

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

Jesse Jackson 1996-1997 [3]

Staff Office-Individual:

African Affairs-Rice, Susan/Barks-Ruggles, Erica/DeShazer, MacArthur/McCormick, Shawn

Original OA/ID Number:

2257

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
29	3	4	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	For Special Envoy Jesse Jackson from Susan Rice and Ambassador Joseph Wilson. Subject: Possible Special Missions to Africa. (5 pages)	10/27/1997	P1/b(1)
001b. memo	For the Secretary of State from Susan Rice. Subject: Discussions with Special Envoy Jackson. (3 pages)	10/31/1997	P1/b(1)
002. memo	Duplicate of 001a. (2 pages)	10/27/1997	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Barks-Ruggles, Erica/DeShazer, MacArthur/McCormick, Shawn)
OA/Box Number: 2257

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson, 1996-1997 [3]

2014-0927-F

vz5240

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Wednesday, December 3

0630 Baggage call.

23

Kenya: Notional Schedule

Sunday, November 30

2140 Arrival, met by Ambassador Bushnell. Leave for hotel.
2230 Arrive Serena Hotel.
RON Nairobi, Kenya

Monday, December 1

0630 Breakfast briefing with Ambassador, as well as political and economic officers at Serena Hotel.
TBD Meeting with President Moi accompanied by Ambassador and AF/E David Dunn.
1100 Expanded country team meeting at USAID.
1230 Luncheon hosted by Ambassador with members of the Electoral Commission and representatives of churches and NGOs observing the election, at Serena Hotel.
1530 Meeting with church leaders at Serena Hotel.
1800 Press backgrounder at Serena Hotel.
1830 Reception at Serena Hotel, with remarks by Special Envoy Jackson.
Remainder of evening free.
RON Nairobi, Kenya

Tuesday, December 2

0800 Breakfast meeting with KANU party leaders at Serena Hotel.
1000 Visit Embassy self-help projects in Korogocho slum.
1300 Private luncheon for Special Envoy Jackson with Ambassador and visiting U.S. Senator Garn at Serena Hotel.
1500 Meeting with leaders of the pro-reform National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) at Serena Hotel.
1830 Dinner in honor of Special Envoy Jackson hosted by Ambassador.
RON Nairobi, Kenya

Zambia: Notional ScheduleWednesday, December 3

Noon Arrival, met by Ambassador Render, escorted to VIP lounge. Arrival statement to Zambian and international press.

1330 Working lunch at residence with Ambassador to review goals and talking points (to be provided at post).

1500 Call on President Chiluba at State House (accompanied by Ambassador) to be followed by a joint press conference.

1830 Reception at Residence with a guest list limited to fifty representatives of Zambian civil society and political parties, hosted by the Ambassador.

RON Lusaka, Zambia

Thursday, December 4

0830 Coffee, tea and rolls at DCM's Residence with the heads of Zambia's three Christian religious organizations: The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (Evangelical Protestant); The Christian Council of Zambia (Mainstream Protestant); and the Zambian Episcopal Conference (Catholic).

1030 To airport and VIP lounge for final press briefing and departure (accompanied by the Ambassador).

1200 Wheels up, Lusaka.

Wednesday, December 3

0630 Baggage call.

0715 Depart hotel for Airport, accompanied by DCM Michael
Marine.

0800 Wheels-up, Nairobi.

POINTS ON WHY S/E JACKSON IS VISITING ZAMBIA

(2)

- The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, President Clinton's and Secretary Albright's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, will visit Lusaka, Zambia December 3-4.
- S/E Jackson is going to Zambia to learn firsthand from senior Zambian officials, including President Frederick Chiluba, opposition figures, and a broad cross section of Zambian civil society about the efforts now underway to consolidate Zambia's nascent democracy.
- He will urge a continuation of the ongoing dialogue in Zambia for all Zambians to come together to forge solutions to the important issues of national concern.
- S/E Jackson will also be carrying a message of support and solidarity for the democratically-elected government of President Chiluba.
- In the aftermath of the October 28 failed coup attempt, S/E Jackson will reaffirm that as a close friend of Zambia, the United States condemns military coups and other illegal efforts by those forces seeking to undermine the advances of democracy across Africa.
- S/E Jackson will also congratulate Zambia for its bold steps and superb progress on economic reform in recent years, notably the privatization of the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines.

FOLD INTO EXISTING AF/E MEMO

UNCLASSIFIED

- x -

B. ZAMBIAI. OBJECTIVES

1. The leitmotif for your December 3-4 visit to Zambia should be a low-key, fact-finding mission and quiet chat among friends.
2. In your private meeting with Chiluba, reiterate USG condemnation of the coup attempt. Thank Chiluba for exercising restraint during the current state of emergency, and ask that he continue to avoid a widespread crackdown of political opponents, to respect human rights and rule of law, and to end the emergency as soon as possible.
3. Reaffirm USG support for Chiluba's economic reform program. Congratulate him for his bold steps and progress on privatization, and encourage the GRZ to stay the course on economic reform -- which is often difficult politically.
4. Sound out Chiluba on what he plans for his legacy for when he leaves the Presidency, as expected in 2001. Encourage him to continue to strengthen democratic institutions and processes in Zambia.

II. APPROACH

A one-day (and overnight), low-key visit could feature the following meetings or events:

1. A private meeting with President Frederick Chiluba.
2. A meeting with key opposition figures. We doubt, however, that former President Kenneth Kaunda will be in the country during your visit.
3. A meeting with Zambian clerics.
4. Working lunch/dinner with prominent members of Zambian civil society.

III. BACKGROUND

Zambia has held two multiparty elections. The second, in November 1996, was marred by the passage of constitutional amendments barring former President Kenneth Kaunda from participating.

The Stockholm-based, international NGO IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) is working with the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD, Zambia's ruling party), and the opposition United National Independence Party (UNIP) at the Secretary-General level to work out issues of concern. We should avoid giving the impression of pre-empting the IDEA initiative.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

- X -

The attempted coup on October 28 has added a dimension of new instability on the heels of Kabwe -- where KK and another opposition leader were shot at.

Despite a lack of positive movement on the political front, Zambia continues to make gains in economic reform. As long promised by President Chiluba's MMD Government, Zambia has taken its largest privatization step yet by announcing November 7 an "agreement in principle" to sell 60 percent of its state-run copper mines to the Kafue Consortium. (Kafue's partners include American mining company Phelps Dodge, Noranda of Canada, and Anglo-Vaal of South Africa.)

This will essentially conclude the sale of Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines, the country's largest, strategically-important parastatal which has traditionally accounted for 80 percent of Zambia's annual export revenue. Remaining details should be finished by year-end but the legal scrubbing could take a few more months.

C. MALAWII. OBJECTIVES

1. Your December 4 visit to Malawi, as the President's and Secretary's Special Envoy for the Promotion of African Democracy, would help us to underscore the close friendship that exists between our two nations, and would demonstrate our sincere appreciation for Malawi's participation in the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI).

2. It would also present a useful venue to encourage Malawi to "stay the course" in the run-up to the second round of national elections in May 1999, and to avoid backsliding on "good governance" issues.

3. Engage Malawian counterparts on what it means to be "new democrats," with emphasis on a vibrant civil society, an independent and assertive media, and an effective, "loyal opposition."

II. APPROACH

A three-four hour stopover in Lilongwe could feature the following meetings or events:

1. A private meeting with President Bakili Muluzi.
2. A meeting with Members of Parliament, including leading opposition figures.
3. Roundtable discussion with prominent members of Malawian civil society, including clerics and NGOs.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

- x -

4. Pre-departure press conference, summing up impressions and results of all three stops on this mission.

III. BACKGROUND

We currently enjoy excellent bilateral relations with Malawi, the only southern African state (thus far) to sign on to the African Crisis Response Initiative. Successful ACRI training concluded in Malawi on November 19.

Malawi's is a nascent African democracy, emerging since 1994 from the shadows of thirty years of authoritarian, often ruthless, rule by former "Life President" Banda.

President Muluzi is attempting to do the right thing on political and economic reform, and much of our assistance program in Malawi is designed to help this small, poor African state consolidate its new democracy.

You will be well-received in Malawi, "the Warm Heart of Africa." Malawians, extremely gracious and hospitable people, will be most appreciative that you came to their country to cement the strong bonds of U.S.-Malawian friendship. They will welcome yours and President Clinton's message of support for Malawi's young democracy.

UNCLASSIFIED

Robert

JH

Please clear ASAP.

D. Dunn

Kenya: Arrival Statement

79742

- It is a great pleasure for me to be in Kenya. This is my first visit to this beautiful country.
- This is also my first mission as the Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, a job entrusted to me by President Clinton and Secretary of State Albright.
- My presence reflects the importance the United States attaches to our relationship with Kenya and to the upcoming elections scheduled for December 29.
- I am here to learn first hand about democracy in Kenya, especially the reforms recently enacted by Parliament as they relate to the electoral process.
- I also hope to share with a wide cross section of Kenyans my own experiences as a political activist and my deep attachment to non-violence in the political arena.
- This is an important moment in Kenya's history; I am excited to be a part of it.

Kenya: Departure Statement

- Though short, my visit has been productive and eventful.
- My meetings with President Moi, opposition leaders, and representatives of Kenyan civil society have furthered my understanding of the challenges and opportunities facing Kenya at this critical stage.
- The world's attention will be focused on Kenya on December 29. Kenya has an opportunity to show the world the progress it has made in establishing stable, democratic institutions.
- In all my meetings, I stressed how important it is that the upcoming elections be held in an atmosphere of peace, transparency, and dialogue -- all cornerstones of democratic society.
- After the elections, as Kenya moves forward with constitutional reform and the furtherance of good governance, it is crucial that peace, transparency, and dialogue continue to characterize the process. Success will reconfirm Kenya's position as a regional leader and an economic success story.
- I hope to return after the elections and continue to work with the current and next generation of Kenya's leaders.

JJ

Q: Why is Jesse Jackson travelling to Africa?

A: The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, President Clinton's and Secretary Albright's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, will visit Kenya and Zambia November 30 - December 4. This will be his first mission in his capacity as Special Envoy.

Q: Why was he selected for these duties.

A: Democratization is one of this Administration's key priorities in Africa. Reverend Jackson's rich experience in the political and civil rights arenas makes him an ideal representative of the United States as we work with African governments and people in support of their efforts to advance democracy.

Q: Why Kenya and Zambia?

A: Both countries have a legacy of close friendship with the United States, and both are at critical stages in their democratic development. Kenya will hold national elections at the end of December. Zambia experienced an aborted coup attempt in late October.

Q: What does S/E Jackson hope to accomplish?

A: In the first instance, this initial visit will be an opportunity for Jackson to learn firsthand from government officials, opposition leaders, and a broad cross section of civil society about the state of democratization in both countries. In expressing support for the democratic process, he will urge openness and dialogue and the importance of non-violence in political and social change.

Q: Will he be visiting other countries?

A: Kenya and Zambia are the only two countries he will visit on this trip. No decisions have been made on what countries he will visit in the future.

Robins

For clearance,
pls.

D. Du

79742

Urgent

NOV-28-97 10:56 FROM:AF/EX

ID:2026476805

PAGE 1/1

TO
Ed Rice
from Robin

09460

November 28, 1997

TO: ~~Robin Sanders, NSC~~
FROM: Nancy Serpa, AF/EX, State
SUBJECT: Travel to Germany: Rev. Jesse Jackson and Party

Robin:

Rev. Jackson and his assistant Yirgalem (Yuri) Tadesse will arrive in Frankfurt aboard

United Flight 3500, departing Chicago O'Hare at 4:25 pm Saturday 11/29, ETA Frankfurt at 0730 Sunday 11/30.

State officers

David Dunn and Nancy Serpa will arrive Frankfurt aboard

United 916, departing Washington Dulles at 5:30 p.m. on Sat, arriving Frankfurt at 0710 Sunday 11/30.

I've been in touch with the consulate in Frankfurt. They will meet all members of the party and transport us to Rhein-Main AFB where a USAF C-20 aircraft is planning on taking off for Nairobi at 0830 Sunday morning.

USE OF USG AIRCRAFT

On his initial visit to Africa November 30 - December 4 as the President's and Secretary of State's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, Reverend Jackson Jackson and his delegation will be using a USAF aircraft between Europe and the African continent, to include stops in Nairobi, Kenya and Lusaka, Zambia. Commercial air links between Nairobi and Lusaka are infrequent, and were S/E Jackson to use commercial flights, he would be required to curtail his visit to Kenya to less than 24 hours. This would not permit adequate time for the consultations necessary to achieve his mission, including a central planned event involving the national Election Commission, elections observers, other key donors involved in the promotion of democracy, and representatives of Kenyan civil society.



November 20, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: LEON FUERTH

SUBJECT: Reverend Jesse Jackson as Special Envoy to Africa

Reverend Jackson was appointed as Special Envoy for the President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa on October 8. This unpaid position is to last a total of sixty days of service (not consecutive). Jackson's mandate is "to further (U.S.) objectives to bolster democratic progress, promote good governance, and build and sustain democratic reform in Africa...undertake to encourage greater respect for human rights and the improved functioning of democratic institutions throughout the continent, and build bridges of further cooperation with Africa."

I would like to ensure that the Administration uses the particular talents of Reverend Jackson to fullest effect. Jackson is uniquely placed to interact on the continent and we should pay particular attention to when and where we dispatch him. Jackson could also be an important force for building a domestic constituency for Africa here in the U.S.

To this point, the State Africa Bureau and NSC/Africa have identified five countries where Jackson might undertake special missions during the next six to nine months: Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Zambia, and Cameroon (all facing hurdles in restoring, consolidating or strengthening their democracies). He is scheduled to visit Kenya and Zambia immediately following the Thanksgiving holidays.

As we consider fine-tuning Jackson's activities in Africa, it is important to note some potential problems. First, there has been some evidence that Jackson may be unhappy with the scope of his mandate. He has indicated, for example, a desire to engage with Nigeria and Ghana (one of my initial thoughts was that he might be helpful in South Africa, in support of Mbeki's notion of an "African Renaissance"). While we should certainly stress the need for innovative and creative thinking about utilizing Jackson, the State/NSC plan for special missions has been well-thought out and we should defer to their thinking on the substance of his activities.

Secondly, and related, Jackson has hinted that the plans for his missions do not allow for the flexibility required to carry out his mandate. Here we must draw a fine distinction between flexibility and free-lancing. State and NSC have indicated that they plan to use

Jackson as necessary, adapting to changing circumstances in Africa. What they fear are the potential negative consequences of a less structured (read gadfly) approach.

Finally, there is the question of the appropriate level of Administration support ~~of~~ for a Special Envoy for the President and the Secretary of State. Jackson maintains that he requires the use of U.S. Government aircraft on his missions for purposes of expedience, flexibility, and to present the appropriate image of a U.S. envoy. The problems with flexibility/freelancing have been noted above. With respect to expedience, State and NSC maintain that Jackson can carry out the majority of his duties with commercial aircraft (as is the case with other senior Administration officials, and all other Presidential/Secretarial Special Envoys – of which there are six in Africa). ~~I, but if~~ necessary for timeliness, government aircraft can be requested on a case by case basis. Jackson's concerns about the punch provided by emerging from an aircraft with United States of America painted on the sides are well taken.

I believe we can begin to work to meet somewhere in the middle on the question of support. We need to look into special dispensation for Jackson to fly business class if he is traveling commercially. We also need to explore the possibility of using locally based U.S. military aircraft when possible (there are two small C-12 defense attaché planes in Africa). Use of these aircraft, however, are subject to the same scrutiny vis-à-vis availability of commercial flights as U.S.-based military aircraft.

We also need to involve Jackson in some way as other high-level USG interactions with Africa occur. For example, perhaps he could be consulted prior to Secretary Albright's trip to the continent in December. Perhaps there is a role of some kind for Reverend Jackson as we run up to the next U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission session.

This is a delicate situation fraught with potential problems, but also providing abundant opportunities to advance U.S. interests.

Barks-Ruggles, Erica

JS

From: Battenfield, Pat A.
Sent: Tuesday, November 25, 1997 11:39 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Subject: msg from June [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

those other countires are not part of the program--Susan said if there is a third country it will have to be Malawi -- we are looking at that--but if they fly commercial that will not work -- no Ghana no Ehtiopia--I have EX doing up the reservations, etc. -- as soon as I get an itinerary I will fax it to you--we will do a commercial itinerary Washington-Nairobi-Lusaka-Washington

but those other countries are not in the picture -- we have explained this whole issue aorund West Africa and Nigeria, regional issues are not do able now because we don't have the policy -- it has been explained by Susan it has been explained by other people --just not doable-- I am at my desk and we can talk again soon

(Ji)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

November 20, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR REV. JESSE JACKSON

SUBJECT: Your Kenya Trip

We have reviewed the Africa Bureau's excellent briefing memo for your visit to Kenya and have a few additional comments.

1. You bring equities and strengths that are different than the other envoys the Executive Branch has deployed to Kenya to date. Congressman Payne has shown that appealing to President Moi on abjectly political grounds is a very effective tool in urging reforms. President Moi is a masterful politician, so sharing some of your personal experiences in brokering compromises between polarized constituencies and then overseeing the IMPLEMENTATION of those compromises could be an important method of advancing the agenda.

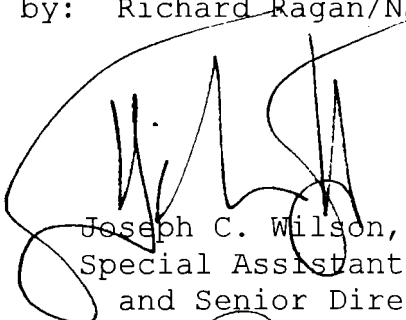
2. Similarly, drawing on your experience with movements and civil society will probably be one of the most potent methods of influencing the opposition and civil society leaders with whom you will meet. Leaders of the pro-democracy movement can see parallels to our own nation's civil rights movement and other mass-based campaigns. It is in this context that an appeal for unity through diversity might be particularly effective, as well as encouragement for non-violence. Recounting your experience with President Moi could also demonstrate to him the critically important role a healthy civil society can play in a nation's progress on fundamental issues, and that their responsible participation should be protected and nurtured.

3. Our most recent meetings with NCEC leaders during the Richardson mission made clear that opposition leaders fear that USG commitment to democratic reforms might end when the elections are over. This fear is not entirely unjustified in light of our minimal efforts following the 1992 elections. Therefore, it will be critical for you to stress that a unique historic moment will present itself after the elections, as President Moi may be more willing to commit to fundamental reforms to ensure his place in history as he serves out his final term. Thus, the USG will remain as committed as ever to seeing the reform process through after the elections.

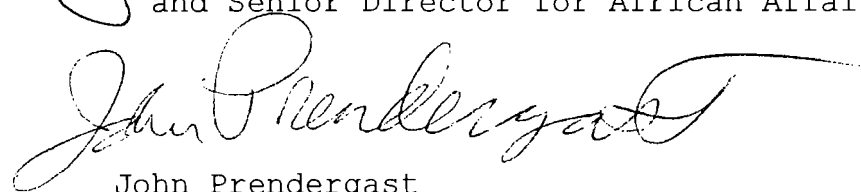
4. Regarding your meetings with religious leaders, it is critical that you also meet with Islamic leaders, which I do not see represented on your itinerary. In fact, it would be worth considering meeting Christian and Muslim leaders together rather than separately. The Christian churches themselves are plagued by ethnic, political and sectarian divisions, and are often not a force for healing and bridge building. Appealing to their higher aspirations, again using all of your own experiences, will be extremely effective in marshalling this important constituency to play a more constructive role in what will certainly be a very tense period.

5. It is important to reiterate some of the most self-evident themes of the Africa Bureau's memo. First, it is critical to stress the importance of the electoral PROCESS as a key to free and fair elections, not just the mechanics of election day itself. Second, one of the principal keys to a free and fair election is the IMPLEMENTATION of the IPPG reforms, which requires that the Kenyan Government go beyond issuing administrative memos and get out to the regions and explain that business has to be done differently. Participation will increase and the likelihood of violence will be diminished if voters have confidence that the government is committed to a fair election.

Concurrence by: Richard Ragan/NSC Democracy and Human Rights Director



Joseph C. Wilson, IV
Special Assistant to the President
and Senior Director for African Affairs



John Prendergast
Director for African Affairs

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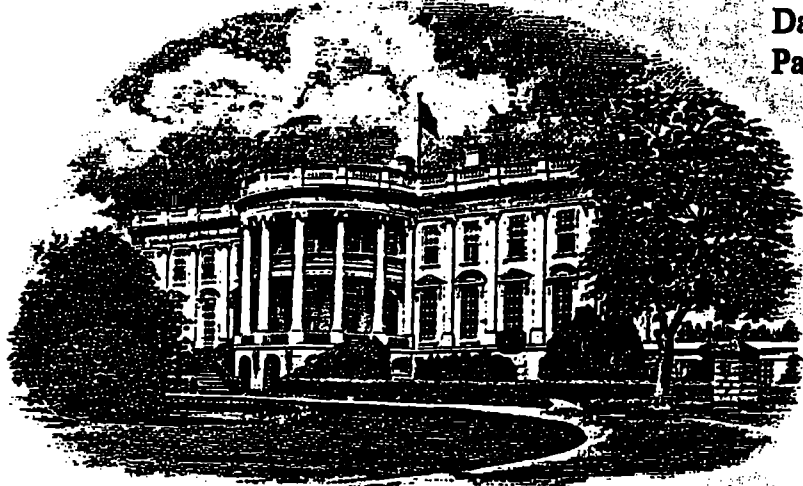
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

AFRICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE

FAX COVER SHEET

Date 11/20/97

Pages to Follow 2



FROM: ☒ Joseph C. Wilson, IV

☐ Robin Sanders

☐ Erica Barks-Ruggles

phone: 202-456-9261

fax: 202-456-9260

☒ John Prendergast

TO:

PHONE NUMBER

FAX NUMBER

1. LORRAINE WESTBROOK (for Rev. Jackson) 773-373-5314
2.
3.
4.
5.

Message:

UNCLASSIFIED



FROM: [x] Joseph C. Wilson, IV

[] Robin Sanders

[] Erica Barks-Ruggles

phone: 202-456-9261

fax: 202-456-9260

[x] John Prendergast

TO:

PHONE NUMBER

FAX NUMBER

1. LORRAINE WESTBROOK (for Rev. Jackson) 773-373-5314

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

Message:

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OK	RESULT
3	PAGES
01:42	USAGE TIME
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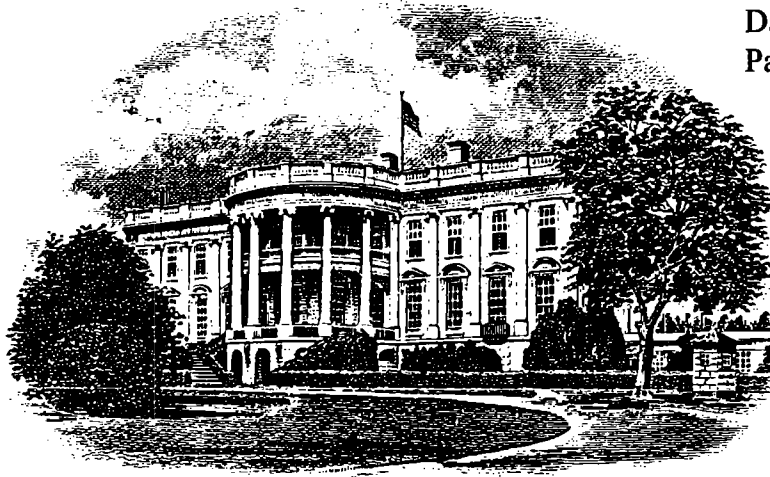
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

AFRICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE

FAX COVER SHEET

Date 11/21/97

Pages to Follow 2



FROM: [x] Joseph C. Wilson, IV

[] Robin Sanders

[] Erica Barks-Ruggles

phone: 202-456-9261

fax: 202-456-9260

[] John Prendergast

TO:

PHONE NUMBER

FAX NUMBER

SUSAN RICE

1. _____

2. _____

JOHNNIE CARSON

3. _____

DAVID DUNN

4. _____

5. _____

Message:

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WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE**B**

S/S #

MESSAGE NO. 004166 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL No. Pages 5
FROM: A/S SUSAN E. RICE AF 7-4440 6234A
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION REV. JESSE JACKSON SPECIAL MISSIONS TO
AFRICA / DISCUSSIONS W/SPECIAL ENVOY JACKSON

TO: (Agency)

DELIVER TO:

Extension

Room No.

NSCPETE JORDAN456-9513Rm. 290NSCERICA BARKES-RUSSELLS456-9261Rm. 499

FOR:

CLEARANCE ☐INFORMATION ☒PER REQUEST ☐COMMENT ☐

REMARKS:

S/S Officer: _____

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VR Date: 1/12/2018

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P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Wednesday, November 19, 1997 11:45 AM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs
Subject: Memo to Jesse Jackson on Kenya [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

Joe, attached is a proposed memo to Rev. Jackson for his trip to Kenya. Recommend Eric/Richard for input/concurrence.



jackken.doc

November 19, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR REV. JESSE JACKSON

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON, Senior Advisor to the President
on Africa, NSC

FROM: JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, NSC Director for East Africa

SUBJECT: Your Kenya Trip

We have reviewed the Africa Bureau's excellent briefing memo for your visit to Kenya and have a few additional comments.

1. You bring equities and strengths that are different than the other envoys the Executive Branch has deployed to Kenya to date. Congressman Payne has shown that appealing to President Moi on abjectly political grounds is a very effective tool in urging reforms. President Moi is a masterful politician, so sharing some of your personal experiences in brokering compromises between polarized constituencies and then overseeing the IMPLEMENTATION of those compromises could be an important method of advancing the agenda.

2. Similarly, drawing on your experience with movements and civil society will probably be one of the most potent methods of influencing the opposition and civil society leaders with whom you will meet. Leaders of the pro-democracy movement can see parallels to our own nation's civil rights movement and other mass-based campaigns. It is in this context that an appeal for unity through diversity might be particularly effective, as well as encouragement for non-violence. Recounting your experience with President Moi could also demonstrate to him the critically important role a healthy civil society can play in a nation's progress on fundamental issues, and that their responsible participation should be protected and nurtured.

3. My most recent meetings with NCEC leaders during the Richardson mission made clear that opposition leaders feared that USG commitment to democratic reforms will end when the elections are over. This fear is not entirely unjustified in light of our minimal efforts following the 1992 elections.

Therefore, it will be critical for you to stress that a unique historic moment will present itself after the elections, as President Moi may be more willing to commit to fundamental reforms to ensure his place in history as he serves out his final term. Thus the USG will remain as committed as ever to seeing the reform process through after the elections.

4. Regarding your meetings with religious leaders, it is critical that you also meet with Islamic leaders, which I do not see represented on your itinerary. In fact, it would be worth considering meeting Christian and Muslim leaders together rather than separately. The Christian churches themselves are riven by ethnic, political and sectarian divisions, and are often not a force for healing and bridge-building. Appealing to their higher aspirations, again using all of your own experiences, will be extremely effective in marshalling this important constituency to play a more constructive role in what will certainly be a very tense period.

5. It's important to reiterate some of the most self-evident themes of the Africa Bureau's memo. First, it is critical to stress the importance of the electoral PROCESS as a key to free and fair elections, not just the mechanics of election day itself. Second, one of the principal keys to a free and fair election is the IMPLEMENTATION of the IPPG reforms, which requires that the Kenyan Government go beyond issuing administrative memos and get out to the regions and explain that business has to be done differently. Participation will increase and the likelihood of violence will be diminished if voters have confidence that the government is committed to a fair election.

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520
Fax Transmittal Form

JESSE JACKSON

Joe

(copy given
to John
already.)

Date:

11/15/97

To:

Erica for

Fax:

Phone:

From:

Yuri T
Pine Corp

Fax:

(202) 647-6301

Phone:

Number of Pages:

Subject:

1. Ductal

2. Kenya

Thanks



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: Special Envoy Jackson

FROM: AF - Susan E. Rice

SUBJECT: Democracy Advocacy Visit to Kenya

be -
FYI
Current planning
for 11/29-12/5

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Demonstrate strong U.S. Government interest in Kenya's upcoming elections as part of our commitment to promoting democratization in Africa.
2. Emphasize to the Government of Kenya our close attention to the implementation of recently enacted democratic reforms during the electoral campaign.
3. Encourage a peaceful electoral process, emphasizing the responsibility of all Kenyans to respect the political rights of others and to avoid violence.
4. Help build a foundation for continued dialogue on democratic reform and good governance after the general elections.

II. APPROACH

A two or three day visit could feature the following meetings or events:

1. A call on President Daniel T. arap Moi.
2. A meeting with senior officials in the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU).
3. A meeting with major opposition leaders.
4. A discussion with the most significant organization opposed to the upcoming elections, the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC).

- 2 -

5. A meeting or meetings with major religious leaders.
6. A meeting with the three major domestic NGOs that will conduct election monitoring in the runup to the election and during the election.
7. A public visit to a Self-Help project supported with U.S. Government funds.
8. A speech to Kenyan youth, possibly at one of Nairobi's all-girl high schools.

With President Moi and KANU politicians, the goal would be to underline the importance we place on the full-respect for political rights during the campaign. Politicians, press and citizens should be free to operate without interference from government authorities or intimidation from groups sympathetic to KANU. You would want to emphasize that we will pay close attention to the election period, watching for genuine implementation of recent democratic reforms, and that our interest in continued democratization will not end with the elections.

With opposition politicians you should repeat the message that we expect all parties to fully respect the political rights of others, in all parts of the country. You might wish to probe the question of issues-based politics and ask whether the leaders feel they have transcended the limitations of specific regional or ethnic identification.

Should the NCEC decide to boycott the elections, you will have an opportunity in meeting with them to ask that they make every effort to prevent their followers from using violence or the threat of violence to discourage participation. Underline our commitment to remain engaged on democratization in Kenya after the elections and urge them to consider the possibility of making broader gains even after imperfect elections.

Catholic and Protestant church leaders in Kenya have significant influence. They have acted both to put pressure on the government for further reforms and to check the extreme and potentially violent impulses of some parts of the opposition.

Three Kenyan NGOs -- the Institute for Education in Democracy, the Catholic Peace and Justice Commission, and the National Council of Christian Churches (NCCC) -- plan to field thousands of observers on election day. They are receiving substantial assistance from USAID. A meeting with these groups would help publicize the importance we attribute to the transparency of the election process.

- 3 -

Your speech might touch on themes of non-violence in striving for change, the importance of working across ethnic boundaries and promoting the mutual interests of all Kenyans, and of education as a means of empowerment.

III. BACKGROUND

Democracy and Human Rights: As elections near, President Moi has launched into an intense period of political maneuvering. He has mended fences with the more moderate elements of his ruling-party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU). He has also reached out to the moderate parliamentary opposition with promises of democratic reform and other blandishments. After working with the moderate opposition to pass three pieces of legislation (the last on November 7) enacting a variety of democratic reforms, Moi and KANU moved quickly the week of November 10 to dissolve Parliament and call elections. December 29, six days before the expiration of President Moi's five-year term, is the date announced by the head of the Electoral Commission for both presidential and parliamentary elections.

In early September, MPs from KANU and several opposition parties reached agreement on the package of democratic reforms under the auspices of the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG). The reforms were to include measures to increase the independence of the Electoral Commission, steps to ensure opposition access to the electronic media, and the repeal or revision of a range of colonial era laws which gave the President excessive powers to limit fundamental political freedoms such as speech, assembly and association. The reforms, now enacted, did not address more fundamental shortcomings of the Kenyan system (the IPPG put off more far-reaching constitutional reforms until after elections). For example, by leaving untouched the constitutional provision that allows a President to be elected with a plurality of votes cast rather than a majority, Moi remains the heavy favorite to defeat a divided opposition.

At the same time he pursued dialogue with moderate opposition members, Moi and KANU rejected completely the notion of dialogue with the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC), the most significant pro-reform advocacy group (made up of civil society leaders and some members of parliament). By freezing out the NCEC, Moi simultaneously diminished and radicalized its support base. Flush with that success, Moi allowed Government security forces to violently disrupt NCEC and other opposition meetings in early October, threatening again to mobilize more moderate opposition supporters incensed over the continued violation of basic political rights. In

- 4 -

addition, on October 6, the GOK again denied registration to the Safina Party founded by Richard Leakey and human rights lawyer Paul Muite, leading many to conclude that the government had adopted reforms in substance only, not in spirit.

U.S. Government Policy: Ambassador Bushnell has spoken out publicly and forcefully for basic democratic rights in Kenya, earning the enmity of the unrepentant opponents of democratic reform in Moi's inner circle. Playing the nationalist card, these individuals have planted a series of attacks against her in the local media, accusing her and the U.S. Government of plotting Moi's downfall, secretly funding the radical opposition, and generally imposing western conditions on Kenya. In this environment, it is important to consistently emphasize that our goal is greater democracy, not a particular election outcome.

The NCEC and a few major opposition politicians have also taken issue with us for not rejecting outright the IPPG reform package and the late December date for elections. The NCEC has argued that the IPPG reforms are a good start but insufficient, and that the seven weeks remaining before elections does not offer sufficient time to implement even these reforms across the country and at the local government level. Although they may be backing off from this extreme position, NCEC leaders have for some time intimated that the elections will not occur (apparently due to popular resistance) unless their demands are met.

While we are sympathetic to concerns about the short time remaining before elections and the argument that more far reaching reforms would have been preferable, we have felt it important not to get out in front of general sentiment in Kenya in our advocacy. With a significant part of the political opposition supporting the IPPG reforms (whether out of genuine conviction or more mercenary motives), the political reality is that this package may be the best achievable in 1997. Moreover, if implemented, the package of reforms constitutes a significant expansion of democratic rights in Kenya. Our pre-election objective of holding the Government responsible for fulfilling what is now a legal promise for greater democracy could make for substantially more democratic elections than Kenya has yet seen. As importantly, full respect for newly protected political liberties could lead to a expanded process of constitutional, democratic reform after the elections.

- 5 -

Ethnic Violence: On August 13, a wave of ethnically-based attacks broke out in Kenya's Coast Province near Mombasa, beginning with an assault on a police station in which several police officers died. In August and September, attacks by indigenous groups against communities of "up-country" immigrants to the Province left over 50 persons dead, great amounts of property destroyed, and tens of thousands displaced. This widely publicized violence, and floods that have followed in late October and early November, have decimated Kenya's important coast-based tourism industry, putting thousands more out of work.

The violence in Coast Province appeared to spring from deep-seated grievances, but may have been spurred by KANU politicians. No direct link to President Moi or the central government has been demonstrated, and security forces did take action against the armed local groups made up of pro-government indigenous peoples. Nonetheless, the result of the violence, moving thousands of likely opposition voters away from their homes (and from their polling stations), necessarily raises concerns about government plots.

To date, ethnic clashes have not approached the scale of those seen in Kenya's Rift Valley in 1992 and 1993, but ethnic tension remains a danger in Kenya. Politicians in and out of government have exploited tribal jealousies, and we intend to monitor as closely as possible any appeal to ethnic violence in the run up to elections.

Economy: Kenya's economy is coming to a standstill in the wake of the lapse of its IMF ESAF program and a sharp decline in tourism. The late July decision by the IMF to let the ESAF lapse -- due to the GOK's repeated failure to enact agreed upon economic reforms, in particular anti-corruption measures -- has led to the loss of over \$400 million in multilateral development credits. Tourism revenues have been cut in half by the summer's political violence and by ethnic clashes in Coast Province. The GOK may yet adopt some required reforms before the parliament adjourns but is not expected to muster the political will to combat corruption before elections, meaning ESAF resumption is off until at least next spring.

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520
Fax Transmittal Form

SS

Date: 11/25/97
To: Erica
From: Jane C.P.
Number of Pages: 2 + Cover
Subject: Draft Reg

Fax: 456-9261
Phone: (202) 647-6301
Fax: 647-2530
Phone:

Joe -

Do you have any problems w/ this?
See highlighted piece (NOTE: This is NOT
the normal argument for them to use
in plane request - SS is supposed to be
under control of A/S in State, she tells him
where to go, not us).



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GLYN DAVIES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

In furtherance of the President's foreign policy objectives, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, will travel to Kenya, Zambia and Malawi to encourage the democratic electoral process and promote political reconciliation as the President's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy. The Mission will depart the United States on November 29 and return December 5, 1997.

Because this visit is being conducted at the behest of the African Directorate at the NSC and because of its importance in advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives in Africa, the Department requests that this be designated as a Presidential Mission and that a special air mission aircraft be provided on a non-reimbursable basis to transport the U.S. delegation to Kenya, Zambia and Malawi and back to the United States.

This request has been cleared by the State Department's Office of the Legal Adviser.

William J. Burns
Executive Secretary

I don't think they
need to
ask for
Pres. Mission
to get a
plane.

Drafted: AF:JCPerry
SEFOA 3-138 11/25/97 ext 7-3356

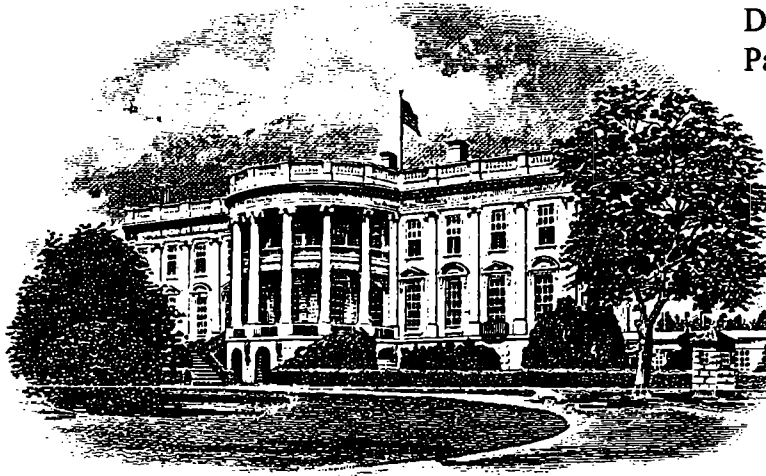
Cleared: AF:SERice
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AF/S:JBlaney ✓
AF/EX:NSerpa ✓
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- L/LM:IDiaz
FMP:DBordley ✓
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UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

AFRICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE

FAX COVER SHEET



Date 11/26/97
Pages to Follow 1

FROM: ☐ Joseph C. Wilson, IV

☐ Robin Sanders

☒ Erica Barks-Ruggles

phone: 202-456-9261

fax: 202-456-9260

☐ John Prendergast

TO:

PHONE NUMBER

FAX NUMBER

1. ED RICE 69460
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Message: ED - AS YOU DISCUSSED IN/ SOE, WE ARE CONCERNED
BY FIRST LINE IN PARA 2. STATE / AF FAXED TO US.
JOE ASKED THAT I FAX TO YOU.
- ERICA

UNCLASSIFIED

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United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520
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22

Date:

11/25/97

To:

BRICA B-R

Fax:

456-9260

Phone:

456-9260

From:

Tune C A

Fax:

(202) 647-6301

Phone:

647-2530

Number of Pages:

3 + Cover

Subject:

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of 2 flightes - Nanshi
hwsaka



Eugene T. Went
Travel Counselor



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FOR: JACKSON/JESSIE

29 NOV 97 - SATURDAY

UNITED 916 BUSINESS CL
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AR: FRANKFURT 710A ARRIVAL DATE-30 NOV
DINNER-SNACK-MOVIE
BOEING 777 JET

30 NOV 97 - SUNDAY

UNITED 3776 BUSINESS CL OPERATED BY-LUFTHANSA AIRLINES
LV: FRANKFURT 1045A NONSTOP CONFIRMED
AR: NAIROBI 845P
LUNCH-LUNCH
AIRBUS A300 JET

Dec 1 - Nairobi Lunch SURFACE TRANSPORTATION

7:20pm Dep
9:00pm Arr

04 DEC 97 - THURSDAY

BRITISH AWYS 2052 BUSINESS CL
LV: LUSAKA 530P ONE STOP CONFIRMED
AR: LONDON/GATWICK 620A ARRIVAL DATE-05 DEC
BOEING 747 JET

SURFACE TRANSPORTATION

05 DEC 97 - FRIDAY

UNITED 921 SPCL CLASS
LV: LON / HEATHROW 1145A NONSTOP CONFIRMED
AR: WASH/DULLES 303P
LUNCH-SNACK-MOVIE
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DATE: NOV 25 1997

PAGE: 01

RECORD: ROWVXU

FOR ITALESSE/YURI

29 NOV 97 - SATURDAY

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AR: FRANKFURT 710A
DINNER-SNACK-MOVIE
BOEING 777 JET

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CONFIRMED

30 NOV 97 - SUNDAY

UNITED 3776 BUSINESS CL
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AR: NAIROBI 845P
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AIRBUS A300 JET

OPERATED BY-LUFTHANSA AIRLINES
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01 DEC 97 - MONDAY

AERO ZAMBIA 601 BUSINESS CL
LV: NAIROBI 720P
AR: LUSAKA 900P

NONSTOP

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04 DEC 97 - THURSDAY

BRITISH AWYS 2052 BUSINESS CL
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Washington, D.C. 20530-0001
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Emergency After Hours: 800 847-0243**INVOICE/ITINERARY**DATE: NOV 25 1997
PAGE: 02
RECORD: ROWVU

FOR: TADESSE/YURI

05 DEC 97 - FRIDAY

UNITED 921 BUSINESS CL

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AR: WASH/DULLES 305P

LUNCH-SNACK-MOVIE

BOEING 777 JET

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Washington, DC 20520

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From:

JC Perry

Fax: (202) 647-6301

Phone:

Number of Pages:

1

Subject:

Itinerary

Sp Enclos

SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY

ITINERARY FOR REV. JACKSON

SATURDAY

NOV. 29 (Evening)

DEPART WASHINGTON

SUNDAY

NOV. 30 (Early Evening)

ARRIVE NAIROBI, KENYA

SUNDAY - TUESDAY

NOV. 30 - DEC. 2: DEMOCRACY PROGRAM IN KENYA

WEDNESDAY

DEC. 3 (Early am)

DEPART NAIROBI

WEDNESDAY

DEC. 3 (Noon)

ARRIVE LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

WEDNESDAY - THURSDAY

DEC. 3 - DEC. 4: DEMOCRACY PROGRAM IN ZAMBIA*

THURSDAY

DEC. 4 (Evening)

DEPART LUSAKA

FRIDAY

DEC. 5

ARRIVE WASHINGTON

*IF POSSIBLE, A 3 HOUR STOPOVER IN LILONGWE, MALAWI MAY OCCUR
DEC. 4.

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

Jj

Date:

11/25/97

To:

Erica

Fax:

Phone:

From:

JC Perry

Fax:

(202) 647-6301

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Number of Pages:

1

Subject:

Itinerary

Sp Enclos

SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY

ITINERARY FOR REV. JACKSON

SATURDAY

NOV. 29 (Evening)

DEPART WASHINGTON

SUNDAY

NOV. 30 (Early Evening)

ARRIVE NAIROBI, KENYA

SUNDAY - TUESDAY

NOV. 30 - DEC. 2: DEMOCRACY PROGRAM IN KENYA

WEDNESDAY

DEC. 3 (Early am)

DEPART NAIROBI

WEDNESDAY

DEC. 3 (Noon)

ARRIVE LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

WEDNESDAY - THURSDAY

DEC. 3 - DEC. 4: DEMOCRACY PROGRAM IN ZAMBIA*

THURSDAY

DEC. 4 (Evening)

DEPART LUSAKA

FRIDAY

DEC. 5

ARRIVE WASHINGTON

*IF POSSIBLE, A 3 HOUR STOPOVER IN LILONGWE, MALAWI MAY OCCUR
DEC. 4.

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520
Fax Transmittal Form

Jesse

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 11/19/97

To: ERICA BARKES-RUSSELLS

Fax: 757-1242

Phone:

From: ANNETTE BUSHELLE

Fax: (202) 647-6301

Phone:

Number of Pages: 2 + 1

Subject: Possible JS Mission to Africa

Please pass to Erica Barkes-Russells
Room 499.

#98

DTG 191641Z

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Initials: VZ Date: 1/12/2018

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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002. memo	Duplicate of 001a. (2 pages)	10/27/1997	P1/b(1)

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Rice, Susan/Barks-Ruggles, Erica/DeShazer, MacArthur/McCormick, Shawn)
OA/Box Number: 2257

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson, 1996-1997 [3]

2014-0927-F

vz5240

RESTRICTION CODES

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, November 18, 1997 6:25 PM
To: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Malley, Robert; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; Jordan, Donald L.
Subject: heads up on Jesse Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

FYI -

Jesse Jackson called the VP today to request assistance in getting a plane for his planned 11/29-12-5 trip to Kenya and Zambia. He plans to spend three days in each place -- this is in conjunction with request from State Dept.

As discussed in earlier round of emails on JJ and planes, we told State his request(s) for plane support would be looked at on a case-by-case basis based on whether commercial transport would be available. State AF agreed with this. We have not received any requests from them for air support for this mission, or any indication that they will be requesting support. Apparently Jackson is not excited about this, and is now surfing outside the channels for support.

Jackson may call Sandy or POTUS to request support, and/or the VP might raise with POTUS. We have shared above with OVP.

- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Wednesday, November 12, 1997 7:30 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

We would need to change the CoS guidance currently in force, which I highly recommend against. Only reason to travel by military air is that it is not possible to accomplish the mission by commercial air. That determination can only be made on a case by case basis.

-----Original Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, November 12, 1997 7:08 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: Jesse Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

Rob -

Just a heads up to Sandy that following a series of briefings and meetings on his new role as the Special Envoy for Democracy and Human Rights in Africa, Jesse Jackson may be coming to us sooner rather than later with a request for aircraft support. In his meetings with Susan on possible missions, he expressed his desire to have aircraft support as a general rule. His first mission, depending on his availability and the situation on the ground, may be as early as late November/early December. A possible itinerary includes Kenya, Zambia and/or Liberia.

We recommend that no blanket decision about aircraft support be made, but that each mission be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. We anticipate that Jackson may request a blanket commitment for aircraft support and/or bring this up regularly. Please let us know if Sandy would like to treat this differently.

Jackson also met with the VP one on one late last week. We are trying to get a readout of that meeting.

- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, November 12, 1997 7:47 PM
To: Malley, Robert; Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

I will reiterate with State that this will be done case by case and ask for a heads up before plane requests come. - Erica

-----Original Message-----

From: Malley, Robert
Sent: Wednesday, November 12, 1997 7:32 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.; Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

My view precisely. As I told Erica, I am sure Sandy would want case by case.

-----Original Message-----

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Wednesday, November 12, 1997 7:30 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

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- Erica

Barks-Ruggles, Erica

From: Rubin, Eric S.
Sent: Tuesday, October 14, 1997 9:43 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: RE: Jackson request [UNCLASSIFIED]

Jesse

Erica

I passed the info--very helpful. Yes, April would like you to call her on background at the number below when you have time. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, October 14, 1997 9:32 AM
To: Rubin, Eric S.; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: RE: Jackson request [UNCLASSIFIED]

Name and contact numbers are:

Gary Masoni (Jackson's personal assistant) at (773) 373-3366

OR

Ken Jakubowski (Jackson's new press secretary) at same number

both in Jackson's Chicago office.

I would be happy to speak with April on background. Nothing on the air. For more in depth, she should contact the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Ambassador Johnnie Carson at (202) 647-4440. Jackson will be working on specific projects chosen in coordination with the Assistant Secretary, so this is probably the best source for detailed information. Let me know if she still wants to talk. - Erica

-----Original Message-----

From: Rubin, Eric S.
Sent: Tuesday, October 14, 1997 8:35 AM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: Jackson request [UNCLASSIFIED]

April Ryan of Urban Radio/Sheridan Broadcasting called to ask:

- (1) if someone could speak to her on background about Jesse Jackson's anticipated role (recommend doing: 347-7930) or, even better, on the air (up to you)
- (2) if we could give her a name and contact number on Jackson's staff (useful for us to know in general).

Thanks.

APPOINTMENT OF REVEREND JESSE JACKSON AS SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE
PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROMOTION OF
DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Q: Has the President appointed Jesse Jackson Special Envoy to Africa?

A: The President has announced the Administration's intent to appoint Jesse Jackson to serve as a Special Envoy for the President and Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy, human rights and good governance in Africa.

Q: What will be Reverend Jackson's role in the State Department?

A: Reverend Jackson's role will be that of a special advisor. His work will supplement, not replace, the traditional and ongoing diplomatic efforts of the Department of State's Africa Bureau to work cooperatively with African countries.

Q: Will Reverend Jackson work out of the State Department?

A: Reverend Jackson will serve in a non-compensated capacity on a short-term appointment at the State Department (not to exceed 60 days in any one calendar year) to support the Administration's efforts to promote democratic values in Africa. He will serve on a part-time basis on special projects.

Q: Why is it necessary to have a Special Envoy on Democracy?

A: Bolstering democracy in Africa and building bridges to greater cooperation with Africa are important goals of the Administration. Reverend Jackson's long experience and public service in establishing dialogue with key leaders will help ongoing efforts to sustain democratic reform in Africa.

Q: Will Reverend Jackson travel on a regular basis to Africa?

A: Reverend Jackson will travel to Africa as needed at the request of the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in order to support U.S. efforts in strengthening democratic institutions.

Q: Will Reverend Jackson handle specific countries in his new role?

Q: Reverend Jackson will not be limited to country-specific issues, but will participate in special projects and provide advice on democratic reforms and related matters. Rev. Jackson may also be asked to participate in special or emergency discussions with African leaders as appropriate.

Battenfield, Pat A.

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Thanks.

**National Office**

930 East 50th Street • Chicago, Illinois 60615 • Phone: 773-373-3366 • Fax: 773-373-3571

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1002 Wisconsin Avenue, NW • Washington, DC 20007 • Phone: 202-333-5270 • Fax: 202-728-1119

Wall Street Bureau

40 Wall Street, Suite 429 • New York, New York 10005 • Phone: 212-425-7874 • Fax: 212-968-1411

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
OCTOBER 10, 1997****CONTACT: KENNETH T. JAKUBOWSKI
(773) 373-3366 EXT. 246****REV. JESSE L. JACKSON, SR.
SWORN IN AS U.S. SPECIAL ENVOY TO AFRICA**

CHICAGO--- REV. JESSE L. JACKSON, SR., PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER OF THE RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION, WAS SWORN IN THIS MORNING BY SECRETARY OF STATE MADELINE K. ALBRIGHT AS SPECIAL ENVOY TO THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA. THE CEREMONY, CONDUCTED IN SECRETARY ALBRIGHT'S PRIVATE OFFICE, WAS ATTENDED BY MEMBERS OF REV. JACKSON'S FAMILY AND A SMALL GROUP OF CLOSE FRIENDS.

"IT IS A DISTINCT HONOR TO BE ASKED BY THE PRESIDENT TO SERVE AS HIS AND SECRETARY ALBRIGHTS'S SPECIAL ENVOY TO AFRICA," SAID REV. JACKSON. "I APPLAUD THE ADMINISTRATION FOR EMPHASIZING AFRICA, A CONTINENT FULL OF SO MUCH HOPE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD IF ONLY ITS VAST POTENTIAL COULD BE HARNESSSED AND VALUES OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ADVANCED."

REV. JACKSON WILL UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC ASSIGNMENTS TO FURTHER THE ADMINISTRATION'S OBJECTIVES TO BOLSTER DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS, PROMOTE GOOD GOVERNANCE, AND BUILD AND SUSTAIN DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN AFRICA. HE WILL ALSO ENCOURAGE GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE IMPROVED FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

"IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO REPRESENT OUR COUNTRY," SAID REV. JACKSON. "I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO WORKING COOPERATIVELY AND IN CLOSE COMMUNICATION WITH THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND IN BUILDING BRIDGES OF HEALING AND HOPE."

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Executive Committee

Rev. Willie T. Barrow, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees • Angela Jordan Davis, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees

Jesse

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

For Immediate Release

October 8, 1997

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Appointment of Reverend Jesse Jackson as Special Envoy for the
President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa

The President today announced the Administration's intent to appoint Reverend Jesse Jackson to be Special Envoy for the President and the Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy in Africa.

Reverend Jackson will undertake specific projects to further the President's and the Secretary of State's objectives to bolster democratic progress, promote good governance, and build and sustain democratic reform in Africa. In these special projects, Reverend Jackson will also undertake to encourage greater respect for human rights and the improved functioning of democratic institutions throughout the continent, and build bridges to further cooperation with Africa.

Reverend Jackson has long experience in international affairs. He has traveled widely throughout Africa — most recently as co-leader of a Presidential mission to the African American Summit in Zimbabwe. At President Clinton's request, Reverend Jackson led the team of U.S. observers to the 1994 elections in South Africa. He has also traveled extensively in the former Soviet Union, Central and South America, and the Middle East and negotiated the release of prisoners from Syria, Iraq and Cuba.

Reverend Jackson is the Founder and President of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, an organization devoted to bringing people together across lines of race, class, gender and belief to promote peace, civil rights and economic and social justice. Reverend Jackson has crossed America encouraging academic excellence, drug-free lifestyles and hope in America's youth.

Born on October 8, 1941 in Greenville, South Carolina, Reverend Jackson attended the University of Illinois from 1960-61, then transferred to North Carolina AT&T State University, where he received his B.A. in 1964. He attended the Chicago Theological Seminary until he joined the civil rights movement full-time in 1966 under Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Reverend Jackson has been married to the former Jacqueline Lavinia Brown since 1963. They have five children.

###



930 East 50th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60615

(312) 373-3366 ext. 243
FAX (312) 373-3571

DATE

~~ERICA~~ Barks-Ruggles

TO

COMPANY

202-956-9260

FAX NUMBER

Dina Martin Anderson, Press Secretary

FROM

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET)

Jesse

NOTES

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**National Office**

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Washington, DC Bureau

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THE REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON**PRESIDENT OF THE RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION****AND****CO-CHAIR OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA****TO THE FOURTH AFRICAN/AFRICAN-AMERICAN SUMMIT****HARARE, ZIMBABWE****JULY 25, 1997****Executive Committee**

Rev. Willie T. Barrow, *Co-Chair of Board of Trustees* • Angela Jordan Davis, *Co-Chair of Board of Trustees*
Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr., *Founder & President* • Nancy M. Ware, *Executive Director*

On behalf of President Clinton and people of the United States and a delegation of distinguished citizens, co-chaired by Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater, I greet you.

President Robert Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and Chairman of this historic African/African-American Summit Conference: to the distinguished heads of state, officials and delegates. In a special way, thanks and congratulations to you, Reverend Leon Sullivan, convener of this conference. Africa and America are in your debt. We are all so proud of you. God has used you in a special way, he has endowed you with vision, and the will to work. You are the bridge that connects nations, a people and centuries. You are the healer of the breach. The dream of this summit arrangement, now the fourth under your leadership, is the dream of W.E.B. DuBois, whose remains now rest in Ghana. George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Dr. King, Nkrumah. While many have dreamed this dream, and hoped for this day, Dr. Sullivan, God has used you as the instrument, as the bearer of the good news, as the lead runner on this last leg in this journey for reunion, reconnection and revival.

We thank President Clinton for his emphasis on Africa. He has sent a delegation and staff co-chaired by Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater and I. Rodney Slater, a young dynamic leader with integrity, vision and the will to work. His leadership gives us promise and hope for the next century. He is of the "X" generation. That is an "X"-ceptional generation with an "X"-panded view of the world. President Clinton, when he arrives in Africa, will be the first American President to come to the continent while in office. He will come to the continent with a vision that has promise and healing power. He sees Africa as a land of potential, not just a land of problems. He seeks partnership not paternalism.

Our country has gone through four traumatic stages in its relationship with Africa. The first stage -- a slave trade policy. For 250 years, Africans were sold, snatched and separated from Africa. This enormous trade of people, raw material and work without wages subsidized the development of North America.

America subsidized Europe. It welcomed its poor, its huddled masses who yearned to breathe free, educated them, employed them, in times of war defended them and after World War II helped to rebuild them. Africa subsidized America. Africa is the creditor. America is the debtor.

Our histories, though drenched with blood, are inextricably bound and so is our destiny. There is great pain and struggle in our past. But great hope for our future. We must take the broken pieces and build a new world of promise. This is the time for a redefined partnership.

The second stage of America's relationship with Africa -- the U.S. allied with the colonizers of Africa and established with them trade policies. The third stage -- the U.S. saw Africa as a place to be feared. As late as 1976, there were State Department memos discouraging the African/African-American reunion on the basis of national security. The fear of retribution, challenging our sanity, challenging our patriotism. The fear of African-America's interests to be free and its relationship with the African masses revolting for freedom would conflict with U.S. policy, which at that time allied with colonizers and oppressors. That was an ugly policy that lasted from Ghana's Nkrumah, down to Mandela in South Africa. It was dismantled war by war.

Fourth -- there was the cold war buffer policy where Africa was a staging ground for military operations and for halting the expansion of communism. A policy with notorious dictators, like Mobutu, who were propped up at the expense of democracy and decency, and of talented leaders like Patrice Lumumba, who were sacrificed.

Today we are in the early morning of a new stage. Now President Clinton comes forth with a new, more mature, morally correct, mutually beneficial and respectful reciprocal trade policy. A policy rooted in lifting up, not locking out. A policy of full partnership bringing African nations out of the margins. This is the moment for which our martyrs marched, were maimed without mercy, and left their remains in nameless graves. But today they cry out in victory. Their suffering was not in vain. Africans left the Mother continent kicking and screaming, not joyously. There was mutiny on ships. The ships were diverted from their U.S. destinations to Cuba, Haiti and the Caribbean Islands. There were slave uprisings on the plantations. We were never happy. Our yearning to breathe free never ceased. We were separated by a trade policy of buying and selling human flesh. A few African leaders, brokers, traders were enriched. Africa was raped families scattered and new nations built. We were placed as commodities on the stock exchange. Shipping companies, investment bankers, whole industries were built off of this massive sojourn of shame. Southern agriculture and Northern financial institutions were built on the slave trade. It lasted for 250 years, longer than America is old. But today, we see the power of resilience through faith. Though separated by waters we are bound by ancestry, blood, root culture and a God who cares for his own.

We must be reconnected by more than aid and trade, but by formulas of mutual development. The Bible suggests that man cannot live by bread alone. Obviously, it was saying we need sustenance. We need aid. We need trade. But more than that we also need values. Our kinship is not merely in ethnicity but in ethics, in character, in human values. Our kinship lies in shared values, not to make a few rich and drunk with power, but to wipe out malnutrition and illiteracy, to affirm universal education and housing, to save the rain forests, and to stop the flow and consumption of drugs. Our kinship lies in a people of moral authority with intellectual discipline and capital.

There is a two-fold formula. America and Africa. African-Americans and Africans. We of African ancestry are the wheel in the middle of the wheel. This bilateral trade policy between the U.S. and Africa has great potential. The United States has a trade surplus with Africa. One eighth of the human race is African -- more than a half billion people. What a market of land, raw materials, human potential, consumerism and untapped human potential. We must build upon well-defined mutual interests for our partnership. We must build upon well-defined principles.

I. A) International Law; B) Human rights; C) Economic opportunity and growth; D) Free Trade; E) Self-determination; F) Partnership in ending the drug flow, the nuclear and chemical weapons of our times that has given rise to AIDS, violence and the destruction of a generation. In other words, our relationship must be rooted in the principles of democratic values.

II. Africa has natural resources, oil, land and consumers. Southern Africa is a place for two oceans, the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans come together and kiss at the tip of South Africa. With two enormous trade routes, Africa has strategic locations but also the need for infrastructure development, wiring, computers, highways, roads, bridges, shipping ports, airports, sewers, housing. There can be no trade policy without an infrastructure investment in the roads and bridges and the ports that enable trade. The U.S. and Africa should be strategic trading partners.

III. Paradoxically, the most strategic link between the two continents is the African-American population, the people with the blood of at least two continents running through their veins. Like the biblical hero, Joseph, the brother sold and taken into slavery is able to help as a bridge builder, a conduit, a link, between the world's strongest nation and the world's biggest and most endowed continent, and with the most untapped, underdeveloped human potential.

IV. The African-American community is the African lobby for every struggle from Nkrumah in Ghana down to Mandela in South Africa. We have been the American conscience. We challenged our nation and France and Belgium and Portugal and Britain and Germany. We marched in Trafalgar Square in London. We marched at the White House in Washington under the leadership of Randall Robinson, Dr. Mary Frances Berry, and Roger Wilkins. We and our families were jailed in our nation's capital. This has been a century of protest and partnership. In 1900, 1909, 1911, 1919, Dr. DuBois, a distinguished African-American scholar, helped to organize Pan African Congresses -- Africans in the Diaspora. They were held in London, Paris and Brussels. They could not be held inside the U.S. Such a reunion was considered subversive.

Watch these parallels. In 1909, the NAACP was formed by some of the same leaders who organized the Pan African Congress. Some Africans studying in the U.S. saw the NAACP model and Tuskegee University. They went back to South Africa in 1911 and formed the ANC and established Fort Hare University. The kinship continued in the 1940s. The African National Congress President married an African-American woman from Atlanta, Georgia. She became head of the African National Congress Women's Division. Under that leadership the youth division of the ANC was born, out of which emerged Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

In 1896, America revoked its commitment to freedom under one big tent. With the Plessy v. Ferguson decision, apartheid or segregation replaced slavery as a way of treating African people. South Africa adopted that policy in 1948. This was against a backdrop of a Constitution that declared us to be three-fifths human in 1776. And in 1857, the Supreme Court said that African descendants had no rights that whites were bound to respect. This madness triggered a civil war that nearly partitioned America and set family against family. The scars of that war are visible even today.

These systems in the Union of South Africa and the U.S. were intermingled with exploitation and blurred vision, but we never stopped trying to humanize our nation and the world. And so by 1954, led by African Americans Thurgood Marshall and Constance Baker Motley, the Supreme Court ruled apartheid illegal. That fundamental decision in America laid the paradigm for a new legal framework for the world. Equal protection under the law. Equal opportunity. And self-determination.

Dr. King emerged in 1955 along with Rosa Parks leading a boycott resisting the apartheid system. Dr. King faced jail, bombing, and ultimately assassination. It was a shot heard around the world. Dr. King, Montgomery boycott, 1955. Nkrumah in Ghana emerged victorious in 1957. 1963 Dr. King went to jail. 1963 Mandela went to jail. Dr. King was freed earlier. He used his energy to gain the Voting Rights Act. Out of that Voting

Rights Act leaders like Congresswoman Maxine Waters, in the California state legislature, led a movement to divert investment from South Africa, and Congressman Ron Dellums led a movement to impose sanctions on South Africa. Those leaders were the result of our blood struggle in Selma, Alabama for the right to vote. We, too, were jailed for African liberation. But more than that, we used our strategic political power at every level of government, cities, states, the U.S. Congress, unions and universities. We prevailed upon athletes and entertainers to reject lucrative contracts, to respect the cultural boycott, and to turn down Sun City invitations. We helped to lead the isolation of South Africa. We chose Dos Santos over Savimbi. We chose Mandela over Buthelezi. We identified with Mugabe and his vision of racial reconciliation, with Sam Njomo and Samora Machel. We feel good about our roles -- full partners in the liberation struggle. Throughout the Diaspora, Brazil, the Caribbean, Canada, Europe, South and North America, we were liberation partners together. We must now become trade partners.

This partnership must mature with a new formula of aid and reciprocal trade with North America generally and a preferred partnership with African-Americans in particular. We could cement these bonds with a permanent status of at least observer status in the OAU organization. Dual citizenship options should be available in all African countries. This has precedence in the dual citizenship status many Americans of European ancestry choose to exercise in their ancestral homeland, for example Ireland and Greece. These relationships can be done within the law, and they will help to cement and to institutionalize relationships between Africans in the Diaspora and the Mother continent. We must overcome the mental scars from slavery and colonialism which planted so much doubt in us about each other, and see each other as worthy trading partners and strategic allies. We must assess each other's critical capabilities and assets. For example, Africa has land, natural resources and sovereignty, but also human and development needs and the need for political alliances.

African-Americans are by circumstances the largest body of trained Africans in the world with the most access to the world's only super power. We are members of the super power. We are generals in its Army. Pilots in its Air Force. Sailors in its Navy. We are legislators in it. We are voters in it. We are citizens in it. America is our home. We protect our citizenship fiercely. We are patriots. Africa, the home of ancestry. America, the land of our birth.

African-Americans are trained in every field of endeavor. Most African embassies and countries do not use African-Americans' talents -- as lawyers, consultants, brokers, investors, developers, engineers. As African nations restructure and privatize, we must be strategic partners in wiring Africa, in

brokering trade, in telecommunications, transportation, agriculture, housing, construction, pension fund and investment.

There is not a building we cannot design or join with others to design. There is no river we cannot dam for irrigation or turn the water power into energy. Nor a road we cannot carve out. We run banks, pension funds and universities.

There should be a formula targeted for reciprocal trade and development amongst us, nation by nation. We need a covenant. We should not be in line behind those who jailed the both of us or financed our jailing, or ignored the both of us, or exploited the both of us, as we both risked lost lives for liberation. We want to venture with Africa, joint venture with major corporations and be the conduit. In that formula, both of us benefit and grow and share power. We don't want to be on the back of the trading bus. This is key and consistent. We must be mutually beneficial, reciprocal trading partners of substance in the future.

But we fight not only for trade. We fight for democracy. Not just self-determination but also for checks and balances. Balance of power. Accountability. In Africa, the gap between wealth and poverty is too great. It is inconsistent to have such abundant wealth and so many poor people. The wealthy oil barons of Houston, Texas get more benefit out of Africa's oil than the African masses. Something is missing in this formula. It is inconsistent to have such abundant wealth and so many poor people. If it were wrong for a few traders to send human resources out of Africa to build other countries, it is just as wrong for a few to grow exorbitantly wealthy as they trade out the natural resources of oil and minerals and wealth and abandon the poor.

Reverend Leon Sullivan intends to build a thousand schools at \$10,000 each. We support him in this laudable effort. There are many African individuals, brokers of airplanes and oil and minerals that can do this themselves. If it is their will to do so as part of a government policy of reinvestment. The corporations that drill oil, mine ore, sell products, must likewise adhere to a policy of reinvestment. Chevron, Texaco, Gulf, Shell, all the manufacturers, telecommunications, must have an eye toward partnership. And the key to partnership is mutuality of interest. Reinvestment and shared power. There must be an ideology, a public policy, a value system of using Africa's powerful resources to reinvest in the development of the people from whose land the resources come.

(The honey bee and the flower.) The brainless honey bee honors the law of regeneration and drops pollen where it picks up nectar. It feeds the flower that it robs. That's why there are no homeless honey bees. That's why there are no slum honey bee

hives. That's why honey bees are not pulling coup d'etats on each other because there is a fair distribution of resources and security.

Formulas: in order to trade with Europe and Japan, to develop our allies, we had to invest in their infrastructure. We had to aid them to trade with them. The Marshall Plan for Europe and the MacArthur Plan for Japan granted long-term, low-interest development concession rate loans, some for 50 years, 2% government secured. They developed; we expanded. In Eastern Europe it was a win-win situation.

In Eastern Europe today, Poland and Hungary are on the way back. They are overcoming the red lines. The green line formula that the U.S. has helped to stimulate by convening the World Bank and finance community is working. We make available for Poland 40-year loans at 3/4 of 1%, first payment due in ten-years. It's called the Polish-American Development Bank. On that board sit six distinguished Polish-Americans and two Polish citizens. The bank targets infrastructure, trade, telecommunications and agriculture. It is a sound investment with accountability. The U.S. rationale for making the investment -- as our allies develop and grow we can expand its mutual growth. Opportunity and inclusion lead to growth. When there is growth, there are all winners.

The U.S. protests trade barriers with Japan. Rightfully so. They have led to a huge trade deficit, and an even bigger trade deficit is developing with China. Trade barriers stunt growth and development. In the long run, we're all losers when there are walls rather than bridges, when there are walls that divide rather than bridges that unite. But our country must lead the way in ending restraining trade barriers to Africa. When walls come down and bridges are built, the gap closes between the Mason-Dixon in the U.S. Then you can have the Olympics in Atlanta and a New South economy that attracts investment. When the walls come down in Berlin, you can have a new Europe with growth and freedom. When the walls come down in South Africa, you can have a new South Africa of growth and appeal.

Removing trade barriers is essential for the growth of African-Americans at home and on the continent of Africa. What a great day. African-Americans as trading partners, not just as protesters and facilitators of aid. Trade is an alternative to over-dependence on welfare at home and over-dependence on aid abroad.

Our future is bright. We are on a magnificent journey. A great pilgrimage from slave ship to championship. Theologically, perhaps we were not taken to America to be slaves, but sent by God to help save the human race. We have a higher purpose. We are bloody, but not bowed. Like Mugabe and Mandela and Sam

Njomo, we will use the stripes on our bodies as a source of healing and redemption. It is a divine paradox and requires tremendous spiritual strength. But there are great rewards in turning pain into power, in getting better and not bitter. When we win, the whole world wins.

We must build this house upon the moral and ethical foundation of human rights, embracing democratic principles. We must reject the racism, sexism, classism, greed and corruption that divide families and nations and destroy the human spirit. We must choose hope over dope. Life over death. Science over superstition. Optimism over cynicism. We must believe that strong minds and weak morals break strong chains.

No lie can live forever. It's morning time. As we choose healing over hate, its morning time. We must be rooted in history and not rendered weak by the irrationality of hysteria. We have every reason to be optimistic. A century of battles, a century of struggles, a century of victories. The forces of good and democracy were under-armed, under-estimated and maligned in every struggle. They emerged victorious in every battle. There is reason for hope.

We're going forward with hope, not backwards by fear. God bless our ancestors. God bless America. God bless Africa. It's healing time. If my people who are called by my name will humble themselves and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then God will forgive their sins and they will hear from Heaven and God will heal their land. It's healing time. It's hope time. It's morning time. Keep Hope Alive!

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

RESEND

Date: Oct 7, 1997

To: Erica Backus

Fax: 456-9260

Phone: 456-9261

From: June Carter Perry

Fax: (202) 647-6301

Phone:

Number of Pages:

1 + Cover

Subject:

Q's + A's

Erica - I revised several
points we used for H/H
calls. Revise as needed.

JP

APPOINTMENT OF REVEREND JESSE JACKSON AS SPECIAL ENVOY TO THE
PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROMOTION OF
DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Q: HAS THE PRESIDENT APPOINTED JESSE JACKSON SPECIAL ENVOY TO AFRICA?

A. The President has announced the Administration's intent to appoint Jesse Jackson to serve as a Special Envoy to the President and Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy, human rights and good governance in Africa.

Q: WHAT WILL BE REVEREND JACKSON'S ROLE IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

A. Reverend Jackson's role will be that of a Special Advisor. His work will supplement, not replace, the traditional and on-going diplomatic efforts of the Department of State's Africa Bureau to work cooperatively with African countries.

Q: WILL REVEREND JACKSON WORK OUT OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

A. Reverend Jackson will serve in a non-compensated capacity on a short-term appointment (not to exceed 60 days in any one calendar year) to support the Administration's efforts to promote democratic values in Africa. He will serve on a part-time and as-needed basis. Rev. Jackson will not have an office in the State Department.

on special projects.

Q: WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO HAVE A SPECIAL ENVOY ON DEMOCRACY?

o Bolstering democracy in Africa and building bridges to greater cooperation with Africa are important goals of the Administration. Reverend Jackson's long experience and public service in establishing dialogues with key leaders will help on-going efforts to sustain democratic reform in Africa.

Q: WILL REVEREND JACKSON TRAVEL ON A REGULAR BASIS TO AFRICA?

A. Reverend Jackson will travel to Africa as needed at the request of the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in order to support U.S. efforts in strengthening democratic institutions.

Q: WILL REVEREND JACKSON HANDLE SPECIFIC COUNTRIES IN HIS NEW ROLE?

A. Reverend Jackson will participate in special projects as requested and will provide advice on elections and democratic reforms and related matters. Rev. Jackson may also be asked to participate in special or emergency discussions with African leaders *if appropriate.*

as

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

Date: 24 SEP 97

To: Erica Barks - Ruggles
NSCFax: 456-9260
Phone:

From: JUNE CARTER PERRY

Fax: (202) 647-6301
Phone:

Number of Pages: 2 + COVER

Subject:

2. Reason for Submission ☐ Redescription ☒ New ☐ Reestablishment ☐ Other		3. Service ☒ Hdqtrs. ☐ Field		4. Employing Office Location Washington, DC		5. Duty Station Washington, DC		6. OPM Certification No.	
Explanation (Show any positions replaced)				7. Fair Labor Standards Act ☒ Exempt ☐ Nonexempt		8. Financial Statements Required ☐ Executive Personnel Financial Disclosure ☐ Employment and Financial Interests		9. Subject to IA Action ☐ Yes ☒ No	
				10. Position Status ☐ Competitive ☒ Excepted (Specify in Remarks) ☐ SES (Gen.) ☐ SES (CR)		11. Position is: ☐ Supervisory ☐ Managerial ☒ Neither		12. Sensitivity ☐ 1-Non-Sensitive ☒ 3-Critical Sensitive ☐ 2-Noncritical Sensitive ☐ 4-Special Sensitive	
								13. Competitive Level Code	
								14. Agency Use PT 00301783	
15. Classified/Graded by		Official Title of Position				Pay Plan		Occupational Code	
a. U.S. Office of Personnel Management									
b. Department, Agency or Establishment		Special Adviser (Consultant WOC)				EF		301	
c. Second Level Review								15	
d. First Level Review									
e. Recommended by Supervisor or Initiating Office		Special Adviser (Consultant WOC)				EF		301	
								15	
16. Organizational Title of Position (if different from official title) 150100 AF/Front Office						17. Name of Employee (if vacant, specify)			

18. Department, Agency, or Establishment Department of State		c. Third Subdivision	
a. First Subdivision Bureau of African Affairs		d. Fourth Subdivision	
b. Second Subdivision Office of the Assistant Secretary		e. Fifth Subdivision	

19. Employee Review—This is an accurate description of the major duties and responsibilities of my position.

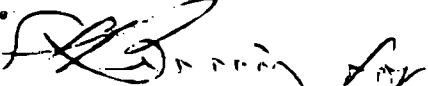
Signature of Employee (optional)

20. Supervisory Certification. I certify that this is an accurate statement of the major duties and responsibilities of this position and its organizational relationships, and that the position is necessary to carry out Government functions for which I am responsible. This certification is made with the

knowledge that this information is to be used for statutory purposes relating to appointment and payment of public funds, and that false or misleading statements may constitute violations of such statutes or their implementing regulations.

a. Typed Name and Title of Immediate Supervisor
Johnnie Carson, Acting Asst. Secretary,
Bureau of African Affairs

b. Typed Name and Title of Higher-Level Supervisor or Manager (optional)

Signature:  Date: 9/2/97

Signature: _____ Date: _____

21. Classification/Job Grading Certification. I certify that this position has been classified/graded as required by Title 5, U.S. Code, in conformance with standards published by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management or, if no published standards apply directly, consistently with the most applicable published standards.

22. Position Classification Standards Used in Classifying/Grading Position

Typed Name and Title of Official Taking Action
Steve Turkel, Supv. Classification
Specialist, PER/CSP/POD

Information for Employees. The standards, and information on their application are available in the personnel office. The classification of the position may be reviewed and corrected by the agency or the U.S. Office of Personnel Management. Information on classification/job grading appeals, and complaints on exemption from FLSA, is available from the personnel office or the U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

23. Position Review	Initials	Date	Initials	Date	Initials	Date	Initials	Date	Initials	Date
a. Employee (optional)										
b. Supervisor										
c. Classifier										

24. Remarks

(Consultant)

INTRODUCTION

As assigned by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs or the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, performs high-level consultations and negotiations vital to the formulation of U.S. foreign policy with respect to Africa.

This position is temporary, and will not exceed the duration designated by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Serves as a consultant on matters relating to US foreign policy toward Africa on an as-needed basis.

Work requires consultant services. Serves as consultant to the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs on an as-needed basis.

DUTIES

Provides advice, including travel to Africa, in managing US government efforts to promote democracy and good governance in Africa.

Provides advice on foreign crises and other emergencies which may occur as states move toward strengthening their democratic and constitutional institutions.

Develops strategies to improve efforts of the Department of State with respect to promoting democracy, human rights and democratic transitions in countries under authoritative or military rule.

Based on direct and extensive personal experience in public affairs and the development of civil institutions, provides advice to the Assistant Secretary for Africa (or to the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary) on congressional, press, and public affairs, participating personally in the process as the situation requires.

Conducts and participates in such special projects, including travel, as the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs may request.

Provides advice on elections, democratic reform and constitutional issues related to Africans and their implications for U.S. foreign policy and national interests.

SUPERVISION RECEIVED/EXERCISED

Serves as a consultant and as such exercises no supervisory or operational responsibilities. The incumbent reports directly to the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, who establishes the scope and objectives of the assignments in the form of broadly defined guidance.



National Office

930 East 50th Street • Chicago, Illinois 60615 • Phone: 773-373-3366 • Fax: 773-373-3571

Washington, DC Bureau

1002 Wisconsin Avenue, NW • Washington, DC 20007 • Phone: 202-333-5270 • Fax: 202-728-115

Wall Street Bureau

40 Wall Street, Suite 429 • New York, New York 10005 • Phone: 212-425-7874 • Fax: 212-968-1411

FAX MEMORANDUM

ATTENTION: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

COMPANY:

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-9260

VOICE NUMBER: 202-456-9261

FROM: GARY MASSONI

DATE: 10/1/97

RE: Announcement

NO. OF PAGES: 3

NOTES:

**National Office**

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FAX MEMORANDUM

To: Erica Barks-Ruggles
FAX: 202-456-9260

From: Gary Massoni

Subject: More Revisions

Date: October 1, 1997

I was able to get Rev. Jackson to review the draft of the announcement last evening. As I expected, he had a few additions to make. I did advise him that you were trying to keep it all on one page, and were already pushing the limits. So?

1. [second paragraph]: Rev. Jackson wants to insert in this paragraph a phrase: **"and build bridges of trade to further U.S. strategic alliance with Africa."**
2. [third paragraph]: following the reference to the Middle East, add: **"and negotiated the release of prisoners from Syria, Iraq and Cuba."**
3. [final paragraph]: Rev. Jackson wants to include reference to his work with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.; this could read: **"... joined the civil rights movement full-time in 1966 when he was appointed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to head SCLC's Operation Breadbasket."** A shorter version could read: **"...joined the civil rights movement full-time in 1966 under Dr. Martin Luther King Jr."**

I guess I know which version of the third addition you will prefer, although he would prefer the extra detail! The addition to the second paragraph is one you may need to shape your way. He is firm about the addition to the third paragraph (prisoners).

Executive CommitteeRev. Willie T. Barrow, *Co-Chair of Board of Trustees* • Angela Jordan Davis, *Co-Chair of Board of Trustees*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

DRAFT

For Immediate Release

September 27, 1997

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Appointment of Reverend Jesse Jackson as Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa

The President today announced the appointment of Reverend Jesse Jackson to be Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy in Africa.

Reverend Jackson will further the President's and the Secretary of State's objectives to bolster democratic progress, promote good governance, and to build and sustain democratic reform in Africa. Reverend Jackson will also undertake to encourage greater respect for human rights and the improved functioning of democratic institutions throughout the continent.

Reverend Jackson has long experience in international affairs. He has traveled widely throughout Africa - most recently as co-leader of a Presidential mission to the African African-American Summit in Zimbabwe. At President Clinton's request, Reverend Jackson led the team of U.S. observers to the 1994 elections in South Africa. He has also traveled extensively in the former Soviet Union, Central and South America, and the Middle East.

Reverend Jackson is the Founder and President of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, an organization devoted to bringing people together across lines of race, class, gender and belief to promote peace, civil rights and economic and social justice. Reverend Jackson's work has crossed America encouraging academic excellence, drug-free lifestyles and hope in America's youth.

Born on October 8, 1941 in Greenville, South Carolina, Reverend Jackson attended the University of Illinois from 1960-61, then transferred to North Carolina AT&T State University where he received his B.A. in 1964. He attended the Chicago Theological Seminary until he joined the civil rights movement full-time in 1966. Reverend Jackson has been married to the former Jacqueline Lavinia Brown since 1963. They have five children.

#

DRAFT



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Washington, DC Bureau

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Wall Street Bureau

40 Wall Street, Suite 429 • New York, New York 10005 • Phone: 212-425-7874 • Fax: 212-968-1412

FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE: 9/23/97

FAX #: (202) 456-1907

Please deliver the following page(s) to:

Name: Carol Barmelee - 61922

From: Gary Massoni / Rev Jesse Jackson

Re: As per our conversation

Total number of pages, including this page: 3

If you do not receive all of the pages or have any problems with the transmission,
please call: (212) 425-7874

MESSAGE:

Executive Committee

Rev Willie T Barrow, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees • Angela Jordan Davis, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees

TO INSERT

Rev. Jackson has had long experience in international affairs, dating back to 1979. He has travelled throughout the African continent, participated in OAU conferences, and met virtually every African head of state. President Clinton designated Rev. Jackson to lead the USA's team of observers to the 1994 elections in South Africa.

~~Rev. J~~

Rev. Jackson's ~~experience also includes~~ has met ~~with~~ heads of state in many other countries, ~~including~~ ~~the former Soviet Union~~, in the Middle East and Latin America, ~~most~~ ~~the~~ the former Soviet Union, and most recently Brazil. He has negotiated the release of hostages in Iraq and Syria, and political prisoners in Cuba.

Mike Tradition—

Patsy Thomas
WHL Personnel

PAS

DRAFT

call Ira Fishman

DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

XXX, 1997

**PRESIDENT CLINTON NAMES REVEREND JESSE JACKSON TO BE SENIOR
ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE
PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA**

The President today announced his appointment of Reverend Jesse Jackson to be Senior Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy in Africa.

Reverend Jackson will ^{rather} coordinate the efforts of the U.S. government to further the President's and the Secretary of State's objectives to bolster progress towards democracy on the African continent and to encourage policy approaches that will help sustain democratic reforms. Reverend Jackson will also undertake to encourage greater respect for human rights and the improved functioning of democratic institutions throughout the continent.

Founder and President of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, Reverend Jackson is a ^{known} international leader in the promotion of peace, civil rights, gender equality and economic and social justice, who has devoted his life to bringing people together on common ground across lines of race, class, gender and belief. INSET

A hallmark of Reverend Jackson's work has been his commitment to youth. He has visited thousands of high schools, colleges and universities and penal institutions, encouraging excellence, inspiring hope and challenging young people to award themselves with academic excellence and to stay drug-free.

Born on October 8, 1941 in Greenville, South Carolina, Jesse Jackson attended the University of Illinois on a football scholarship from 1960 to 1961. He later transferred to North Carolina AT&T State University where he received his B.A. in 1964. He then attended the Chicago Theological Seminary until he joined the Civil Rights Movement full-time in 1965.

Reverend Jackson married his college sweetheart Jacqueline Lavinia Brown in 1963. They have five children, Santita Jackson, Congressman Jesse Louis Jackson Jr., Jonathan Jackson, Yusef DuBois Jackson and Jacqueline Lavinia Jackson Jr. The Jacksons reside in Chicago.

-30-30-30-

Kate Howard 1005 / WH Liaison
647-5318

Charles Dumas
x 65263

Gary Masonic — Rev. Jackson
1-800 SKY PAGE #59-7243
#5442541

This is Farthest I've
MEANT Anybody, NOT

534-5270

Gary Wed. - Fri. (773)-373-3366 x 240 Chicago
(773)-373-5314 fax (if not)
-3571 ←

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

For Immediate Release

October 8, 1997

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Appointment of Reverend Jesse Jackson as Special Envoy for the
President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa

The President today announced the Administration's intent to appoint Reverend Jesse Jackson to be Special Envoy for the President and the Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy in Africa.

Reverend Jackson will undertake specific projects to further the President's and the Secretary of State's objectives to bolster democratic progress, promote good governance, and build and sustain democratic reform in Africa. In these special projects, Reverend Jackson will also undertake to encourage greater respect for human rights and the improved functioning of democratic institutions throughout the continent, and build bridges to further cooperation with Africa.

Reverend Jackson has long experience in international affairs. He has traveled widely throughout Africa -- most recently as co-leader of a Presidential mission to the African American Summit in Zimbabwe. At President Clinton's request, Reverend Jackson led the team of U.S. observers to the 1994 elections in South Africa. He has also traveled extensively in the former Soviet Union, Central and South America, and the Middle East and negotiated the release of prisoners from Syria, Iraq and Cuba.

Reverend Jackson is the Founder and President of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, an organization devoted to bringing people together across lines of race, class, gender and belief to promote peace, civil rights and economic and social justice. Reverend Jackson has crossed America encouraging academic excellence, drug-free lifestyles and hope in America's youth.

Born on October 8, 1941 in Greenville, South Carolina, Reverend Jackson attended the University of Illinois from 1960-61, then transferred to North Carolina AT&T State University, where he received his B.A. in 1964. He attended the Chicago Theological Seminary until he joined the civil rights movement full-time in 1966 under Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Reverend Jackson has been married to the former Jacqueline Lavinia Brown since 1963. They have five children.

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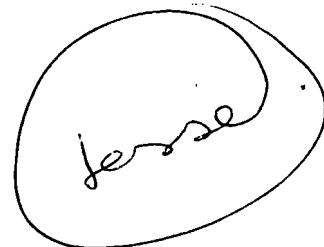
Department of State
Office of White House Liaison

Fax Cover Sheet

TO: Erica Barks-Ruggles

FROM: Kate Howard

RE: Jackson speech



Number of pages including cover sheet: 11

Message

Erica,

Attached is Reverend Jackson's Africa speech. Mr. Jacobson asked that I fax it you. Please let Charlie Duncan or me know if you need any additional information. We can be reached at 647-4820.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Kate Howard



Executive Committee

Rev. Willie T. Barrow
Co-Chair of Board of Trustees

Angela Jordan Davis
Co-Chair of Board of Trustees

Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.
Founder & President

Nancy M. Ware
Executive Director

Francisco Borges
Jerry Bell
Co-Treasurers

FAX MEMORANDUM

To: MR. CHARLES DUNCAN

FAX: 202-647-5837

Subject: AFRICA SPEECH

From: GARY MASSONI

Date: OCT. 7, 1997

Notes: Here is Rev. Jackson's
Africa speech. Please distribute to
the press. Thanks.

National Office

930 East 50th Street • Chicago, Illinois 60615 • Phone: 773-373-3366 • Fax: 773-373-3571

Washington, DC Bureau

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40 Wall Street, Suite 429 • New York, New York 10005 • Phone: 212-425-7874 • Fax: 212-968-1412

THE REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON
PRESIDENT OF THE RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION
AND
CO-CHAIR OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE FOURTH AFRICAN/AFRICAN-AMERICAN SUMMIT

HARARE, ZIMBABWE

JULY 25, 1997

Executive Committee

Rev. Willie T. Barrow, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees • Angela Jordan Davis, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees

On behalf of President Clinton and people of the United States and a delegation of distinguished citizens, co-chaired by Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater, I greet you.

President Robert Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and Chairman of this historic African/African-American Summit Conference: to the distinguished heads of state, officials and delegates. In a special way, thanks and congratulations to you, Reverend Leon Sullivan, convener of this conference. Africa and America are in your debt. We are all so proud of you. God has used you in a special way, he has endowed you with vision, and the will to work. You are the bridge that connects nations, a people and centuries. You are the healer of the breach. The dream of this summit arrangement, now the fourth under your leadership, is the dream of W.E.B. DuBois, whose remains now rest in Ghana. George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Dr. King, Nkrumah. While many have dreamed this dream, and hoped for this day, Dr. Sullivan, God has used you as the instrument, as the bearer of the good news, as the lead runner on this last leg in this journey for reunion, reconnection and revival.

We thank President Clinton for his emphasis on Africa. He has sent a delegation and staff co-chaired by Secretary of Transportation, Rodney Slater and I. Rodney Slater, a young dynamic leader with integrity, vision and the will to work. His leadership gives us promise and hope for the next century. He is of the "X" generation. That is an "X"-ceptional generation with an "X"-panded view of the world. President Clinton, when he arrives in Africa, will be the first American President to come to the continent while in office. He will come to the continent with a vision that has promise and healing power. He sees Africa as a land of potential, not just a land of problems. He seeks partnership not paternalism.

Our country has gone through four traumatic stages in its relationship with Africa. The first stage -- a slave trade policy. For 250 years, Africans were sold, snatched and separated from Africa. This enormous trade of people, raw material and work without wages subsidized the development of North America.

America subsidized Europe. It welcomed its poor, its huddled masses who yearned to breathe free, educated them, employed them, in times of war defended them and after World War II helped to rebuild them. Africa subsidized America. Africa is the creditor. America is the debtor.

Our histories, though drenched with blood, are inextricably bound and so is our destiny. There is great pain and struggle in our past. But great hope for our future. We must take the broken pieces and build a new world of promise. This is the time for a redefined partnership.

The second stage of America's relationship with Africa -- the U.S. allied with the colonizers of Africa and established with them trade policies. The third stage -- the U.S. saw Africa as a place to be feared. As late as 1976, there were State Department memos discouraging the African/African-American reunion on the basis of national security. The fear of retribution, challenging our sanity, challenging our patriotism. The fear of African-America's interests to be free and its relationship with the African masses revolting for freedom would conflict with U.S. policy, which at that time allied with colonizers and oppressors. That was an ugly policy that lasted from Ghana's Nkrumah, down to Mandela in South Africa. It was dismantled war by war.

Fourth -- there was the cold war buffer policy where Africa was a staging ground for military operations and for halting the expansion of communism. A policy with notorious dictators, like Mobutu, who were propped up at the expense of democracy and decency, and of talented leaders like Patrice Lumumba, who were sacrificed.

Today we are in the early morning of a new stage. Now President Clinton comes forth with a new, more mature, morally correct, mutually beneficial and respectful reciprocal trade policy. A policy rooted in lifting up, not locking out. A policy of full partnership bringing African nations out of the margins. This is the moment for which our martyrs marched, were maimed without mercy, and left their remains in nameless graves. But today they cry out in victory. Their suffering was not in vain. Africans left the Mother continent kicking and screaming, not joyously. There was mutiny on ships. The ships were diverted from their U.S. destinations to Cuba, Haiti and the Caribbean Islands. There were slave uprisings on the plantations. We were never happy. Our yearning to breathe free never ceased. We were separated by a trade policy of buying and selling human flesh. A few African leaders, brokers, traders were enriched. Africa was raped families scattered and new nations built. We were placed as commodities on the stock exchange. Shipping companies, investment bankers, whole industries were built off of this massive sojourn of shame. Southern agriculture and Northern financial institutions were built on the slave trade. It lasted for 250 years, longer than America is old. But today, we see the power of resilience through faith. Though separated by waters we are bound by ancestry, blood, root culture and a God who cares for his own.

We must be reconnected by more than aid and trade, but by formulas of mutual development. The Bible suggests that man cannot live by bread alone. Obviously, it was saying we need sustenance. We need aid. We need trade. But more than that we also need values. Our kinship is not merely in ethnicity but in ethics, in character, in human values. Our kinship lies in shared values, not to make a few rich and drunk with power, but to wipe out malnutrition and illiteracy, to affirm universal education and housing, to save the rain forests, and to stop the flow and consumption of drugs. Our kinship lies in a people of moral authority with intellectual discipline and capital.

There is a two-fold formula. America and Africa. African-Americans and Africans. We of African ancestry are the wheel in the middle of the wheel. This bilateral trade policy between the U.S. and Africa has great potential. The United States has a trade surplus with Africa. One eighth of the human race is African -- more than a half billion people. What a market of land, raw materials, human potential, consumerism and untapped human potential. We must build upon well-defined mutual interests for our partnership. We must build upon well-defined principles.

I. A) International Law; B) Human rights; C) Economic opportunity and growth; D) Free Trade; E) Self-determination; F) Partnership in ending the drug flow, the nuclear and chemical weapons of our times that has given rise to AIDS, violence and the destruction of a generation. In other words, our relationship must be rooted in the principles of democratic values.

II. Africa has natural resources, oil, land and consumers. Southern Africa is a place for two oceans, the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans come together and kiss at the tip of South Africa. With two enormous trade routes, Africa has strategic locations but also the need for infrastructure development, wiring, computers, highways, roads, bridges, shipping ports, airports, sewers, housing. There can be no trade policy without an infrastructure investment in the roads and bridges and the ports that enable trade. The U.S. and Africa should be strategic trading partners.

III. Paradoxically, the most strategic link between the two continents is the African-American population, the people with the blood of at least two continents running through their veins. Like the biblical hero, Joseph, the brother sold and taken into slavery is able to help as a bridge builder, a conduit, a link, between the world's strongest nation and the world's biggest and most endowed continent, and with the most untapped, underdeveloped human potential.

IV. The African-American community is the African lobby for every struggle from Nkrumah in Ghana down to Mandela in South Africa. We have been the American conscience. We challenged our nation and France and Belgium and Portugal and Britain and Germany. We marched in Trafalgar Square in London. We marched at the White House in Washington under the leadership of Randall Robinson, Dr. Mary Frances Berry, and Roger Wilkins. We and our families were jailed in our nation's capital. This has been a century of protest and partnership. In 1900, 1909, 1911, 1919, Dr. DuBois, a distinguished African-American scholar, helped to organize Pan African Congresses -- Africans in the Diaspora. They were held in London, Paris and Brussels. They could not be held inside the U.S. Such a reunion was considered subversive.

Watch these parallels. In 1909, the NAACP was formed by some of the same leaders who organized the Pan African Congress. Some Africans studying in the U.S. saw the NAACP model and Tuskegee University. They went back to South Africa in 1911 and formed the ANC and established Fort Hare University. The kinship continued in the 1940s. The African National Congress President married an African-American woman from Atlanta, Georgia. She became head of the African National Congress Women's Division. Under that leadership the youth division of the ANC was born, out of which emerged Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

In 1896, America revoked its commitment to freedom under one big tent. With the Plessy v. Ferguson decision, apartheid or segregation replaced slavery as a way of treating African people. South Africa adopted that policy in 1948. This was against a backdrop of a Constitution that declared us to be three-fifths human in 1776. And in 1857, the Supreme Court said that African descendants had no rights that whites were bound to respect. This madness triggered a civil war that nearly partitioned America and set family against family. The scars of that war are visible even today.

These systems in the Union of South Africa and the U.S. were intermingled with exploitation and blurred vision, but we never stopped trying to humanize our nation and the world. And so by 1954, led by African Americans Thurgood Marshall and Constance Baker Motley, the Supreme Court ruled apartheid illegal. That fundamental decision in America laid the paradigm for a new legal framework for the world. Equal protection under the law. Equal opportunity. And self-determination.

Dr. King emerged in 1955 along with Rosa Parks leading a boycott resisting the apartheid system. Dr. King faced jail, bombing, and ultimately assassination. It was a shot heard around the world. Dr. King, Montgomery boycott, 1955. Nkrumah in Ghana emerged victorious in 1957. 1963 Dr. King went to jail. 1963 Mandela went to jail. Dr. King was freed earlier. He used his energy to gain the Voting Rights Act. Out of that Voting

Rights Act leaders like Congresswoman Maxine Waters, in the California state legislature, led a movement to divert investment from South Africa, and Congressman Ron Dellums led a movement to impose sanctions on South Africa. Those leaders were the result of our blood struggle in Selma, Alabama for the right to vote. We, too, were jailed for African liberation. But more than that, we used our strategic political power at every level of government, cities, states, the U.S. Congress, unions and universities. We prevailed upon athletes and entertainers to reject lucrative contracts, to respect the cultural boycott, and to turn down Sun City invitations. We helped to lead the isolation of South Africa. We chose Dos Santos over Savimbi. We chose Mandela over Buthelezi. We identified with Mugabe and his vision of racial reconciliation, with Sam Njomo and Samora Machel. We feel good about our roles -- full partners in the liberation struggle. Throughout the Diaspora, Brazil, the Caribbean, Canada, Europe, South and North America, we were liberation partners together. We must now become trade partners.

This partnership must mature with a new formula of aid and reciprocal trade with North America generally and a preferred partnership with African-Americans in particular. We could cement these bonds with a permanent status of at least observer status in the OAU organization. Dual citizenship options should be available in all African countries. This has precedence in the dual citizenship status many Americans of European ancestry choose to exercise in their ancestral homeland, for example Ireland and Greece. These relationships can be done within the law, and they will help to cement and to institutionalize relationships between Africans in the Diaspora and the Mother continent. We must overcome the mental scars from slavery and colonialism which planted so much doubt in us about each other, and see each other as worthy trading partners and strategic allies. We must assess each other's critical capabilities and assets. For example, Africa has land, natural resources and sovereignty, but also human and development needs and the need for political alliances.

African-Americans are by circumstances the largest body of trained Africans in the world with the most access to the world's only super power. We are members of the super power. We are generals in its Army. Pilots in its Air Force. Sailors in its Navy. We are legislators in it. We are voters in it. We are citizens in it. America is our home. We protect our citizenship fiercely. We are patriots. Africa, the home of ancestry. America, the land of our birth.

African-Americans are trained in every field of endeavor. Most African embassies and countries do not use African-Americans' talents -- as lawyers, consultants, brokers, investors, developers, engineers. As African nations restructure and privatize, we must be strategic partners in wiring Africa, in

brokering trade, in telecommunications, transportation, agriculture, housing, construction, pension fund and investment.

There is not a building we cannot design or join with others to design. There is no river we cannot dam for irrigation or turn the water power into energy. Nor a road we cannot carve out. We run banks, pension funds and universities.

There should be a formula targeted for reciprocal trade and development amongst us, nation by nation. We need a covenant. We should not be in line behind those who jailed the both of us or financed our jailing, or ignored the both of us, or exploited the both of us, as we both risked lost lives for liberation. We want to venture with Africa, joint venture with major corporations and be the conduit. In that formula, both of us benefit and grow and share power. We don't want to be on the back of the trading bus. This is key and consistent. We must be mutually beneficial, reciprocal trading partners of substance in the future.

But we fight not only for trade. We fight for democracy. Not just self-determination but also for checks and balances. Balance of power. Accountability. In Africa, the gap between wealth and poverty is too great. It is inconsistent to have such abundant wealth and so many poor people. The wealthy oil barons of Houston, Texas get more benefit out of Africa's oil than the African masses. Something is missing in this formula. It is inconsistent to have such abundant wealth and so many poor people. If it were wrong for a few traders to send human resources out of Africa to build other countries, it is just as wrong for a few to grow exorbitantly wealthy as they trade out the natural resources of oil and minerals and wealth and abandon the poor.

Reverend Leon Sullivan intends to build a thousand schools at \$10,000 each. We support him in this laudable effort. There are many African individuals, brokers of airplanes and oil and minerals that can do this themselves. If it is their will to do so as part of a government policy of reinvestment. The corporations that drill oil, mine ore, sell products, must likewise adhere to a policy of reinvestment. Chevron, Texaco, Gulf, Shell, all the manufacturers, telecommunications, must have an eye toward partnership. And the key to partnership is mutuality of interest. Reinvestment and shared power. There must be an ideology, a public policy, a value system of using Africa's powerful resources to reinvest in the development of the people from whose land the resources come.

(The honey bee and the flower.) The brainless honey bee honors the law of regeneration and drops pollen where it picks up nectar. It feeds the flower that it robs. That's why there are no homeless honey bees. That's why there are no slum honey bee

hives. That's why honey bees are not pulling coup d'etats on each other because there is a fair distribution of resources and security.

Formulas: in order to trade with Europe and Japan, to develop our allies, we had to invest in their infrastructure. We had to aid them to trade with them. The Marshall Plan for Europe and the MacArthur Plan for Japan granted long-term, low-interest development concession rate loans, some for 50 years, 2% government secured. They developed; we expanded. In Eastern Europe it was a win-win situation.

In Eastern Europe today, Poland and Hungary are on the way back. They are overcoming the red lines. The green line formula that the U.S. has helped to stimulate by convening the World Bank and finance community is working. We make available for Poland 40-year loans at 3/4 of 1%, first payment due in ten-years. It's called the Polish-American Development Bank. On that board sit six distinguished Polish-Americans and two Polish citizens. The bank targets infrastructure, trade, telecommunications and agriculture. It is a sound investment with accountability. The U.S. rationale for making the investment -- as our allies develop and grow we can expand its mutual growth. Opportunity and inclusion lead to growth. When there is growth, there are all winners.

The U.S. protests trade barriers with Japan. Rightfully so. They have led to a huge trade deficit, and an even bigger trade deficit is developing with China. Trade barriers stunt growth and development. In the long run, we're all losers when there are walls rather than bridges, when there are walls that divide rather than bridges that unite. But our country must lead the way in ending restraining trade barriers to Africa. When walls come down and bridges are built, the gap closes between the Mason-Dixon in the U.S. Then you can have the Olympics in Atlanta and a New South economy that attracts investment. When the walls come down in Berlin, you can have a new Europe with growth and freedom. When the walls come down in South Africa, you can have a new South Africa of growth and appeal.

Removing trade barriers is essential for the growth of African-Americans at home and on the continent of Africa. What a great day. African-Americans as trading partners, not just as protesters and facilitators of aid. Trade is an alternative to over-dependence on welfare at home and over-dependence on aid abroad.

Our future is bright. We are on a magnificent journey. A great pilgrimage from slave ship to championship. Theologically, perhaps we were not taken to America to be slaves, but sent by God to help save the human race. We have a higher purpose. We are bloody, but not bowed. Like Mugabe and Mandela and Sam

Njomo, we will use the stripes on our bodies as a source of healing and redemption. It is a divine paradox and requires tremendous spiritual strength. But there are great rewards in turning pain into power, in getting better and not bitter. When we win, the whole world wins.

We must build this house upon the moral and ethical foundation of human rights, embracing democratic principles. We must reject the racism, sexism, classism, greed and corruption that divide families and nations and destroy the human spirit. We must choose hope over dope. Life over death. Science over superstition. Optimism over cynicism. We must believe that strong minds and weak morals break strong chains.

No lie can live forever. It's morning time. As we choose healing over hate, it's morning time. We must be rooted in history and not rendered weak by the irrationality of hysteria. We have every reason to be optimistic. A century of battles, a century of struggles, a century of victories. The forces of good and democracy were under-armed, under-estimated and maligned in every struggle. They emerged victorious in every battle. There is reason for hope.

We're going forward with hope, not backwards by fear. God bless our ancestors. God bless America. God bless Africa. It's healing time. If my people who are called by my name will humble themselves and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then God will forgive their sins and they will hear from Heaven and God will heal their land. It's healing time. It's hope time. It's morning time. Keep Hope Alive!

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, October 08, 1997 12:19 PM
To: @PRESS - Public Affairs; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Subject: Jesse Jackson Statement [UNCLASSIFIED]

Attached is final APPROVED version of jesse jackson statement. Please let us know when it is released so we can inform Jackson's people.

Press guidance still awaiting SRB approval

- Erica



jjannounce.doc

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 8, 1997

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Appointment of Reverend Jesse Jackson as Special Envoy for the
President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of
Democracy in Africa

The President today announced the Administration's intent to appoint Reverend Jesse Jackson to be Special Envoy for the President and Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy in Africa.

Reverend Jackson will undertake specific projects to further the President's and the Secretary of State's objectives to bolster democratic progress, promote good governance, and build and sustain democratic reform in Africa. In these special projects, Reverend Jackson will also undertake to encourage greater respect for human rights and the improved functioning of democratic institutions throughout the continent, and build bridges to further cooperation with Africa.

Reverend Jackson has long experience in international affairs. He has traveled widely throughout Africa - most recently as co-leader of a Presidential mission to the African African-American Summit in Zimbabwe. At President Clinton's request, Reverend Jackson led the team of U.S. observers to the 1994 elections in South Africa. He has also traveled extensively in the former Soviet Union, Central and South America, and the Middle East and negotiated the release of prisoners from Syria, Iraq and Cuba.

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1966 under Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Reverend Jackson has been married to the former Jacqueline Lavinia Brown since 1963. They have five children.

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Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Rubin, Eric S.
Sent: Wednesday, October 08, 1997 7:05 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: jesse jackson final [UNCLASSIFIED]

Let us know as soon as this is cleared. With the President on the road, the timing will be more difficult to fine-tune (we have to release on the road first) and we will need to get this out as early as possible. Thanks

-----Original Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 1997 8:15 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: jesse jackson final [UNCLASSIFIED]

Rob - here is the final correct versions of the statement and the press guidance

Eric - SRB needs to do final chop on these. This has State and all NSC staff clearances

- Erica

<< File: jjannounce.doc >> << File: jjqsas.doc >>

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A: Reverend Jackson will not be limited to country-specific issues, but will participate in special projects and provide advice on democratic reforms and related matters. Rev. Jackson may also be asked to participate in special or emergency discussions with African leaders as appropriate.

APPOINTMENT OF REVEREND JESSE JACKSON AS SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE
PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROMOTION OF
DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

- Q: Has the President appointed Jesse Jackson Special Envoy to Africa?
- A: The President has announced the Administration's intent to appoint Jesse Jackson to serve as a Special Envoy for the President and Secretary of State for the promotion of democracy, human rights and good governance in Africa.
- Q: What will be Reverend Jackson's role in the State Department?
- A: Reverend Jackson's role will be that of a special advisor. His work will supplement, not replace, the traditional and ongoing diplomatic efforts of the Department of State's Africa Bureau to work cooperatively with African countries.
- Q: Will Reverend Jackson work out of the State Department?
- A: Reverend Jackson will serve in a non-compensated capacity on a short-term appointment at the State Department (not to exceed 60 days in any one calendar year) to support the Administration's efforts to promote democratic values in Africa. He will serve on a part-time basis on special projects.
- Q: Why is it necessary to have a Special Envoy on Democracy?
- A: Bolstering democracy in Africa and building bridges to greater cooperation with Africa are important goals of the Administration. Reverend Jackson's long experience and public service in establishing dialogue with key leaders will help ongoing efforts to sustain democratic reform in Africa.
- Q: Will Reverend Jackson travel on a regular basis to Africa?
- A: Reverend Jackson will travel to Africa as needed at the request of the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in order to support U.S. efforts in strengthening democratic institutions.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Baker, James E.
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 1997 5:41 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: press for Jesse [UNCLASSIFIED]

Erica: I am quickly confirming clearances with my counterparts. However, there is one fundamental problem. The title is given as Special Envoy TO the President . . . this appears in title and text. This is, um, awkward at best (makes no sense). Don't we really mean Special Envoy OF/FOR the President. . . for Democracy etc." With this edit, I will confirm my clearance shortly.

-----Original Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, October 07, 1997 4:38 PM
To: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: press for Jesse [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

Jamie - the announcement for Jesse will take place tomorrow. Attached is final version of statement as negotiated ad nauseum. Please note change in title to "Special Envoy" from "Special Adviser". Also attached is press guidance. Please let me know if there are any problems. Once cleared I will send to SRB (who has requested in final tonight) and @ press. Thanks.

- Erica

<< File: jjannounce.doc >> << File: jjqsas.doc >>

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jjannounce.doc



jjqsas.doc

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