private sector including those that involve businesses, corporations, schools and universities, faith communities, non-governmental organizations, and the media. You should, in determining your recommendations, ask yourself what these and other sectors need to do to develop stronger and mutually beneficial relations between the U.S. and Africa.

All amendments to the Draft Policy Plan of Action **MUST** be submitted in writing. Each amendment must be submitted on a separate sheet of paper. The National Summit on Africa is providing recommendation forms to all state delegation chairs for this purpose. The recommendation form can also be downloaded from our website (www.africasummit.org). In writing your recommendations please be sure to use the format utilized in the Draft National Policy Plan of Action (that is, recommendations must specify a task/action as well as the entity to pursue the action). The state chair is responsible for bringing these forms and submitting them at the national summit event in Washington. **Please note that regardless of the size of your state delegation, each state delegation may submit only ONE amendment to any recommendation contained in the Draft National Policy Plan of Action. It is, therefore imperative for state delegates to work together to arrive at consensus.**

Your amendments, alongside those submitted by other states, will then be discussed and voted upon in your Thematic Committee Workshop according to the rules set out in the Deliberative Process Rules of Procedure. Please note that each delegate will get one vote and that a simple majority wins the vote. Once the vote has been conducted, those recommendations that are adopted will be included in the Final National Policy Plan of Action for U.S.-Africa Relations.

Identification of 3 Priority Policy Recommendations: Each state delegation must also work together to identify three priority recommendations to anchor the Final National Policy Plan of Action for U.S.-Africa Relations. These priority recommendations may be identified from among those recommendations already contained in the Draft National Document or they can be new recommendations.

0. **Follow-Up Mechanism:** Each state delegation must come up with a follow-up mechanism for ensuring that the National Policy Plan of Action that emerges from the national event is implemented. Included in this follow-up plan would be strategies for ensuring wide distribution of the National Policy Plan of Action, continued engagement of policymakers and decision makers; and strategies and time-lines for ensuring implementation of various aspects of the Plan at the national, state, and local levels.

1. All of the documents mentioned in this Preparatory Sheet can be found at the National Summit on Africa website www.africasummit.org.

2. Please direct any questions about the Deliberative Process to Monde Muyangwa, Peter Mielert, or Shanita Johnson at the National Summit on Africa Secretariat at 202-861-8644.

I. PREAMBLE

Historical factors, domestic experience, and geography have largely conditioned the foreign policy of the U.S. toward Africa and its peoples. Always conscious of their own struggle for independence from imperial Great Britain, the founders of the American nation-state remained leery of becoming embroiled in the affairs of the old world. They treasured their relative isolation behind the boundless sea. Thus America emphasized its "hands off" policy during colonization of Africa by several European powers. Even the traumatic events of World War II and the Cold War, and the subsequent independence of most African territories failed to effect any substantial change in America's "hands off" policy.

Since the beginning of this decade, Africa has been experiencing profound social, political, and economic changes that may well amount to a continental rebirth. Although the Africa's continuing problems should not be understated, it is clear that current developments hold the promise of carrying the continent into the new millennium with greatly improved prospects for peace and development. However, the changes taking place in Africa have gone largely unnoticed by the American public. Apart from the occasional and momentary media focus on humanitarian crises in Africa or one of the continent's continuing conflicts, the American public still remains relatively isolated from Africa. It receives little information and few images about developments in Africa beyond the existing staple stereotypes. Yet across Africa, a continent of rich cultural diversity, comprising 54 countries and almost 800 million people, important strides--such as the fact that many African countries are democratizing and undertaking economic reforms, and that several longstanding conflicts have been resolved--continue to be made that contradict the predominant representation in America of the state of affairs on the African continent. American unfamiliarity with contemporary African realities severely limits the ability of American civil society, the private sector, and the U.S. government to contribute to developments in Africa, and to develop important ties with the nations and people of Africa that would benefit Americans and Africans alike.

Now as the 21st century looms, and America's own global preeminence is largely unquestioned, the time has come for the elaboration of a new and bold policy toward Africa. To facilitate the creation of this new policy, the National Summit on Africa was established in 1996 with the primary purpose of raising the visibility of Africa in the United States.¹ The National Summit on Africa is undertaking a nationwide effort aimed at educating the American public about Africa and about U.S.-Africa relations; broadening and strengthening the network of Africa's supporters in the U.S.; and developing a policy plan of action to guide U.S. relations with the countries and peoples of Africa. Some of the elements of this policy have been suggested in the five themes addressed in the Thematic Working Papers, the Historical Framework Paper and in the Draft Plan of Action. However, the creation of this policy plan cannot be accomplished without broad-based participation and support from Americans across this country.

¹ The National Summit on Africa-- a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization--was established with grants from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

II. DECLARATION

**5 – 10 PRIORITY POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR THE FUTURE OF
U.S. – AFRICA RELATIONS.**

THESE WILL BE DETERMINED BY DELEGATES AT THE NATIONAL EVENT.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, TRADE AND INVESTMENT, AND JOB CREATION

Africa is a paradox. Second in size and population among the continents and arguably the richest of all in terms of natural resources, yet the vast majority of its inhabitants are poor. In 1995, U.S. per capita income was \$26,980 while sub-Saharan Africa's (SSA) per capita national income was \$490. Africa's people are hard working and intelligent, and the continent can boast of having produced great civilizations long before today's developed countries had begun to emerge. (PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

The U.S. has a significant economic stake in the economic development of Africa. Although the current level of investment is negligible in comparison with its economic involvements with other major regions, it is nevertheless substantial and deserves to be nurtured. During the Cold War, the U.S. relied heavily on SSA as a source of several strategic minerals, which were found in abundance only in Africa and behind the Iron Curtain. The ending of the Cold War both reduced the need for these items and opened up new sources of supply for them. By far the largest U.S. import from SSA is petroleum, originating primarily in Nigeria, but also Angola and elsewhere. Alternative sources to replace these supplies can probably be found at competitive prices, but the supply lines from Africa to the U.S. are the shortest in many cases. In 1996, SSA provided 21 percent of U.S. oil imports. In the same year, U.S. exports to SSA totaled \$6.1 billion and are estimated to have created 100,000 American jobs. U.S. exports to South Africa alone nearly equaled U.S. sales to Russia, and were greater than U.S. exports to all of Eastern Europe. (MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

3. **CLOSED:** Another reason for America's interest in Africa is that in today's world, isolationism is no longer a viable option for anyone, nor is stability possible in the face of massive international economic and social disparities. The United Nations Development Program recently estimated that the accumulated wealth of the 358 richest people in the world was equal to the annual revenue of 2.3 billion people at the bottom of the earnings ladder, constituting about 45 percent of humanity and a heavy slice of the African population. The tolerance for such gross inequity is almost certainly diminishing as new technology makes the global village ever smaller--each new desecration of the environment, each new strain of an infectious virus, each advance in fissionable and biological weaponry, each corporate decision to relocate a plant to another country-shrinks the global community and confirms the interrelatedness of all peoples. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

4. **CLOSED:** During the past two to four centuries, Africa has been under the control of foreigners who, in order to strengthen their control, chose to divide the continent into 40 to 50 separate political entities. This period ended in the early 1960s, when most of Africa achieved its independence. The Africans reacquired a land whose economies had been grossly distorted by the needs of the colonial powers, and little attention had been given to preparing the areas for independence, or even for self-government. Human capital was poorly developed, especially in terms of modern technologies, and the physical infrastructure was grossly inadequate for enabling Africa to put its economies on a stable growth path. Health, education, science, government, land, rail and air transport, agriculture, and the financial sector were all underdeveloped and designed to service the old colonial relationships rather than the newly emerging African needs. National frontiers often bore little relationship to geographical characteristics or to ethnic unity. Post-independence conflict has been heavy in some regions, but rarely based on border disputes. Ethnic and economic-based issues have sparked the greater portion of this warfare. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

5. There is no shortage of ideas about how Africa can best achieve economic growth and development, but agreement is not easily reached. Economic progress in the first post-independence decade was reasonably satisfactory. It was an era of general prosperity, favorably rising terms of trade, and widespread concern and generosity of the donor community. By the late 1970s, however, the economic climate had changed noticeably: petroleum prices had skyrocketed, the terms of trade were shifting unfavorably, and weather patterns seemed to be changing to Africa's disadvantage. Along with the rest of the developing world, Africa discovered that it had engaged in excessive borrowing and was facing a severe debt crisis. As a result, many African countries are, in effect, bankrupt and are unable to repay these debts, except at the cost of human lives, as precious resources are diverted from health, clean water and sanitation into debt repayment. Because of the absence of an international bankruptcy law, no line can be drawn under unpayable debts so that the crisis can be brought to an end. Nor can sovereign debtors file for protection from creditors as is the case under U.S. bankruptcy law. There is no independent assessment made of their ability to pay. Instead, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), acting as agent for both private and government creditors, moves in and acts, in effect, as a receiver. The IMF's lack of independence means that, in this role, it is in effect playing the role of plaintiff, judge and jury in relation to debtor countries. The direct effect of this absence of law is that IMF officials are authorized to move into African treasury departments and dictate tough economic conditions. These policies are mainly geared towards the raising of hard currency, through exports, for the repayment of creditors and to encourage new borrowing. (SE)

CLOSED: As Africa's economic plight worsened, a conflict arose regarding the major causes of the deterioration. The donor community generally placed most of the blame on the manner in which the Africans were managing their economies while the Africans placed blame on exogenous factors such as the weather, the meagerness of the colonial inheritance, the high price of oil, rising interest rates in the West, and the growing debt burden. This debate reawakened a long- running dispute over what the proper development strategy should be for Africa. The donor community was convinced that only an export-led strategy would do the job, whereas a vocal segment of the African community argued for a more inward-looking strategy of collective self- reliance. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

To counter the poor management of their economies, donors obliged many African countries to adopt extensive policy reform packages, which inevitably exacerbated the growing social unrest in many of them. The tension between donors and Africans was gradually softened by both sides moving toward the middle, at least in their articulated views. Meanwhile, the U.S. began to cut back on its bilateral aid programs with African and other countries. As a way to manage the debt crisis, and later as an attempt to maintain capital flows to Africa, increased attention shifted to the private sector. Unfortunately, Africa has not proved very attractive as a place for American business to put its money, for reasons such as poor governance of the economies, inadequate human and physical infrastructure, and excessive debt overhang. African debtor countries urgently need an international mechanism to mediate fairly between themselves and their creditors on conditions for writing off un-repayable debt. Currently, the International Monetary Fund acts as de facto agent for creditors only. It often dictates tough economic conditions that divert scarce resources from health, education, clean water and sanitation, and other vital public services to debt repayment. African governments are forced to adopt policies that would require democratic debate here in the U.S. - for example, cutting farmer's subsidies, removing protection from local industries, and severely reducing expenditures on social services. Imposing such measures without full public debate by civil society serves to undermine faith in democratic processes. Lack of transparency regarding loans by borrowers and creditors alike, makes a travesty of open and informed public debate. Some countries should have other repayment alternatives and should not be forced to repay loans. (SE)

8.

CLOSED: The current emphasis in Washington is on the encouragement of trade with and investment in Africa. U.S. trade with Sub-Saharan Africa currently counts for only about 1 percent of total U.S. foreign trade. As of 1997, the U.S. had a \$5 billion trade deficit with Africa, mostly resulting from heavy imports of African petroleum. The key to selling more in Africa is to find ways to help Africa sell more to the U.S. Aside from oil and a few minerals (both wartime strategic items for the U.S.), Africa sells very little to the U.S. Africa would like to branch out into new exports but it finds itself blocked by tariff and non-tariff barriers. Processing of its raw materials would be a great help to Africa's industrialization, but the practice of tariff escalation discourages most processing ventures. The emerging globalization of the economy is likely to further marginalize African trade because Africa lags far behind the rest of the world in industrialization and other technologies. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

9.

CLOSED: The U.S. could do more to assist Africa to expand its productive capacity and increase its competitiveness. Legislation now working its way through Congress-the African Growth and Opportunity Act-attempts to address some of these issues. It contains features that are likely to be helpful to Africa and features that might be harmful. The Act has its critics, both African and American, but there is general support for the bill in most quarters. There are also additional initiatives that Americans can support to assist Africa to develop. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

10.

CLOSED: Keeping in mind the importance to the U.S. of maintaining access to one of its major petroleum sources, as well as its concern that growth, development, stability thrive even, perhaps especially, in the poorest countries, the following recommendations were discussed as part of the nationwide dialogue on improved and strengthened U.S.-Africa relations. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

Policy Recommendations

11. Trade and the African Growth and Opportunity Act (S1387): Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. government should adopt policies that expand U.S. foreign investment in Africa and expand mutually beneficial trade with the countries of Africa. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) is an important first step towards on-going legislative consideration of trade and development issues in Africa. The bi-partisan nature of this bill is a promising sign that Congress recognizes the broader public's commitment to facilitate development in Africa. The process started by this legislation should be pursued further and not be allowed to end with AGOA. It should be further noted that the Act is a historic, unprecedented legislative initiative that deserves fair consideration by Africans and the U.S. public. Attention must be given to its contents to ensure that it provides mutual development benefits to the people of Africa and the United States; that it reflects African development priorities, and is respectful of African political and economic reform programs. The pending AGOA (The Act is in the Senate as S1387 at the end of 1999), with substantive amendments, merits support as an important point of departure in transforming America's relationship with Africa into one of partnership. (SE)
- b) AGOA places excessive limitations on the ability of Africans to formulate policies that protect the welfare of African workers, traders, and investors. These limitations must be addressed. (NE)
- c) Concerns about conditionality, Asian transshipment, and the need to provide incentives for small and medium-size businesses as well as multinational corporations to invest in Africa, are issues that must be addressed. (SE)
- d) The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act and any other trade legislation should be sensitive to the effect that foreign debt service has on an African country's ability to compete under free trade regimes and should show sensitivity to African self-determination of economic and social

policies best suited to meet the needs of African people. As such the legislation should include African priorities of debt relief. (MW, PAC, NE)

- e) Trade legislation should include policies to strengthen and diversify Africa's economic production capacity to allow for the processing and manufacturing of African natural resources so that Africa too can reap the benefits of value added. (MW, PAC)
- f) The African Growth and Opportunity Act must include internationally recognized core labor rights protection, and living wages to foster the creation and maintenance of jobs that duly benefit Africans and U.S. workers. It should support environmental protection; respect and support indigenous agriculture, land and resource ownership and water rights; ensure biodiversity safeguards, the role of women in economic production and commerce, and the development of African-owned businesses (including micro-enterprise, small and medium-sized businesses and cooperatives); and promote local and regional economies. (PAC)
- g) Any provisions within the Act for political or other reforms that favor corporate interests at the expense of the common worker and African people should be defeated. (SE)
- h) Care must be taken to ensure that AGOA is not a cover for sweatshops or for exploiting African resources. (MW)
- i) The AGOA should also make adequate provisions to provide for mutually beneficial relations in the area of textiles. (MW)
- j) The AGOA or any other trade legislation on Africa should include the restoration of aid programs to enhance food security, programs to enhance educational opportunities for African women, and programs to battle the scourge of AIDS. (PAC)
- k) Trade legislation on Africa should also include increased African access to U.S. markets. (PAC)
- l) Congress should develop a strategy to provide a combination of grants and long term loans (i.e. 20-50 year terms with lowest interest rate) to finance Africa's country and regional infrastructure and strategic industries to include at a minimum:
 - i) Agricultural automation and distribution where appropriate
 - ii) Telecommunication, Data Communication, and Internet
 - iii) Educational Systems: K-12 Schools and Universities (PAC)
- m) Any U.S. Africa trade policy should be based on a true partnership: Therefore policy should include the following:
 - i) Partnerships with businesses that are African-majority owned;
 - ii) Partnerships that would support the development of African institutions to:
 - assure environmental protections;

- assure workers' right to organize and participate in enterprise management and economic benefits;
- promote the development of African small- and medium-sized businesses, for example by encouraging sub-contracting; and
- provide for entrepreneurial and managerial capacity building for African-owned businesses.

iii) Partnership that would support the establishment of a U.S.-African trade commission as a multilateral entity rather than developing bilateral U.S.-country specific entities. African "infant industries" should be protected by trade regulation. (NE)

12. **Marshall Plan for Africa: Actions to be taken:**

Increased trade cannot be a substitute for aid. The U.S. must commit itself to both increased aid and trade with Africa. Foreign capital played a vital role in financing America's infrastructure as it made the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. In turn, American capital was instrumental to rebuilding Europe and Asia after World War II. The centuries long systemic underdevelopment of Africa now requires the long-term commitment to its reconstruction. Africa needs a massive inflow of public and private capital and technology to meet its infrastructural and other development needs. (PAC) The U.S. should institute a Marshall Plan for Africa. To this end:

- a) The U.S. must convene the major Western powers, institutions (such as: churches, banks, etc.), and African states for an international conference on African Reconstruction and Reparations. From this conference should emerge a strategy, similar to a Marshall Plan, that will systematically transfer capital and resources to Africa and people of African descent for the purpose of reconstruction (NE)
- b) The U.S. should reverse the trend of giving less and less to Africa and follow the lead of European countries, notably the United Kingdom, Netherlands, and Denmark and significantly increase its development assistance to Africa. To begin with, the U.S. should commit itself to supporting the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) target of a foreign aid budget equivalent to 0.7% of GNP. However, aid to Africa on the scale of a Marshall Plan is desirable only if it is administered in such a way as to strengthen African public institutions and policies. (EC, NE)
- c) The U.S. should take the initiative to win the support of all international donor countries and institutions in the effort to assist Africa to meet its requirements in areas such as of a transportation infrastructure, finance, increased quality and access to education and healthcare services at all levels, electrification, affordable housing, and adequate, reliable and safe sources of energy, potable water, expanded telecommunications capabilities, and reduced cost of shipping. The U.S. could start this effort by convening the major Western powers, institutions such as churches and banks, and African countries for a conference on African reconstruction and reparations. (NE, PAC, EC)

- d) The U.S. should initiate the Marshall Plan for Africa with policy, legislation, and allocation of finances, beginning at a minimum level of one (1) billion dollars to designated African development interests each fiscal year. (SE)
- e) The U.S. should also increase the number of business visas available for Africans to travel to the U.S. (EC)
- f) U.S. policy and legislation should specifically create set-asides for joint ventures between Africans and African-Americans in terms of preferences and financing (i.e. percent interest, forgivable loans, and capital equity investment pools). For example, decent wages and affordable housing are important components of economic development. Jobs can be created by using African local workforce (e.g. plumbing and electrical work). This would enable the African-American community to participate in housing development. (SE)
- g) In order for aid to be used effectively, it requires careful attention to participation and consultation on all sides. The U.S. should therefore commit itself to forging a new and equal partnership for development with democratic countries in Africa. (NE)

13. African Debt: Actions to be taken:

Africans are suffering under a huge debt burden. Africa gives back more in debt service to creditors than she receives in aid. For every \$1 received in aid grants in 1996, Africa paid back \$1.31 in debt service. A high proportion of aid is used to repay foreign debts that can only be repaid in hard currency and, unfortunately, the debts are growing. Excluding Zambia, Africa's debt service payments rose by 21% between 1995 and 1996. While the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been active in Africa, their loans have served to exacerbate the problem, leading in particular to net transfers from Africa to the IMF. The IMF expects to have received at least \$600 million more from Africa than it put in during 1997. (SE)

As of 1996, Sub-Saharan Africa owed \$227 billion in foreign debt, or \$379 per person, to Western creditors. Africa now spends twice as much on debt service as on basic health care. This is due in great part to increasing inequitable terms of trade. Africa's terms of trade (the earnings from its exports measured against the cost of its imports) are a third worse than they were in 1980. If Africa's export prices had kept pace with import prices since 1980, Africa could have repaid all its debt one and half times over. African governments are increasingly being forced by creditors to choose between repaying their debt and feeding, educating, and providing health care to their people. (SE)

Furthermore, the Cold War led the U.S. to back corrupt dictators like Mobutu in the former Zaire (now the new Democratic Republic of the Congo), as a buffer against the threat of communism in that region. This backing took the form of generous loans and grants. Because there is no way of drawing a line under those debts (in the absence of any international bankruptcy process or any international legal concept of limited liability), the burden of repayment of those corruptly diverted loans has fallen on poor Africans like those in the successor state to Zaire, the new Democratic Republic of the Congo. Mobutu's successors, like the new South African regime, have inherited the

odious debts of their predecessors. This millstone of debt inhibits economic recovery and development. (SE)

The U.S. should take responsibility for how its support for corrupt African dictators, as supposed buffers against Communism, significantly aggravated Africa's debt burden. Africans rightly question why they should sacrifice their children's welfare to repay loans they never benefited from, and which were contracted by non-democratic governments they never voted into office. (SE)

Furthermore, the need to raise hard currency to repay debts forces African states to skew their economies in favor of the export of goods, so Africans find themselves growing carnations, coffee, and cocoa for export, while their people have insufficient food, shelter and clothing. This economic degradation further undermines the development of human capital in Africa. (SE)

The absence of a fair, independent and transparent process for determining a) responsibility for repaying bad loans; and b) ability of sovereign governments to repay debts, has worked in favor of creditors. The lack of international law governing the relations between debtors and creditors is exacerbated by the absence of transparency in both the granting of loans and in negotiations for debt relief. The secrecy of Paris Club, IMF and World Bank Board meetings and loan agreements encourages corruption between elites of both lending and borrowing countries. (SE)

Given the above, the U.S. should undertake the following:

- a) The U.S. should take the lead in providing prompt and meaningful debt relief for Africa and forgive all African public sector debt owed to the U.S. To this end, the Administration and Congress should enact the G-8 Summit recommendations on debt relief and encourage the accelerated implementation of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative designed to address African countries indebtedness to multilateral financial institutions. (NE)
- b) The U.S. should seek further remediation of the HIPC provisions, specifically provide debt reduction and forgiveness not just to countries pursuing bold growth-oriented but also to those committed to achieving core labor rights, democratic principles, and poverty reduction. (SE, NE)
- c) The U.S. should support debt cancellation programs such as Jubilee 2000 campaign and its platform. (EC)
- d) The U.S. should use its power within international financial institutions and its relationships with other creditor nations to provide much deeper, faster reduction of debt owed to multilateral institutions. One way of providing debt-relief would be via an International Monetary Fund-sponsored, one-time issuance of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) to the poorest countries. (EC)
- e) The U.S. should seek further revision of the Bretton-Woods agreements to provide a public and transparent means of mediating resolution of disputes between international lenders and borrowers; reform Structural Adjustment Programs to focus centrally on poverty reduction and environmental protection, and to incorporate transparent and participatory processes. (NE, EC)
- f) The U.S. should strongly encourage African governments and regional alliances to develop plans or initiatives on how debt relief will be applied. These plans or initiatives should not be preconditions to debt relief but serve as concrete support in the argument in favor of debt relief.

The plans should account for the use of funds previously borrowed. This should be followed by a vigorous effort to recover monies that were misappropriated by government leaders. (SE, NE)

- g) The U.S. should further encourage, if not require, that countries where debt is forgiven institute measures that: redirect debt savings toward poverty reduction and other social programs; show transparency and participation by civil society in the agreements to cancel debts, show allocated civil society in the participation of freed resources and provision of future grants and loans; broaden the base of capital ownership among their general populations by use of instruments such as Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOP) financing of industries, worker ownership, and privatization; (NE, EC)
- h) The U.S. should extend sufficient credit to democratically-elected African governments in order to economically empower them. (NE, EC)
- i) The U.S. should work to establish neutral arbitration procedures that lead to fairer relationships between creditor and borrower governments; (EC)
- j) The U.S. should provide sufficient funding to achieve the goals listed in 13a-i, above. (EC)

14. **Fostering Business and Economic Development in Africa: Actions to be taken:**

Recognizing the continuing importance of aid for basic human needs, humanitarian and disaster assistance needs, and improving human capacity for development, the historical lessons of economic development in Africa and in the broader world demonstrate the importance of a robust indigenous private sector to economic growth and creation of jobs. Thus the U.S. is encouraged to redouble its support of African governments, the private sector, multilateral development organizations and non-governmental organizations to:

- a) create policy and regulatory environments that support private sector activity and growth as well as other forms of economic development; (EC)
- b) improve the rule of law, including laws and processes for protection of the rights of foreign investors and other parties to contracts; (EC)
- c) strengthen democracy, good governance and greater transparency in economic affairs so as to develop a policy and regulatory environment that supports socially and environmentally responsible private sector activities; (EC)
- d) increase access to credit and financing, especially for disadvantaged business people; especially youth and women (EC)
- e) increase programming related to development of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises; (MSW, SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC)
- f) emphasize the encouragement and support for local African programs that assist with education, training and financial support of local small business in Africa; (SE)
- g) provide comparable corporate citizenship practices and benefits to African employees; (SE)
- h) enforce regulations that protect the right of partners and parties to contracts; and
- i) establish trade liaison offices in African countries in order to facilitate business-to-business relationships. (PAC)

The U.S. private sector is encouraged to:

- a) make foreign direct investments that support private sector activity; (MSW, SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC)
- b) transfer appropriate technology to, and business mentoring of local partners; (MSW, SE, PAC, EC)
- c) indigenize workforces and develop management capacity; (MSW, SE, MW, NE, EC)
- d) use local subcontractors and financial institutions to the maximum extent practicable; (MSW, MW, NE, EC)
- e) encourage Congress to support tariff reduction or tariff concessions on products processed in Africa so that Africans can benefit from value-added and creation of jobs for the local African populations; (SE)
- f) transfer state of the art technology, including training; (MW)
- g) uphold and enforce indigenous labor rights to avoid sweatshop production; (PAC)
- h) utilize the same business ethics in Africa as those that they employ in the U.S., especially if they receive government contracts; and (NE)
- i) take a long-term perspective to African investment and not expect a quick profit. (SE)

Given that economic development is heavily dependent upon improving capital flows to the private sector market place:

- a) African governments should be encouraged to create the conditions necessary for their own citizens to reinvest in local enterprise; (MSW, SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC)
- b) U.S. investors should be encouraged to re-examine their investment portfolios given the increasing viable opportunities in Africa. (MSW)
- c) The growth of venture capital funds focusing on Africa is especially commendable. The U.S. should encourage African governments to set up a venture capital resource center for the purpose of searching out, contacting, and communicating with American private sector investors. African governments should encourage their own citizens to submit executive summaries and business plans for review and consideration by the venture capital resource center; and (SE)
- e) The U.S. should establish the capacity in its embassies to assist U.S. investors in the expeditious settlement of contract disputes. (EC)

15. **U.S.-Africa Trade: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. should increase its support to Africa's efforts to expand the volume and diversification of its exports, including the development of textiles and other manufactured products, recognizing that 100,000 American jobs are currently generated by trade with Africa. Proactive measures to support Africa's efforts will likely generate even more American jobs. (SE, NE)

- b) The U.S. should take steps to encourage industrialization efforts in Africa. To this end, the U.S. must support efforts by African governments to engage in processing of their raw materials for export (MSW)
- c) The U.S. should create conditions that provide easy access for African products to U.S. markets. To this end, the U.S. should continue to support not only the elimination of tariffs and duties on raw materials being exported to the U.S. but should also encourage the development of value-added industries in Africa that in turn are not subject to overseas tariffs and duties. (NE, MSW)
- d) The U.S. should ensure that expanded trade and investment with Africa results in African countries receiving fair and adequate prices for their agricultural commodities and export products, and that trade does not result in capital migration or net outflow of resources from African countries. In this regard the United States should re-evaluate its trade and agricultural policies for their potential impact on food security, agricultural production, and sustainable development in African countries. (EC)
- e) The U.S. should support trade missions to Africa in order to further expand trade relations between the U.S. and Africa. These trade missions should include small businesses (organized by local and state governments). This would enable potential U.S. importers to meet African exporters to establish personal relations. The travel costs of these trade missions must be subsidized in order to encourage participation and expand the volume and diversity of Africa's exports. This would create new businesses and jobs for American companies and African entrepreneurs. (SE)
- f) The U.S. should provide or support educational and training opportunities relating to culture, economic, and other aspects of trade for small and mid-size businesses interested in doing business in Africa. (SE)

6. **African Regional Organizations: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. should support and provide assistance to strengthen African regional economic organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Common Market for East and Central Africa (COMESA), so that member states can benefit from economies of scale, increase intra-Africa trade, achieve greater equity in beneficial results for the member states, and increase the chances of foreign investment through the creation of larger markets. (MW, PAC, SE, NE, EC)
- b) In supporting regional economic development, U.S. policies should be specific to the needs and opportunities in particular regions. The development and implementation of these policies should also be broadly inclusive of those in Africa who are affected by regional economic policies. (NE)

- c) The U.S. should provide a guaranty fund for the COMESA and ECOWAS clearing houses so that client fears about delays in currency conversion, which serve as a deterrent to the usage of these important institutions, can be eliminated. (EC)
- d) In providing support to strengthen regional organizations, the U.S. should encourage member states of these organizations to become more democratic. (SE)
- e) The U.S. should discourage the duplication of regional economic groupings in Africa. (SE)

17. Donors, Multilateral Institutions and Policy Reform: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should make every effort to ensure that donor-imposed reforms are minimally disruptive to the social and political fabric of the recipient countries. (MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW, SE)
- b) The U.S. should use its influence in international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank to ensure that the policies and operational procedures of these organizations strengthen, and reinforce the ability of African private and public institutions to design and implement economic policies, programs and projects. This will require a focus on the transparency and accountability of international institutions. A country's failure to implement the full range of policy reforms demanded by donors should not, *ipso facto*, disqualify a country from participation in World Bank, IMF or U.S. aid programs. Such decisions should be made on a case-by-case basis. (SE)
- c) The U.S. should make it a priority to ensure that the process for developing economic reform programs is more transparent and that local capacity is built to participate in and develop such programs. This will require the World Bank, IMF and African governments to change the way they design and negotiate such programs. Foreign assistance should be linked to targeted programs that directly promote trade, investments, and private sector development. Furthermore, debt reduction and forgiveness should be linked to expenditures on human development needs such as education, health care, and social development, so that education is considered an investment and not an expense. (SE)
- d) The U.S. should join in the commitment of the multilateral agencies to the eradication of poverty in Africa. Special poverty alleviation measures need to be put in place while some of those already established need to be strengthened. (NE)
- e) The U.S. should make an effort to increase grants, training, and materials assistance and exchange visits between Africans and Americans. (NE)

18. Technical Support for Financial Sector: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should make a special effort to provide technical support for the creation of a sound financial, credit and banking sector in Africa as this sector is essential for the mobilization of capital. This effort

should include the micro-financial banking and credit sectors, small business loans and grants, subsidized loans, and government underwriting and guarantees to commercial banking systems for riskier but essential and, sometimes, non-essential loans. The technical support provided to this sector should pay special attention to accountability and transparency procedures. (PAC, NE, EC, MW, MSW, SE)

9. **U.S. Export Credit Agencies: Actions to be taken:**

In order to address the urgent need to finance the importation of capital goods:

- a) Export credit agencies such as the U.S. Export-Import Bank should expand their operations in Africa. They should also review their eligibility criteria for country participation in their programs and be flexible given the different and varying dynamics within the African countries. (NE)
- b) The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and other U.S. public and private programs that promote trade and investment (that includes joint venture as a criterion for that investment), should be as actively involved in Africa as they are in Eastern Europe. An African Enterprise Fund, modeled after the successful Polish Enterprise Fund, should be created by Congress. (NE)

20. **The World Trade Organization: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. should give careful consideration to all perspectives and interests in the interpretation and implementation of provisions and decisions of the World Trade Organization (WTO) keeping in mind the need for a more favorable trading environment for developing countries. A more favorable environment should include market protection and re-negotiation of some of the WTO provisions that put developing countries at a disadvantage. (PAC)
- b) The U.S. should review the impact of trade liberalization on income distribution, economic development, and financial stability during the deliberations of trade ministers at the next round of ministerial discussions of the WTO. (EC)
- c) The WTO should incorporate core workers rights and environmental procedures into its rules by taking the following steps:
 - i) Establishing a working group (prior to the next WTO ministerial) on workers' rights to propose specific mechanisms that protect these rights within the trading system prior to the next WTO ministerial.
 - ii) Regularly assessing how effectively every country upholds workers' rights. The results of these assessments should be included in the WTO Trade Policy Review Mechanism Country Reports.
 - iii) Fulfilling the mandate of the WTO's first ministerial (Singapore, 1996) by deepening cooperation and joint work with the International Labour Organization (ILO). The ILO should be granted observer status at the WTO, and the ILO and the WTO should carry out joint research and evaluation.

- iv) Developing accession criteria to ensure that new WTO members are in compliance with core workers' rights as set forth in the 1996 Singapore ministerial declaration, in which WTO members committed to observe these standards. (EC)
- d) World Trade Organization rules should be significantly overhauled to:
 - i) Strengthen the safeguards when unanticipated import surges threaten domestic industries.
 - ii) Ensure that national regulations protecting public health, the environment and social programs are not undermined. Unrestricted movement of goods and capital must not take precedence over public welfare.
 - iii) Ensure that governments at all levels can continue to protect human and labor rights by withdrawing benefits from governments that fail to guarantee these rights.
 - iv) Undertake major institutional reforms to improve the transparency and accountability of WTO proceedings and ensure access to the WTO's dispute settlement process by unions, non-governmental organizations and other citizen organizations. This should include, at a minimum, timely declassification of documents, open dispute settlement proceedings and a commitment to receive and consider input from civil society. (EC)
- e) The WTO should establish global rules that protect workers, communities and the environment; enunciate clear responsibilities for investors; and create democratic accountability over capital. (EC)
- f) The U.S. should work to ensure that WTO rules do not undermine the ability of governments, at all levels. Those governments that fail to protect human and labor rights should have their benefits withdrawn. (EC)
- g) Trade laws should be used to empower working people, protect the environment, and foster sustainable, equitable and broad-based development, and to ensure that the benefits of global growth are shared by all. (EC)

21. Generalized System of Preferences: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should work with African countries to extend the General System of Preferences to June 30, 2004 (as proposed by S1388). The U.S. should also help to create an environment conducive to African countries taking full advantage of these provisions so important for expanding their foreign reserves and overall economic growth. (SE, MW, NE, EC, MSW, PAC)

22. Human Labor Rights and Economic Development: Actions to be taken:

- a) Africa's greatest resource is her people. However, people, as well as the environment, can be exploited. A better quality of life is best accomplished by recognizing the inherent dignity of work and respecting human rights in employment. As recognized by the International Labour Organization and the International Organization of Employers, the core labor human rights include the freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively as well as the prohibition against forced labor, child labor and discrimination in employment. Africans, like

Americans, have the right to a living wage so that they can support themselves and their families and build a better future. The U.S. should support the working rights of African workers and their ability to earn a living wage because respect for human rights in employment is a critical component in stable and sustainable development. Empowering workers will help ensure fair and just governance, equitable development, and a stable society. (SE)

- b) U.S. policies to promote trade and economic development should be consistent with best practices of sustainable economic development, environmental stewardship, the rights of labor, gender equality, and the quality of life of the broader population. (PAC)
- c) The U.S. should support the organizational initiatives of African workers in multinational corporations and in national, regional, and continental organizations entities. (NE)

23. **Human Resources, Youth and Economic Development: Actions to be taken:**

- a) Economic development rests on the development of human resources. In particular, young people, who comprise approximately 65% of Africa's population, cannot be ignored as a powerful force for economic development. Africa's economic potential cannot be realized without young people participating in the economic sphere, and young people cannot contribute to economic growth without training, education and credit. The U.S. should support targeted vocational training and school-to-work transition programs because this will help prepare and unleash Africa's most valuable resource--young people. (EC)
- b) The U.S. should provide and support educational and training opportunities relating to culture, economic, and other aspects of trade for small and mid-size businesses interested in doing business in Africa. (SE)

24. **Grassroots Initiative: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should institute a "Grassroots Initiative" designed to foster full participation of all sectors of African and American populations. Within this initiative:

- a) individual African craftsman should be encouraged to partner with individuals in America who can sell their wares on a grassroots level;
- b) working class Americans should be encouraged to invest \$50 to \$500 in individual Africans who can produce saleable products for export to the American marketplace;
- c) emerging African entrepreneurs should be partnered with their American counterparts willing to provide expertise at little or no charge; and
- d) a shared database of interested persons in Africa and America should be created to help facilitate this process. (SE)

25. **U.S.-Africa Economic Development Commission: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should establish an African economic development commission to review and evaluate implementation and performance of African development. This commission should include, among

others, Africans in the U.S., African-Americans, members of diplomatic missions, and representatives of the U.S. government. (MW)

26. Technology: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should facilitate access to funding for the establishment of information technology and telecommunications infrastructure necessary for African economic development in the 21st century. (MW)
- b) Recognizing the necessity of information technology infrastructure for the long-term sustainability of Africa's competitive presence in the global marketplace, the U.S. should support development of rural and urban telecommunications infrastructure technologies. (SE)
- c) High-tech telecommunications applications and development of state-of-the-art facilities and technologies will be critical to the success of Africa's technological literacy. This, in turn, will be critical for employment, education and economic advancement. U.S.-Africa relations in this field can create an unparalleled commercial synergy for both continents. U.S. policy should provide compensation to small businesses and consultants, and incentives for corporations that complete specific projects in the high-tech field in Africa. (PAC)
- d) The Internet is a very positive way of giving Africa the benefit of global awareness in every facet of life: educational, economic, health, and technology. The U.S. should work with African countries to find ways to increase access to computer and telecommunication technologies. (EC)

27. Corruption: Actions to be taken:

It has been established that some individual African leaders, past and present, have assets in foreign countries in excess of the GDP of their respective countries. The U.S. should lead a global effort to investigate and freeze these assets, and redirect them towards African development. The U.S. could begin this effort by setting up a commission to work on identifying, recovering, and returning these stolen monies and assets to Africa. (EC, MSW)

28. Gender and Development: Actions to be taken:

In order to release the full economic and social potential of all Africans, the U.S. should see to it that all economic development policies and programs are sensitive to their implications for women, especially those in rural areas; e.g. women should be trained and educated for high tech as well as low tech careers and employment. In addressing this potential the U.S. must recognize the indivisible relationship of rural and urban micro-enterprise to macroeconomic policies. (EC, PAC)

29. Media, Information, and Economic Development: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. media, especially the financial and business media, should be encouraged to provide increased as well as more objective coverage on African trade and business opportunities. (NE)

- b) The media should also be encouraged to have a permanent African Desk on the continent. (NE)
- c) The U.S. should develop a comprehensive public relations campaign to facilitate the demystification of Africa and provide pertinent information on Sub-Saharan Africa. (NE)

30. **Micro-finance: Actions to be taken:**

In order to ensure that overall development continues there needs to be a strong micro economic community that will feed into large scale infrastructure development. As such, the U.S. should give priority to investments that engage the micro-economic sector, empower local community groups, and encourage pro-active input from these groups. (PAC)

31. **Africa Development Foundation: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. government should substantially increase its appropriation to the African Development Foundation. (EC)

32. **U.S.-Africa Community-Based Linkages: Actions to be taken:**

- a) To stimulate the economic growth of African countries, the U.S. should look toward the diverse culturally-based community organizations within its borders. Opportunities should be created for these diverse culturally-based organizations to form linkages with African countries. (MW)

33. **Transportation and Economic Development: Actions to be taken:**

- a) To encourage trade with and investment in Africa, there needs to be improved direct transportation links between the U.S. and Africa. To this end, the U.S. needs to eliminate artificial barriers to entry and other restrictions that increase transportation costs. The U.S. should start by removing the restrictions that have cut direct air flights between the U.S. and Africa. (EC, MSW)

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

34. **Definition of Human Rights: Actions to be taken:**

As used in this document, the term human rights refers to the full range of human rights, including political and civil rights, as well as economic, social, and cultural rights. Specifically, human rights include women and children, and expressly condemns torture, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, female genital mutilation, servitude; and shall provide for the right to privacy to freedom of thought, speech, assembly, religion, press, movement, to participation in government, the right to food, health, education, property, nationality, social security and leisure; the right to receive equal pay for equal work, to organize independent trade unions and associations, participate in the cultural life of the community and have equal rights in marriage, and have equal rights regardless of sexual orientation, and shall include such rights as set forth in international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. (PAC)

35. **CLOSED:** By the mid-1980s, 60 percent of Africa's 50 independent countries had military governments and, among the remaining civilian regimes, only five-Botswana, Gambia, Mauritius, Senegal, and Zimbabwe-had competitive party systems. Even in countries in which civilian regimes existed, national elections tended not to present voters with clear political alternatives. Instead, elections merely served to present the illusion of participation, creating pseudo-democracies (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

36. **CLOSED:** As the decade of the 1980s drew to a close, the world was in the midst of what many observers described as a worldwide democratic revolution. A convergence of political, economic, social, and cultural crises resulted in the collapse of authoritarianism around the world symbolized most dramatically by the fall of the Berlin Wall and culminating with the breakup of the Soviet communist empire and the overthrow of apartheid in South Africa. The enormity of these events was but a reflection of a deeper questioning about the validity of authoritarian solutions to socio-political and economic problems. Both the dramatic events themselves as well as the ensuing open and public debates surrounding their meaning were quickly communicated worldwide via satellite communications technology. Almost on a daily basis global developments were beamed into the homes of people living in the most remote corners of the world. The trend away from authoritarian rule and towards democracy in many places seemed contagious, awakening democratic yearnings in societies long characterized by authoritarian rule. Nowhere was this more true than in Africa (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

37.

CLOSED: Africans from all walks of life realized that more than ever before they were going to have to find African solutions to their problems. For many observers, the 1980s had been considered "The Lost Decade" for Africa because many of the continent's economies suffered under the multiple legacies of economic mismanagement, political corruption, deep social malaise, and for some countries, the devastating impact of the Cold War struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The confluence of a radically changing global environment and the profound crises of African political economy created new opportunities for change to which both the international donor community and African civil society dramatically responded. A segment of the international community, headed by Western democratic regimes and multilateral financial institutions, identified misguided state-directed economic policies and bad governance by African regimes as the root cause of economic and social crises. By the end of the 1980s, donors were not only insisting on economic policy reform but were also demanding the establishment of good governance as a condition for further economic assistance to Africa (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

38.

CLOSED: Simultaneously civil society, rendered virtually extinct by nearly three decades of autocratic domination, re-emerged with vigor and vitality. African associational life assumed dynamic qualities involving the (re)emergence of a wide variety of populist, professional, and political movements that gave expression to long suppressed democratic aspirations. Civic associations by the late 1980s had begun to mobilize around political issues. These groups were now demanding not only a return to democratic pluralism, but also social justice and guarantees of human and civil rights (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

39.

CLOSED: Affected by pressures emanating from both within and outside their societies, autocratic regimes in Africa began to yield to the democratic impulses of society by the early 1990s. By that time all but a handful of authoritarian regimes on the continent had embarked on political liberalization programs leaning towards multiparty democracy (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

40.

CLOSED: As Africa faces the 21st century, democratization, if not democracy, seems to be re-establishing roots in the many parts of the continent. It is too soon to talk about the consolidation of sustainable democracy in most places. In fact in most places, one can only speak of fragments of democracy while others exhibit only procedural democracy. Indeed, in some countries there has been significant backsliding in which older authoritarian practices are now being concealed behind a newer "democratic" facade. By the early 1990s most incumbents had learned the art of controlling the process of competitive elections, thereby receiving the grudging approval of Western donors without, however, giving up national power. In other words, while African autocrats submitted to democratic elections, they did not succumb to them. And, as this decade comes to an end, political liberalization has not automatically resulted in the establishment and consolidation of democracy. Challenges to the old regime have produced an array of outcomes, ranging from democratic transition in Benin and Mali to political deadlock in Togo, Kenya, Tunisia, and Egypt; civil catastrophe in Rwanda, Burundi, and Algeria; state collapse in Somalia and Liberia; and uncertain regime transformation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (the former Zaire) (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

41.

CLOSED: However, what is significant is that in recent years the forces of democracy have undermined the autocratic impulse of several African regimes. Yet, democratic consolidation on the continent is likely to be slow, halting, and uneven-in the short term at least. Despite the slow, halting, and irregular progress, it seems reasonable to assume that the overall trend will move in a positive direction. These gains can be greatly enhanced with the continued support of outside supporters such as the United States (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

42.

CLOSED: As the forces of globalization march on, it is clear that it is in the U.S. national interest to have a stable and successful Africa. In order for Africa to become a full partner in the global economy, the U.S. must assist African countries to build institutional capacity, promote democratic participation and engender respect for human rights. To achieve this goal the U.S. must make democracy, human rights, and rule of law a central part of its Africa policy (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

43.

CLOSED: While popular forces in Africa must be given credit for "pushing the democratic envelope" in their respective countries, external actors have also tried to have an impact on this process. This external support has come mainly from multilateral aid agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the European Union (EU), and donor countries such as Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States. The multilateral aid agencies claim only to be interested in good governance in Africa, but the same enabling environment that facilitates good governance is also favorable to democratization. Good governance exists when political regimes become accountable, responsible, transparent, and respectful of the rule of law. Bilateral donors in particular have emphasized both the need for good governance and political liberalization (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

44.

CLOSED: The global dimension remains pronounced but unpredictable in Africa. The international financial institutions, for example, dominate economic policy and resource mobilization on the continent yet are ill-equipped "to play political midwife, while the diplomatic services of Western industrialized countries are seldom able to counter the strategies of incumbent regimes to adopt variations of the 'Chinese model,' market reforms accompanied by limited or deferred political liberalization." The causes of African democracy and human rights are now at a critical juncture. At the very moment when the international community should be stepping up its support for democratic forces in Africa, providing the necessary moral, political, and economic impetus for fundamental change, there is a danger that donor fatigue and changing world priorities may lead to a lessening of such support. What is more troubling than apparent donor fatigue, is the tendency in the international community to virtually ignore the repressive tendencies of those they regard as the new African leaders. The international community seems satisfied now to settle for political stability in Africa rather than to insist on democracy and human rights for all. It is critical that constituency groups such as the National Summit on Africa not allow this to happen and, in fact, do all that is necessary to place African democracy and human rights at the head of the African agenda of the United States (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

The U.S. must work with African countries to build a culture of democracy. In doing so, it is important to remember that democracy is not new to Africa and that while democracy is universally valued, it needs to be considered in context of African realities. Building a culture of democracy must make effective use of indigenous values, institutions, and social mores. However, such consideration must not be allowed to degenerate into a relativistic pretext for authoritarianism which is itself inimical to many indigenous African political theories and practices. Certain elements of traditional political theory and practice, such as popular participation and consensus building, are essential when developing principles of democracy that are appropriate within the African context. Local or grassroots democracy is essential in the African context, especially in rural areas, if democracy is to be truly substantive (as opposed to a procedural ritual relating to events and institutions in an often distant capital) for the majority of African people. Likewise, the concept of human rights is not new to Africa. Principles of human rights are rooted in the universal quest for human dignity although there is considerable variation of cultural perspectives on details. Lastly, caution is required: Despite the invaluable support of external actors, the drive for democracy and human rights is, for the most part, a result of concerted action on the part of African citizens themselves. It is therefore important for the U.S., and other external supporters of African democracy and human rights, to take care and not usurp the political space that African peoples are opening for themselves to express their own views and aspirations for change. The U.S. must endeavor to ensure that African input is an integral part of the design, implementation and evaluation of all relevant project activities. (NE)

46.

CLOSED: The Clinton Administration has recently been particularly conspicuous in its tolerance of grave human rights violations in some states while being critical of human rights practices in other states. Although it has devoted relatively high level attention (i.e. December 1997 trip to Africa of Secretary of State Albright and the trip by President Clinton himself in spring 1998), the emphasis of new Africa policy is not on democracy and human rights but rather on trade and security. Despite public pronouncements to the contrary, by its actions or lack thereof, the Administration seems unwilling to make democracy and human rights, and rule of law a central part of its Africa policy. Administration officials claim that U.S. policy cannot be held hostage to human rights and that it "cannot apply a cookie cutter approach" to these issues (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

47.

CLOSED: Building a culture of democracy includes establishing democratic institutions, promoting human rights, promoting civic education, empowering disadvantaged groups such as women, youth and children. Several U.S. programs are already being implemented in this area. For example, the U.S. has encouraged the creation of in-house democracy and governance programs at each mission such as the Democracy and Human Rights Fund, which permits diplomatic posts to issue small grants to civil society groups that are actively involved in projects promoting democracy and human rights. The Democracy and Human Rights Fund is very useful since it provides administrators with the flexibility to respond quickly to the needs of civil society groups. This and other programs need to be strengthened and expanded (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW).

Policy Recommendations

48. Promotion of Democratic Pluralism, Good Governance, Rule of Law and Social Justice: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should promote economic, social, and cultural rights in its foreign policy and its official aid programs to Africa. (NE, EC)
- b) The U.S. should vigorously encourage, through diplomacy and public pronouncements, African leaders to make credible commitments to respect and promote democratic pluralism, good governance, the rule of law and social justice. (MW, SE, NE)
- c) In promoting democracy in Africa, the U.S. should recognize the existence of indigenous democratic forms of government and work to reconcile these indigenous democratic forms with modern democratic forms adapted to the African reality. (SE)
- d) The U.S. public and government should lead a campaign to make reports and commitments on human rights and on progress in democratization a required part of every international aid donor meeting and other appropriate international meetings for all countries, including those in Africa. These meetings should be open to the non-governmental community, the press, and the public. (NE)
- e) The U.S. should also campaign to make all international institutions (including the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization), explicitly and operationally committed to the promotion of human rights, political democracy and participatory development everywhere. This should include amending, as needed, the charters of these organizations so they can no longer offer support and legitimacy to illegitimate governments. These international institutions themselves should be fully democratized. (NE)
- f) The U.S. government at every level (including private agencies, companies, and foundations), should work actively through workshops, seminars and short courses with African legislatures, politicians, journalists, state functionaries and other elements of civil society to promote knowledge of the workings, ideals and practices of democracy, including participation in policy-making, governance, and other issues of civil society. (NE)
- g) U.S. policy should encourage the Organization of African Unity (the leading African regional organization) to promote democratic institutions and practices continent-wide. (PAC)
- h) U.S. civil society organizations should work with their counterparts in Africa to help Africans strengthen democratic traditions and establish democratic procedures in all institutions of society. (EC)

19. **Promotion of Democracy and Respect for Human Rights: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. government should make the promotion of democracy and respect for human rights central to its policy. To this end:

- a) U.S. foreign assistance programs, trade benefits, and security assistance should be available on a preferential basis to those countries that implement policies that are respectful of human rights, especially those policies endorsed by African non-governmental human rights and social justice organizations. (NE)
- b) The U.S. should carefully monitor democracy over time on the basis of clear and firm benchmarks. In addition to accepted international definitions of free and fair elections and human rights, crucial democratic benchmarks and goals should include:
 - i. democratic decentralization, democratic elections, and democratic government at the local and intermediate (e.g. district or regional) levels;
 - ii. acceptance by all political parties and contestants of the electoral laws, procedures and institutions as free and fair, and of particular election results as true and just;
 - iii. constitutional reform to eliminate all anti-democratic vestiges of the authoritarian state, and to meet the needs of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies;
 - iv. a functioning and transparent legislature with avenues for public input on laws and deliberation;
 - v. the development of a free press including private and public access to broadcast mass media especially radio; and
 - vi. economic and social justice, and gender equality. (NE)
- c) Annual State Department human rights reports should be expanded to include full reporting on the status of democratization. (NE)
- d) U.S. policy with respect to human rights should be rooted in the international framework and should be justified, as much as possible, in terms of international law rather than American values. (SE)
- e) The U.S. should develop a code of conduct (through consultations between U.S. and African non-governmental organizations and governments), for trade and non-emergency economic and security assistance to be based on a country's respect for and protection of human rights as defined by the African Charter and International Bill of Human Rights. The code should set clear and measurable criteria. Aid to the countries that do not meet these benchmarks should be restricted to organizations such as trade unions, human rights groups, church organizations, students associations, women's groups and independent media. (EC)

20. **Assistance to Democratic Forces in Africa: Actions to be taken:**

- a) U.S. assistance to democratic forces in Africa should be aimed at:
 - i. creating enabling environments for the strengthening of civil society and fostering of democratic values; (NE, SE, PAC, MSW)
 - ii. ensuring equity regardless of gender, race, color, sex, religion, political or other opinion, national or other social origin, property, birth, language, disability, class, racial and other status as defined in Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and ensuring the consistent observance of equal citizenship rights; (NE)

- iii. aiding in the establishment of an independent and impartial judiciary; (PAC)
 - iv. governance according to the rule of law; (NE, SE, MW, PAC, EC, MSW)
 - v. respect for the full array of internationally recognized due process rights, and equal access to justice and legal counsel; and (MW)
 - vi. the elimination of corruption. (NE, SE, PAC, EC, MSW)
- b) The notion of human rights should extend beyond political and civil rights to include economic, social and cultural rights. To this end, the U.S. should support African activists working on economic, social and cultural rights. (NE)
 - c) The U.S. should ratify the United Nations International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. (NE)
 - d) The U.S. government should ensure the promotion of and respect for the United Nations Human Rights Defenders Declaration and the Johannesburg Declaration. (EC)

51. Creation of Democratic Institutions and Promotion of Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government should increase the monetary and political support directed toward the creation of democratic institutions and the protection of human rights. This should include support for developing emerging leaderships' and for identifying and supporting grassroots or other non-governmental interest groups (African and Pan-African) that have been previously unrepresented in the political process. To further facilitate these efforts, USAID must continue working with non-governmental organizations. (SE, MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW)

52. Human Rights Training: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should ensure that recipients of its military assistance incorporate human rights education as a core component of military training programs. In addition, financial and logistical support for regional peacekeeping should incorporate universal standards of human rights as well as research in local culture, knowledge and processes. (SE, NE)
- b) The U.S. should closely monitor the promotion of and respect for human rights standards by recipients of U.S. military assistance. (MW)
- c) The U.S. should work in conjunction with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to assure that African countries comply with universal human rights standards. (MSW)
- d) In order to ensure that the record of human rights is not distorted by political and other motives, human rights assessments should be performed by a special, unbiased commission appointed by the Congress; (SE)
- e) U.S. military programs should be governed by a code of conduct developed in consultation with U.S. and African non-governmental organizations and governments. Programs should be conditioned upon a country's respect for human rights as defined by the African Charter and International Bill of Human Rights. Programs to countries that do not meet that criteria should be suspended until they comply. (EC)
- f) U.S. domestic administrators should have pre-established ramifications for non-compliance with the universal standards of the human rights policy. (MSW)
- g) The U.S. government should establish policy initiatives that discourage the organized splintering of Africa along ethnic or clan lines. (SE)

3. U.S. Government Dialogue with Constituencies for Africa: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. government should greatly expand its dialogue with American constituencies for Africa, particularly African immigrants with knowledge of their countries of origin and their newfound home of the U.S. The views of these constituencies should be taken into consideration when developing and implementing policy. (MW)

54. Intra-Africa and U.S.-Africa Democracy Dialogue: Actions to be taken:

- a) U.S. government entities, the private sector, non-governmental organizations, and foundations in the U.S. should support, promote and enhance intra-African democratically-based dialogue among political leaders, opinion makers, grass roots organizations, regional, domestic and local non-governmental organizations, and other representatives of civil society. (PAC)
- b) U.S. diplomatic personnel should constantly reinforce the concept of tolerance and underscore the legitimacy and right of civil society to operate. (EC)
- c) The U.S. should engage in collaborative efforts with African countries on aspects of international human rights protection by holding regular summits, evaluation groups, and embarking on grassroots institution-building. To this end, a quasi-government authority should be established in America and each African country that will be responsible for communicating the policies that are adopted and gather feedback that can influence the momentum of acceptance and/or change of policies. (PAC)
- d) The U.S. government should increase Fulbright scholarships to support greater numbers of students from African universities to come and study in U.S. universities and interact with American students, and to foster research opportunities on democratization and human rights. (NE)

55. Formation of Alliance of U.S. Constituencies for Africa: Actions to be taken:

An alliance of constituencies for Africa, with national, regional, and local representation should be formed to encourage the U.S. government to consistently pursue a pro-active and fair Africa policy, and to ensure that the promotion of democracy and human rights, and the pursuit of universal human rights in Africa are made a permanent centerpiece of the foreign policy agenda of the U.S. (EC)

56. Development of Institutional Capacity for Democracy: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government should recognize and support the importance of development for the sustaining of institutional apparatus for democracy and for continued popular support for this form of government. To this end, funds should be made available to organizations where the learning of social democratic principles and practices further develop in African societies. (SE)

57. Economic Development and Democracy and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

- a) In its policies toward Africa, the U.S. government should recognize that there is a right to development and that the economic, social and cultural rights of every individual must be recognized. (MW)
- b) The U.S. should seek to ensure that international monetary and financial institutions as well as transnational corporations link their support to African countries based on human rights and the rule of law, particularly economic, social and cultural rights. These institutions and corporations should adhere to the same human rights standards as required by U.S. law. (PAC)
- c) Financial and other support from any source (including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and other financial institutions) to African countries should take into consideration the quality of life and democratic choice of African residents in order to ensure benefits for the people of Africa. (PAC)
- d) African contributions to democracy and basic human rights must be recognized. (PAC)

58. Multilateral Institutions, Economic Reforms and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government should use its vote in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to investigate the destructive impact of Structural Adjustment Programs and policies on the realization of human rights in recipient countries. (MW)

59. Debt: Actions to be taken:

Since the debt crisis is impacting virtually all human rights in African countries and the right to development has been recognized by the U.S., the U.S. should support the Jubilee 2000 proposal to cancel the public and private debts of the poorest African countries. (MSW)

60. Economic Sanctions, Conditionalities and Human Rights Abuses: Actions to be taken:

- a) The power to use conditionality and economic sanctions should rest primarily with the Congress where U.S. citizens' voices are more likely to be represented in policy. (MW)
- b) U.S. and African civil society organizations that document human rights violations and promote human rights and democracy should be included in Congressional deliberations to determine the appropriate use of conditionalities and economic sanctions. (MW)
- c) The U.S. should use conditionality and economic sanctions to punish those countries where a pattern of human rights violation persists. (MW)

61. Trade and Aid: Actions to be taken:

While many people in Africa and the U.S. argue that Africa needs trade not aid, the reality is that Africa needs, and deserves, both fair trade and generous U.S. aid to meet its economic, social and democratic needs. Many African countries face growing populations and their development needs-- especially in the areas of education, environmental protection, public health, public infrastructure, human rights and political reforms--cannot be met by free trade and the operation of market forces. In many cases, the only real alternative to generous aid is debt or taxation. The tax base is often inadequate and debt is already excessive. The U.S. should, therefore, expand its efforts to promote debt relief. It should commit itself to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) goal of foreign aid equivalent to 0.7 % GNP. (NE)

62. Media and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. government must support a free press, African and international media watch-groups, and other institutions that promote the free flow of information. To this end, the U.S. government should oppose the persecution of journalists, scholars, and opinion leaders and should discourage government attacks on the press, trade unions, teachers, student associations, and independent organizations; (SE)
- b) The U.S. should discourage government control of the media, trade unions, and independent organizations; and (SE)
- c) The U.S. should not give economic assistance to undemocratic regimes that practice human rights violations. (PAC)

63. International Criminal Court: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S should support the campaign to hold war criminals accountable for violations of human rights and crimes against humanity by ratifying the statute establishing the International Criminal Court. (SE, MW, PAC, MSW)
- b) All assets of individuals who violate human rights and commit crimes against humanity should be confiscated or frozen, and returned to their respective countries. (EC)
- c) Any leaders accused of human rights violations and crimes against humanity should not be given refugee status by any UN member, or granted visas to visit any member states. (PAC)
- d) The U.S. should encourage African governments to ratify African Human Rights and Peoples Court that has been proposed by the Organization of African Unity. (MSW)

64. Collaboration with International Human Rights Agencies: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. government should make as much use as possible of international human rights agencies and develop multilateral coalitions to press governments that abuse human rights to allow

appropriate human rights, non-governmental organizations and United Nations mechanisms to visit, investigate, and make recommendations. These mechanisms include: the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention; the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances; the Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman, and Degrading Treatment; the Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions; and the Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance. Visits by members of the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights should also be encouraged. (SE)

- b) The U.S. should work within a multilateral framework to bring pressure to bear on countries with extensive political imprisonment to grant access to the International Committee of the Red Cross. (SE)

65. Human Rights Commissions: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government should support the establishment of institutions such as national or regional human rights commissions consistent with minimum international standards (Paris Principles). (SE)

66. Business, Ethics, and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. government should put pressure on U.S.-based companies doing business in Africa to conduct their operations ethically, paying particular attention to human rights including the right of workers to organize. (SE)
- b) The U.S. government should urge corporations to adopt and abide by established codes of conduct in their business operations in Africa. Among the provisions that should be included are: a safe and healthy workplace; avoidance of child labor; avoidance of forced labor of any kind; avoidance of discrimination based on race, religion, sex, ethnicity, national origin, or other status; and protection of the environment. (SE)
- c) The U.S. Congress should pass legislation mandating that U.S. corporations and their subsidiaries investing in Africa and other regions of the world, operate in conformity with all laws relating to the rights of workers currently in force in the U.S. and those of the International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions on trade union rights, including the right of free association and collective bargaining. The U.S. Congress should also require U.S. corporations and their subsidiaries to abide by internationally recognized standards of working conditions and health and safety. (EC, MW)
- d) The U.S. government should require that U.S. businessmen operating in Africa to commit resources to providing educational and critical social services to the communities or countries in which they are investing. (EC)

67. Group of Eight (G8) and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should take action in the G8 Summit to prevent human rights violators from keeping funds abroad. (SE)

68. United States Information Agency and Democracy: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government should continue to support United States Information Agency programs that bring male and female leaders to the U.S. for focused and informed visits aimed at promoting intercultural understanding and democracy on both sides of the Atlantic. Funding for this program should be restored to former levels or increased. (SE)

69. Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing: Actions to be taken:

- a) In order to ensure that the negligence and dereliction of responsibility that characterized American policy toward Rwanda in 1994 never happens again, the U.S. government should apply stringent sanctions against any African government that commits or countenances genocide or ethnic cleansing. (PAC)
- b) The U.S. should increase its assistance and support for the International Ad Hoc Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. (MW)

70. Military Regimes: Actions to be taken:

- a) Military regimes are not only illegal under international law but the Organization of Africa Unity also recently passed a resolution outlawing military regimes and any other change of government by anti-democratic means. The U.S. should, therefore, refuse to recognize military regimes and deny such regimes any assistance, aid or support. (MW, NE)
- b) The U.S. should work with other governments to ensure that they too do not support military regimes. (MW, NE)

71. International Convention on the Rights of the Child: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should take steps to help African countries solve the problems of child soldiers and implement the provisions of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child. (MW)

72. Degradation of Environment and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

Given that all people have the right to a toxic-free and waste-free environment, the U.S. should give assistance to African governments to control and resist the degradation of their environments. (MW)

73. Female Genital Mutilation and Violence Against Women: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should recognize Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) as a form of persecution. As such, U.S. policy should be revised to allow for the extension of full asylum and refugee status to women and girls fleeing the threat of unwanted FGM. Asylum should also be extended to women and girls who are already in the U.S. but who fear FGM if they were to return to their countries of origin. (MW, PAC, NE)

- b) The U.S. should encourage and support government and non- governmental organizations' efforts to address violence against women, including Female Genital Mutilation, rape, and domestic violence. (MW)
- c) Rather than attempt to dictate policy on the issue of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) or Circumcision to African countries, the U.S. should support the efforts of Africans, especially African women, to address this issue. (NE)
- d) The U.S. should cooperate with non-governmental and international organizations concerned with the problem of female genital mutilation. (PAC)

74. Education and Democracy & Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should work with African governments to make basic education free for all, and to ensure that all African children have equal access to education up to Grade 8. (MW)
- b) Educators and government officials should establish programs to inform the public about global human rights and democratic issues including those in Africa, in public and private schools, as well as in religious and community organizations. (PAC)

75. Ratification of International Treaties and Conventions: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should ratify and accede to:
 - i. United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW);
 - ii. the Convention on the Rights of the Child;
 - iii. the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane and Degrading Treatment or Punishment;
 - iv. the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others;
 - v. the Declaration of the Right to Development;
 - vi. International Treaty to ban Landmines;
 - vii. the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and
 - viii. the International Labor Organization's conventions on child labor and forced labor. (MW, MSW, NE)
- b) The U.S. should use its diplomacy to encourage all African countries that have not ratified any of the above-mentioned treaties and conventions to do so. (MW)
- c) The U.S. should work to strengthen the implementation of all relevant human rights institutions with international cooperation, in order to combat and eliminate organized and other forms of trafficking in women and children, including trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Legal and social services should be provided to the victims. There should also be provisions for international cooperation to prosecute and punish those responsible for organized exploitation of women and children. (MSW)

- d) In order to ensure analysis and review of the human rights of women, gender aspects should be included in reporting on all human rights conventions and instruments. (MSW)
- e) The U.S. should support President Clinton's Executive Order 13107 (Implementation of Human Rights Treaties) of December 1998 to implement Human Rights Treaties, and should develop all possible means to educate the public about these treaties and in particular how they can promote international solidarity. (NE)

6. **Human Rights Violations: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The basis of U.S. efforts on behalf of human rights should be the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all related United Nations and other international human rights agreements. (NE)
- b) As required by international law, the U.S. must accept responsibility for human rights violations by its troops and advisors, when these occur during unilateral or multilateral operations. The U.S. must bring military personnel to justice when they have engaged in such abuses. (MW)
- c) The U.S. should find better and more effective ways of holding political leaders in Africa accountable for human rights violations of their citizens. This could be achieved by working with the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) in instituting and pursuing policies that discourage OAU member countries from committing human rights violations. (NE)

7. **Slavery: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. government should offer a public apology to Africans for allowing the capture and abduction of Africans from their land, for participating in slavery, and for remaining silent in the European colonization and appropriation of resources. (MW, NE)
- b) African countries should receive reparations for slavery, colonialism and the support for dictators of corrupt governments. These reparations should be in the form of debt cancellations of all bilateral and multilateral debt. (MW)
- c) The U.S. should denounce, condemn and vigorously oppose the practice of slavery in Sudan, Mauritania and other countries where slavery is practiced. The U.S. should join in collective action with other countries and with international organizations to seek an end to this practice. (PAC)
- d) The U.S. should undertake studies and investigations to assess the effects of redemption programs, involving the purchase of freedom for slaves, by humanitarian organizations. (PAC)

78. U.S. Foreign Service: Actions to be taken:

Staff at U.S. embassies must be properly trained in the local language and culture to accord respect to nationals where they are domiciled. (PAC)

79. African Political Systems, Democracy, and Conflict Resolution: Actions to be taken:

- a) Recognizing that most African states are multi-ethnic and multi-cultural like the U.S., but have different histories and different ethnic conflicts including genocide, the U.S. should also recognize that, beyond an irreducible minimum standard of individual human rights, democracy in African countries may require innovations in federalism, decentralization, local autonomy, proportional representation, group rights and representation, affirmative action, consociationalism or power-sharing, all of which depart from the American model of federalism and liberal democracy. The U.S. government and private organizations, should encourage democratic dialogue in Africa on these issues and work to promote democratic forms of conflict resolution, accommodation, and the prevention of ethnic or cultural conflict. (NE)
- b) Where it is relevant and appropriate, U.S. policymakers should encourage and support African experimentation with the devolution of power including any form of government that brings control to local communities, be it decentralization, proportional representation, federalism, or indigenous African innovations and reforms along these lines. (PAC)

80. Humanitarian Crises and Refugees: Actions to be taken:

- a) African humanitarian crises that generate refugees should be treated proportionally to crises elsewhere. The President and his designates should recognize the victims of these crises as special humanitarian refugees. (PAC)
- b) U.S. policy toward refugees in Africa must be dramatically revised to prioritize the reunification of families in the U.S. and to increase the annual allocations of visas for African refugees allowed to settle in the U.S. Given present levels, there should be, at least, a three-fold increase in this allocation. There should be no discrimination of holding African refugees to a higher standard for admission than those refugees from other continents. (PAC)
- c) The U.S. and the United Nations, and non-governmental organizations must improve and increase the current delivery of relief services to refugees, including food and medical supplies. Increased funding should be allocated to grassroots non-governmental organizations engaged in relief for Africans. (PAC)
- d) The U.S. and donor nations should increase funding to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to ensure that increased humanitarian assistance is available to assist and protect both refugees and internally displaced persons in Africa. Increased support should cover special services to protect women at risk and children, support for the UNHCR and non-governmental organizations to protect internally displaced persons throughout

Africa, and economic assistance to host (first asylum) countries so that they can extend protection and hospitality to refugees from adjacent countries. (EC)

1. **Women, Democracy and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. should support and promote the rights of women to participate in all aspects of the political process including voting, running for and being elected to office, and other forms of participation. (PAC)
- b) Women's human rights should be prioritized in all democracy, human rights and development projects in Africa funded by the U.S. government. (EC)
- c) The U.S. should develop a comprehensive human rights education program and raise awareness among women and others of the human rights of women. (MSW)

82. **U.S. Standards for Democracy and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. must be consistent in its policy and practices towards Africa. It must avoid double standards of opposing authoritarianism in one country while tolerating it in another. It should not, for example, apply one standard of democracy and human rights to countries in Europe and another (often lower) standard to countries in Africa. (NE)

83. **Transparency of U.S. Support to Africa: Actions to be taken:**

All support by the U.S. should be conveyed with maximum transparency. (MW)

84. **Alliances with Latin American and Caribbean Countries: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should participate in regional and multilateral alliances with Latin American/Caribbean countries, among others, especially those with sizable populations of African descent, for purposes of encouraging and promoting Human Rights and Democracy in Africa. This could be done by holding regular summits, evaluations, and institution building activities. (PAC)

85. **Trade and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:**

Congress should adopt trade legislation for Africa that respects the dignity of work, comply's with internationally recognized workers' rights, as well as principles of fair trade and investment. (PAC)

86. **Warfare, Forced Labor, and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:**

- a) Considering that African governments are called on to protect the rights of every person, (including women and children) against military conscription, forced labor, forced prostitution, and other abuses, the U.S should address the escalation of warfare in Africa as a human rights crisis. (PAC)

87. Landmines: Actions to be taken:

- a) Since landmines threaten basic human rights such as the rights to life and freedom of movement even long after the wars are over, the U.S. government should sign and ratify the International Treaty to Ban Landmines and should increase all necessary support for mine clearance, victim assistance, and mine awareness programs in affected African countries. (MSW)
- b) Advocates for Africa should use the issue of landmines to forge alliances with constituents for other parts of the world, e.g. Latin America. (EC)

88. Child Soldiers: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should support international efforts to enact the optional protocol on child soldiers. (EC)
- b) Advocates for Africa should use the issue of child soldiers to forge alliances with constituents for other parts of the world, e.g. Latin America. (EC)

89. Effect of War on Children: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should publicize and take action on the recommendations of the UN study on the effect of war on children. (PAC)

90. Donors and the Role of African Diaspora in Democracy and Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

The National Endowment for Democracy and similar donors should recognize the importance of members of the African Diaspora in the struggle for African democracy and human rights. As such, these donors should make funds available to Diaspora organizations based on and outside the African continent, and not just to organizations inside an African country where they are often stifled. (NE)

91. African Participation in Social Policy Formulation: Actions to be taken:

Recognizing the importance of citizen participation in the formation of social policy, as enumerated in human rights instruments, the U.S. should extensively consult with those directly affected by U.S. policies, in this instance the African people, and in particular, the most disenfranchised. (NE)

92. Establishing True Partnerships with Africa: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should encourage organizations to work with and relate to rather than assist, support or outright teach Africans. (NE)

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, QUALITY OF LIFE, AND THE ENVIRONMENT**93. New Preamble:**

Sustainable development is inseparable from human rights, respect and freedom population and environment; health and education; history and cultural traditions; and economic opportunity. Therefore, U.S. policy towards Africa should support the "holistic" development of Africa. (PAC)

Statement of Principle:

When considering and implementing U.S. policies in Africa, the U.S. must value and respect the rich histories, traditions, and cultures of the people of Africa. Policymakers should strive to protect dignity and pride of the individual as well as the diverse ethnic groups within Africa. (PAC)

94.

CLOSED: Sustainable development, quality of life, and the environment are critical to Africa's future. These subject areas are broad, and encompass the interrelated issues of food security, human resource development, education, population growth, reproductive health, capacity building, participatory development methods, regional economic cooperation, and management of development assistance. Five of the most important issues in sustainable development in Africa today are resource mobilization and economic growth, the environment, land tenure, science and technology, and health and nutrition. It is important for the U.S. to engage African countries and peoples in these areas. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

95.

CLOSED: Africa has a positive impact on the global environment because it acts as a "carbon sink," that cleanses the atmosphere and its exploitable natural resources (which account for a large fraction of the world's reserves) contribute to world development. The sustainable and equitable exploitation of these natural resources for global good hinges on political stability, which both the development of infrastructure and the improvement of living standards could enhance. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

96.

CLOSED: Underdevelopment and environmental degradation in Africa have negative impacts on the economies of both African and other countries, including the U.S. With the increased globalization of economies, political and social interdependence among countries, and salience of trans-boundary phenomena such as war, pollution, and infectious diseases, it becomes imperative for the world that African countries be able to participate more equitably in the international arena. Investing in African research and scholarship, and in collaborative mechanisms that build capacity and strengthen relevant institutions, including those in science and technology, will have long-term payoffs for the U.S. as well. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

97. **CLOSED:** Lasting progress toward the elimination of poverty, civil war, hunger, and environmental degradation, and rapid population growth depends on finding viable ways to involve people broadly in a process of economic growth that can raise standards of living and quality of life and sustain over time. Under the structural conditions faced by most African countries economic growth is a tough proposition: the agricultural sector is large relative to the industrial sector; many countries are remote, vast, and carry small economic weight; poverty is extensive; populations are growing rapidly, especially in urban areas; the political scene is fragmented; many institutions are fragile; and the infrastructure is poor. Only strategies that explicitly address these constraints are likely to succeed; the goals of food security, poverty alleviation, peace, population stabilization, and environmental sustainability will be achieved on a long-term basis only if these participatory objectives are built into the approach to economic growth. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
98. **CLOSED:** The poor in Africa overwhelmingly live in (often remote) rural areas, are poorly endowed with educational and other assets that would enable them to grow out of poverty on their own, are young (under sixteen), and tend to be socially disadvantaged from an economic or political point of view. In many countries, women and, in some, minority ethnic groups need to mobilize. These are the structurally unemployed who make do with dwindling land resources, few ways to augment their productive assets, few markets for what they can sell, and little in the way of technological improvements. Mobilizing the productive talent of such people and giving them a stake in the future, a sense of control in their lives is key to progress. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
99. **CLOSED:** Achieving this mobilization requires a growing source of income that large numbers of poor people can share. There are relatively few candidates for producing this income in Africa today. In rural areas, where much of the problem is to be found, local markets for local products and services are saturated, even though a wide variety of studies show that local demand for locally produced items--construction materials, furniture, food and drink, services--is quite high when a recurring source of income is present. Studies throughout Africa have shown that generating a dollar of local income in remote rural areas tends to generate approximately an additional dollar of local income--beyond the initial dollar--from stimulation of local products and services that would not otherwise have a market. Increasingly, people need to be able to sell something to the cities and for export with high value added, such as meat, fish, milk, fruits, and vegetables. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
100. **CLOSED:** Resource mobilization must take account of African women who produce nearly 80 percent of the food across Africa. Their participation in policymaking and debates on future direction of an African-centered strategy of food production is critical. African women farmers are critical to plans to feed the people of Africa. African women have inherited important knowledge about agricultural production, medicinal plants, and the uses of Africa's rich and varied biological diversity. Yet they are generally not consulted or sought out for their advice on agricultural policies. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

101. **CLOSED:** One of the greatest barriers to participation in markets by rural people in Africa is the fear of not having access to sufficient purchasable food supplies in the event of need if one does not produce food oneself. It would be irresponsible to advocate household diversification away from starchy staples under current conditions of unpredictable food supplies, only partially liberalized linked markets, and arbitrary policy shifts without more predictable food prices and some form of public agency sharing food security risks with farmers. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
102. **CLOSED:** In urban areas the ranks of the unemployed continue to swell as a result of migration from countrysides with still too little economic promise and a shrinking resource base. Failure to address these root causes of unemployment in the cities will lead to frustration of virtually all efforts. Even so, mobilization of the current urban unemployed will require a policy regime that avoids giving undue incentives to the over-concentration of capital in some industries and the over-capitalization of individual plants, as occurred in the past. A more open banking sector will tend to remedy the problem of unequal capitalization by allocating funds to the points of highest return--most likely in the informal sector under liberalization. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
103. **CLOSED:** Development strategies that value and include women and the poor from the start are more likely to lead to food security and to alleviate poverty in a sustained way. Studies show that urban youth, rural women and other such identifiable groups face especially high barriers to participation in market-mediated economic growth. Difficulties with access to credit and land are examples. Policies that focus on improving the access of defined groups to information and assets can help increase participation, mobilize under-used resources, and alleviate relative as well as absolute poverty. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
104. **CLOSED:** Land tenure is profoundly connected to the objectives of economic growth, sustainable resource use, and democratization. Secure tenure is a precondition for investment and improvements in land resources. In most African countries, customary land tenure systems need recognition and strengthening, and land uses in urban centers, peri-urban areas, and other regions of intense commercial activity need limited, carefully targeted formalization of tenure. Consideration must be given to the question whether the norms of customary land tenure can give women effective control of land. Measures to limit speculation in rural land sales and to safeguard against the dispossession of the less powerful must be considered. Although the scope of private ownership of land must be decided on a country-by-country basis, such ownership should not be prohibited, as is the case in most African countries today. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

105. **CLOSED:** Science and technology are critical to sustainable development, quality of life, and the environment. Many in the field believe the future of African countries will be determined by the extent to which they can engage in science-led development. Especially as the 21st century begins, the creation, adaptation, and use of advanced ideas, techniques, and approaches will be necessary to achieve sustainable growth and enhance the quality of life. One challenge is how to finance the expensive tasks of training, research, development, and vital institutional strengthening in the associated areas of management, regulation, and technology use. The U.S. needs to go out of its way to help build science and technology capacity in Africa, which would include involving more African experts and specialists in projects that affect their future and that of the rest of the globe, as well as efforts to strengthen African institutions. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
106. **CLOSED:** Some contend that African societies, because of their level of (under) development, require only intermediate technologies and a capacity in the applied sciences, whereas more developed nations can afford and make use of the basic sciences as well. This is a false dichotomy. Appropriate technology does have a positive role to play, but the assumption here is that one can import technologies (rationally evaluating their potential utility) or come up with technical innovations (creating new methods or products) in the absence of a basic grounding in the basic sciences. This is a condescending view as well, implying that Africans are somehow ill- equipped to benefit from or understand the latest and most complex advances in technology. It also ignores opportunities to "leap frog" environmentally "dirty" stages for more efficient and advanced technologies. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
107. **CLOSED:** Environmental and human health problems are interwoven and will grow worse with continued urbanization and industrial activity without adequate management and environmental controls. The causes of ill health and the health system responses are both under intense scrutiny at present. Does personal behavior explain illness? Does education hold the key to better health? Or do a poor environment and low incomes and poor education account for illness and does sustainable development hold the prescription for longevity? In health systems, two major aid trends are discernible: a push for privatization of health services (cost sharing and health insurance schemes) and the increasing use of non-governmental organizations, including parochial missions, to deliver health services in the private sector. Both policies must be reconsidered because the magnitudes of public health problems in Africa make this an inadequate response. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

108. **CLOSED:** We believe that health is a human right and that it is linked to social, cultural, economic, civil, and political rights. Discussions about health require an interdisciplinary focus: Health is not only a physical, fiscal, and medical question but also a social issue, related to the economy, environmental issues, militarization, ethnic conflicts, refugee problems, education, cultural practices, human rights, and the arts. Health problems need analysis in the context of global interdependence and international politics. Discussions should focus on how climate changes will dislocate populations and cause food shortages, how changes in economic and social policies affect the delivery of health services, and how the escalation of ethnic politics and armed conflicts have an impact on health and human rights. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

109. **CLOSED:** In the apartheid era, groups in the United States mounted a powerful divestment campaign against companies that did business in South Africa. We propose another divestment campaign, mounted this time against companies that profit from premature death. For example, we could ask university pension funds to divest shares in tobacco and pharmaceutical companies that do not observe ethical codes of conduct. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

110. **CLOSED:** All Africans, including those challenged by physical and mental disabilities, have a right to lives characterized by independence, dignity, and productivity. The struggle on the part of persons with disabilities to operationalize this right is universal. There are over 50 million disabled people in Africa. Most of the disadvantaged citizens in Africa are persons with disabilities who are members of vulnerable groups already experiencing diminished access to systems that prepare people to pursue opportunities: the poor, those living in isolated rural areas, children, women, and the elderly. For example, 50 percent of the disabled are women. The reality in much of Africa is that disabled people are often excluded from education and employment, immobilized by inadequate transportation systems and architectural barriers, maintained in sub-standard living conditions, and denied the benefits of long-term health care. In addition, having a disabled member often contributes to a family's level of poverty. For instance, only 2% of the disabled have access to any form of rehabilitation; 90 percent of children with mental disability die before the age of 5; 70 percent of disabled adults are unemployed and live in poverty. (MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW, Not Part of Southeast Policy Plan of Action.)

Policy Recommendations

111. Resource Mobilization and Economic Growth: Actions to be taken:

If the afflictions of poverty, chronic but preventable illness, civil war, hunger and environmental degradation are to be alleviated, the United States, working collaboratively with African countries, must find viable ways to involve people broadly in a process of economic growth that can raise both the standards of living and quality of life sustainably over time. This involvement will require active

attention to creation of a policy, institutional, and infrastructural environment conducive to participation. Most importantly, U.S. and African governmental and non-governmental agencies should promote economic policies that encourage self-reliance and economic independence, and should engage in partnerships to this specific end. (EC, MW)

112. African Farmers' Cooperatives and Associations: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should encourage and support environmentally sustainable corporate investments in institutions such as women's dairy co-operatives in Uganda and Kenya, or cotton producers' associations for contract farming in West Africa. These cooperatives and associations are run by the farmers themselves and are, as such, answerable to the participants. For small farmers, these institutions decrease the risk and uncertainty of participation in high-value markets and improve their access to resources, information, inputs, and markets. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should work with farmers' associations and cooperatives to ensure a conducive regulatory environment to prevent corruption on the part of co-op officials. (SE, NE, MSW)
- c) The U.S. should work with the cooperatives to provide adequate management, marketing, and operational training to co-op members to ensure that these co-ops remain competitive and sustainable. (NE)
- d) Profitability is key: governments, investors, and donors must take a substantially pro-active policy stance to decrease the real unit costs of production through focused research and extension services, and to greatly decrease real unit transport costs which are very high in Africa. (SE, NE, MSW)
- e) The U.S. should support a policy that would ensure that a greater proportion of profits go to local communities, co-operatives, farmers, and other producers. (PAC)
- f) The U.S. should pay more attention to the issue of integrated rural development. (SE)

113. Re-evaluation of Policies: Actions to be taken:

- a) Environmental degradation is a global problem that surpasses the scope of individual national governments. Therefore, the U.S. should encourage African governments to re-evaluate policies that were formulated during the colonial era. (NE)
- b) The U.S. should encourage African governments to consider programs that give landless farmers access to land and the ability to gain fair profit from their labors, in an equitable and environmentally sustainable manner. (MSW)
- c) Sustainable development of the environment must not be separate from economic development. The latter is based on exploitation instead of sustainable use of the environmental resources. If the two remain separate, multi-national corporations will accrue all the equity (ownership) of the economic use/exploitation of the environment. The equity

developed by an enterprise must be, in majority share, retained by the local community.
(PAC)

114. Agriculture: Actions to be taken:

- a) Through their many programs, the U.S. Department of Agriculture and USAID should assist Africa to enhance agricultural practices in Africa. These should reflect the central role of the African woman food farmer, promote the integration of food security and environmental security, and should be environmentally and culturally appropriate and sustainable. (EC)
- b) The U.S. should encourage growth and investment in the development of sustainable agriculture that is culturally and environmentally appropriate. To accomplish this, consideration needs to be given to: a) improved crop production; b) conservation c) native seed sources; d) storage capability; e) technical assistance; f) market opportunity and constraints; and g) transportation. (EC)
- c) The U.S. should ensure that its investments in the agricultural sector are supported by anti-corruption measures, policy support, and other measures necessary to foster investment. (EC)
- d) The U.S. government is urged to fully implement the Africa: Seeds of Hope Act of 1998 (PL-105-385). This implies neither acceptance nor rejection of genetically modified organisms. (EC)

115. Food Security: Actions to be taken

Domestic food security is essential to the sustainability of life and for overall sustainable development. Every country's priority should be its ability to feed its people. Yet it is estimated that two-thirds of Sub-Saharan African people will not have access to adequate food by the year 2015. As such:

- a) Food security should be a primary focus of all U.S. efforts to improve the quality of life in Africa. A two-pronged approach should be taken to ensure 1) the achievement of adequate food supplies for all countries, whether from production or imports; and 2) the achievement of access to sufficient food for an active, healthy life for all people. (SE)
- b) To ensure that food security is translated into nutrition security, the U.S. should make sure that food security is fully integrated with efforts to improve health and the quality of care for infants, children, women, and the elderly. Special attention should be given to refugees and internally displaced people. (SE)
- c) Consistent with the U.S. endorsement of the goals of the World Food Summit (WFS), the U.S. should support reducing malnutrition, including the WFS's goals of reducing by 50% the numbers of the chronically undernourished by 2015, and increasing rural incomes. Programs should focus on rural development, women, and public and private partnerships, and micro-enterprise development and credit. (SE)

- d) The U.S. government should promote and support domestic food security at the national level, recognizing the negative impacts on long-term bio-diversity and the ecology by shifts in use to non-regenerative seed stocks, hormone intensive animal husbandry and genetically modified organisms. (PAC)
- e) Independent farmers, non-governmental organizations, and community-based food production should have priority to resources and technology for the creation of independent food sources for local consumption. (PAC)

116. Enhanced Linkages Between U.S. and African Agricultural Sectors: Actions to be taken:

The U.S., non-governmental, community-based organizations, and the education sector should establish and support linkages between American farmers and their counterparts in Africa including, but not limited to:

- a) The U.S. Foreign Agriculture Service (FAS), USAID, and non-governmental organizations should focus and expand their activities toward establishing greater networks among the African agricultural community (i.e., scientists, policy-makers, farmers, etc.) for the study, transfer, and realization of local knowledge and practices. (PAC)
- b) The U.S. should work to strengthen African agricultural research centers so that they can develop appropriate chemicals, crop varieties, etc. There should be a special focus on developing indigenous agricultural methods using natural and locally available resources (similar to the organic movement in the U.S. led by Rodale). (EC)
- c) Exchange programs, on many levels, should be developed and/or expanded, and communication links should be established to facilitate information exchange concerning the methods and appropriate techniques of sustainable small-scale agricultural production characteristic of African countries and still practiced in some, albeit fewer and fewer, parts of the United States. (SE)
- d) Colleges and universities, especially Historically Black Colleges and Universities (1890 land grant schools), with expertise in this area should be encouraged to support and provide technical assistance and capacity-building to African farmers and institutions. (SE)
- e) The faith-based community and religious institutions (especially African-American churches) should help to advocate for land ownership and reform in Africa and mobilize resources to support African farmers and institutions. (PAC, SE)
- f) Youth organizations, e.g., Scouts, age group societies, and 4-H (youth organization focusing on Head, Heart, Hands, and Health), should be included to participate in formal and informal discussions on sustainable use of the environment and to help young people to realize their leadership and productive potential. (SE, EC)

- g) The U.S. should place emphasis on sustainable agriculture and organic farming to increase farm income. (MSW)
- h) At all levels of African society, creative economic and political instruments should be developed to empower local communities. (SE, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

17. Forestry and Agro-forestry: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government, multilateral institutions, non-governmental organizations, and community-based organizations should, through their programs, encourage the recognition of the role of forestry and agro-forestry in agricultural development. (SE)

18. Women and Agricultural Development: Actions to be taken:

- a) A revised gender perspective reflecting the central role of the woman African farmer should be fully integrated into all agriculture production policies and schemes funded by the U.S. government and non-profit organizations. (EC)
- b) The U.S. policy must reflect the fact that African women are the center of African production. This could be accomplished in a number of ways including: (PAC, SE, NE, EC, MSW)
 - i) all private sector schemes subsidized or supported by U.S. taxes, directly or in-kind, should encourage women's participation; (SE)
 - ii) agricultural and environmental training programs should include both professional and rural-based women, and women farmers as well as trainers; (SE)
 - iii) all U.S. agricultural missions and environmental assessment teams should have African consultants and include representatives from rural women's associations; (EC)
 - iv) colleges and universities with the appropriate expertise should be encouraged to provide technical assistance, particularly in the areas of infant, children and women's health, and occupational hazards; (EC)
 - v) religious and spiritual groups and institutions (without proselytizing) could provide assistance to rural women's associations and establish cooperative programs; (NE, SE, EC)
 - vi) special attention should be given to the development of more efficient, cleaner burning cooking stoves; and (MSW)
 - vii) efforts should be made to sensitize society with regard to the pivotal role played by women in the agriculture sector and to the need for gender equity in all aspects of life so that technical assistance provided to women will have maximum impact. (SE)

119. African Environmental and Research Capacity: Actions to be taken:

- a) In addition to on-going exchange programs, the U.S. should direct resources to supporting and increasing the capacity of African environmental and research institutions. (SE, NE, MSW, MW)
- b) In order to avoid overlap and duplication, the U.S. should meet its treaty obligations (pay dues, etc.), rejoin United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and continue to work in coordination with funding agencies such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the African Development Bank (ADB), United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), USAID and World Health Organization (WHO) in the area of environmental assessments for capacity building in Africa. (MW)

120. Environmental Degradation, Toxic and Hazardous Materials: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should sign and ratify the Basel Treaty which prohibits the transport of toxic and hazardous materials from industrialized countries to developing countries. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, MSW, EC)
- b) The private sector should also be required to adhere to the Basel Treaty. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, MSW, EC)
- c) The U.S. government should ratify the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on Desertification. (EC)
- d) The U.S. and the international community must give more support to the Bamako Convention which prohibits the trans-boundary transport of hazardous waste. (MW, PAC, NE, MSW, EC, SE)
- e) Universities and non-governmental organizations should form an information network to serve as the watchdog for movement/shipment of banned chemicals to Africa. (EC)
- f) The European Union Long Range Transport of Air Pollutants Prior Informed Consent agreement should be extended to include African countries. This agreement should require countries that export chemicals to inform receiving countries and users that a particular chemical or cluster of chemicals was banned or restricted in the country of origin and to provide the scientific rationale for the action. Should an African country lack the capacity, the U.S. government should agree to support and strengthen the capacity of that country to assess and manage toxic chemicals for which the U.S. has an approved certified protocol. (SE)

121. The Environment and Climatic Change: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should sign and ratify the Rio Conference Treaty and Kyoto Accord which recognize the hazards associated with global climate changes particularly greenhouse gases. (EC, NE, MSW)

- b) The U.S. should provide technical assistance and financial support to African countries to develop alternative energy technology. (NE)

122. **Desertification and Deforestation: Actions to be taken:**

- a) Desertification and deforestation are major issues in Africa and must receive special attention. The United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (CCD) emphasizes Africa and was promoted and supported by Africans at the 1992 UNCED conference. It promotes sustainable development and encompasses civil society and governments in working together to address dryland issues: environmental degradation, conservation, agriculture and the transfer of appropriate technology. The U.S. should ratify the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification and commit appropriate resources to support implementation of the African initiatives that are being identified through the Convention's ground up planning process. (EC)
- b) The U.S. government should urge African countries to emphasize policies, strategies, programs and practices that encourage the sustainable use of the environment. (SE)

123. **Environment and Eco-systems: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. should encourage a regional integrated environmental strategy (West/East/Southern/Northern) and policies that are Africa-centered. (SE)
- b) The U.S. and international donor agencies should support the Large Marine Ecosystem (LME) projects proposed by African countries now underway (Cote d'Ivoire, to Cameroun - Central Gulf of Guinea Current; or in planning grant stages (Morocco to Guinea Bissau (including Cape Verde-Canary Current) and (Angola to South Africa-Benquela Current), as well as the discussions underway on the Indian Ocean side. Emphasis should be given to the long-term nature requirement of these projects. (SE)
- c) The U.S. and other agencies (including grassroots, non-governmental organizations and community organizations) should include adequate follow-up in their environmental programs to evaluate the long-term effects on the society. (SE)
- d) The U.S. should recognize the need for a broad-based international dialogue on ecological issues, e.g. protection of biodiversity, desertification, depletion of ocean resources as well as the need to include more African experts and specialists, well versed in local dynamics and indigenous knowledge. (EC)
- e) A concerted effort should be made to inventory the biological diversity of Africa. All initiatives should seek to safeguard African natural resources for future generations. (EC)
- f) The U.S. should encourage consideration of biodiversity and environmental issues to be incorporated into its humanitarian operations and development projects. (EC)

- g) The U.S. should support African efforts to regulate trans-boundary ecosystem issues in order to preserve important natural resources. (EC)
- h) African people have the right to public participation in decisions regarding environmental justice. The U.S. should therefore, encourage African countries to include environmental treaty laws in their constitutions, and to ensure that environmental laws and treaties are implemented. (MSW)
- i) The U.S. should provide development funds to Africa only with environmental restrictions attached and specific funds to manage using U.S. standards. (NE)
- j) The U.S. should support and develop African universities as centers of excellence of environmental knowledge and policy, including indigenous/traditional knowledge. This support should include enlarged database capabilities and connectedness in readiness for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Megascience project in which the developed countries will assist less developed countries with scientific information. (EC)
- k) The U.S. should support the Economic Commission for Africa's "Africa Information Society" initiative. (EC)

124. Effect of Chemical and Toxic Waste on Environment and People: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should help to develop a continent-wide toxic strategy to evaluate the impact of chemical and toxic substances on the environment and all segments of society. Assistance should include education and training on implementing programs run by the local population. (NE)
- b) An evaluation of environmentally friendly bio-technologies, both indigenous and imported, should be undertaken to assess their appropriateness to African agriculture. (SE)
- c) The U.S. should require companies working in Africa to follow exactly the same environmental laws and policies that are applied in the U.S. (MW)

125. Lead-free Gasoline and Mercury-free Products: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should encourage and create subsidies for African countries to adopt a continent-wide lead-free gasoline, paints, and mercury-free substitution strategy in order to avoid inter-generational poisoning so frequent with these substances. This would fully implement the Agreement signed by most African countries at Habitat II in 1996. This effort should include educating the general public and creating awareness about the hazards associated with environmental pollution and, thereby, making the implementation of these strategies more feasible. (NE)

126. Business and Environment: Actions to be taken:

Companies and corporations doing business in Africa should be encouraged to sign on to a list of principles (like the Sullivan Principles) that promote environmental integrity, local development with focus on: clean air; clean water; forest preservation; sustainable forestry; environmental education; wildlife preservation; and integration of local solutions to environmental concerns. (PAC)

127. African Natural Resources: Actions to be taken:

U.S. government policy towards the use of natural resources (such as water) in Africa should be fair and beyond strategic interest. (MSW)

128. Endangered Species: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should work in partnership with African governments and non-governmental organizations to curb international trade in bushmeat that is threatening endangered wildlife in the rain forest region. (EC)

Land and Water Tenure**129. Water Resources: Actions to be taken:**

- a) U.S. programs should include a definition of water rights based on African resources and environmental use. Special attention must be given to the property rights of women. (SE)
- b) Acknowledging that 70 percent of infectious diseases on the African continent are linked to lack of access to potable water, and that the urban population is expected to rise from the present 45% world-wide to 61% by the year 2025, the U.S. government, and the private and non-governmental sectors should invest in appropriate and innovative technology to provide potable water and related education to rural and urban populations most greatly affected by the lack of infrastructure. (SE)
- c) Lack of adequate rural water supply and sanitation conditions throughout Africa cause tremendous suffering and death- especially amongst young children. To overcome these water and sanitation problems throughout rural Africa would involve interaction with the affected people on design, construction, maintenance, and financing of the needed facilities. Organizations such as Water for People and the Water and Sanitation Consultancy Group are already involved in assisting indigenous people to solve their own water and sanitation challenges, but much more could be accomplished with greater U.S. funding of these and other new similar organizations both in the U.S. and in Africa. (MSW)
- d) The U.S. should provide scholarships to address water needs in Africa. (SE)

130. Land Law Reforms: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should encourage African governments to reevaluate policies that were formulated during the colonial era. All policies, whether U.S. government or non-governmental, should encourage African governments to consider programs that give land to farmers who lost land due to colonial, post colonial and traditional policies which limit access to land. In general, policies should protect access to land for poor farmers and women. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should support law reform and the strengthening of abilities to create public records of the extent, value, and ownership of land in a district for purposes of taxation in order to enhance private tenure in residential, commercial, agricultural and farm lands. In most countries, these steps should involve both a recognition and a strengthening of customary tenure systems in most areas of the country, as well as limited, carefully targeted formalization of tenure for these land uses in urban centers, peri-urban areas, and other regions of intense commercial activity. (PAC, NE, EC, MSW, SE)
- c) The U.S. should promote and continue to support land law and land administration practice reforms in a way that recognizes and reinforces community management of common property resources, protecting those resources against both private appropriation and abuse and manipulation by the state. This reform should involve the creation or recognition of clear and defensible community property rights in those resources. (PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
- d) The U.S. should be encouraged to work with existing local land administration institutions to the extent possible. This work should include legal restructuring that provides equitable land distribution and tenure as well as inheritance rights of women. (PAC, NE, MSW, SE, MW)
- e) The U.S. and the international donor community should provide credit and a degree of subsidization where land reform is needed. Beneficiaries should themselves pay part of the cost of land acquisition. These reforms should be carried out with transparency and within a clear legal framework. (SE, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
- f) The U.S. must consider measures to limit speculation in rural land sales and to safeguard against the dispossession of the less powerful. To this end, community-focused policy could advocate for land ownership and reform in Africa and mobilize resources to support African farmers and institutions. At all levels of African society, creative economic and political instruments should be developed to empower local communities. (MW)
- g) Education programs should be developed to sensitize local communities and to encourage dialogue regarding the benefits of property rights, with emphasis on women's inheritance rights. (SE, MW, EC)
- h) The U.S. should recognize that the scope of private ownership of land must be decided on a country-by-country basis and should work with African countries to ensure that such ownership is not prohibited, as is the case in most African countries today. (PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

- j) In the longer term, the U.S. should work with African countries toward the evolution of new land administration institutions that are democratic, decentralized, have comprehensive control over the land and water resources, and can manage the interface between customary and more formal tenure to meet local needs. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, MSW)

131. Land Reform and Eco-Tourism: Actions to be taken:

U.S. foreign policy initiatives in the area of land reform should include community control and traditional land-tenure systems related to eco-tourism. Protection and preservation of Africa's vast wildlife resources should be a world concern, and the U.S. has a special obligation to contribute to eco-tourism plans which enhance local economies while accounting for the rights of rural people. (MSW)

Science and Technology

132. Science and Technology: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should invest in the future of African countries through collaborative mechanisms that build capacity and strengthen relevant science and technology institutions, particularly renewable energy and other rural infrastructure services. Such investments will most certainly have long-term payoffs for the United States as well since U.S. investments now in African science and technology will clearly ensure an ever-increasing rate of return on those investments in the future. (SE, PAC, NE, EC)
- b) In terms of the information revolution, it is certainly not in the public or private interests of the U.S. for Africa as a region to continue to be excluded or remain a minor league player. The U.S. should work with African countries to ensure that they are equipped with up-to-date indigenously-owned telecommunications, energy, and other infrastructure (in rural and urban areas). (NE, MSW)
- c) The U.S. should encourage African countries to adopt appropriate supportive science and technology policies that can ultimately reduce dependency on external aid, and open up exciting opportunities for domestic and overseas investors. (SE, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
- d) Many of the customary routes for engaging in educational exchange and scientific cooperation have narrowed or even closed in recent years. The U.S. government and private sector should make more resources available to promote and support African efforts towards adoption and use of the Internet in order to promote sustainable economic development, education, health, the environment and quality of life. (EC)
- e) It is important that technology, when necessary and feasible, be developed that is appropriate to the needs and culture of Africa. The needs of African people must be based on their cultural standards. Projects need to recognize and build on indigenous technology and science that exists and examine how this knowledge could be brought to bear on modern problems. (SE)

- f) Information technologies are tools to deliver and/or make information available. The U.S. should provide financial and organizational support to encourage the development of task and goal-oriented teams of technology and scientific professionals to cooperatively develop and implement integrated African-centered informational packages and components. (SE)

133. **Supporting African Science and Technology Teachers, Researchers and Institutions: Actions to be taken:**

By virtually any measure, science and technology are as yet weak enterprises in most African settings. Numbers of trained scientists and engineers are low, in absolute and relative terms, as UN studies have shown. (Through the 1970s and 1980s, about a third of African university students were studying abroad, in undergraduate and graduate programs, rather than on the continent. Moreover, many students did not return home upon completion of degrees and were joined in this brain drain by more senior experts.) Given this lack of critical mass, as well as the fragile institutions in which they toil, African-based researchers and scholars have had to devise any number of survival strategies in an attempt to cope with serious economic pressures and an overbearing sense of isolation from global science and scholarship. (PAC, SE, NE, EC, MSW)

Given this situation:

- a) The U.S. should give more attention (e.g., in the media and other venues) to instances where African institutions have responded in innovative ways to daunting obstacles, to African accomplishments in research and teaching, and to other areas where there is much hope for the future. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should work with other industrialized countries, international organizations, African governments, and other institutions to create incentives for African experts, particularly those in the fields of science and technology, to return to Africa and contribute to development. For example, the three funds attached to the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (in the Senate as S1387 at the end of the 1999) must have specific targets and incentives to implement projects by qualified African nationals and encourage the hiring of African nationals resident abroad, hence, facilitating repatriation. (SE)
- c) The U.S. should put additional effort into reducing the isolation of African scientists and scholars, especially by use of new information technologies but also with traditional means of exchange and communication, which are becoming more and more scarce. (SE)
- d) U.S. institutions and scientists should be encouraged with funding to set up collaborative research projects with Africa-based researchers and institutions. (NE)
- e) In an effort to combat the African brain-drain, the U.S. should increase the funding for fellowships to Africans pursuing advanced science and engineering degrees with the stipulation that they return home. Concurrently, the U.S. should create real opportunities for these returning graduates through joint partnerships between U.S. companies and African institutions. Technology transfer programs which lead to the development of patent rights

and licensure for supporting U.S. companies could produce a vehicle for corporate involvement. African scientists and professionals should be encouraged and funded to relocate their activities to Africa. (EC, NE)

- f) African students studying abroad should take responsibility to contribute their share of their countries development. The U.S. government should encourage African governments to help their returning students by giving them the proper tools and assuring them a conducive environment (freedom of thought and expression and freedom from nepotism and favoritism) so that the students will feel appreciated and be most effective. (MSW)
- g) To ensure Africa's involvement in cutting-edge technology, the U.S. should broaden visiting scientist programs, allowing African scientists and engineers the opportunity to visit U.S. research institutions for extended periods for the purposes of technical exchanges. (EC)
- h) In particular, the U.S. should fund large numbers of free and low-cost investment connections at local universities and governmental offices. (MSW)

134. Collaboration with African Experts and Specialists: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should involve more African experts and specialists (both from within Africa and expatriates of African origin) in projects that affect their future and that of the rest of the globe, such as in desertification research and biodiversity surveys. One of the best opportunities Africa has to develop scientific infrastructure is in the area of biodiversity (conservation of biodiversity, natural product research, phytomedicine research and development, ecosystem, germ plasma). (SE)
- b) The U.S. must recognize that biome and ecosystem issues, including biodiversity policy, training, research and development must be the cornerstone of science and technology policy in Africa. Africa possesses enormous genetic resources and its development will be a key to elevating the sustainable economic development. (SE)
- c) In collaborating with Africans, the U.S. must ensure that local capacity is encouraged and strengthened. A good example of how this might be done is noted in a recent issue of *Science* which details a project on the Serengeti, surveying, *in situ*, all species such as birds and reptiles (not just the large mammals), over many, many years in order to get a "real" picture of the changing ecology of that area. (PAC, NE, MSW)

135. Health Policy and U.S.-Africa Partnerships: Actions to be taken:

- a) In the 20th century, life expectancy has improved more than during any other time in human history. Health indicators have improved in even the poorest countries, but enormous health problems remain throughout Africa. Levels of morbidity and mortality remain unacceptably high. Child mortality rates in Africa are about 10 times higher than those in the U.S. Also, a substantial portion of the burden of disease consists of disability, ranging from polio-related paralysis to blindness caused by trachoma and onchocerciasis. In view of the magnitude of the

health problems faced by African countries, the U.S. should develop a comprehensive approach to health (including assessments) in which African governments set the priorities. This comprehensive strategy should include both governmental and non-governmental organizations. (SE)

- b) Improved health contributes to agricultural productivity, education, and sustainable economic development. There are many mutual benefits to the United States and Africa of increased collaboration in public health: humanitarian, epidemiological, and economic. In addition, as the world and its health problems become more complex and resources constrained, partnerships become ever more important. The goal of these partnerships is to achieve public health impact with greater effectiveness than would be the case if partners worked independently. Therefore, U.S. health policies and strategies in Africa should emphasize the U.S.-Africa partnerships on health policies and issues. (SE)
- c) As a leader and partner in the global health community, the U.S. should continue to support and strengthen disease prevention, control and eradication in Africa. Prevention of all major diseases that negatively impact on development in Africa (including malaria, tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, polio, Guinea worm, measles, onchocerciasis, schistosomiasis, and eye diseases), should be supported in partnership with African governments, non-governmental agencies and other multilateral and bilateral donor agencies. HIV/AIDS should be given special emphasis: its spread in Africa has implications not only for today, but also for tomorrow in terms of costs to society, life expectancy, and national prosperity, among other factors. (SE)
- d) The U.S. should focus its health resources on efforts that contribute to definable objectives within a country specific strategic plan. (SE)

136. HIV/AIDS: Actions to be taken:

Given the magnitude of the HIV/AIDS problem in Africa, the U.S. should:

- a) declare the fundamental right of each human being to basic health care, especially freedom from or treatment for HIV/AIDS. (EC)
- b) enlist all available resources galvanized to address the AIDS crisis. This should include, but not be limited to, National Institutes for Health, Centers for Disease Control, Food and Drug Administration, private AIDS advocacy groups and pharmaceutical companies. Efforts should be made to link these U.S. resources with African resources. (EC)
- c) increase AIDS prevention research and practice. This would involve the identification and addressing of factors that contribute to the incidence and lack of treatment of HIV/AIDS (migration, economic status, education) in Africa. (EC)
- d) take pro-active role for forgiveness of debts and elimination of structural adjustment constraints that have impacted on health in Africa. (EC)

- e) assist African countries to reallocate funds, develop safeguards against corruption and develop outcome measures. Major emphasis should be placed on access to education with priority on investing in education of girls. (EC)
- f) provide for the dissemination of accurate information, advocate for the removal of restriction on information (freedom of information) and promote the availability of information on means of prevention and access to services, without the fear of stigma. (EC)
- g) advocate for policy that ensures that USAID programs prevent mother to child transmission (MTCT) of HIV by allowing ALL pregnant women to receive ante-natal care which includes but is not limited to voluntary (pre and post) counseling and testing, and encourage mothers infected with HIV to use alternatives to breast-feeding. (EC)
- h) strongly encourage that at least 2% of each African nation's budget be invested in the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS among those infected. (MSW)

137. Education, Training and Health: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government and private sector should work in partnership with African countries to support:

- a) improved health education for the public, and for health professionals, traditional health workers and community health personnel. This education should include the empowerment of community-based groups to use all methods available to come up with culturally appropriate and appealing ways to educate and modify behavior; encourage focus on engaging youth through the creative delivery of messages and services (e.g. via music, theater, dance, sports) and peer counseling; promote greater role of private sector, especially missionary groups and non-governmental organizations, in the planning and delivery of services; encourage access to traditional practices; and establish an AIDS Trust Fund. (EC)
- b) the formation of partnerships for the computer/Internet exchange of health information, especially by developing electronic libraries and Internet access. (MSW)
- c) mechanisms developed by the public and private sectors for helping African health professionals who come to the U.S. for basic and/or advanced training in medicine and public health to (1) receive practical, hands-on training while in the U.S.; and (2) identify productive employment opportunities back in their home countries, or, in Africa, at a minimum. Among other mechanisms could be financial incentives. (SE)
- d) support public health education activities that prevent diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and their consequences, such as malnutrition and mortality. (SE)
- e) promote social marketing of condoms, mosquito nets and family planning services as part of its health education efforts. (SE)

- f) promote sanitation education, for example, boiling water and washing hands. (SE)
- g) because of the very important role of women in health and nutrition, special efforts should be made to provide all women with health and nutrition education. (SE)

138. Structural Adjustment Programs and Health: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should use all means to assist African governments to protect public health services during structural adjustment programs. Furthermore, the U.S. should not involve itself in geopolitical manipulations that have an adverse impact on the health environment. (SE)

139. Donors and Health: Actions to be taken:

- a) In view of the magnitude of the health problems faced by African countries, it is suggested that providing personal medical services through the private sector (as currently supported by USAID) is inadequate. Donors to the African health sector should reconsider the strong emphasis that they have placed on the private sector. (EC)
- b) Health priorities established by African governments and African constituencies must form the basis of donor policy. (EC)
- c) U.S. policy should support coordinated, more efficient and equitable distribution of health assistance funding by donors in each country. (NE)
- d) Experience in many countries has shown that the basis for sustainable development and increased quality of life is the presence of good public health infrastructure and that health-related policies must be based on prevention. Thus the current donor emphasis on curative medicine should shift to preventive medicine so that there can be a healthy Africa in the new millennium. Rather than wait for a disease to reach epidemic proportions before rushing to help, the health care professionals in the various countries should be empowered to teach the masses and thus encourage healthy lifestyles. (NE)
- e) Financial resources should be channeled toward building community-based organizations that focus on health promotion and disease prevention. (NE)
- f) There should be a concerted and earnest effort to foster an environment that enables households in Africa to improve their health. These efforts should include:
 - i. the pursuit of economic growth policies that benefit the poor;
 - ii. expansion of investment in schooling, especially for girls;
 - iii. promotion of the rights and status of women and ethnic minority groups through political and economic empowerment;
 - iv. improving the allocation of resources for public health and disease control efforts; and
 - v. developing mechanisms for synthesizing traditional medical practices with current, palliative and allopathic health systems. (NE)

- g) Levels of health funding need to be increased for both the public and private sectors. The optimal balance between private and public provision of health service depends on the particular setting of each country, as well as the commitment and the ability of the government to provide health services to its citizens. (SE)
- h) Health reforms should be facilitated through the encouragement of partnerships between the U.S. private-sector and the private sector of African countries. (SE)

140. United States Agency for International Development and Health: Actions to be taken:

- a) Given the fact that health is not only a physical, fiscal, and medical question but also a social issue related to the economy, environmental issues, militarization, ethnic conflicts, refugee problems, education, cultural practices, human rights, and the arts, USAID should reconsider its policies in the health sector, including its current emphasis on the private sector. For example, climate changes dislocate populations and cause food shortages, changes in economic and social policies affect the delivery of health services, and the escalation of ethnic politics and armed conflicts have an impact on health and human rights. (MW)
- b) A country's situation should determine whether both horizontal or vertical approaches to health care delivery, or some combination of both, should be employed. The "horizontalization" of health policy should not preclude successful traditional vertical strategies (Guinea worm, STDs, measles, polio, etc). USAID should work together with African governments and non-governmental organizations to provide broad support for horizontal health programs that deliver medical care to the sick and on public health activities that address the problems such as malaria, tuberculosis, malnutrition, AIDS, and sexually transmitted diseases. (MW, SE)
- c) USAID programs in health should promote community-based initiatives based on country - specific plans for health care and should be implemented primarily through civil society organizations.
- d) Fifteen (15%) of all USAID funds to Africa should be earmarked for U.S. firms that have a controlling ownership by people of African descent and have partnerships with non-governmental organizations in African countries financial seeking assistance. (NE)

141. Community Health Policy: Actions to be taken:

- a) Strengthened community health work by public and private groups should include immunization, nutritional education, maternal/child health programs, adequate clean water, sewage disposal and pest control. (MSW)
- b) Based on the successes of the Bamako initiative, U.S. health development programs should support community management of health care resources, and community involvement in the setting of health priorities. (SE)

- c) The U.S. should reward countries that have increased community participation in health programs. These programs should be based on agreements with national governments. (SE)

142. Developing and Improving Health Capacity: Actions to be taken:

- a) In the interest of sustainable development and the goals of self-sufficiency and economic independence, the United States should assist African governments with the creation of national and regional pharmaceutical industries that are capable of producing at least the most basic pharmaceuticals, medical supplies and equipment. The technology now exists and the United Nations has elaborated the management and organization necessary for developing an industry beginning with tableting of imported chemicals and going on to increasingly complex stages of production of sophisticated pharmaceuticals. This technology should be updated regularly so that these industries can be competitive on the international market. (MW)
- b) The U.S. should provide in-kind aid to facilitate capacity building, especially in health-related urban technology (e.g., sewage lines, placement of latrines, adequate shelter). (SE)
- c) The U.S. government in collaboration with the private commercial and non-profit sectors should recognize and utilize resources available within African countries to promote sustainable, appropriate health technology. (SE)
- d) The U.S. government in collaboration with the private commercial and non-profit sectors should assist in the development of reference laboratories that can be used for locally-based testing. (SE)

143. Smoking and Health: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should initiate efforts to educate African people and governments of the negative health effects of cigarette smoking. This should include requiring product warning labels on cigarette packs and advertisements. (SE)

144. Family Planning: Actions to be taken:

In the areas of women's health and family planning, aid should not be conditioned on the religious and cultural values of the donor countries, but rather it should be linked to the severity of the health conditions, and the culture and resource scarcity in the recipient countries. (SE)

145. Drugs and Health: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should encourage more programs (such as Merck's Ivermectin program) that make drugs that are critically needed in Africa (e.g. antimalarials, AZT for pregnant women to prevent perinatal HIV transmission) easily accessible and affordable. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should support greater production and distribution of effective generic drugs, and should continue to support the exploration of ways to expedite the packaging and transfer of

generic drugs and anti-microbial agents for distribution and consumption at the local level. (SE)

- c) The Food and Drug Administration and the World Health Organization should help in the validation of drugs exported to Africa. (SE)
- d) Medical trials of drugs imported into Africa should include Africans in the studies. (SE)
- e) The U.S. government, as well as the private commercial and non-profit sector should explore mechanisms that would favor private collaboration and development of partnerships geared to the essential drug needs of sub-regions on the continent. (SE)

146. Traditional Medicine: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should encourage and act to support the traditional medicine sector in Africa. Africa has always had a vibrant tradition of healing which includes specialties such as midwifery, bone setting, pharmacy, psychiatry, and variolation (a precursor to smallpox). U.S. support can be provided in a number of ways including the incorporation of the knowledge and skills of traditional healers into biomedical services and through assisting traditional healers to upgrade their skills and learn about new diseases such as AIDS. (MW)
- b) The U.S. should take a very serious look at traditional medicine and traditional medical practices with a view to upgrading and improving both. Western medicine and traditional medicine should learn from each other through collaboration in order to improve health. (SE)
- c) The U.S. should prohibit pharmaceutical companies from exploiting the pharmacopeias of traditional healers without giving them royalties for these material medica and for their knowledge, or without returning to Africa products which are based on materials extracted from the continent. (MW)
- d) Indigenous traditional medicines (usually medicinal plants), provide low-cost remedies for rural health care. The U.S. should explore, encourage and improve the rational use of low-tech traditional medicines. (MSW)
- e) Government and non-governmental organizations should help to create and support education and use of traditional medicines. (MSW)
- f) The U.S. should encourage and support research and development to modernize techniques for producing safe, stable natural health care products. (MSW)

147. Disability: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. government, non-governmental organizations, and corporate sector should integrate the issue of disability into their relations with African governments. These entities should work with African governments and peoples to reinforce and ensure that their policies and programs

are based on participatory methodologies and are, as such, inclusive of persons with physical and mental disabilities. Whenever possible, care should be taken to monitor the effectiveness of this inclusion as part of routine evaluation and monitoring procedures. (SE)

- b) When giving aid the U.S. should encourage African countries to earmark some of their budgets to the welfare of people with disabilities. (NE)
- c) The U.S. should encourage African countries to adopt a U.S.-style Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) policy. (NE)
- d) In all considerations of mental and physical disability, the resources, policies, and implementation channels should be informed by a gender perspective. Women are the primary care-givers for, as well as disproportionately representative of, disabled people. (SE)

148. **U.S. and World Health Organization: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should pay its back dues to the World Health Organization. Not only will payment of U.S. dues provide financial and technical resources to critical public health programs in Africa, it will also make the U.S. a more credible partner in efforts to improve the health of people and communities in Africa. (SE)

149. **Business and Health: Actions to be taken:**

U.S. private investors in Africa should be given incentives and technical assistance for the development of health services for employees and their families and for supporting strong public health programs in the communities where their businesses are located. Occupational health and safety should be assured. (SE)

150. **Business and Development: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should encourage, facilitate, and assist small and medium-sized technology-capable U.S. businesses and enterprises to develop partnerships and joint ventures with African individuals, villages, cities, regions and countries. The focus of such collaboration should be based on having African partners provide local knowledge, energy, commitment and enthusiastic focus to projects, products and services that can effectively provide solutions to basic human and sociological needs. Among the areas to be addressed by such partnerships should be the use of renewable energy, and the manufacturing of reusable products that clearly and responsibly consider the impact on the environment. Emphasis should be placed on making a real difference now but with proper attention paid to the long-term opportunities for all parties involved. (MSW)

151. **Business Ethics: Actions to be taken:**

U.S. policy should mandate that trans-national corporations (TNC) doing business in Africa to adhere to the same standards, levels of business ethics, and regulatory policy they would have to comply with when operating in the U.S. (EC, NE)

152. Debt: Actions to be taken:

- a) Africa's onerous debt burden has contributed to the ongoing financial burden on African countries. In order to ensure long-term sustainable economic development, the U.S. must make the eliminating poverty an absolute priority. Poverty can be considerably alleviated by assisting African countries to become full-fledged trading and investing partners with the United States. In exchange for African countries agreeing to institutionalize free trade and investment policies, the U.S. should take the lead in advocating for the reduction, temporary freeze and/or cancellation of Africa's bilateral and multilateral debt (Whether debt is cancelled, reduced, or frozen depends on the manner in which different African countries accumulated their debt and also recognizes the effect on and the cooperation of the American taxpayer). (SE)
- b) The U.S. government should vigorously pursue the concept of debt swapping for the poorest African countries. This program would protect recognized and unique natural resources, such as, parks and environmentally fragile ecosystems. (SE)
- c) On the level of mobilization of external resources for economic growth, the U.S. should adopt the formula of Jubilee 2000 to cancel the debt of African countries. In addition, the U.S. government should call for the democratization of international financial institutions particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. (MW)
- d) The U.S. government should urge the international financial institutions to drop the conditionalities in Structural Adjustment Programs that restrict the capital available for human resource development, maintenance and extension of infrastructure. (MW)
- e) Although debt relief is one of the main issues, an equally important issue is the effective use of loans from World Bank, International Monetary Fund and other government sources. For example, 1) these organizations impose pressure on African countries to use their short-listed companies (consultant contractors) often at higher cost which, in other ways, helps Western companies and 2) The use of unnecessary expatriates even when it is possible to use local experts. The end result is that, most of the loan/donation is returned to its source in the West. These institutions should reform the manner in which these loans are utilized. (MSW)

153. Economic Development and Reforms: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should ensure that:

- a) Trade preferences are not contingent on (i) adherence to International Monetary Fund policies as they tend to limit national autonomy and to induce or exacerbate poverty or (ii) African countries providing equal treatment to foreign-owned corporations and domestic firms. On the other hand, any U.S. trade preferences should include environmental protection and labor rights as identified in the International Labor Organization convention and should promote sustainable development. (SE)

- b) Greater support is given to policies that promote resource mobilization and economic growth for the informal sector, including a more open banking sector to remedy the unequal capitalization of formal and informal enterprises. (SE)
- c) There is a long-term attempt to elicit the more active participation of local people in defining development goals. This requires that local people be informed about development options, technologies and laws that affect them. For this reason, access to information should be facilitated for grassroots organizations to help them carry out their activities. This forum should provide an extensive and up-to-date directory of resource persons, foundations that can facilitate funding and/or fund activities of grassroots groups. Facilitate the establishment of a database for grassroots organizations. (SE)
- d) The International Monetary Fund (IMF's) structural adjustment program in Africa is terminated as it has failed to improve conditions for the poor in Africa. In fact, poverty has increased in every African country where structural adjustment has been introduced, and while poverty has increased, spending on education, health and other basic services has been decreased in the affected countries. The role that the IMF is currently in the development strategies of African countries should be reserved for United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Education and Scientific Organization (UNESCO), CARE, and many fine international and indigenous non-governmental organizations. (MSW)
- e) Development is sustainable by supporting a) capacity building; b) policy reform; c) infrastructure development. (MSW)
- f) It promotes partnerships that foster non-governmental organization empowerment and an enabling environment for broad-based economic growth. Emphasis should be given to fostering partnerships among civil society organizations, small business, and local government. (SE)

154.

Aid and Trade: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. must commit itself to both increased aid and trade with Africa. The centuries-long systemic underdevelopment of Africa now requires the systemic, long-term commitment to its reconstruction. Public acknowledgment of wrongs done and a commitment to repair wealth and power inequities is a necessary but insufficient precondition for reconstruction. (NE)
- b) The U.S. must convene the major western powers, institutions (such as: religious institutions, banks, women's organizations, etc.), African states and traditional leadership for an international conference on African development and reparations. From this conference should emerge a strategy, similar to the Marshall Plan that will systematically transfer capital and resources to Africa and to people of African descent throughout the world for the purpose of reconstruction. The financial resources, drawn from Western countries and institutions who profited from slavery and colonialism, will aid in the transition and development of the African continent and people of

African descent. Potential projects might include, but not be limited to, building transportation infrastructure throughout the continent, adequate electrification, and reliable and safe sources of energy, potable water and extended telecommunications. (NE)

- c) The U.S. should take the initiative to win the support of all international donor countries and institutions for a) and b) above. (NE)

155. Infrastructure Development: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should increase technical assistance to the development of adequate infrastructures with a focus on potable water, waste management, sewage, roads, transportation, telecommunications, and utilities delivery in urban and peri-urban areas. This infrastructure development should be vested in local indigenous ownership. U.S. technical assistance in their area should be inclusive of technical transference, technical education, and general education of indigenous populations. (NE)
- b) With regard to mobilization of internal resources for economic growth, the U.S. should assist African governments so they can provide buildings and building sites, electricity, telephone communications, potable water, and roads. The U.S. should also assist in planning for expanded education of professional personnel (engineers and health care workers, for example). (MW)
- c) The U.S. and its agencies should encourage and support intra-continental/regional infrastructure development. The lack of good roads, etc, has negative impacts on the economies of not only the countries but all industrial countries since the lack of infrastructure impedes the movement of resources from the source to its consumer. (NE)

156. Women and Development: Actions to be taken:

- a) A gender perspective should be fully integrated and monitored in all collaborative and capacity building investments funded by the U.S. government, non-governmental organizations and private sector plans subsidized or supported by the U.S. government directly or indirectly. How this participation manifests itself must be determined by the country and local context, but at a minimum, policymakers should seek to monitor the active involvement of women and youth. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should focus on community education with particular emphasis on gender equality. Higher education is still a primarily male prerogative yet women carry a great deal of the responsibility for agriculture, family education, etc. so community education should be focused on resource conservation, productivity, and ensuring applications/comfort with technology. (MSW)
- c) Resource mobilization must take account of African women who produce nearly 80 percent of the food across Africa and are, thus, critical to plans to feed the people of Africa. Their participation in policymaking and debates on the future direction of an African-centered

strategy of food production is critical. African women have inherited important knowledge about agricultural production, medicinal plants, and the uses of Africa's rich and varied biological diversity. Yet they are generally not consulted or sought out for their advice on agricultural policies. The U.S. and African governmental and non-governmental agencies should seek out African women's advice on agriculture and livestock policies. (MW)

157. Renewable Energy: Actions to be taken:

- a) Africa is primarily a rural continent. Urbanization creates huge infrastructure and environmental problems. Conventional development theory promoting urbanization has failed. Attention should now be placed on rural development. Rural development requires infrastructure services: water supply, education, health, telephone, and micro-enterprise. These services require wide distribution of energy in small quantities. Conventional energy can only be supplied cost-effectively in concentrated and centralized form to urban areas. Solar and other forms of renewable energy are now technically mature and financially attractive but it is lacking a rural network of trained technicians and small business suppliers. The U.S. should place emphasis on training and small business development for rural providers of solar and other renewable energy technologies. (MSW)
- b) The U.S. should encourage the development and use of non-polluting alternative fuel vehicles and power generation plants. (MSW)

158. U.S. Development and Emergency Funding for Africa: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government in collaboration with the private commercial and non-profit sectors should provide separate funding mechanisms for long-term development and for emergency assistance, so that neither funding mechanism is a sub-set of the other and, therefore, one does not deplete the other. (SE)

159. Landmines and Arms: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should sign the Treaty to Ban Landmines. (SE)
- b) Because weapons and landmines are destructive of human life and retard development, there should be a concerted international effort led by the U.S. to locate and remove land mines through the application of the new technologies. The U.S. should also impose a total ban on arms shipments and arms trade to Africa. (NE)

160. Children and Youth: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should integrate the issue of children and youth into its foreign policy. To this end, the U.S. government, non-governmental organizations and the corporate sectors should work with African governments and people to ensure that their policies and programs are inclusive of children and youth. (EC)

- b) The U.S. should support grassroots groups to spread awareness on health and their environment. Children and youth groups should receive more attention in this effort. (SE)

161. Housing: Actions to be taken:

Housing manufacturing, construction and development is a basic need and a requirement for sustainable growth and health sustenance.

- a) The U.S. government should assist African countries with providing affordable housing through credit programs, innovative design technologies, appropriate sewage and sanitation, etc. (SE)
- b) Joint ventures between Africans and African-Americans engaged in housing development should be encouraged. (SE)

162. Intellectual Property Rights: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should promote and support protection of intellectual property rights (IPR) of African countries, communities, inventors and businesses. (MSW)
- b) The U.S. government and non-governmental organizations should assist Africans in securing and defending Intellectual Property Rights (MSW)

163. Good Governance: Actions to be taken:

The mobilization of internal resources will lead to successful economic growth only if there is political will, accountability, and monitoring within countries. The U.S. should assist African countries with achieving good governance and transparency. (MW)

164. Human Rights: Actions to be taken:

Recognizing that Africa's greatest resource is her people and that people, as well as the environment, may be exploited, laws should be implemented to protect human rights in employment and in the informal sector. Government institutions should be strengthened or created when necessary to protect human rights in employment in a fair, just and equitable manner. (SE)

165. African Diversity and U.S. Foreign Policy: Actions to be taken:

In all U.S. government dealings with African countries, Africans should not be viewed as a homogeneous people. Rather, the U.S. should view each country differently and look at how policies and recommendations affect those peoples and that government both in the rural and urban areas. (NE)

166. United Nations: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should provide constructive leadership and expanded resources to the United Nations agencies engaged in promoting sustainable development and the quality of life in Africa, including the United Nations Development Program, United Nations Environment Program, United Nations Children's Fund, the three United Nations Food agencies (IFAD, FAO, WFP) and the World Health Organization. (EC)

167. Declassification of information: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. government should make every effort to declassify information and data, especially Global Positioning System (GPS) remote sensing on hand regarding Africa. Efforts should be made to place this data in a database that can be accessed through the Internet. This declassification should apply to all information about the continent of Africa. (SE)

168. Future of National Summit on Africa: Actions to be taken:

To avoid being merely another debating society, the National Summit on Africa should set up a development think tank of experts to suggest practical methods and strategies for implementing the different recommendations. (NE)

PEACE AND SECURITY

169. The 1990s have borne witness to dramatic changes throughout the African continent. With the end of the Cold War, Africa has ceased to be a battleground for the East/West conflict. Mozambique, considered a success story, is at peace. And, because apartheid has ended, South Africa and Namibia now have democratically-elected governments. However, lack of security remains a problem in Rwanda, Burundi, the Peoples Republic of Congo, and Sierra Leone. Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan and Algeria are still in turmoil. Nigeria could deteriorate into serious communal violence with regional consequences. Since 1990, many African countries have held multi-party democratic elections. However, the trend away from military rule certainly is not yet secure. (MW)

170. **CLOSED:** With the end of the Cold War, Africa is no longer a strategic asset in a global struggle between superpowers. Europe and the U.S. have lost much of their interest in Africa. Even France is loosening its grip on its former colonies as it redefines its role in Africa. At first, U.S. and United Nations intervention in Somalia in 1992-94 seemed to be evidence of heightened international commitment, led by the United States, to engage in large scale peacekeeping and peace-building in Africa. But the killing of 18 American Rangers in Mogadishu led to a dramatic reversal in American policy and signaled the beginning of a period when the U.S. was no longer prepared to intervene. (SE, MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW)

171. **CLOSED:** New security threats confront Africa even as new American interests have emerged. In the Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia, transitions from Cold War dictators have created conflicts and new beginnings. Internal conflicts with deep historical roots have flared-up in Central Africa, Sudan and Mali. The U.S. has a clear interest in stopping the killing of innocent people in these and other countries. Moreover, international drug trafficking in unstable Nigeria and Southern Africa has a direct impact on the U.S. Also, the international spread of diseases and environmental degradation is more likely to originate in countries torn by conflict. The end of the Cold War provides a valuable opportunity for the U.S. to redefine its interests in Africa. Hopefully the U.S. has drawn the appropriate conclusions from its disastrous efforts to prop up corrupt dictators in the former Zaire, Liberia, and Somalia-who were seen, incorrectly, by U.S. policymakers as bolstering American interests. (SE, MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW)

U.S. Interests in Conflict Resolution and Post-War Reconstruction

172. The U.S. has both material and moral reasons for sustained engagement in African conflict resolution and post-war reconstruction. While opportunities for increased trade with Africa have attracted the business community, the legacy of U.S. policy during the Cold War has yet to be addressed. For example, U.S. security assistance, including arms shipments, helped fuel the wars in Ethiopia, Somalia, and Angola, and propped up Mobutu's authoritarian regime in the former Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). The legacy of U.S. policy during the Cold War, especially in the Horn of Africa and Southern Africa, must be redressed:

- a) U.S. interests in promoting trade and investment in Africa cannot be achieved when a country's infrastructure and commerce have collapsed; when generations of children have not been educated; and when landmines indiscriminately kill, preventing the resumption of farming and free movement of people and goods. (MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW, SE)
- b) U.S. interest in promoting democracy and human rights cannot be achieved where military rule and the lack of a functioning judicial system undermine the rule of law and contribute to corruption, social instability, and recurrent political crises. In its promotion of democracy, the U.S. must note that one model does not fit all cultures. (MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW, SE)
- c) U.S. interest in promoting conflict resolution cannot be achieved where ex-combatants have not been fully reintegrated into society and the economy, and the proliferation of small arms contributes to criminality and physical insecurity. (MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW, SE)
- d) U.S. interest in defending against transnational threats is undermined where armed conflict, organized crime networks, and mercenaries contribute to traffic in small arms, drugs, and stolen goods, and where mass influxes of war refugees lead to environmental degradation and the spread of diseases. (MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW, SE)
- e) U.S. interests in Africa will benefit from participation in UN initiatives as that body redefines its post-Cold War role on the continent. (SE)

Sources of Conflict in Africa

173. **CLOSED:** Africa's armed conflicts are multifaceted and complex, making them impossible to reduce to a single cause or source. Local, national, regional, and international forces have combined to fuel almost every war on the continent. The deep sources of Africa's conflicts are primarily historical and are linked to the European slave trade and to colonial rule; decolonization struggles; and the Cold War geo-strategic competition between the U.S. and Soviet Union. The embedded structures and practices that contribute to contemporary conflicts include weak regional infrastructure and integration; authoritarian political traditions; territorial boundaries that divide African countries; distorted or non-integrated civil-military relations; and a proliferation of weapons, especially small arms across the continent. (SE, MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW)

174. **CLOSED:** The most proximate causes of Africa's current violent conflicts are competition for scarce resources in a context of economic underdevelopment, demographic pressure, and divisive political manipulation of social cleavages (ethnic, racial, religious, and class). Desperate poverty, constraints on participatory governance, and routine violations of basic human rights facilitate an environment in which crime, violence, and an escalation of armed conflict are likely to occur. Thus, securing peace will require more than a cessation of violent conflict. Peace requires good governance in a setting where citizens enjoy a sense of well-being and have hope for the future, where human rights are respected, and where the rule of law prevails. (SE, MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW)

175. **CLOSED:** U.S. policy should be reoriented toward preventing conflicts rather than responding after the fact. U.S. crisis response will cost more over the long term than adopting pro-active measures to preempt war. A core objective, therefore, should be to strengthen the capacity of African local, national, and sub-regional mechanisms and institutions for conflict resolution and management, and humanitarian and peacekeeping operational capability. This effort will require sustained and active U.S. engagement and increased investment of technical and financial resources in support of African initiatives to build a culture of peace and establish non-violent mechanisms for conflict resolution. The U.S. must consult and work closely with the African countries and people-including women and youth-most directly affected by wars on the continent. As a guiding principle, it is important to establish that U.S. preventive measures-including support for economic development/debt relief, human rights/democracy and African conflict resolution and peacemaking organizations-will have a longer term impact on African peace and security than will sending American soldiers for peacekeeping. Still, the U.S. must remain prepared to deploy troops to Africa for evacuation of American citizens, and to contribute to multilateral humanitarian and disaster relief operations authorized by the international community. Intensive diplomatic pressure and resources should be expended to achieve early conflict resolution. Further, successful peace agreements will require linking the pre-negotiation and post-agreement peace-building stages. (SE, MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW)

Guiding Principles of Shared Responsibility and Conflict Prevention

176. **CLOSED:** The following guiding principles provide an important framework for the U.S. support of peace and security in Africa:
- a) Africans are increasingly taking responsibility for maintaining peace and security on the continent. This is evidenced by developments at the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the actions of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the presence of African peacekeepers in Central Africa, the role of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Lesotho, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) mediation in Sudan, and Accord de Non-Aggression d'Assistance (ANAD) disarmament and weapons non-proliferation efforts in the Sahara-Sahel region. This trend will likely continue over the next decade. The U.S. should act within the consultative framework of the OAU and sub-regional organizations in addressing peace and security issues on the continent;
 - b) Women's participation is essential for successful war reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction. Accordingly, women must be included in all aspects of the peace process including formal negotiations to end war;

176, Continued

- c) **Most importantly, the values of an open and democratic society require a transparent policy process that involves civil society engagement and government accountability to the public. The U.S. Department of Defense activities on the ground must be transparent, and strict U.S. Congressional oversight must be maintained over intelligence gathering activities in Africa. (SE, MW, NE, PAC, EC, MSW)**

Policy Recommendations**177. Landmines: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The White House should immediately sign the Treaty to Ban Landmines (the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Production, Stockpiling, and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Landmines) without reservation and the U.S. Senate should ratify the Treaty. (NE, MSW)
- b) The U.S. should expand financial support for mine clearance, victim assistance, and mine awareness in African and all other countries affected by the destruction wrought by landmines. (MSW, MW)
- c) The U.S. stockpile of landmines must be destroyed. (NE)
- d) The U.S. should increase political and economic pressures on all countries exporting landmines to Africa to stop doing so. (PAC)
- e) The U.S. must increase research on anti-mining technology.

178. Age of Conscription: Actions to be taken:

- a) The United States government should support the protocols of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Declaration of Human Rights, the 1979 Additional Protocol to the 1949 Geneva Convention, which seek to increase to 18 the age of conscription into the armed forces of a country. (SE, NE, MSW)
- b) The provisions of the protocols mentioned in a) above should apply to non-governmental militias as well in order to prevent them from recruiting children under 18 years of age. (EC, MSW)
- c) The U.S. should oppose the conscription of the only son or daughter of any family into the armed forces. (PAC)

179. Small Arms Trade: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should use its influence in multilateral and bilateral fora to limit the proliferation of

small arms in Africa. (SE, MW)

- b) The U.S. should help coordinate efforts to block private and government arms sales and transfer to governments, combatants and other groups that keep conflicts escalating. (MW)
- c) American private arms sales to Africa and to other countries that trade with Africa should be carefully monitored and regulated through the application and vigorous enforcement of export control restrictions. (MW)
- d) All U.S. arms sales to African countries should be conducted through the Department of Defense Security Assistance Program using the model in place for East Asian countries. (SE)
- e) Both private and government arms sales should be reported to the United Nations arms trade registry. (NE)

180. U.S. Arrears to the United Nations: Actions to be taken:

- a) Consistent with its commitment to international peace and security and as one of the ways of increasing the ability of the United Nations to conduct peacekeeping operations in Africa, the U.S. should, with all expediency:
 - i. pay, in full and with minimal restrictions, its share of previously assessed arrears and current dues to the United Nations.
 - ii. pay its full share, as currently assessed, of costs associated with United Nations peace-keeping operations. (PAC, EC, NE)
- b) The U.S. should strive to enhance the capacity of the UN to fulfill its role of ensuring international peace and security. (MSW)
- c) The U.S. should vote in the UN Security Council in favor of peacekeeping missions for African conflicts. (EC)
- d) When African regional organizations assume the burden of peacekeeping themselves, the U.S. should provide material assistance, including adequate financial and logistical support, to the African forces. (EC)

181. Refugees: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should increase financial, technical, and logistical support through USAID, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) projects. (NE)
- b) The U.S. should enhance its support for UNHCR and USAID projects that target women and children. (EC, PAC, NE, MSW)
- c) U.S. refugee programs should promote the development of local capacity so that over time, these programs lead to the replacement of expatriate staff by local staff and non-governmental

organizations. (PAC)

- d) The proportion of African refugees admitted to the U.S. should better reflect the numbers of Africans among the world's refugees. Africans make up 20% of the world's refugees yet they are only 12% of refugees accepted into the United States. Europeans represent only 15% of total refugees in the world, yet they account for two out of every three refugees allowed into the U.S. This disproportion exists even though most European refugees are able to take temporary refuge in other European countries, while African countries are often unable to support large refugee influxes from African conflicts. Furthermore, this discrepancy between African and European refugees admitted to the U.S. exists despite the significant contribution both have made to American economic and cultural life. Therefore, the U.S. should accord equitable treatment to African refugees, facilitate their processing, increase (from 12,000 to 30,000) the number admitted into the U.S., and provide adequate financial assistance. (EC, MSW)
- e) The U.S. should improve the screening process by setting up more screening sites in West and North Africa. (PAC)

182. **Prevention, Management, and Resolution of Conflict: Actions to be taken:**

- a) U.S. policy should give priority to crisis prevention in Africa since it saves lives and is more cost effective than post-conflict intervention, peacekeeping, peace enforcement or humanitarian and relief assistance. (NE)
- b) The U.S. should provide financial, technical, and logistical support for promising African and international initiatives and institutions (at the state, regional, and local levels) addressing conflict prevention, management and resolution as well as non-violent conflicts. U.S. support should be inclusive of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and conflict resolution efforts by non-governmental organizations, women's groups, and other civil society organizations. U.S. assistance must be provided in a timely manner. (SE, NE, EC)

In order to be effective,

- c) The U.S. should use its influence and standing as a world leader to bring conflict resolution in Africa to the forefront of discussion and action by world bodies such as the United Nations, with the goal of preventing and resolving local, regional, and national crises and conflicts before they escalate. (PAC)
- d) The U.S. should endorse and deploy efforts to promote the adoption and implementation of the 1991 Kampala Document on a Conference for Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA). (EC)
- e) All U.S. actors involved with conflict situations in Africa should seek to improve mechanisms for communicating and coordinating activities of governments, international and non-governmental organizations to prevent, resolve and mitigate conflict situations. (MSW)

- f) The U.S. government should give greater attention to and use its influence to mitigate and resolve conflicts on the African continent. For example, U.S. government initiatives in Africa to contribute to the solution of persisting African conflict situations, such as the recent appointment by the Secretary of State of a Special Envoy to the Sudan, are applauded. (MSW)
- g) As important as it is for the U.S. government to act directly on behalf of people in Africa, it should encourage, stimulate, and support other peace building agencies (non-governmental organizations and private groups) to lend their resources to peace and security in Africa. (EC)
- h) The U.S. should recognize the long-term nature of community based peace-building initiatives, and commit to long-term support with less of an emphasis on annual reporting of quantitative results. (EC)

183. U.S. Consultation and Collaboration with the United Nations and African Organizations: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should respect and work within the consultative frameworks of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and African sub-regional organizations (such as the Economic Community of West African States, the Southern African Development Community, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development) to assist new African initiatives in reordering civil-military relations and building continental conflict management and prevention capability. It should also encourage the proliferation of other such constructive mechanisms. (MW)
- b) Recognizing that African countries are already constrained by limited resources in the implementation of humanitarian operations, the U.S. should provide troops and logistical support for UN peacekeeping missions in Africa. (EC)
- c) In cases of war between African countries, the U.S. should ensure that both bilateral and multilateral budgetary support are suspended to the warring government that refuses to accept solutions endorsed by African regional or sub-regional organizations or to implement United Nations Security Council resolutions. (EC)

184. Reconstruction of War-torn Countries: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S., through its State Department Bureau for Population and Migration (BPRM) and Office for Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) should fund educational and psycho-social service programs that target refugees and internally displaced persons, particularly children, women, the elderly and non-combatants. Special funding should be devoted to indigenous security, educational, health, and rehabilitation programs with emphasis on those headed by women. (NE, SE, MW)

- b) Congress should increase funds in the Foreign Assistance Budget for reconstruction of African countries in post-conflict situations. (MW)
- c) To ensure lasting peace and stability the U.S. should support reconstruction programs that mitigate and relieve the long-term effects of war and strife on women, men, children, the elderly, refugees, displaced persons and communities. Such programs should include reintegration of former combatants (both adults and children) into civil society, educational programs targeting widows, mothers and former soldiers and other war-affected children and youth. (PAC)

185. **Security Assistance: Actions to be taken:**

- a) Bilateral security assistance (both military and non-military, including financial, training, and materiel) should remain an important feature of U.S. security policy in Africa, but not to the detriment of development aid. (PAC, NE)
- b) The U.S. should significantly increase its security assistance to support African efforts to carry out peacekeeping, humanitarian and disaster relief operations, and to restructure their security forces to promote civilian control and reduce military expenditures. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
- c) Funding for the OAU Central Mechanism for Conflict Resolution should be given priority over Expanded International Military Education and Training (IMET) and Africa Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) programs. (NE)
- d) The U.S. should continue to provide International Military Education and Training (IMET) training to African countries but should strictly limit such aid to programs designed to assist with military reform and transition to civilian rule. These programs should be carried out within an interagency process involving such key agencies as the Department of State, Department of Defense, USAID, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (USACDA), and the National Security Council. (MW)
- e) A thorough, independent assessment of the International Military Education and Training Program should be conducted to determine its capacity to effectively facilitate restructuring of armed forces, training of peacekeepers, and offer assistance to at-risk populations in emergency situations during conflicts. (EC)
- f) The U.S. government should provide assistance to police, public security forces, and judiciary systems as a means of assisting countries establish and maintain rule of law as well as practices consistent with international human rights norms and standards. (MSW)

186. **Oversight of Security Agencies: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. government should maintain strict oversight over the activities of its various agencies working on defense and security matters in Africa. It is especially important to

increase the transparency of Department of Defense activities on the ground in Africa, including International Military Education and Training (IMET), Expanded IMET, and African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) activities, and to maintain strict oversight over any operational intelligence activities occurring on the continent. (PAC)

- b) U.S. security assistance programs should be closely reviewed and evaluated:
 - i. for their on-going social consequence; and (SE, NE, MSW, PAC, EC)
 - ii. to provide feedback for determining policy effectiveness. (NE)

187. Debt: Actions to be taken:

Poverty generates conflict and insecurity. Africa's debt burden intensifies poverty and facilitates conflict. Thus, the United States should cancel all debt that African countries owe's. The money freed up from debt cancellation should not be used for military purposes. Rather it should be used to support the basic needs of African people. (EC)

188. Demilitarization: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should provide tangible support for Organization of African Unity collaboration with the efforts of sub-regional organizations to demobilize, re-educate, and retrain former soldiers for new occupations as part of post-conflict state reconstruction. This will also help to shift the balance of power from the African militaries to civil society. (SE)

189. Private Security: Actions to be taken:

- a) Given the ambiguous and sometimes detrimental role of private and foreign (non-governmental) security forces on the economic and political autonomy of African states and peoples, the U.S. should collaborate with the Organization of African Unity to host a dialogue on setting guidelines for how these groups should operate within Africa. (SE)
- b) National governments throughout the world should be urged to take responsibility for their nationals who work for private security groups in Africa. (SE)
- c) The U.S. should vigorously condemn any country sending and/or supporting foreign mercenaries to destabilize any African country. (MW)
- d) The U.S. should use its influence to discourage African countries from exchanging primary resources and land rights for the military services of mercenaries. (NE)

190. Media: Actions to be taken:

A free and fair African press is a critical mechanism for preventing, managing, and resolving violent conflicts and promoting peace. The U.S. should increase aid for developing the infrastructure/quality of the media (radio, television, print, Internet) in Africa, as a way of strengthening peace and security on the continent. Assistance for the African media should include peace education and training of

media personnel, the exchange of journalists between African and U.S. news organizations and agencies, and provision of infrastructure and information. Organizations such as USAID, the United States Institutes for Peace, Voice of America, as well as local and international non-governmental organizations should be engaged in such an effort. (EC, SE)

191. **Development Assistance: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should target increased resources toward addressing development-related problems which often contribute to violent conflict when left unattended. (SE)

192. **African Sovereignty: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. must respect the sovereignty of African states and refrain from unilateral attacks on facilities within the borders of those states (e.g. the 1998 strike against Sudan must not be repeated). If the U.S. has pressing security needs, it must work through multilateral processes at regional and/or United Nations levels prior to taking action. (MW)

193. **African Borders: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. government should underscore its neutrality concerning the potential redrawing of African boundaries, recognizing the legitimacy of both the rights of existing nation-states and the rights of individual groups on the pursuit of self-determination. (MW)

194. **Decolonization: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should support the resolution of the United Nation's Decolonization Committee with respect to the remaining African countries, like the Comoros and Seychelles, that are still controlled by a colonizer. (MW)

195. **Women and Peace: Actions to be taken:**

- a) The U.S. should require that women be involved at all levels in peace and security initiatives funded in whole or in part by the United States. Women should be involved in negotiations before conflict erupts and in all resolution efforts. (NE)
- b) The U.S. government and non-governmental organizations should provide formal support to the May 1999 Zanzibar Declaration of the Pan-African Women's Conference on a Culture of Peace. (NE)
- c) The U.S. should provide funds and expertise to help African women gain training to move into leadership roles in government as well as other public and private sector venues, and to enhance the leadership role of African women in peace and security. (MW)
- d) The U.S. should also encourage the proliferation of constructive mechanisms by recognizing the important role that women's local, regional, and national peace building groups, like

- e) AAFP, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), African Women in Crisis (AFWIC), LibWomenIn, SLWMP, at the local, regional, and national levels have had on encouraging the peace dialogue among parties to conflicts in places like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and South Africa. Additionally, the U.S. should provide concrete support for women's efforts within OAU initiatives and for women's peace building initiatives within regional organizations. (SE)

196. International Treaties and Conventions: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. must ratify the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child. (NE)

197. International Criminal Court: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. government should become a party to the permanent International Criminal Court in order to make the prosecution and deterrence of war crimes more effective. (MSW)
- b) The U.S. should assist in creating an International Court, based in Africa, controlled by International Law and legal procedure, to vigorously prosecute cases of genocide and war crimes (as defined by the relevant UN Conventions) carried out on the African continent. (PAC)
- c) The U.S. should support international diplomatic judicial efforts to identify, extradite and try war criminals. (NE)

198. Business Ethics: Actions to be taken:

- a) American corporations should consider the impact of their activities on conflict in Africa. Those corporations doing business in Africa should adopt, and the U.S. government should encourage them to adopt, a corporate code of conduct to limit the extent to which trade and investment damage African communities and feed violent conflict. (EC)
- b) Corporations should refrain from trading with combatants or their agents with the objective of mitigating the scope of conflicts. (MSW)

199. Food as a Weapon of War: Action to be taken:

The U.S. government, aid agencies, and non-governmental organizations should take a firm stand against the use of food or the denial of access to food and medicine as an instrument of war against innocent civilians. They should organize preventive mechanisms to avoid the use of hunger as a weapon of war in Africa. (PAC, NE)

200. **Genocide: Actions to be taken:**

The U.S. should support development of the International Campaign to End Genocide (one of the 8 campaigns in the Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice) a plan to engage non-governmental organizations, governments, and the media in a warning system designed to alert everyone of impending acts of genocide in order to generate effective preventive action. (NE)

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

201. As the 21st century approaches, it is clear that the key to the attainment of sustainable development in Africa is African human capacity. The goals for education policy in the 21st century will include raising basic education levels among the masses, promoting excellence in research, training in science and technology, and thus enabling Africans to assume their roles as equal partners in the global community. African countries will need to develop education and cultural institutions that are sensitive and responsive to local and national development. Capacity building in Africa should be based on partnership and designed to achieve excellence and self-reliance. (MW)
202. Africa also needs expanded access to quality education. According to the United Nations Development Programme, between 1960-1991, adult literacy doubled from 27 to 54 percent; primary level enrollment doubled from 25 to 50 percent, and secondary enrollment increased from 13 to 38 percent. Still, 80 million African boys and girls are out of school. In many parts of Africa, girls comprise a smaller percentage of children in primary school than boys-and even less at the secondary level where girls form about 30 percent of the total. As the century ends, more than 40 percent of Africa's primary school-age children remain out of school and fewer than 2 percent who begin school reach tertiary level. Schools in many countries have no books, teachers' guides, or chairs. Thus youth, ages 15-30, form a large group of poorly educated and unemployed persons. Furthermore, if adults continue to lack basic skills, they cannot support the youth's schooling and advancement. There is no question that this lack of educational opportunities poses a serious impediment to development in Africa. Furthermore, since a principal function of the education system is the cultural and political socialization of young people so that they can learn their rights and responsibilities as citizens, Africa cannot expect to enjoy democracy if its youth are not taught to be democrats in diverse cultural and ethnic societies. However, current physical institutions for primary, secondary, non-formal and tertiary education cannot support the current and future demand and need for education which includes lifelong learning in Africa. Therefore, there is a need to include alternative means of education such as distance learning. (MW)
203. Very little has expressed and communicated the essence of African culture more than the arts. African art existed as the primary vehicle by which lessons and values were transmitted to centuries of evolving generations and civilizations. African culture is integral to the development of the continent. During the colonial period African art and other cultural property was removed, often without the consent or knowledge of Africans, from the continent and now resides in museums and private collections in the West. This drain of precious African art has continued in the post-independence era and has resulted in the de-contextualization of African art and further isolation of Africans from their cultural heritage. Even though the drain of precious African art, artifacts, and performing arts has contributed to the world's artistic repertoire, it has also resulted in serious exploitative conditions due to a lack of information, inadequate and poorly enforced government regulations as well as a lack of economic opportunities for the African distributors. In addition, many African countries face a woeful lack of resources for cultural production and preservation and, as a result, African musicians, artists, writers, etc. receive little support. The preservation of African's cultural heritage should be a high priority. Where material is now housed outside of Africa, its accessibility to African peoples is imperative. (MW)

204. Developments in African education and culture are important to the U.S. because rapid globalization means that even events in distant countries can have a serious impact on the United States. All nations are learning that global connections are both problematic and potentially helpful. In a world connected by cellular telephones and the Internet, where overextended banks in one country affect the entire international system of exchange and finance, and where felling trees and burning charcoal in one forest affect the quality of air half a world away, education is a global concern. Quite simply, like poverty and disease, illiteracy and ignorance affect all people around the world. It is, therefore, in the interests of the U.S. to have a stable and well-developed Africa than one that is volatile and underdeveloped. Creating African information and communications infrastructures should be considered as both a necessity and an opportunity. Africa needs leapfrog strategies and should take advantage of the rapidly falling costs of information and communications technologies. (MW)
205. **CLOSED:** Not only is education a human right, it is also central to the transmission of values such as equality, equity, democracy, and national unity, as well as preparation for citizenship. This makes education a high priority for developing countries. Education about tolerance, non-violent conflict resolution, preventive health, food security, civil society, and governance may ultimately be more important for maintaining a livable world than temporary peace-keeping forces and emergency relief agencies. (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
206. **CLOSED:** Solid private and public sector initiatives in African education would strengthen Africa's role in the world. Partnerships involving Americans and Africans at all levels-institutions and associations-both public and private-will open opportunities for economic growth, intellectual enrichment, cultural exchanges, human rights protection, greater national security, and sustainable developments in human capacity for Africans and Americans. (SE, PAC, MW, NE, EC, MSW)
207. The majority of African countries are in a precarious development condition. Both short- and long-term development needs are vast but resources are scarce. This has led to an irreconcilable tension between the need to increase access to quality education and the need to address poverty and other high priority issues. Consequently, African governments have turned to external agencies for assistance. Ironically, nearly \$4 billion of external aid goes to paying foreign technical assistance and not to building African institutions. Although external assistance is only a small part of Africa's total expenditure on education, it has a strategic and critical role in most African countries. Economic crises and Structural Adjustment Programs have generally increased Africa's recourse to foreign assistance. African governments must re-evaluate and redirect external assistance to maximize opportunities for increased education capacity in Africa as well as devise ways of supporting African culture and arts. (MW)
208. Participation in education policy and development should be based on dialogue-not top-down directives. Regrettably, externally driven education reform policies implemented in Africa by aid agencies, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, in which the U.S. plays a major role, originate in a Western educational system and philosophy which ignores the cultural, social, economic

and political contexts in which Africa's education systems operate. The requirements of financial and resource constraints usually prevent the victims of structural adjustment programs--the disadvantaged rural and urban poor, children, women, and the elderly--from ever having an opportunity to decide where financial reductions should occur, or the nature of the compromises to be made in the quality of their lives. Meaningful education policies must first remove limitations--structural and institutional--on the participation of African stakeholders in formulating and implementing education reforms. This view was recently reinforced by James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank when he stated: "Partnership ... must be the cornerstone of our efforts ... First and foremost, the governments and the people of developing countries must be in the driver's seat exercising choice and setting their own objectives for themselves. Development requires much too much sustained political will to be externally imposed. It cannot be donor-driven ... We must learn to let go. We must accept that the projects we fund are not donor projects or World Bank projects, they are Costa Rican projects, or Bangladeshi projects, or Chinese projects. And development projects and programs must be fully owned by local stakeholders if they are to succeed. We must listen to those stakeholders."¹ (MW)

209. Foreign assistance must help support costly investments in primary, secondary, non-formal, and tertiary education. Teacher training, research directions, infrastructure inputs, and management programs, whether at the regional, national or local level, should be firmly rooted in an agenda of sustainable development objectives and education policies set by African parents, educators, students, and governments. (SE, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)

It is necessary to take into account the large role that non-governmental organizations, particularly religious groups have played, and continue to play, in African education at all levels. These organizations need to be brought into any consideration of new school policy. However, the ultimate agenda for such policies must be set by the elected representatives of African communities, including women, youth and elders whether at the local, regional, or national level rather than by religious bodies or their international sponsors. (MW)

Policy Recommendations

210. **Partnerships for Development: Actions to be taken:**

In building relationships with Africa, the U.S. should seek equal partnerships. Operationally, equal partnership should be defined to include the equal consideration of African perspectives, interests, concerns, problem solving, benefits etc. (PAC). Therefore:

- a) The U.S. government and the educational community in the U.S. should build upon existing partnerships while also seeking to establish new ones with African peoples and institutions. These partnerships should include opportunities for international exchanges (such as the Fulbright programs), training, research, technology and knowledge transfer and information-sharing initiatives. These partnerships should seek to include retired educators. (MSW)

- b) To facilitate these efforts the U.S. should provide sound technical and financial support to enable greater access to the various forms of education by underserved populations such as women, youth, and the elderly. (MW)
- c) African and American educators and researchers at all levels should be encouraged and supported to collaborate on information exchange, joint proposal writing and research of books and teaching materials, including efforts to provide resources in indigenous languages, etc. (MW)
- d) Educational, cultural and research-oriented partnerships and collaboration between the U.S. and Africa should be among the top priorities presented to foundations and corporations. (SE)
- e) Partnerships should enhance the existing knowledge of our African partners while also giving appropriate consideration to African knowledge systems. (EC)
- f) Partnerships between U.S. and African educational institutions should increase the application of education activities to national development needs; improve institutional management capacity; promote national policy dialogue; and promote academic freedom. (EC)
- g) U.S. educational institutions and the private sector, in partnership with African institutions, should increase the number of scholarships for African students to study in the U.S. (MSW)
- h) As a means of educating the American public about African culture, each state government should adopt a sister African country. The schools throughout that state should make a concerted effort to educate their students on all aspects of their chosen sister country. This could expand to include cultural exchanges between the state and its corresponding African country. (MSW)
- i) Formal and informal educational communities and institutions in the U.S. and Africa should seek to establish mutual partnerships. Partnerships should include least served and least represented sectors of all communities. Special emphasis should be placed on developing participation among children, women and the aged. Partnerships will provide opportunities for international exchanges, training, research, technology and knowledge transfer, and information sharing initiatives. (PAC)
- j) Schools in small and medium-sized towns and rural areas, as well as those in the inner cities should be encouraged to participate in these partnerships. Support for these mutual partnerships be should extended to both educational institutions in the U.S. and in Africa which forge sister-school relationships. (PAC)

211. Fostering Educational Linkages with African Institutions: Actions to be taken:

- a) President Clinton's new initiative, Education for Development and Democracy in Africa, should foster long-term linkages with effective physical and tangible support for African universities, technical schools, teacher training colleges, research institutions, think tanks,

public libraries, museums, cultural institutions, and primary and secondary schools, as well as formal, non-formal, and indigenous educational initiatives. Particular attention should be given to Africa-based scholarly and cultural networks and professional institutions as the Association of African Universities, the Global Coalition for Africa, the Association for Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), African Association of Political Scientists (AAPS), Southern Africa Political and Economic Series Trust (SAPES), Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), and Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and other professional organizations. In order to have a gender-focused perspective, the oldest pan-African women's organization, Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) should be included in these partnerships. (SE, EC)

- b) The U.S. should encourage financial support for the emergence of regional centers of excellence in higher and vocational education. (SE)
- c) The U.S. should support, promote and establish collaborative research and development projects and partnerships between African and American higher education, research institutions and development enterprises. (SE)
- d) There should be an increase in U.S. funding for initiatives that promote study in Africa for U.S. students, particularly African-Americans, need-based students, and those going to Africa for the first time. (SE)
- e) The U.S. should facilitate the pairing of counterparts in government and civil society as the basis for international exchanges, training, research, technology and knowledge transfer, and information sharing initiatives. (SE)
- f) The U.S. should facilitate exchange relationships between U.S.-based institutions of civil society and their African counterparts (e.g. such as Sister cities programs, women's associations, civic associations, chambers of commerce, workers' unions and small business associations) and African counterparts. (SE)
- g) The U.S. should facilitate knowledge transfer and exchange as they relate to the development of youth and gender equity. (SE)
- h) The U.S. should support capacity-building partnerships, collaboration and dialogue between African and U.S. institutions. (SE)
- i) The U.S. should support people-to-people programs. (SE)

212. **Culture and Education in Africa: Actions to be taken:**

The culture of a people consists of modes of language, family structure, religion and the mode of making a living. Out of these come laws, art, music, literature, mode of dress, education, transportation and rituals, etc. The United States should become aware and knowledgeable of

national and traditional African cultures, including indigenous knowledge systems and religions, and encourage and demonstrate a strong respect for the role that these traditions can play as African societies adopt and transform to modern needs. (MSW, NE)

To this end, the U.S. should:

- a) support literacy instruction in mother tongue languages, as well as in international and national languages. Americans need to know that Africans are multilingual, and know both African and European languages. Foreign, especially Romance languages (French, Portuguese, Spanish), should be taught in addition to African languages, not as substitutes. (SE)
- b) provide higher education funding for the study and teaching of African languages. This would not only help Americans to learn about traditional African culture but would also provide employment for Africans (graduate students as well some of those highly trained Africans living in the U.S. who are currently unemployed). (SE)
- c) establish policies that emphasize the continuing creation of learning resources about Africa by Africans. Africans should be encouraged to take the lead in the development of ethnically - sensitive literacy materials. This will ensure educational materials that are relevant and appropriate from African perspectives. (SE)
- d) fund the development of African Studies programs 1) in elementary and secondary institutions in the U.S. and 2) within U.S. community and cultural programs in the U.S. African and African Diaspora cultural art forms should be incorporated in the core curriculum. Support for preexisting programs should be a priority. (SE)
- e) develop and disseminate teaching curricula and advocate educational methods for children and youth that are grounded in African-American traditions and cultures, and emphasize the connections between the U.S. and African heritage experiences. (PAC)
- f) at the request of Africans, develop with Africans an array of educational strategies that reflect the emerging needs of today's African nations, particularly as it involves basic education in rural areas. (PAC)
- g) encourage the effective use of existing educational technologies such as books and other easily reproduced media, as well as newly emerging network and broadcast media to promote educational collaboration between traditional African communities and grassroots organizations in Africa and the United States. (PAC)

213. Increasing Enrollment and Access to Education: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. must work with Africa and the international community to find a solution to low pre-school, primary, secondary and higher education enrollments in Africa. In doing so, priority must be given to assisting African countries with the provision of universal primary education -- a stated goal of most countries on the continent. (NE)

- b) U.S. educational endeavors in Africa must deliberately seek the inclusion and promotion of girls, women, and students with physical and learning disabilities for parity in enrollments at primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, as well as in informal and vocational training. Curricular and teaching materials (from basic and non-formal education to vocational and academic training) should be gender-neutral and non-sexist. (SE, MW, MSW, PAC)
- c) The U.S. should work with African countries to support distance learning at the community level. This should be supported through the installation of satellites and other appropriate telecommunications and infrastructure. (SE)
- d) To accomplish the goals outlined in a-c above, continental Africans and Americans should develop community mobilization strategies supported by communications and information technologies. The design and implementation should be undertaken by the African participants involved, concentrating on several key areas:
 - i) teacher training for special programs;
 - ii) development of non-boarding (day) schools;
 - iii) effective reading programs in the accepted language or languages of the country;
 - iv) continuing education for teachers; and,
 - v) financial assistance for payment of school fees, while encouraging the provision of free-of-charge, universal primary and secondary education in every country on the continent. (PAC)

214. Science and Technology: Actions to be taken:

- a) The Administration's \$120 million initiative over the next two years must widen the opportunities for access to and use of the tools of science and technology for Africa's sustainable development as prioritized by Africans. This Initiative should aim to support African development in general and in the education and cultural sectors in particular. Particular emphasis should be given to development of tertiary and research establishments in Africa linked to select industries such as construction engineering and communications technology (in view of Africa's largely underdeveloped water and other resources); handmade clothing and furniture (in which African craftspeople have a strong tradition and experience); the textile industry given Africa's rich cotton resources; and service industries such as accounting, music, art production and media. (PAC)
- b) The U.S. should provide financial, technical and logistical support for the creation of African information and communications infrastructures. (MW)
- c) As a way of promoting computer literacy among African students, the U.S. should make efforts to export to Africa some of its large number of discarded but non-obsolete computers to promote computer literacy among African students. (SE)

- d) U.S. transfer of technology should be compatible with Africa's infrastructural and other needs and requirements. For example, where there is a lack of electricity, manual typewriters would be necessary. (SE)
- e) U.S. science and technology support to Africa should be equally balanced between support for post-secondary initiatives and that for primary, secondary and non-formal education. (SE)
- f) The U.S. should use its experience and influence to expand the use of information and communications technology tools for democratization and education. (MW)
- g) U.S. states should encourage their institutions to create, promote and maintain links through student exchanges, special study projects, distance education, joint research etc. with African research institutions. (NE)
- h) The U.S. should assist Africa's integration into the information age by providing substantial financial and technical support for improving and maintaining Africa's information and communications infrastructures. Such an undertaking would greatly expand the possibilities in primary, secondary, and tertiary distance learning. (SE)

215. Visual and Performing Arts: Actions to be taken:

African visual and performing arts are a vital source of engagement, information, and visibility for Africa in the U.S. The quality and genius of African arts and their profound connection to American culture and arts should be recognized. Therefore, the U.S. public and private sectors are encouraged to:

- a) Increase donor support for the development of African visual and performing arts, both for their intrinsic social value, their ability to inform others about Africa (historically, politically, socially, and culturally) as well as a means of economic development; (PAC)
- b) Encourage the incorporation of African arts as an integral part of K-12 and university-level inter-disciplinary curricula, and provide teachers with training in African studies; (MW, PAC)
- c) Assist non-governmental organizations and performing arts institutions to expand African arts programming; (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
- d) Support the development of arts-related enterprise; (SE, MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
- e) Increase U.S. policy focus on creating a more receptive policy environment for the free flow of arts products and performers to the U.S. (SE, MW, PAC, EC, MSW)

Furthermore, the work of visual and performing artists is a valuable but underutilized sources of employment and foreign exchange. The U.S. should encourage African countries to: (SE, NE, EC, MSW)

- a) Give further attention to the economic and social development potential of the arts; (SE, MW, NE, EC, MSW)
- b) Create policy and regulatory environments more conducive to the free movement of arts performers and their products, regionally and internationally; (SE, MW, NE, EC, MSW)
- c) Give attention to taxes and duties which inhibit the import and export of products necessary for artistic production and trade; (SE, MW, NE, EC, MSW)
- d) Vigorously enforce copyright laws to protect artists, publishers and producers; (MW)
- e) Ensure access to music and arts education as a vehicle for connecting cultures and sensitizing people to the value of diversity within societies; (MSW)
- f) Protect their antiquities and regain those that have been taken away illegally; (SE)
- g) Guarantee freedom of speech and expression to artists in their creative work without fear of reprisal or retribution; (SE)
- h) Promote and encourage the further development of African cultural and artistic productions (PAC)
- i) Actively encourage art as a reflection of the cultural history of people through the development and support of art museums and libraries, public schools and institutions, and the exchange of art exhibits and books; (PAC)
- j) Enact regulations that safeguard the acquisition, preservation, protection, and control of their art treasures; (PAC)
- k) Support the organization of annual conferences on African infusion in the Curriculum (based on models developed by African American scholars and those in African Studies Centers in universities throughout the United States). (SE)
- l) The U.S. should also encourage and support education of African youth, utilizing the performing arts as an integral part of formal and informal education systems; (EC)
- m) The U.S. should encourage and support the integration of the performing arts in informal and formal education systems to teach about the history and contribution of people of African descent; (EC)
- n) Increase funding for media education in Africa and the production of African cultural products; (EC)
- o) Support and draw on African media organizations and media education institutions in this regard; (EC)

- p) Enlist the cooperation of African intellectuals, activists, and practitioners in developing policies about culture and education; (EC)
- q) Support initiatives to develop locally-based production facilities (recording studios, film studios, web design shops, etc.) in Africa and also to train practitioners and technical talent so these facilities can become self-sustaining in terms of human resources. The U.S. should encourage working collaborations between U.S. and African artists. Such collaborations will benefit both societies as over time new forms of creation will grow from this synthesis. These working collaborations could take the form of physical relocation of artists to common work sites; information exchange via Internet; master-apprentice programs; think-tank resource development with the arts as the focus, etc.; (MSW)
- r) The U.S. and the international community should finance the establishment of artists' village settlements in Africa and the United States. These settlements should be led by African and African-American visionary artists; (PAC) and
- s) Shared cultural heritage is a key component in the construction of sentiments of citizenship and nationhood. The U.S. should expand its funding of research, analysis cataloging, exhibition and protection of African sites of antiquity. (NE)

216. Improving Education about Africa in the United States: Actions to be taken:

To fully benefit from the mutual opportunities of U.S. engagement with Africa, education policymakers in the U.S. must endeavor to:

- a) promote a radical and positive change in American knowledge of and attitudes toward Africa; and (SE, MW, NE, EC, MSW)
- b) emphasize Africa's integral role in the history and present state of the Americas and global civilization through both formal and informal educational systems and through the mass media--the nation's major provider of information and creator of attitudes. (SE, MW, NE, EC, MSW)

The U.S. education sector, cultural communities, media and entertainment industries are encouraged to:

- a) promote realistic and nuanced portrayals of the multiple and complex histories and contemporary realities of the African continent; (MW, NE, EC, MSW)
- b) make teaching of the above concepts and facts outlined in a) above a required, substantive and integral component of teacher training, testing for certification, and on-the-job evaluation; (MW)
- c) promote the development and dissemination of information through educational materials and mass media productions; (EC, MW, NE, MSW)
- d) determine criteria for "best practices" in materials development and partnerships and widely disseminate information about "best practices" to educational and social service organizations; (NE)
- e) monitor the mass media for misinformation about Africa; (PAC)

- f) provide ample, meaningful fieldtrips, resource persons, mentoring, internships relating to historical and present day Africa; (MW)
- g) maximize potential opportunities in non-school organizational, home, and community activities to reinforce and complement the content of Africa education provided in schools; (MW)
- h) encourage local institutions (such as Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association, museums, and churches) to integrally incorporate aspects of African skills and knowledge into their exhibits, programs, and classes (parallel skills and knowledge from Native Americans, Asian, and other cultures can be added to this as it further prepares children for life in the global village); (MW)
- i) facilitate the implementation of other activities that present accurate and representative images of Africans and peoples of African descent in the Americas, including the contributions of Africans and their descendants to American and global civilization; (MW, PAC, NE, EC, MSW)
- j) develop and provide books, videotapes, the Internet and all other teaching and learning media; (MW)
- k) incorporate learning about Africa in curricula and programs at all levels of the educational system. These programs and curricula should be developed in consultation with Africans. (MW)

217. Promotion of Linkages Between and Among Populations of the African Diaspora: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. public and private sector institutions and community organizations are encouraged to identify, promote, and facilitate linkages between and among populations of the African Diaspora. Furthermore, actions should be fostered which recognize and appreciate both commonalities and diversity, promote a sense of unity, and mobilize these communities for mutually beneficial collaborative actions on foreign and domestic policy issues relating to Africa. To this end these linkages should:

- a) encourage cultural and educational institutions such as museums, research institutions, films, and multimedia production companies, cultural associations and performing arts to promote African-American media organizations; (PAC)
- b) establish scholarships and funding for information technology, educational and cultural conferences, museums, art research and study; (PAC)
- c) provide scholarships and funding for teachers and students for exchange programs between the U.S. and African descent populations everywhere; (PAC)
- d) facilitate and disseminate accurate information and resources about Africa and the African Diaspora. Materials and resources could include bibliographies, films and videos, cultural festivals, and regional and national programs, research institutions, scholarly organizations, African outreach programs, and ethnic institutions; and (NE)
- e) facilitate the mobilization and collaboration of the African Diaspora on foreign and domestic policy issues relating to Africa and the African Diaspora. (SE)

218. Information about Africa and the African Diaspora: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should facilitate, develop, and disseminate information and resources about Africa and the African Diaspora--for example, bibliographies, films and videos, research institutions, scholarly organizations, African outreach programs, ethnic institutions, exhibits, cultural festivals, and regional and national programs, and others. Of particular relevance in this respect are materials and books written by Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora from an Africa-centered perspective. Materials to be disseminated on Africa should be balanced in terms of rural and urban areas in Africa. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should develop a comprehensive K-12 curriculum on African American studies for U.S. schools, together with accompanying teachers' guides and textbooks. Emphasis should be placed on African American history, language and culture, and connections to Africa (such as the curriculum work in progress in South Carolina). (SE)

219. Africa's Contributions to American and World Development: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should encourage the study of African contributions to the world in sciences, the humanities and the social services. African contributions to Western development should be acknowledged and stressed in curricula for Americans. Emphasis should be on Africa's role in the creation and definition of the Americas, the role of African skills and scientific knowledge in the development of American economies, African labor's contribution to European and American industrial development, and the many and varied manifestations of the historic and continuing African cultural presence in the Americas--including spirituality and philosophy, agriculture and gastronomy, technology and material culture, language and the arts. To this end, U.S. universities and research institutions should be encouraged to promote research and organize research conferences on African contributions to American and global culture. This can be done through utilization of information technology such as teleconferencing with educators nationally and internationally, and disseminating this information widely and in engaging formats. (SE, MW, PAC)
- b) Relevant U.S. governmental and non-governmental organizations, public and private sector institutions, and community organizations are encouraged to facilitate the development and dissemination of resources and accurate information about Africa and the African Diaspora. Examples of such resources include bibliographies, books, films, videos, research institutions, scholarly and cultural organizations, African outreach programs, ethnic institutions, exhibits, libraries, cultural festivals, the Internet, and regional and national programs. (MW)

220. Disability and Education: Actions to be taken:

- a) The U.S. should develop and facilitate education programs for the 10% of African people with disabilities. Disabled persons are often excluded from education and employment, denied the benefits of long-term health care, immobilized by inadequate transportation systems and architectural barriers, and maintained in substandard living environments. (SE)

- b) The US government, non-governmental organizations, and the corporate sector must work with African governments and people to ensure that education and cultural policies are inclusive of persons with disabilities. The issue of disability should be integrated in all education and culture policies, including policies relative to:
 - i) partnerships for development between the U.S. and African institutions and people;
 - ii) formal and informal educational and cultural establishments at the elementary, secondary, tertiary, and community levels; and
 - iii) improving education about Africa in the United States. (EC)

221. African Culture and Arts Institutions: Actions to be taken:

- a) African cultural institutions (e.g. museums and theatres), have historically received little support for development and maintenance. Such venues ensure that history is captured from African perspectives and that alternative educational opportunities are available to youth and adults, and maintained throughout the continent. The U.S. should, as a matter of high priority, provide cultural institutions with adequate financial and developmental support. (MW)
- b) Cultural institutions must be considered necessary and valuable educational enterprises, and an essential means of preserving history in Africa. Therefore, the U.S. must work with Africa to strengthen existing African cultural institutions and to develop new ones. Attention should be given to sharing expertise, providing professional training, and encouraging partnerships to maximize resources. The U.S. must also provide financial support to help bring about this reality. (MW)
- c) The U.S. should demonstrate and promote respect for national and traditional cultural values in any educational development program that it offers to Africans. (MW)
- d) The U.S. should encourage Africans to preserve, document, share and exchange their cultural heritage as they deem appropriate. (MW)

222. Traditional African Educational Systems: Actions to be taken:

- a) Americans should study traditional models of African education that have been successful in forming community members with a strong sense of responsibility toward the health and well-being of the community and the family. Ways should be sought to utilize and incorporate these models into the American curriculum, thereby creating a true collaboration and partnership with Africa. (SE)
- b) In predominantly Islamic cultures, education projects should consider what makes Koranic schools successful and use this model for primary and other academic schools (Koranic schools are basically self-financed and have different physical structures). (SE)

223. Education and Peace: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. and African countries should collaborate on and support the development of education for peace, mutual understanding and conflict resolution. (MSW) To this end,

- a) the U.S. should encourage and support efforts by African researchers to develop education programs based on indigenous peace building practices. These efforts should include women as they are key players in developing a culture of peace. (EC)
- b) the U.S. should assist African governments to develop education curriculum that includes peace building and conflict resolution skills. (EC)

224. Education, Health, Agriculture, and the Environment: Actions to be taken:

- a) All U.S.-funded programs for educational development at primary and secondary levels should overtly and appropriately address issues of nutrition and public health relevant to both students and community which the project seeks to assist. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should encourage and facilitate the teaching of health education in the elementary curriculum. (EC)
- c) Public health education (including topics such as nutrition, hygiene and disease prevention) should be part of literacy and formal academic programs. (SE)
- d) The U.S. should work with non-governmental organizations and African governments to include agricultural and environmental education at both formal academic and vocational training centers. (SE)

225. Misinformation About Africa: Actions to be taken:

It is important to correct erroneous information on the historical and cultural aspects of African people in the world. The U.S. should help to identify and support a cadre of people who can use multi-media to disseminate factual, balanced and contextualized information on the whole continent of Africa. (EC)

226. Media and Education: Actions to be taken:

In order to prioritize the culture, education, language and information needs of Africans:

- a) The U.S. must recognize the role and importance of available media messages on Africa. The U.S. must encourage African ownership of mass media. (SE)
- b) U.S.-based institutions producing cultural material, whether governmental or private, must be encouraged to do business in Africa in a responsible manner. (SE)
- c) Multinational institutions should be discouraged from destabilizing, displacing, or competing unfairly with indigenous media. (SE)

227. Funding of Education Sector in Africa: Actions to be taken:

- a) As part of the proposed “Marshall Plan for Africa” the U.S. Department of Education should create a fund to subsidize teachers and scholars, especially African professors and teachers working in the U.S., who are willing to spend time teaching in Africa or otherwise assisting the African educational effort. (SE)
- b) The U.S. should develop and fund programs to increase opportunities for access to education by girls and women at the primary, secondary, and tertiary education levels. (PAC)
- c) The U.S. government should offer incentives to graduate students who want to teach in Africa (e.g. by waiving their student education loans, and/or providing fellowships for graduate studies for those who serve two years in Africa). (PAC)
- d) The U.S. government, business, and non-governmental organizations are encouraged to establish partnerships with African experts and professionals living in the Diaspora when initiating educational and industrial projects in Africa rather than using only foreign experts. These experts can serve as checks and balances, while also enabling them to pay back their countries. Lastly, inclusion of these African experts is very important for sustainment of the projects. (MW)
- e) The U.S. government and businesses are encouraged to organize and/or support fund raising efforts for collecting books, computers, and medical supplies for shipment to schools, colleges, universities, community libraries, and hospitals in Africa. Where books, basic lab and hospital supplies that most Americans take for granted are lacking. (MW)
- f) The U.S. should increase funding to train teachers and to provide incentives to retain teachers, particularly those to teach in rural areas in Africa. (PAC)
- g) The U.S. should increase funding, in parity with Europe, for international aid and development that increases mutual understanding and raises human capacity for development. (EC)

228. K-12 Education in the U.S.: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should:

- a) support the development of awards that recognize excellent children’s materials on Africa (e.g. African Studies Association’s Children’s Book Award). (EC)
- b) develop and support the following publications for K-12 education:
 - monthly magazines devoted to teaching about Africa
 - annual best lessons publication
 - best lesson website
 - annual review of books on Africa published during the calendar year. (EC)
- c) develop and support national K-12 Institutes devoted to teaching and learning about Africa. This

institute would support and help coordinate the work of existing outreach programs, and teacher training programs. Existing programs and efforts must also be publicized. (EC)

- d) Develop partnerships between U.S. publishers and African publishers to facilitate access to K-12 materials produced in Africa. (EC)

229. Distance Education: Action to be taken:

The U.S. should promote distance education such as: on-line education, video conferencing, correspondence courses, etc. and develop supporting resources as a way of stimulating faster educational development in Africa. (MSW)

230. Vocational and Technical Education: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. education community must play a leadership role in meeting the momentous challenge of assuring that vocational and technical education address Africa's national needs for global competitiveness. (EC)

231. Libraries: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should assist African libraries with books, training, and acquisition of required technologies. (EC)

232. Peace Corps and Education: Actions to be taken:

- a) The number of Peace Corps volunteers, especially in education, should be greatly expanded to provide increased person-to-person education. (EC)
- b) Returned Peace Corps Volunteers should assist with teaching Americans more about Africa. (EC)

233. Youth and Leadership in Africa: Actions to be taken:

U.S. institutions should seek to provide opportunities to engage youth leadership in Africa. (EC)

234. International Exchanges: Actions to be taken:

- a) Current federal funding for international training, exchange and support services for African scholars and professionals must be protected from further erosion. These programs include United States Information Agency (USIA) services, the Fulbright programs, citizens exchange, international visitors and USAID training. (MW)
- b) U.S. organizations should offer funding for intra-African exchange programs – i.e. for the enhancement of communications and exchange of faculty, researchers, and publications among African institutions and systems of learning. (MSW)

- c) The U.S. should create more educational programs for African and American students. This should include the development of opportunities for more African students to come to U.S. institutions - to share their ideas with American students and community; the provision of opportunities for U.S. students to study at African educational institutions, e.g. University of Ghana, University of Nsukka, and Makerere in Uganda. Some of this is done currently, but it needs expansion and official sanction. (MSW)
- d) The U.S. should support efforts that fund exchanges between the U.S. and African administrators, educators and students, such that American educators can gain a better understanding of Africa, its history, culture, etc. This will influence existing curricula in the U.S. schools, as administrators and educators will be able to engage students with a more realistic image of the continent and its peoples, and reinforce Africa's importance and significance in the world. (EC)

235. Education in the Workplace: Actions to be taken:

U.S. businesses working in Africa should be encouraged to include an education component for African workers including, but not limited to, literacy and computer skills training. (SE)

236. Tourism and Education: Actions to be taken:

The U.S. should encourage tourism and educational travel between the U.S. and African countries. A dialogue with U.S. airlines, travel and tour agencies should immediately begin to explore providing direct and economically feasible flights to Africa. (MSW)

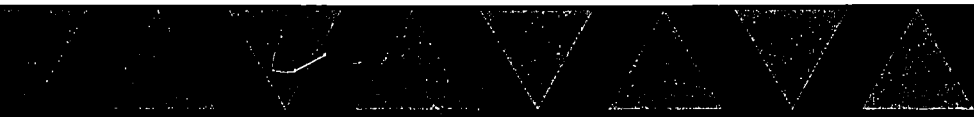
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The 5th Annual **African- African American Summit**

Reprinted from August 1999 Ebony

A Daily Graphic Souvenir

AFRICAN-AMERICAN SUMMIT

Friday, May 21, 1999

PRICE: c800



• President Rawlings — Ghana



• President Bedie — Cote d'Ivoire



• President Mugabe — Zimbabwe



• President Eyadema — Togo



• President Mathieu Kerekou — Benin



• President Mkapa — Tanzania



• President Wijdenbosch — Surinam



• King Mswati III — Swaziland



• President Al Bashir — Sudan

IT'S TRULY HISTORIC

Turn
to
P. 7



• President Mogae — Botswana



• President Kabbah — Sierra Leone



• President Abdou Diouf — Senegal



• President Lansana Conte — Guinea

• Rev. Dr. Sullivan's dream lives on — Turn to P. 3

Daily Graphic

2 2 3 DAYS TO 2000 AD

GHANA'S BIGGEST SELLING NEWSPAPER

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1999. NO. 147610 PRICE: c800

A BIG, BIG SUCCESS





• TOP: President Rawlings, flanked by Rev. Dr. Sullivan (second from right), Sudanese President Al Bashir (extreme left) and Surinamese President Wijdenbosch responding to cheers from the gathering at the end of it all.
• ABOVE: A memorable pose of delegates who attended the summit.

• Historic 5th African-American Summit is all over

Time for Africa to wake up — Sullivan

By Victoria Odoi & Albert K. Salia

THE Convener of the African-American Summit, Rev. Dr. Leon H. Sullivan has urged Africans and people of African descent to take steps to determine the destiny of Africa in the next century.

Speaking at the closing ceremony of the 5th version of the summit in Accra yesterday, Rev Sullivan said Africa has come a long way since the end of slavery and colonialism and suggested that its dependence on others must cease.

In an emotional speech, the Emeritus Pastor of the Baptist Church, stressed the need for Africans to do more for themselves.

He said Blacks are noted for talking too

much and doing too little and stated that the time has come for action.

Rev Sullivan asked Africans to take advantage of the opportunities created by the Accra Summit to propel the continent into prosperity.

He said apart from the visit of U. S. President Bill Clinton to Africa last year, the Accra Summit is one event that has stirred interest in Africa around the globe.

The Convener said all the objectives set for the summit have been achieved and the bridge envisaged across the Atlantic to link the African people has been built.

He therefore, urged the delegation from the United States and African Americans in general to help in the development efforts.

• Continued on P. 3

By Joe Bradford Nyinah & Joe Okyere

THE Vice-President, Professor J. E. Atta Mills, has stated that unlike in the past when Africa was a continent of opportunity for plunder and exploitation by others, it is now a land of opportunities for sound and honest business partnership.

Speaking at the closing ceremony of the 5th African-American Summit in Accra yesterday, Professor Mills said Africans on the continent and the diaspora have demonstrated that Africa is ready to do business and that it is the continent of opportunities for the next century.

He observed, however, that business and investment is not about sentiments but a matter of efficiency, management, skills, technology, marketing and hard facts and figures.

He said Africa is doing its utmost with the help of her friends to resolve and eventually eliminate the problems in those countries where there have been instability and conflicts to ensure that "in the not-too distant future, the whole continent will know peace and stability".

Professor Mills expressed the continent's gratitude for the intervention of the US civil rights leader, Rev. Jesse Jackson in the Sierra Leonean peace process.

He expressed the hope that the negotiations due to start next Monday will mark not only the end of suffering and violence but the beginning of a new dawn of reconstruction and prosperity in Sierra Leone.

He also expressed the hope that Nigeria which will inaugurate a new constitutional democracy next week will succeed this time around in creating the basis for the full realisation of the potentials of that great country.

He paid tribute to Rev. Dr. Leon Sullivan, the Convener of the African-American Summit for his determination and tenacity and for labouring to realise

a vision which has now taken on a new momentum.

He also commended the heads of state, heads of government, leaders of delegations, eminent individuals, business leaders and all those who came from Africa and the Americas to participate in the summit and expressed the confidence that they will carry a message of hope and opportunity on their return journey.

On Thursday night, Rev. Sullivan was awarded the Member of the Order of the Volta (honorary division) during a state banquet organised for the visiting heads of state.

Earlier in a speech, Mr Alfred Mubanda, Ugandan Minister of Foreign Affairs called on African leaders to prevent the recurrence of genocide on the continent.

He assured of Uganda's commitment to the aims and objectives of the summit.

Rev. Sullivan in his remarks described the summit which brought together 13 heads of state, high-powered government delegations, 12 Mayors from the US, about 5000 African-American Americans and more than 300 companies and observers from a number of international organisations, including the UN as highly successful.

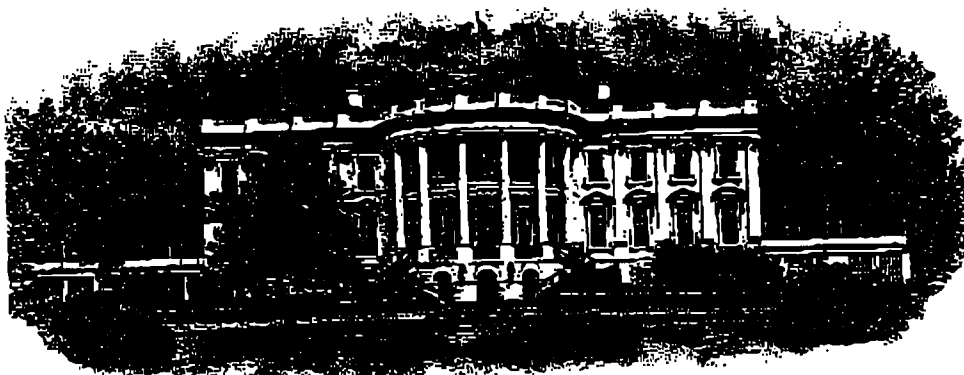
He commended President Rawlings for his efforts and dynamic leadership which has helped Ghana to regain her image in the comity of nations.

Rev. Sullivan presented souvenirs to President Rawlings, the Vice President, Professor Mills, Mr Kwesi Ahwoi, Chairman of the National Preparatory Committee and Mr Elkwow Spio-Gabrah, Minister of Education and Chairman of Summit Ministerial Oversight Committee for their roles in the successful hosting of the summit.

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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO NATIONAL SUMMIT ON AFRICA
WASHINGTON D.C.
FEBRUARY 17, 2000**

DRAFT

[Andrew Young, Mayor Anthony Williams, Cong. Royce, Secretary Salim (OAU), President Moi (Kenya), VP Atiku Abubakar [Ah-BOO-ba-car (Nigeria)], distinguished African Ministers, fellow Americans]

I'm grateful to open the National Summit on Africa by speaking about my strong conviction that Africa matters to America. Not simply because 30 million Americans trace their heritage to Africa – though that is important. Not simply because we have a strong interest in a stable, prosperous Africa – where 13% of our oil comes from, and where 700 million producers and consumers live – though that too, is important.

I believe in Africa's future because the changes transforming our world require a new way of looking at the world. For most of our history, until not long ago, the central reality in international relations was "size and location are everything." If you were a big country or on a trade or invasion route, you mattered. If not, you were marginalized. The average American child saw African nations as little more than colorful flags and exotic names on a map. The end of colonialism changed the colors, and added to the names, but did not bring those countries nearer.

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Today, that is rapidly changing. For the central reality of our time is globalization – an extraordinary process that is tearing down barriers between nations and peoples, so that what happens anywhere is felt everywhere. Globalization means expanding trade within and between every continent, which means we all benefit in new jobs and opportunities from the good fortune

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that comes to others. But it also means we are more vulnerable to each other's problems. To the shock of economic turmoil. To the spread of conflicts. To disease and pollution. To the terrorists, drug traffickers and criminals who take advantage of new technologies and the openness of societies and borders.

Globalization also means that we know more about one another than ever before. We can find out within seconds what the weather is in Nairobi, or how a referendum turned out in Zimbabwe, or how Cameroon's Indomitable Lions performed in a soccer match. We can get online and read *The Addis Tribune*, or *The Mirror* of Ghana, or *The East African* (Kenya), or dozens of other African newspapers. We can sit in front of the TV and watch people in a South African township lining up to vote. We can also bear witness to the slaughter of a million innocent people in Rwanda. In other words, we can no longer choose not to know about the triumphs and trials of the people we share this planet with; we can only choose whether or not to act.

We can be indifferent, or we can make a difference.

For these reasons, it's no longer adequate to think of our "Africa policy" as something entirely separate from our "Europe policy" or our "Asia policy." We need a global vision, and no global vision can be realized if it overlooks Africa. We want to build a world that isn't roiled by tensions resulting from a growing gulf between rich and poor. Therefore, we must be involved with Africa. We want to broaden global economic growth and expand markets for our businesses, and for workers and farmers overseas. Therefore, we must be involved with Africa.

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We want to build a world in which our security is not threatened by the spread of armed conflict, a world in which bitter ethnic and religious differences are resolved by the force of argument, not the force of arms. Therefore we must be involved with Africa. We want to build a world where terrorists and criminals have no place to hide, and where those who wish us harm cannot acquire the means to do us harm. Therefore we must be involved with Africa. We want to build a world in which we can harness our natural resources for economic growth without destroying the chance of future generations to do the same. Therefore we must be involved with Africa.

That is why I set out in 1993 to build new ties between the United States and Africa, and why I went to Africa in the spring of 1998. That trip was unforgettable, but it was just the beginning of something more important – a fundamentally new outlook in both directions. We are creating a real partnership, in which we speak with Africans, not for them. Clearly, challenges remain, but in the last two years we have seen thousands of triumphs, large and small. They often don't make headlines, because the slow steady progress of democracy and prosperity is not the stuff of headlines. Did you know, for example, that the world's fastest growing economy is Mozambique, that Botswana is second, and that Angola is fourth? People are rightly aware of Africa's conflicts, but how many know that thousands of African soldiers are trying to end them as peacekeepers, and that one country alone, Nigeria, has spent \$10 billion in these efforts.

For years, Africa's wealthiest country, South Africa, and its most populous, Nigeria, cast long and forbidding shadows across the continent. Last year, South Africa's remarkable turnaround continued as its people transferred power from one president to another. Nigeria inaugurated a

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democratically elected president for the first time in decades, and it is working to ensure that its wealth strengthens its people, not their oppressors.

No one in my government – no one here – is under any illusions. There is still an enormous amount of work to be done. No one disagrees about what is needed. Genuine democracy ... good government ... open markets ... sustained investment in education, health, the environment, and more than anything, widespread peace. All depend on African leadership; they cannot be imposed or imported from outside.

But we must also face a clear reality. Even countries making the right policy choices still have to struggle to deliver for their people. Each African government has to walk down its own road of reform and renewal, but we must do our part to smooth that road, and remove some of the larger barriers, so that Africa will share fully in the benefits and responsibilities of globalization.

There are five steps in particular I believe we must take. First, we must build an open world trading system which will benefit Africa alongside every other region of the world. Open markets are an indispensable engine for raising living standards. From the 1970s to the early 90s, developing countries that chose trade grew at least twice as fast as those that chose not to open to the world.

Now, there are some who doubt that the poorest countries will benefit if we continue to open markets. But they should ask themselves: what will happen to workers in South Africa and Kenya without the jobs that come from selling the fruit of their labor abroad? What will happen

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to farmers in Zimbabwe and Ghana if protectionist farm subsidies make it impossible to market their produce beyond their borders? Trade must not be a race to the bottom -- whether we're talking about child labor, harsh working conditions, or environmental degradation. But neither can we use fear to keep the poorest part of the global community stuck at the bottom forever.

Africa has already taken important steps, forming regional trade blocs like ECOWAS, the East Africa Community, and SADC. But we can do more. That's why our Overseas Private Investment Corporation is in Africa, supporting three times as many business projects in 1999 than it did in 1998, creating jobs for Africans and Americans. That's why we are working with African nations to develop the institutions to sustain future growth, from efficient telecommunications to the financial sector. And that is why -- as soon as possible -- we must enact the bipartisan African Growth and Opportunity Act. Congress should resolve the differences between the House and Senate measures and send me a bill for signature by next month. When I met with Congressional leaders recently, there was broad support for completing action early in the session. With your support, we can get this done.

We must also recognize that trade alone cannot conquer poverty and build the partnership we need. For that reason, a second step we must take is to continue the work we have done to provide debt relief to African nations committed to sound policies. Struggling democratic governments should not have to choose between feeding their children and paying interest.

Last March, I suggested a way we could expand debt relief for the world's poorest and most indebted countries, most of which are African, and ensure the resources would be used to

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improve economic opportunity for ordinary African citizens. Our G-7 partners embraced that plan. Still, I felt we could do more. So in September, I announced that we would completely write off all of the debts owed to us by the countries that qualify for the G-7 program, as many as 27 African countries in all. The first countries, including Uganda and Mauritania have begun to receive the benefits. Mozambique, Benin, Senegal and Tanzania are expected to receive benefits soon. Mozambique's debt is expected to go down by more than \$3 billion. The money saved will be twice the health budget in a country where children are more likely to die before the age of five than they are to go to secondary school.

Last year, I asked the Congress for \$970 million for debt relief, and many of you helped to persuade Congress to appropriate a big share of that. With your help we can finish the job this year. Keep in mind, this is a program that religious leaders say is a moral imperative and leading economists say is a practical imperative.

A third step we must take is to give better and deeper support to African education. Literacy is crucial to economic growth, health, democracy, and securing the benefits of globalization. Sub-Saharan Africa has the developing world's lowest school enrollment rate. In Zambia, over half of schoolchildren lack a simple notebook. In rural parts of Tanzania, there is one textbook for every twenty children. That's why I proposed in my budget to increase by more than 50% the assistance we provide to developing countries to improve basic education, targeting areas where child labor is prevalent. I call on other nations and institutions to join us in what is clearly a common sense investment in all of our futures.

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A fourth step we must take is to fight the terrible diseases that have afflicted millions of Africans, in particular AIDS, TB and malaria. Last year, ten times as many people died of AIDS in Africa as were killed in all the continent's wars combined. It will soon double child mortality, and reduce life expectancy by 20 years. It is forcing some companies to hire two employees for every job – on the assumption one will die. This is more than just a humanitarian issue – it is profoundly an economic issue, a political issue, and a strategic issue.

That is why last month, Vice President Gore opened the first ever UN Security Council session on a health issue by addressing the AIDS crisis in Africa. That is why I have asked Congress this year for another \$100 million to fight the epidemic. I have asked my Administration to develop a plan for new initiatives to address prevention, the financial dimensions of fighting AIDS, and the needs of those affected, so that we can make clear to our African partners that AIDS is not just their burden, but the world's concern.

Yet even that will not be enough. Recently, Uganda's health minister pointed out that to provide access to currently available treatments to every Ugandan afflicted with AIDS would cost \$24 billion. The Ugandan government's annual budget is just \$2 billion. The solution to this crisis, and to other killer diseases like malaria and TB, has to be effective, inexpensive vaccines. Now, there are four major companies in the world that develop vaccines, two based in America, and two in Europe. They have little incentive to make costly investments in developing vaccines for people who cannot afford to pay for them. So in my State of the Union address, I proposed a generous tax credit that will say to private industry: When you develop vaccines for AIDS, malaria and TB, we will help pay for them, and together we can save millions of lives. At this

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year's G-7 summit, I will ask our wealthy partners to adopt similar measures. But we can and must lead the way, and I ask Congress to act as soon as possible.

Finally, there is one more huge obstacle to progress in Africa we need to do our part to overcome. We must build on the leadership of Africans to end the bloody conflicts that kill their people and their progress. You know the terrible toll: tens of thousands of young lives lost in the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Thousands killed and disfigured in the civil war that nearly destroyed Sierra Leone. Two million killed by famine and war in Sudan, where the government sees diversity as a threat rather than a strength, and denies basic relief to the citizens it claims to represent.

Most of the world's conflicts pale in complexity before the situation in the Congo. At least seven countries and countless armed groups are pitted there against each other in a desperate struggle that seems to bring no one victory and everyone misery – especially the innocent people of the Congo, who deserve a better chance after decades of corrupt misrule. Secretary Albright has called the Congo struggle Africa's First World War. As we search for an end to the conflict, let us remember the central lesson of the First World War – the need to build a good peace that avoids a Second World War.

A year ago, I said that if the nations of the region reached an agreement the international community could support, I would support a peacekeeping operation in the Congo. Now the region has done so. The Lusaka Cease-Fire Agreement takes into account the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Congo, the security of its neighbors, the need for dialogue within Congo,

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and most important, the need for the countries within Central Africa to cooperate in managing the region's security. It's more than a cease-fire, it's a blueprint for building peace. Best of all, it is a genuinely African solution to an African problem. There is still fighting in Congo, and peace will not happen overnight. It will require a steady commitment from the parties and the unwavering support of international community. I've informed the Congress that America intends to do its part by supporting the next phase of the UN's peacekeeping operation in the Congo, which will send observers to oversee the implementation of the peace agreement.

We need to think hard about what is at stake here. African countries have taken the lead – and not just the countries directly affected. They are not asking us to solve their problems or deploy our military. All they have asked is that we support their efforts to build peace and make it last. We should be willing to do this. It is both principled and practical. The alternative is to let the Congo war resume and escalate until we can only help resolve it at far greater risk and cost. We must do all we can to avoid that. For even the costliest peace is cheaper than cheapest war.

I promise you that I will work hard on all these challenges as long as I am President. For me, the remarkable decade of the 1990s began with the liberation symbolized by Nelson Mandela's first steps from Robben Island. In a few days, I will join by satellite the conference in Tanzania that President Mandela is organizing to build peace in Burundi.

A lot of people look at Africa and say its problems are too complicated. Frankly, if we ignore them now, they will only become harder to solve. Other people just want to hear good news, as if by telling a happy story we make it so. But empty optimism does Africa no more service than

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groundless cynicism. What we need is not optimism or pessimism, but realism. We don't engage with Africa because we are certain everything will turn out well. We engage because we are certain it is important.

Africa is an incredibly diverse continent. Its people speak nearly 3000 languages. It is not a continent of single, monolithic truths, but a place of many places, each defined by its own history and aspirations, its own successes and failures. When I went to Africa, I was struck by the differences between Ghana and Uganda, between Botswana and Senegal, and simply between Cape Town and Soweto. I was also struck by the faith and determination that bound people together in each of those places.

In George Washington's first draft of his farewell address, he wrote, "we may all be considered as the children of one common country." The more I think about globalization, and the interdependence it promises and demands, the more I share that sentiment. To bring peace, prosperity and democracy to Africa is to deepen peace, prosperity and democracy for ourselves.

More than just the cradle of humanity, Africa is a living continent whose diversity and spirit and strength stretch the imagination of anyone who cares to look there. Thank you for looking to Africa today, and enlarging all of our horizons with your energy and inspiration.



February 17, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO OPENING OF NATIONAL SUMMIT ON AFRICA

10:50 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For

Immediate Release

February 17, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO OPENING OF NATIONAL SUMMIT ON AFRICA

Washington Convention Center
Washington, D.C.

10:50 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. It's a wonderful thing to be introduced by an old friend. Old friends and people you have appointed to office will tell false, good stories about you every time. (Laughter.)

Africa never had a better friend in America than Andrew Young, and I thank him. (Applause.) I want to say I'm honored to be in the presence today of so many distinguished Africans. Secretary Salim, thank you for your visionary remarks and your leadership. President Moi, thank you for coming to the United States and for giving me another chance to visit with you and for the work we have done together. Vice President Abubakar, thank you for what you are doing in Nigeria to give that great country its true promise at long last. We thank you, sir. (Applause.)

I welcome all our distinguished guests from Africa: Mrs. Taylor, foreign ministers, ambassadors. I thank all the Americans who are here, beginning with Andy's wife, who puts up with this relentless travel of his around Africa. Mayor Williams, thank you for welcoming us to Washington. There are three members of our Congress here today representing what I hope will be a stronger and stronger bipartisan commitment to the future of Africa: Congressman Royce and Congresswoman Barbara Lee and Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee, I thank you for being here. (Applause.)

I want to thank Leonard Robinson and Herschelle Challenor and all the people responsible for this remarkable conference. Thank you, Noah Samara

and thank you, Bishop Ricard, for being here. And I want to say a special word of appreciation to all the people in our administration who have worked so hard to give us an Africa policy that we can be proud of, that I hope will light up the path for America's future.

I know that Secretary Slater has already spoken here. Our AID Director, Brady Anderson, will speak. Our Vice President will be here. You said, Secretary Salim, you hope future administrations will follow our lead in Africa. I know one that would. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to thank Susan Rice at the State Department, Sandy Berger, Gayle Smith, all the people in our White House, all the ones who have helped us here. (Applause.)

Secretary Salim said Africa lacks a strong constituency in the United States. Well, I open this National Summit on Africa with a simple message: Africa does matter to the United States. (Applause.)

Of whatever background Americans claim -- Leonard Robinson told me when I came here, we even have 17 delegates from Utah here. There they are, you see? (Laughter and applause.) Africa matters not simply because 30 million Americans trace their heritage to Africa, though that is profoundly important. (Applause.) Not simply because we have a strong interest in a stable and prosperous Africa -- though 13 percent of our oil comes from Africa, and there are 700 million producers and consumers in sub-Saharan Africa, though that is important. Africa's future matters because the 21st century world has been transformed, and our views and actions must be transformed accordingly.

For most of history, the central reality in international relations was that size and location matter most. If you were a big country or on a trade or invasion route, you mattered. If not, you are marginalized. The average American child growing up in the past saw African nations as colorful flags and exotic names on a map, perhaps read books about the wonderful animals and great adventures. When colonialism ended, the colors on the flags were changed and there were more names on the map. But the countries did not seem nearer to most Americans.

That has all changed now. For the central reality of our time is globalization. It is tearing down barriers between nations and people; knowledge, contact and trade across borders within and between every continent are exploding. And all this globalization is also, as the barriers come down, making us more vulnerable to one another's problems: to the shock of economic turmoil, to the spread of conflict, to pollution and, as we have painfully seen, to disease; the terrorists, the drug traffickers, the criminals who can also take advantage of new technologies and globalization, the openness of societies and borders.

Globalization means we know more about one another than ever before. You may see the Discovery Channel in Africa. I was thinking of that when that little film was on. The Discovery Channel followed me to Africa and talked about how they were building communications networks in African schools to share knowledge and information. We can find out within seconds now what the weather is in Nairobi, how a referendum turned out in Zimbabwe, how Cameroon's indomitable Lions performed in the latest soccer match. (Laughter and applause.) We can go online and read the Addis Tribune, the Mirror of Ghana, the East African, or dozens of other African newspapers. We sit in front of a television and watch people in a South African township line up to vote.

We also, now, bear witness to the slaughter of innocents in Rwanda, or the ravages of AIDS in scores of lands, or the painful coincidence of remarkable growth and abject poverty in nation after nation. In other words, it is no longer an option for us to choose not to know about the triumphs and the trials of the people with whom we share this small planet.

Not just America and Africa; I would imagine millions of Africans identified with the Muslims of Kosovo when they were run out of their country, all of them at one time. We know about each other; we can no longer choose not to know. We can only choose not to act, or to act. (Applause.)

In this world, we can be indifferent or we can make a difference. America must choose, when it comes to Africa, to make a difference. (Applause.) Because we want to live in a world which is not dominated by a division of people who live on the cutting edge of a new economy and others who live on the bare edge of survival, we must be involved in Africa. Because we want to broaden global growth and expand markets for our own people, we must be involved in Africa. Because we want to build a world in which our security is not threatened by the spread of armed conflict, in which bitter ethnic and religious differences are resolved by the force of argument, not the force of arms, we must be involved in Africa.

Because we want to build a world where terrorists and criminals have no place to hide, and where those who wish harm to ordinary people cannot acquire the means to do them harm, we must be involved in Africa. Because we want to build a world in which we can harness our natural resources for economic growth without destroying the environment, so that future generations will also have the chance to do the same, we must be involved in Africa. (Applause.)

That is why I set out in 1993, at the beginning of my presidency, to build new ties between the United States and Africa; why we had the first White House conference, the ministerial and that wonderful trip in the spring of 1998, that I will remember for the rest of my life. (Applause.)

I went to Africa as a friend, to create a partnership. And we have made significant progress. There are challenges that are profound, but in the last two years we have seen thousands of triumphs large and small. Often, they don't make the headlines because the slow, steady progress of democracy and prosperity is not the stuff of headlines.

But, for example, I wish every American knew that last year the world's fastest-growing economy was Mozambique. Botswana was second, Angola fourth. (Applause.) I wish every American knew that and understood that that potential is in every African nation. It would make a difference. We must know these things about one another.

People know all about Africa's conflicts, but how many know that thousands of African soldiers are trying to end those conflicts as peacekeepers -- and that Nigeria alone, amidst all its difficulties, has spent \$10 billion in these peacekeeping efforts? (Applause.)

For years, Africa's wealthiest country, South Africa, and its most populous, Nigeria, cast long, forbidding shadows across the continent. Last year, South Africa's remarkable turnaround continued as its people transferred power from one elected president to another. Nigeria inaugurated a democratically elected president for the first time in decades. It is working to ensure that its wealth strengthens its people, not their oppressors. These are good news stories. They may not be in the headlines, but they should be in our hearts and our minds as we think of the future. (Applause.)

No one here, no one in our government, is under any illusions. There is still a lot of work to be done. Hardly anyone disagrees about what is needed: genuine democracy, good government, open markets, sustained investment in education and health and the environment -- and more than anything, widespread peace. All depend, fundamentally and first, on African leadership. (Applause.) These things cannot be imported, and they certainly cannot be imposed from outside.

But we must also face a clear reality: even countries making the right policy choices still have to struggle to deliver for their people. Each African government has to walk down its own road to reform and renewal. But it is a hard road. And those of us who are in a position to do so must do our part to smooth that road, to remove some of the larger barriers, so that Africa can fully share in the benefits and the responsibilities of globalization.

I tell the American people all the time, and they're probably tired of hearing it now, that I have a very simple political philosophy: everybody counts, everybody has a role to play, everybody deserves a chance. And we all do better when we help each other. That is a rule we ought to follow with Africa. (Applause.)

There are five steps in particular I believe we must take. First, we must build an open world trading system which will benefit Africa alongside every other region in the world. (Applause.) Open markets are indispensable to raising living standards. From the 1970s to the 1990s, developing countries that chose trade grew at least twice as fast as those that chose not to open to the world.

Now, there are some who doubt that the poorest countries will benefit if we continue to open markets, but they should ask themselves: what will happen to workers in South Africa and Kenya without the jobs that come from selling the fruit of their labors abroad? What will happen to farmers in Zimbabwe and Ghana if protectionist farm subsidies make it impossible for them to sell beyond their borders?

Trade must not be a race to the bottom, whether we're talking about child labor, harsh working conditions or environmental degradation. But neither can we use fear to keep the poorest part of the global community stuck at the bottom forever. Africa has already taken important steps, forming regional trade blocks like ECOWAS, the East Africa Community, and SADC. But we can do more. That is why our Overseas Private Investment Corporation in Africa is working to support three times as many business projects in 1999 than it did in 1998, to create jobs for Africans and, yes, for Americans as well. That is why we are working with African nations to develop the institutions to sustain future growth -- from efficient telecommunications to the financial sector.

And that is why, as soon as possible, we must enact in our Congress the bipartisan Africa Growth and Opportunity Act. (Applause.) This bill has passed in one version in our House and another version in our Senate. I urge the Congress to resolve the differences and send me a bill for signature by next month. (Applause.) And I ask every one of you here who just clapped -- and those who didn't, but sympathize with the clapped -- (laughter) -- to contact anyone you know in the United States Congress and ask them to do this. This is a job that needs to be done. (Applause.)

We must also realize that trade alone cannot conquer poverty or build a partnership we need. For that reason, a second step we must take is to continue the work now underway to provide debt relief to African nations committed to sound policies. (Applause.) Struggling democratic governments should not have to choose between feeding and educating their children and paying interest on a debt. (Applause.) Last March, I suggested a way we could expand debt relief for the world's poorest and most indebted countries, most of which are African, and ensure the resources would be used to improve economic opportunity for ordinary African citizens. Our G-7 partners embraced that plan.

Still, I felt we should do more. So in September, I announced that we would completely write off all the debts owed to us by the countries that qualified for the G-7 program -- as many as 27 African nations in all. The first countries, including Uganda and Mauritania, have begun to receive the benefits. Mozambique, Benin, Senegal and Tanzania are expected to receive

benefits soon. Mozambique's debt is expected to go down by more than \$3 billion. The money saved will be twice the health budget -- twice the health budget -- in a country where children are more likely to die before the age of five than they are to go on to secondary school.

Last year, I asked Congress for \$970 million for debt relief. Many of you helped to persuade our Congress to appropriate a big share of that. Keep in mind, this is a program religious leaders say is a moral imperative, and leading economists say is a practical imperative. It's not so often that you get the religious leaders and the economists telling us that good business is good morals. (Applause.) It's probably always true, but they don't say it all that often. (Laughter.) We must finish the job this year; we must continue this work to provide aggressive debt relief to the countries that are doing the right thing, that will take the money and reinvest it in their people and their future. I ask you, especially the Americans in this audience, if you believe in what brought you here, help us to continue this important effort. (Applause.)

A third step we must take is to give better and deeper support to African education. Literacy is crucial -- to economic growth, to health, to democracy, to securing the benefits of globalization. Sub-Saharan Africa has the developing world's lowest school enrollment rate. In Zambia, over half the schoolchildren lack a simple notebook. In rural parts of Tanzania, there is one textbook for every 20 children. That's why I proposed in our budget to increase by more than 50 percent the assistance we provide to developing countries to improve basic education, targeting areas where child labor is prevalent. I ask other nations to join us in this. (Applause.)

I'll never forget the schools I visited on my trip to Africa -- the bright lights in the eyes of the children, how intelligent they were, how eager they were. It is wrong for them to have to look at maps of nations that no longer exist, without maps of nations in their own continent that do exist. It is wrong for them to be deprived the same opportunities to learn that our young people have here. If intelligence is equally distributed throughout the human race -- and I believe it is -- then every child in the human race ought to have a chance to develop his or her intelligence in every country in the world. (Applause.)

A fourth step we must take is to fight the terrible diseases that have afflicted so many millions of Africans, especially AIDS and also TB and malaria. Last year, ten times as many people died of AIDS in Africa as were killed in all the continent's wars combined. It will soon double child mortality and reduce life expectancy by 20 years.

You all laughed when Andy Young said that I was going to get out of the presidency as a young man. Depending on the day, I sometimes feel young or I feel that I'm the oldest man my age in America. (Laughter.) The life expectancy in this country has gone from 47 to 77 in the 20th century. An American who lives to be 65 has a life expectancy in excess of 82 years. AIDS is going to reduce the life expectancy in Africa by 20 years. And even that understates the problem, because the people that escape it will live longer lives as African economies grow and strengthen.

The worst burden in life any adult can bear is to see a child die before you. The worst problem in Africa now is that so many of these children with AIDS have also already lost their parents. We must do something about this. In Africa there are companies that are hiring two employees for every job on the assumption that one of them will die. This is a humanitarian issue, a political issue and an economic issue.

Last month, Vice President Gore opened the first-ever United Nations Security Council session on health issues, on a health issue, by addressing the AIDS crisis in Africa. I've asked Congress for another \$100 million to fight the epidemic, bringing our total to \$325 million. I've asked my

administration to develop a plan for new initiatives to address prevention, the financial dimensions of fighting AIDS, the needs of those affected, so that we can make it clear to our African partners that we consider AIDS not just their burden but ours, as well.

But even that will not be enough. Recently, Uganda's Health Minister pointed out that to provide access to currently available treatments to every Ugandan afflicted with AIDS would cost \$24 billion. The annual budget of Uganda is \$2 billion.

The solution to this crisis, and to other killer diseases like malaria and TB, has to include effective and expensive vaccines. Now, there are four major companies in the world that develop vaccines, two in the United States and two in Europe. They have little incentive to make costly investments in developing vaccines for people who cannot afford to pay for them. So in my State of the Union address, I proposed a generous tax credit that would enable us to say to private industry, if you develop vaccines for AIDS, malaria and TB, we will help to pay for them. So go on and develop them, and we'll save millions of lives. (Applause.)

But I have to tell you, my speech -- and I don't want anybody else but me to be responsible; my speechwriters were so sensitive, they didn't put this in the speech. But I want to say this: AIDS was a bigger problem in the United States a few years ago than it is today. AIDS rates are not going up in African countries, all African countries. They're actually going down in a couple of African countries.

Now, I know that this is a difficult and sensitive issue. I know there are cultural and religious factors that make it very difficult to tackle this issue from a preventive point of view. We don't have an AIDS vaccine yet. We have drugs that will help to prevent the transmission from pregnant mothers to their children, which I want to be able to give out. We have other drugs that have given people with AIDS in our country normal lives, in terms of their health and the length of their lives. I want those to be available.

But the real answer is to stop people from getting the HIV virus in the first place. (Applause.)

I got to see firsthand some of the things that were being done in Uganda that were instrumental in driving down the AIDS rate. Now, I don't care how hard or delicate or difficult this is; this is your children's lives we're talking about. (Applause.) You know, we who are adults, when our children's lives are at stake, have to get over whatever our hang-ups or problems are and go out there and do what is necessary to save the lives of our children. (Applause.)

And I'll help you do that, too. That's not free; that costs money. Systems have to be set up. But we shouldn't pretend that we can give injections and work our way out of this. We have to change behavior, attitudes. And it has to be done in an organized, disciplined, systematic way. And you can do more in less time for less money in a preventive way, to give the children of Africa their lives back, and the nations of Africa their futures back, with an aggressive prevention campaign than anything else. And there is no excuse for not doing it; it has to be done. (Applause.)

Finally, let me say there is one more huge obstacle to progress in Africa, that we are committed to doing our part to overcome. We must build on the leadership of Africans to end the bloody conflicts killing people and killing progress. (Applause.)

You know the toll: tens of thousands of young lives lost in the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea; thousands killed and disfigured at unbelievably young ages in the civil war that nearly destroyed Sierra

Leone; 2 million killed by famine and war in Sudan, where government sees diversity as a threat rather than a strength, and denies basic relief to citizens it claims to represent.

Most of the world's conflicts pale in complexity before the situation in the Congo. At least seven nations and countless armed groups are pitted there against each other in a desperate struggle that seems to bring no one victory, and everyone misery -- especially the innocent people of the Congo. They deserve a better chance. Secretary Albright has called the Congo struggle Africa's first world war. As we search for an end to the conflict, let us remember the central lesson of the First World War: the need for a good peace. If you mess up the peace, you get another world war.

A year ago, I said if the nations of the region reached an agreement that the international community could support, I would support a peacekeeping operation in the Congo. The region has now done so. The Lusaka cease-fire agreement takes into account the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Congo; the withdrawal of foreign forces; the security of Congo's neighbors; the need for dialogue within the nation; and most important, the need for the countries within Central Africa to cooperate in managing the region's security. It is more than a cease-fire; it is a blueprint for building peace. Best of all, it is a genuinely African solution to an African problem.

There is still fighting in Congo. Peace will not happen overnight. It will require steady commitment from the parties and the unwavering support of the international community. I have told our Congress that America intends to do its part by supporting the next phase of the U.N.'s peacekeeping operation in the Congo, which will send observers to oversee the implementation of the agreement.

We need to think hard about what is at stake here. African countries have taken the lead -- not just the countries directly affected, either. They are not asking us to solve their problems or to deploy our military. All they have asked is that we support their own efforts to build peace, and to make it last. We in the United States should be willing to do this. It is principled and practical.

I know -- I see the members of Congress here. I say again -- I see Congressman Payne, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee, Congresswoman Barbara Lee, Congressman Royce -- we need to stand by the people of Africa who have decided how to solve this most complex and troubling problem. (Applause.) We have learned the hard way in the United States, over decades and decades, that the costliest peace is far cheaper than the cheapest war. And we need to remember that as we approach our common responsibilities in central Africa.

Finally, let me say that I intend to continue to work hard on these things for every day that I am President. For me, the remarkable decade of the 1990s began with the liberation symbolized by Nelson Mandela's first steps from Robben Island. (Applause.) In a few days, I will have the opportunity to join by satellite the conference in Tanzania that President Mandela is organizing to build peace in Burundi.

A lot of people look at Africa and think, oh, these problems are just too complicated. I look at Africa and I see the promise of Africa, and think, if the problems are complicated now, think how much worse they'll be if we continue to ignore them. (Applause.)

Other people grow frustrated by bad news, and wish only to hear good news. But empty optimism does Africa no more service than groundless cynicism. What we need is not empty optimism or groundless cynicism, but realistic hope. We need to see the promise, the beauty, the dreams of Africa. We need to see the problems clear and plain, and stop ignoring the

evident responses. We in the United States need to understand that our obligations to be good partners with Africa are not because we are certain that everything will turn out all right, but because it is important. Because we're human beings, we can never expect everything to turn out all right.

Africa is so incredibly diverse. Its people speak nearly 3,000 languages. It is not a single, monolithic place with single, monolithic truths. A place of many places, each defined by its own history and aspirations, its own successes and failures. I was struck on my trip to Africa by the differences between Ghana and Uganda, Botswana and Senegal -- between Capetown and Soweto. I was also struck by what bound people together in these places.

In George Washington's first draft of his Farewell Address, he wrote, "we may all be considered as the children of one common country." The more I think about globalization and the interdependence it promises and demands, the more I share that sentiment. Now, we must think of ourselves as children of one common world. If we wish to deepen peace and prosperity and democracy for ourselves, we must wish it also for the people of Africa. Africa is the cradle of humanity, but also a big part of humanity's future.

I leave you with this thought: when I think of the troubles of Africa, rooted in tribal differences; when I think of the continuing troubles in America, across racial lines, rooted in the shameful way we brought slaves here from West Africa so long ago, and our continuing challenges as we integrate wave after wave after wave of new immigrants from new places around the world; I am struck by the fact that life's greatest joy is our common humanity, and life's greatest curse is our inability to see our common humanity.

In Africa, life is full of joy and difficulty. But for too long, the African people have lacked for friends and allies to help the joys overcome the difficulties. The United States will be a friend for life.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END

11:28 A.M. EST

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The National Summit on Africa
Dialogue and Celebration of Africa
Wednesday, February 16
Preliminary Schedule of Events

* invited

1:00-6:00 **Registration Open**
Washington Convention Center

3:00-5:00 **Delegate Orientation**
Washington Convention Center

6:00-7:30 **Televised Roundtable with World Leaders: United States and Africa**
Constitution Hall

Welcome: Gay McDougall, Executive Director, International Human Rights Law Group

Introductory Remarks: Susan Rice, U.S. Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs

Moderator: Charlayne Hunter-Gault, Johannesburg Bureau Chief and Correspondent, CNN

Speakers:

* H.E. Nelson Mandela, Former President of South Africa

Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Former President of France

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former Presidential Candidate, Liberia (1997)

Lord David Owen, Former Labour Foreign Secretary for the U.K.

The Honorable Paul Simon, Former U.S. Senator and National Summit on Africa National Co-Chair

The National Summit on Africa
Dialogue and Celebration of Africa
Thursday, February 17
Preliminary Schedule of Events

* invited

- 8:30-10:30 Official Summit Opening Ceremony: "Welcome to Heads of State and Charge to Summit Delegates and Participants"**
Washington Convention Center (WCC)
Master of Ceremonies: Honorable Andrew Young, Co-Chair, Good Works International
Welcoming Remarks: The Honorable Anthony Williams, Mayor of the Nation's Capitol
* Keynote Address: President William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States of America
Dr. Salim A. Salim, Secretary-General, Organization of African Unity
Noah Samara, Chairman and CEO, WorldSpace Corporation
Reverend Leon Sullivan, President, International Foundation for Education and Self-Help
- 10:45-1:00 Opening Plenary: "Africa and America: Partners in the New Millennium"**
Leaders from the U.S. and Africa will offer brief statements focusing on their vision for the future as related to one of the Summit's five thematic areas.
WCC
Welcoming Remarks: Leonard H. Robinson, Jr., President and CEO, The National Summit on Africa
Dr. Herschelle Challenor, Chair, Board of Directors, The National Summit on Africa
* Keynote Address: Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. Secretary of State
Democracy and Human Rights
* Gayle Smith, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs, National Security Council
Peace and Security
The Honorable Bill Richardson, U.S. Secretary of Energy
Education and Culture
* Graça Machel, Former First Lady of the Republic of South Africa
Economic Development, Trade and Investment, and Job Creation
Dr. K.Y. Amoako, U.N. Under Secretary-General, and Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Africa
Sustainable Development, Quality of Life, and the Environment
Vivian Lowery Derryck, Assistant Administrator for Africa, U.S. AID
- 12:00-5:00 Africa EXPO**
WCC
- 2:00-5:30 Deliberative Process: Session I**
WCC
- 2:00-4:00 Program Sessions: Block I**
WCC, Grand Hyatt (GH), Ronald Reagan International Trade Center (ITC)
- 3:00-4:00 Cultural Interlude and Exhibition**
ITC Amphitheatre
Alfred Ladzekpo
- 4:30-6:30 Smithsonian Natural History Museum African Voices Seminar and Tour**

The National Summit on Africa
Dialogue and Celebration of Africa
Thursday, February 17
Preliminary Schedule of Events

- 6:30-8:00 Opening Night Reception for all Summit Participants**
ITC Atrium
Welcoming Remarks: Leonard H. Robinson, Jr., President and CEO, National Summit on Africa
Introductory Statement: Noah Samara, Chairman and CEO, WorldSpace Corporation
- 8:00-10:30 Deliberative Process: Session II**
- 8:30-10:30 Presidential Candidates Forum: "U.S.-Africa Policy in the Next Administration"**
Constitution Hall
- * Opening Remarks: The Honorable Jack Kemp, Co-Chair, Empower America
 - * V.P. Al Gore, Jr., Vice President of the United States of America
 - * Senator Bill Bradley, Former U.S. Senator
 - * George W. Bush, Governor of Texas

The National Summit on Africa
Dialogue and Celebration of Africa
Saturday, February 19
Preliminary Schedule of Events

* invited

10:00-12:30 **Deliberative Process: Session V**
Washington Convention Center (WCC)

10:00-12:00 **Program Session: Block IV**
WCC, Renaissance, Ronald Reagan Int'l Trade Center (ITC)

Cultural Interlude and Exhibition
ITC Amphitheatre
IntoAfrika Festival's Performance Art Collective

12:30-2:00 **Luncheon Tribute to the Regional Summits and Host City Mayors**
GH Ballroom
Host City Mayors from each regional summit will receive an award for their contributions to the National Summit on Africa.
Moderator: Bernadette B. Paolo, Esq., Vice-President, National Summit on Africa

3:00-6:00 **Deliberative Process: Session VI**
WCC

3:00-5:00 **Program Session: Block V**
WCC, Renaissance, ITC

3:00-5:00 **Cultural Interlude and Exhibition**
ITC Amphitheatre
Kente Cloth Workshop

8:00-11:00 **Deliberative Process: Session VII**
WCC

The National Summit on Africa
Dialogue and Celebration of Africa

Sunday, February 20

Preliminary Schedule of Events

* invited

- 7:30-9:00 Interfaith Breakfast Service**
Grand Hyatt Ballroom
Performances and readings from different faith communities in celebration of the National Summit on Africa and the late Charles Coles Diggs, Jr., U.S. Representative (1922-1998)
- 9:30-11:30 Closing Session**
Washington Convention Center (WCC)
Committee Chair Reports and Announcement of Adopted Policy Anchor Recommendations
Delegate Vote for the Adoption of the National Plan of Action
Participant Endorsement for U.S.-Africa Partnership
- 12:00-2:00 Luncheon Program: "The Congressional, NGO and Corporate Response to the National Plan of Action"**
Renaissance Ballroom
Moderator: Jim Moody, President, InterAction
* Representative Ed Royce, Chair, U.S. House Subcommittee on Africa
David Beckmann, President, Bread for the World
C. Payne Lucas, President, Africare
Mora McLean, President, Africa-America Institute
- 2:30-4:00 Summit Closing Plenary: "Public Advocacy and the National Plan for U.S.-Africa Relations"**
WCC for Delegates
Renaissance Ballroom for Participants
The Reverend Jesse Jackson, Chairman, Rainbow/PUSH Coalition
Judith A. McHale, President and COO, Discovery Communications, Inc.
* Dr. David Satcher, U.S. Surgeon General
Leonard H. Robinson, Jr., President and CEO, The National Summit on Africa
- 5:30-7:30 African Odyssey Millennium Stage Performance**
John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
- 8:00-11:00 Summit Closing Banquet**
John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
Welcoming Remarks and Toast Master: Timothy Bork, Director of Africa Policy Initiative, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Master of Ceremonies: James A. Johnson, Chairman, The Kennedy Center
Recipient of the National Plan of Action:
* President William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States of America
Keynote Speaker: Gen. Colin Powell, Chairman, America's Promise
Keynote Speaker: The Honorable Wellington Webb, President, U.S. Conference of Mayors, Mayor of the City of Denver
Speakers: Alicia Adams, Director of Special Programs, The Kennedy Center
Leonard H. Robinson, Jr., President and CEO, The National Summit on Africa

Sandra L. Thurman
Director
Office of National AIDS Policy
National Summit on Africa
February 18, 2000

Good Afternoon.

It is an honor to be able to participate in such an important gathering. I am encouraged to see that so many ~~of the~~ key stakeholders are gathered at the Summit today – ready to commit to concerted and constructive action for Africa, and in our shared battle against AIDS.

Nearly two years ago, President Clinton traveled to Africa to help Americans and Africans begin to see each other through new eyes. He went to reach out to our brothers and sisters in Africa, and to create together a bold new partnership for the new millennium.

Beyond the old stereotypes and policies of paternalism, our shared vision is one of hope and empowerment, of democracy and freedom. It is a vision born of more than just compassion. It is a vision born of the realization that we are a global community with a shared destiny. And in this global community, both crisis and opportunity have no borders.

As Africa stands on the brink of a new day, the threat of AIDS looms large.

If we are determined to hold fast to our new vision for the 21st century – we must commit today to join forces in an all-out war on a common enemy. That enemy is AIDS.

AIDS is a plague of biblical proportion – and it is killing more people than all of the wars on the continent – combined.

AIDS is now the leading cause of death among all people of all ages in Africa. The progression of this pandemic has outpaced all of our projections. In 1991 the World Health Organization predicted that by 1999 there would be 9 million infected and nearly 5 million deaths in Africa due to AIDS. The resulting numbers are *two to three times* higher with nearly 24 million infected and 14 million deaths.

And yet the epidemic rages on. Each and every day Africa buries 5,500 men women and children as a result of AIDS – and by 2005, Africa will bury nearly 13,000 every day.

In a host of different ways and from a variety of different vantagepoints, it is the children who are caught in the crossfire of this relentless epidemic, and who are crying out for our help. The next generation is indeed in jeopardy.

In many communities throughout sub-Saharan Africa, AIDS has virtually wiped out parents and providers, leaving behind children and grandparents to care for each other.

In some countries, between one-fifth and one-third of all children have already been orphaned by AIDS. And the worst is yet come.

Within the next decade more than 40 million children ^{in Africa} will be orphaned by AIDS – ~~95% of whom will live in sub-Saharan Africa~~ – ~~and this tragedy will continue to grow for at least another 30~~ ~~years.~~

We must remember that AIDS is not just a health issue – it is a fundamental development issue, an economic issue, a trade issue, and a key security and stability issue.

In just a few short years, AIDS has wiped out decades of hard work and steady progress in development – and as the President mentioned yesterday – will soon double infant mortality, triple

child mortality, and slash life expectancy by 20 years or more.

And AIDS has had a devastating impact on economic growth – striking down skilled workers in their prime and forcing many companies to hire two employees for every one job – assuming that one will die of AIDS.

Not since the bubonic plague of the Middle Ages has the world witnessed such devastation from a single disease, and the worst is yet to come. The sad truth is that we are at the beginning of an epidemic – what we see in Africa is just the tip of the iceberg.

Yet my message to you today is not one of hopelessness and desolation. For amidst this tragedy is hope. Amidst this crisis is opportunity; the opportunity to empower women, to protect children, and to support families and communities in our battle against AIDS.

Together, we have designed model programs and proven that they work. And today, we know how to stem the rising tide of new infections, how to provide basic care to those who are sick, and how to mobilize communities to support the growing number of children orphaned by AIDS. But there is more, much more that needs to be done if we are to bring these successes to scale.

During the past year and a half, I have made four trips to eight African countries at the request of President Clinton. Together with leaders from Congress and the private sector, we went to bear witness to the AIDS emergency and to search for ways to enhance our understanding and support for sustainable solutions springing up across Africa. In response to the findings of these trips, the Administration has launched a broad new initiative, the centerpiece of which is a \$100 million investment in the FY2000 budget.

This is the largest ever increase in US support for fighting the global battle against AIDS.

It will more than double our investment in HIV prevention and AIDS care in Africa – finally a budget that begins to reflect the magnitude of this rapidly escalating pandemic. While this is just a first step, it is an essential foundation for progress. UNAIDS estimates that we need at least one billion a year to adequately address HIV prevention in Africa, and another one billion to start to address the care and support needs of those already infected.

Last month, Vice President Gore opened the first-ever United Nations Security Council session on a health issue by addressing the AIDS crisis in Africa. He announced the Administration's request to Congress for an additional \$100 million to further enhance our efforts against AIDS in Africa and around the globe.

But bilateral donors cannot - and should not - do this alone. This crisis will require engagement and contributions from all sectors of all societies working together. Every bilateral donor, every international lending agency, every corporation, every foundation,

and every African government must do its part to provide the leadership and resources necessary to turn this tide. Together we can do just that.

As we struggle to move forward together – the futures of the children and families devastated by AIDS compel us all to find ways to do better, to be smarter, to move faster, and to develop whatever capacity we lack, so we can gear up for the long haul.

Luckily, painful experience here at home has taught us some valuable lessons, and we should take them to heart.

First, in reality, we are much more alike than we are different.

And while we must celebrate our diversity – there is much we can learn from each other. As President Clinton said here at the Summit yesterday, “We can make it clear to our African partners that we consider AIDS not just their burden but ours as well.”

Second, leadership matters.

Leadership from the very top – all the way to the community level.

Uganda is a great example. President Museveni has been a strong and effective leader in the fight against AIDS. In partnership with communities and donor nations, Uganda has cut the rate of HIV by more than half – and has organized model programs for HIV counseling and testing, and AIDS care and support. In Senegal as well, early leadership and mobilization has kept their AIDS prevalence low. In the final analysis – there is simply no substitute for real and committed leadership.

Third, this fight requires an investment – of time, energy and resources. Money, while desperately needed, is not enough.

Fourth, we pay a heavy price for the stigma that surrounds AIDS.

We must lift the shroud of secrecy that surrounds AIDS, so that individuals and families living with AIDS will no longer be forced to suffer in silence. For years in America, AIDS remained

underground, and people living with AIDS lost their jobs, their homes, their health insurance, and their dignity to the fear mongering and finger pointing of others. Leadership, education, and expansion of civil rights laws can help to bring AIDS into the light, where it can be seen and combated. We must learn to fight AIDS – not people with AIDS.

And finally, partnerships among all sectors are essential. As I said earlier, AIDS is not just a health problem – it is a development problem, a trade problem, and a security problem.

AIDS is everyone's problem – and everyone must be part of the solution.

Much has been said and written about each of these lessons.

The bottom line
~~The fact~~ is ***we know what works***. It is now time for us to move from paper to practice – and from words to deeds.

Together, we must find ways to affirm that we are a global community and our battle against AIDS in America, in Africa, and around the world is a shared responsibility.

Together, we must join our voices and pool our skills and our resources to begin to keep pace with an epidemic that is out of control.

This is a time of great challenge. The destiny of millions of people hang in the balance. Your experience, perseverance and hard work on this issue are desperately needed. I pray that each of us can leave this Summit more confident in our commitment, more invigorated by an expanding partnership, and more energized by our determination to doing everything that we can do to win the battle against AIDS.

As we stand at the beginning of the new millennium, let us commit together to build from this tragedy, a foundation for hope, a legacy

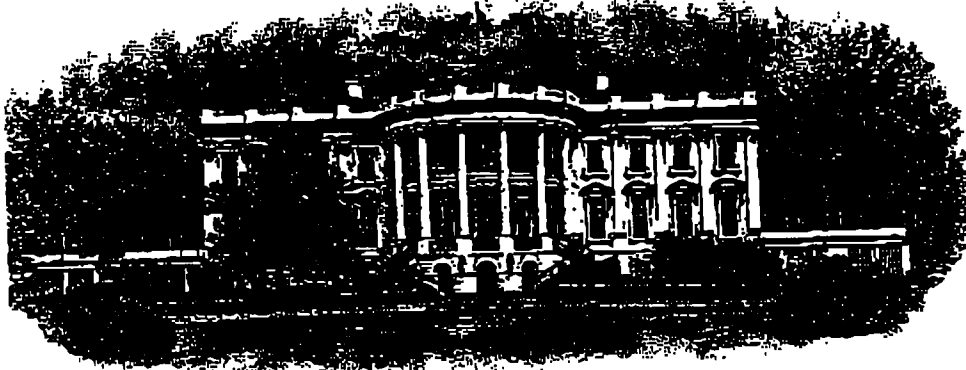
of compassion, and a real partnership forged by real solidarity in this shared struggle.

In the words of Archbishop Desmond Tutu: “Let us wage this holy war together, and for the sake of our children, let us win.”

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Washington, D.C. 20504



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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO NATIONAL SUMMIT ON AFRICA
WASHINGTON D.C.
FEBRUARY 17, 2000

[Andrew Young, Mayor Anthony Williams, Cong. Royce, Secretary Salim (OAU), President Moi (Kenya), VP Atiku Abubakar [Ah-BOO-ba-car (Nigeria)], distinguished African Ministers, fellow Americans]

I'm grateful to open the National Summit on Africa by speaking about my strong conviction that Africa matters to America. Not simply because 30 million Americans trace their heritage to Africa – though that is important. Not simply because we have a strong interest in a stable, prosperous Africa – where 13% of our oil comes from, and where 700 million producers and consumers live – though that too, is important.

I believe in Africa's future because the changes transforming our world require a new way of looking at the world. For most of our history, until not long ago, the central reality in international relations was "size and location are everything." If you were a big country or on a trade or invasion route, you mattered. If not, you were marginalized. The average American child saw African nations as little more than colorful flags and exotic names on a map. The end of colonialism changed the colors, and added to the names, but did not bring those countries nearer.

DRAFT

Today, that is rapidly changing. For the central reality of our time is globalization – an extraordinary process that is tearing down barriers between nations and peoples, so that what happens anywhere is felt everywhere. Globalization means expanding trade within and between every continent, which means we all benefit in new jobs and opportunities from the good fortune

that comes to others. But it also means we are more vulnerable to each other's problems. To the shock of economic turmoil. To the spread of conflicts. To disease and pollution. To the terrorists, drug traffickers and criminals who take advantage of new technologies and the openness of societies and borders.

Globalization also means that we know more about one another than ever before. We can find out within seconds what the weather is in Nairobi, or how a referendum turned out in Zimbabwe, or how Cameroon's Indomitable Lions performed in a soccer match. We can get online and read *The Addis Tribune*, or *The Mirror* of Ghana, or *The East African* (Kenya), or dozens of other African newspapers. We can sit in front of the TV and watch people in a South African township lining up to vote. We can also bear witness to the slaughter of a million innocent people in Rwanda. In other words, we can no longer choose not to know about the triumphs and trials of the people we share this planet with; we can only choose whether or not to act.

We can be indifferent, or we can make a difference.

For these reasons, it's no longer adequate to think of our "Africa policy" as something entirely separate from our "Europe policy" or our "Asia policy." We need a global vision, and no global vision can be realized if it overlooks Africa. We want to build a world that isn't roiled by tensions resulting from a growing gulf between rich and poor. Therefore, we must be involved with Africa. We want to broaden global economic growth and expand markets for our businesses, and for workers and farmers overseas. Therefore, we must be involved with Africa.

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We want to build a world in which our security is not threatened by the spread of armed conflict, a world in which bitter ethnic and religious differences are resolved by the force of argument, not the force of arms. Therefore we must be involved with Africa. We want to build a world where terrorists and criminals have no place to hide, and where those who wish us harm cannot acquire the means to do us harm. Therefore we must be involved with Africa. We want to build a world in which we can harness our natural resources for economic growth without destroying the chance of future generations to do the same. Therefore we must be involved with Africa.

That is why I set out in 1993 to build new ties between the United States and Africa, and why I went to Africa in the spring of 1998. That trip was unforgettable, but it was just the beginning of something more important – a fundamentally new outlook in both directions. We are creating a real partnership, in which we speak with Africans, not for them. Clearly, challenges remain, but in the last two years we have seen thousands of triumphs, large and small. They often don't make headlines, because the slow steady progress of democracy and prosperity is not the stuff of headlines. Did you know, for example, that the world's fastest growing economy is Mozambique, that Botswana is second, and that Angola is fourth? People are rightly aware of Africa's conflicts, but how many know that thousands of African soldiers are trying to end them as peacekeepers, and that one country alone, Nigeria, has spent \$10 billion in these efforts.

For years, Africa's wealthiest country, South Africa, and its most populous, Nigeria, cast long and forbidding shadows across the continent. Last year, South Africa's remarkable turnaround continued as its people transferred power from one president to another. Nigeria inaugurated a

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democratically elected president for the first time in decades, and it is working to ensure that its wealth strengthens its people, not their oppressors.

No one in my government – no one here – is under any illusions. There is still an enormous amount of work to be done. No one disagrees about what is needed. Genuine democracy ... good government ... open markets ... sustained investment in education, health, the environment, and more than anything, widespread peace. All depend on African leadership; they cannot be imposed or imported from outside.

But we must also face a clear reality. Even countries making the right policy choices still have to struggle to deliver for their people. Each African government has to walk down its own road of reform and renewal, but we must do our part to smooth that road, and remove some of the larger barriers, so that Africa will share fully in the benefits and responsibilities of globalization.

There are five steps in particular I believe we must take. First, we must build an open world trading system which will benefit Africa alongside every other region of the world. Open markets are an indispensable engine for raising living standards. From the 1970s to the early 90s, developing countries that chose trade grew at least twice as fast as those that chose not to open to the world.

Now, there are some who doubt that the poorest countries will benefit if we continue to open markets. But they should ask themselves: what will happen to workers in South Africa and Kenya without the jobs that come from selling the fruit of their labor abroad? What will happen

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to farmers in Zimbabwe and Ghana if protectionist farm subsidies make it impossible to market their produce beyond their borders? Trade must not be a race to the bottom -- whether we're talking about child labor, harsh working conditions, or environmental degradation. But neither can we use fear to keep the poorest part of the global community stuck at the bottom forever.

Africa has already taken important steps, forming regional trade blocs like ECOWAS, the East Africa Community, and SADC. But we can do more. That's why our Overseas Private Investment Corporation is in Africa, supporting three times as many business projects in 1999 than it did in 1998, creating jobs for Africans and Americans. That's why we are working with African nations to develop the institutions to sustain future growth, from efficient telecommunications to the financial sector. And that is why -- as soon as possible -- we must enact the bipartisan African Growth and Opportunity Act. Congress should resolve the differences between the House and Senate measures and send me a bill for signature by next month. When I met with Congressional leaders recently, there was broad support for completing action early in the session. With your support, we can get this done.

We must also recognize that trade alone cannot conquer poverty and build the partnership we need. For that reason, a second step we must take is to continue the work we have done to provide debt relief to African nations committed to sound policies. Struggling democratic governments should not have to choose between feeding their children and paying interest.

Last March, I suggested a way we could expand debt relief for the world's poorest and most indebted countries, most of which are African, and ensure the resources would be used to

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improve economic opportunity for ordinary African citizens. Our G-7 partners embraced that plan. Still, I felt we could do more. So in September, I announced that we would completely write off all of the debts owed to us by the countries that qualify for the G-7 program, as many as 27 African countries in all. The first countries, including Uganda and Mauritania have begun to receive the benefits. Mozambique, Benin, Senegal and Tanzania are expected to receive benefits soon. Mozambique's debt is expected to go down by more than \$3 billion. The money saved will be twice the health budget in a country where children are more likely to die before the age of five than they are to go to secondary school.

Last year, I asked the Congress for \$970 million for debt relief, and many of you helped to persuade Congress to appropriate a big share of that. With your help we can finish the job this year. Keep in mind, this is a program that religious leaders say is a moral imperative and leading economists say is a practical imperative.

A third step we must take is to give better and deeper support to African education. Literacy is crucial to economic growth, health, democracy, and securing the benefits of globalization. Sub-Saharan Africa has the developing world's lowest school enrollment rate. In Zambia, over half of schoolchildren lack a simple notebook. In rural parts of Tanzania, there is one textbook for every twenty children. That's why I proposed in my budget to increase by more than 50% the assistance we provide to developing countries to improve basic education, targeting areas where child labor is prevalent. I call on other nations and institutions to join us in what is clearly a common sense investment in all of our futures.

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A fourth step we must take is to fight the terrible diseases that have afflicted millions of Africans, in particular AIDS, TB and malaria. Last year, ten times as many people died of AIDS in Africa as were killed in all the continent's wars combined. It will soon double child mortality, and reduce life expectancy by 20 years. It is forcing some companies to hire two employees for every job – on the assumption one will die. This is more than just a humanitarian issue – it is profoundly an economic issue, a political issue, and a strategic issue.

That is why last month, Vice President Gore opened the first ever UN Security Council session on a health issue by addressing the AIDS crisis in Africa. That is why I have asked Congress this year for an another \$100 million to fight the epidemic. I have asked my Administration to develop a plan for new initiatives to address prevention, the financial dimensions of fighting AIDS, and the needs of those affected, so that we can make clear to our African partners that AIDS is not just their burden, but the world's concern.

Yet even that will not be enough. Recently, Uganda's health minister pointed out that to provide access to currently available treatments to every Ugandan afflicted with AIDS would cost \$24 billion. The Ugandan government's annual budget is just \$2 billion. The solution to this crisis, and to other killer diseases like malaria and TB, has to be effective, inexpensive vaccines. Now, there are four major companies in the world that develop vaccines, two based in America, and two in Europe. They have little incentive to make costly investments in developing vaccines for people who cannot afford to pay for them. So in my State of the Union address, I proposed a generous tax credit that will say to private industry: When you develop vaccines for AIDS, malaria and TB, we will help pay for them, and together we can save millions of lives. At this

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year's G-7 summit, I will ask our wealthy partners to adopt similar measures. But we can and must lead the way, and I ask Congress to act as soon as possible.

Finally, there is one more huge obstacle to progress in Africa we need to do our part to overcome. We must build on the leadership of Africans to end the bloody conflicts that kill their people and their progress. You know the terrible toll: tens of thousands of young lives lost in the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Thousands killed and disfigured in the civil war that nearly destroyed Sierra Leone. Two million killed by famine and war in Sudan, where the government sees diversity as a threat rather than a strength, and denies basic relief to the citizens it claims to represent.

Most of the world's conflicts pale in complexity before the situation in the Congo. At least seven countries and countless armed groups are pitted there against each other in a desperate struggle that seems to bring no one victory and everyone misery – especially the innocent people of the Congo, who deserve a better chance after decades of corrupt misrule. Secretary Albright has called the Congo struggle Africa's First World War. As we search for an end to the conflict, let us remember the central lesson of the First World War – the need to build a good peace that avoids a Second World War.

A year ago, I said that if the nations of the region reached an agreement the international community could support, I would support a peacekeeping operation in the Congo. Now the region has done so. The Lusaka Cease-Fire Agreement takes into account the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Congo, the security of its neighbors, the need for dialogue within Congo,

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and most important, the need for the countries within Central Africa to cooperate in managing the region's security. It's more than a cease-fire, it's a blueprint for building peace. Best of all, it is a genuinely African solution to an African problem. There is still fighting in Congo, and peace will not happen overnight. It will require a steady commitment from the parties and the unwavering support of international community. I've informed the Congress that America intends to do its part by supporting the next phase of the UN's peacekeeping operation in the Congo, which will send observers to oversee the implementation of the peace agreement.

We need to think hard about what is at stake here. African countries have taken the lead – and not just the countries directly affected. They are not asking us to solve their problems or deploy our military. All they have asked is that we support their efforts to build peace and make it last. We should be willing to do this. It is both principled and practical. The alternative is to let the Congo war resume and escalate until we can only help resolve it at far greater risk and cost. We must do all we can to avoid that. For even the costliest peace is cheaper than cheapest war.

I promise you that I will work hard on all these challenges as long as I am President. For me, the remarkable decade of the 1990s began with the liberation symbolized by Nelson Mandela's first steps from Robben Island. In a few days, I will join by satellite the conference in Tanzania that President Mandela is organizing to build peace in Burundi.

A lot of people look at Africa and say its problems are too complicated. Frankly, if we ignore them now, they will only become harder to solve. Other people just want to hear good news, as if by telling a happy story we make it so. But empty optimism does Africa no more service than

groundless cynicism. What we need is not optimism or pessimism, but realism. We don't engage with Africa because we are certain everything will turn out well. We engage because we are certain it is important.

Africa is an incredibly diverse continent. Its people speak nearly 3000 languages. It is not a continent of single, monolithic truths, but a place of many places, each defined by its own history and aspirations, its own successes and failures. When I went to Africa, I was struck by the differences between Ghana and Uganda, between Botswana and Senegal, and simply between Cape Town and Soweto. I was also struck by the faith and determination that bound people together in each of those places.

In George Washington's first draft of his farewell address, he wrote, "we may all be considered as the children of one common country." The more I think about globalization, and the interdependence it promises and demands, the more I share that sentiment. To bring peace, prosperity and democracy to Africa is to deepen peace, prosperity and democracy for ourselves.

More than just the cradle of humanity, Africa is a living continent whose diversity and spirit and strength stretch the imagination of anyone who cares to look there. Thank you for looking to Africa today, and enlarging all of our horizons with your energy and inspiration.