draft #2
Monday 2 p.m.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON AFRICA
CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA
APRIL 21, 1997

Heads of State, Prime Ministers, and Vice Presidents; Ministers; Ambassadors; Members of Congress; Members of the Corporate Council; award winners; distinguished guests and friends:

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts about Africa, which I am eager to do. But first, I want to bring you a brief message from my husband, the President of the United States, Bill Clinton:

[The President's video]

Just a little over three weeks ago, my daughter and I boarded a plane in Asmara, Eritrea to fly home to the United States after two weeks in Africa. It was the end of the Holy Week. We touched down in Washington as dawn broke on Easter morning, and it occurred to me how fitting our timing was. Millions around the world were celebrating a holiday that marks the passage of sorrow and despair to hope and renewal. And that was precisely the story we had seen unfolding in Africa.

I went to Africa -- at the request of the President and the Secretary of State -- to highlight Africa's economic and democratic renewal. I wanted Americans to see the importance of our partnership with Africa and to appreciate the stake we have in the future of that great continent. I also wanted to underscore America's modest contributions in foreign assistance -- and the successes they have helped produce.

By the time I reached home after visiting six countries -- Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda and Eritrea -- I was more convinced than ever that Africa is a continent on the move: a continent bulging with possibilities for political, economic and social progress. I was also convinced that American

engagement with Africa is essential to our nation's goal of strengthening peace, prosperity and democracy around the world.

This is not to say that Africa's future is cloudless. We all remember a time -- after Independence -- when economists and commentators predicted with great certainty that the African economy was on the verge of an immense boom; that the world's newest "tigers" would emerge south of the Sahara; that the continent represented the world's ripest and most lucrative new market for international trade.

History proved more complicated than some of those economists guessed. Colonialism left the African landscape rife with arbitrary divisions -- divisions of class, culture, race and land. The Cold War imposed new tensions, as Africa became a giant chessboard for superpowers maneuvering for strategic advantage in the world. By the time the Cold War was over, Africa had to contend with the legacy of totalitarianism and closed economies, along with old nemeses like disease, poverty, illiteracy, explosive population growth, environmental degradation and civil strife.

Yet despite these challenges, Africa today is living up to its promise and hopes. As Deputy President Mbeki of South Africa often says, Africa is undergoing a renaissance. Democracy is flowering across much of the continent. Dramatic economic growth is occurring in country after country. A new generation of reform-minded leaders is in charge in many capitals. And there is new respect for human rights -- and especially the rights of women to become equal partners in society.

This progress has not been lost on President Clinton or his Administration.

The United States wants democracy to take root and grow throughout Africa. And we want Africa to be a strong partner for peace, prosperity and progress in the 21st century. Today, the question for all of us who care about the future of democracy in Africa is: What can be done to sustain and deepen the democratic transformation that is underway?

As we know from our own experience in the United States, democracy is a complicated and sometimes messy business. It requires many ingredients. Free and fair elections -- not once, but time and again. A functioning legislative branch, an independent judiciary, active political parties, a free press, and the basic rights of assembly, association and free speech.

It also requires free market economies that can produce and sustain growth and support investments in human capital -- investments in the health, education and well-being of every man, woman and child. People, after all, are every nation's greatest resource. And as my husband often says, "We don't have a single person in this world to waste."

Africa has made extraordinary progress on this front. Last year, 30 African countries reported positive economic growth. In Uganda, I saw how democracy and reform had enabled an economy ravaged by decades of war to now record the stunning growth rate of eight percent a year.

What we have learned from Africa is that the right economic strategy can produce the right results. Already we see how growth-oriented policies adopted in many countries are making Africa home to the world's new economic "lions." Such progress is not only good for Africa; it is good for us all.

Clearly trade and investment are the wave of the future if we want to assure Africa's integration into the global economy. As Secretary Rubin said earlier today, the United States can lead this effort through engagement with Africa and by encouraging trade and open markets on the continent.

The simple fact is: Nations with free market systems do better. Look around the globe: Those nations which have lowered trade barriers are prospering more than those that have not.

It would be our loss if we failed to take advantage of the opportunities that a growth-oriented Africa represents. Today the United States accounts for only seven percent of the African market. Yet even that small market share has produced 100,000 jobs in our country. As that share expands, so will the number of American jobs.

We also know that companies doing business in South Africa have enjoyed returns on their investments higher than in many other parts of the world. Today leading American corporations are setting up operations throughout sub-Saharan Africa, as I saw on my recent trip. And I want to commend the companies represented here tonight for recognizing the investment potential of Africa.

Let me also note that American businesses at work in Africa are also upholding a time-honored tradition of corporate philanthropy for which our country is known. Companies like Coca-Cola aren't just benefitting financially from their investments but offer compelling examples of corporate citizenship in a democracy.

I gained a greater appreciation of the vital role that American corporations have played in the building of democracy when I visited Central Europe last year. In the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere I saw the extent of our corporate investment. The companies opening plants and hiring workers were doing far more than improving their own bottom lines; they were creating jobs, raising incomes, spurring local development and growth, and lending confidence to people and institutions undergoing profound political, economic and social change.

I saw the same spirit of American corporate philanthropy in Africa, when I visited the Dorothy Duncan Center for the Blind in Harare, which has received computers and software from an IBM subsidiary called Bedford Investments. Coca-Cola has supported arts, cultural, environmental and sports activities in Zimbabwe. And Johnson & Johnson has an active social outreach program there too.

As we continue to promote trade and investment policies that will contribute to Africa's growth, we also must remember that foreign assistance remains crucial for many countries. A good business climate requires a citizenry that is healthy, educated, free and involved in civic life. Foreign assistance -- even the modest sums the United States contributes -- helps create the social and economic conditions that are good for business and make trade and investment viable and profitable.

In other words: Aid is a bridge to trade.

And I hope all of you -- as leaders of the American business community -- will speak out in support of American foreign assistance, which is so essential to your individual corporate goals and to our nation's goals of democracy and freedom.

In every country I visited, I saw our foreign assistance at work in ways that I know all of you can appreciate: A village in Senegal where rural women were working to improve health care, education and the economy and were even helping to teach their fellow villagers about the tenets of democracy. A primary school in the heart of Soweto where a classroom of six-year-olds -- led by a wonderful and formidable teacher -- was learning English using a tape recording funded in part with U.S. assistance. A health clinic in Zimbabwe where American assistance has been instrumental in helping to expand family planning opportunities and lower infant and maternal mortality rates. The International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda in Tanzania, where U.S. support is crucial to the investigation and prosecution of genocide. A vocational center in Eritrea, where former women freedom fighters are teaching their fellow citizens skills and trades so necessary to the future of that young democracy. An AIDS Information Center in Uganda, where we have supported President Museveni's courageous and effective campaign to fight HIV and AIDS.

Let me also say that President Museveni should be commended for recognizing the importance of investing in women and girls as part of his country's democratic and economic transition. Uganda is making an unprecedented effort to train teachers and educate children, especially girls who too often are left out of the academic equation. As President Museveni said to me during my stay there, "Women form more than half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every ten people."

And I would add: Not only would you be hurting yourself, you wouldn't be building a democracy. Because a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms.

We all know that a vibrant democracy depends not just on free elections and open markets, but on the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It depends on people coming together to create a flourishing civil society in which individuals, community groups, religious institutions, businesses, academia and government join together to promote the common good. And it depends on strong international partners who are willing to support the rise of democratic institutions and free market systems around the globe.

Earlier today, the President authorized the Administration to begin discussions with Congress to outline a package that will strengthen our partnership with Africa and support the continent's democratic and economic renewal.

First and foremost, the President is committed to efforts that open economies to private sector trade and investment because he realizes that these strategies offer the greatest potential for growth and the alleviation of poverty.

Second, he believes such efforts must be coupled with investments in people, particularly the areas of health and education. Foreign assistance is critical-- but should be viewed as one, not the only, engine of growth.

Third, the President believes that there must be renewed emphasis on management and governance in developing countries if we want opportunities for private investment to flourish.

The United States welcomes the progress that many African nations have made thus far. We also recognize that the governments willing to undertake the boldest actions to liberalize, open and private their economies have achieved the best results.

That said, the President and his Administration understand that not all African countries are at the same stage of growth and development. The United States wishes to create opportunities for growth for all of our African partners through infrastructure investment, better regional integration, new and stronger business partnerships and new efforts to support exports to Africa. And we are prepared to provide additional opportunities to countries that are undertaking accelerated reform.

[Announce 1999 Summit?]

This approach, the President believes, will enable more African countries to achieve their goals of greater self-reliance and full integration into the global economy. At the same time, it will attract investment to U.S. markets and spur jobs and growth at home.

As optimistic as we are about Africa's prospects, we cannot overlook threats to Africa's fragile democracies: regional conflicts; crime; narcotics trafficking and international terrorism, all of which undermine political and economic progress. And that is why the United States will collaborate with our partners in Africa to maintain peace and stability and ensure that democracy is given every chance to grow.

During my last few days in Africa I had the opportunity to visit the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, where scientists and anthropologists have made many discoveries about the origins of human kind. It is hard to walk through the gorge, as

I did, without being overcome by the realization that all of us — no matter the color of our skin, our faith, or our beliefs — came from the same place. We share a common home. We are part of a larger family.

The message embedded in the rock at the gorge is that we share a common past — and we share a common future. We have a stake in each other's triumphs and failures. And I hope that in the days and months ahead we will see a growing consciousness in people's minds — here and in Africa — that despite the wide ocean between us, we are neighbors on this shared earth. We cannot live without each other. We have much to learn from each other. And we have much to give to each other.

As you know, the President will travel to Africa sometime this term. Whenever he makes his trip, I am confident he will return home as moved as I was by the people he meets and the places he sees — and as inspired by the promise and possibility that Africa represents.

Thank you very much.

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FLOTUS: DOROTHY DUNCAN CENTER FOR THE BLIND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

IBM: Bedford Investments, a subsidiary of IBM World Trade Corporation, benefits greatly from its Zimbabwe investment and shares with the community. Notably, IBM donated 24 computers, a network server, software and service to the Dorothy Duncan Center for the Blind, one of the largest publishers of braille texts in Africa which provides books to 900 blind students in 50 schools countrywide. Volunteers type and cut 3-D illustrations for translation of textbooks and novels into braille using US$ 120,000 in IBM computers, an impossible feat without IBM's donation. IBM gave a PC with an Internet connection to Prince Edward School in Harare and a similar connection for Murewa High School to accompany sale of 22 computers. It also presented a PC to the Galaxia School for Disabled Children, an IBM Think Pad to a Zimbabwean MBA student at Harvard University, and cash donations to Environment 2000.

Contact at Site:	Mr. Amr Tawfik (accompanied by spouse: Alyaa, Egyptian)
Title:	Managing Director, IBM, Bedford Investments
Nationality:	Egyptian

Coca Cola : Coca Cola's multimillion dollar presence in Zimbabwe creates jobs via direct employment of 3,450 and 17,000 indirect retail consumers and suppliers; trains business students; combats drought; supports art, cultural, environmental and sports activities; and promotes indigenization (black empowerment). Coca Cola Central Africa (Pvt.) Ltd. regional Mandel Training Center, brain child of Atlanta businessman Carl Ware and President Robert Mugabe, has trained over 10,000 Africans. Other beneficiaries of the company's outreach include students at the University of Zimbabwe Business Management Forum and secondary school soccer program and Coke's indigenous business partners at United Bottlers. Coca Cola President and CEO Doug Ivester visited Zimbabwe in February and announced new investment of US$60 million.

Contact at Site:	Mr. Godfrey Chanetsa
Title:	External Relations Manager, Coca Cola Central Africa (Pvt.) Ltd.
Nationality:	Zimbabwean

Johnson & Johnson: Regional headquarters for Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, Johnson & Johnson (Pvt.) Ltd. has an active social outreach program. Working with USAID and the British ODA, J&J houses the Population Services International/Zimbabwe (PSI), a social maketing project, which widely distributes affordable condoms via a network of private sector outlets. The project is a unique example of US corporate cooperation with an NGO to combat the HIV/AIDS epidemic. J&J also has adopted the Children's Surgical Wards at Harare Hospital and Mpilo Hospital in Bulawayo. It supports "Pharmacists Against Drug Abuse" and the Drugs and Toxology Information Service at the University of Zimbabwe which helps to inform doctors about the interaction of various drugs. J&J makes cash donations to the Chinyaradzo Children's Home in Harare and other charities.

Contact at Site:	Mr. Davis Kanyama
Title:	Marketing Director, Johnson & Johnson (Pvt.) Ltd. Zimbabwe
Nationality:	Zimbabwean

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa ZM
RE: Speech to the Corporate Council on Africa
DATE: April 19, 1997

This is a first draft of your speech for Monday night. I've borrowed from the Uganda speech where appropriate. But I've also tried to include some new points, along the lines of the meeting a few days ago. Also, I'm not sure the examples I've given of foreign assistance are necessarily the ones you want to highlight. Obviously, we can change them if need be.

We will not have precise language for the section on the U.S. program for Africa until Monday (I can explain in greater detail by phone). For now, suffice it to say that NSC and Treasury are still sorting out some sticky issues.

Finally, it's not quite as long as it looks. I printed it out in larger font; hence, more pages. (If you want a double-spaced copy to work with, I can easily send one along).

draft #1
Saturday a.m.
4/19/97

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CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA
APRIL 21, 1997

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[The President's video]

Just a little over three weeks ago, my daughter Chelsea and I boarded a plane in Asmara, Eritrea to fly home to the United States after two weeks in Africa. It was the end of the Holy Week. We touched down in Washington as dawn broke on Easter morning, and it occurred to me how fitting our timing was. Millions around the world were celebrating a holiday that marks the passage from ~~of~~ sorrow and despair to hope and renewal. And that was precisely the story we had seen unfolding in Africa.

I went to Africa -- at the request of the President and the Secretary of State -- to highlight examples of Africa's economic and democratic renewal. I wanted Americans to see the importance of our partnership with Africa and to appreciate the stake we have in the future of that great continent. I also wanted to underscore America's modest contributions in foreign assistance -- and the successes they have helped produce.

By the time I reached home after visiting six countries -- Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda and Eritrea -- I was more convinced than ever that Africa is a continent on the move: a continent bulging with possibilities for political, economic and social progress. I was also convinced that American

engagement with Africa is essential to our nation's goal of strengthening peace, prosperity and democracy around the world.

This is not to say that Africa's future is cloudless. We ~~all remember a time --~~ have been optimistic before. After Independence ~~-- when~~ economists and commentators predicted with great certainty that the African economy was on the verge of an immense boom; that the world's ~~newest tigers~~ best economic performers would emerge south of the Sahara; that the continent represented the world's ripest and most lucrative new market for international trade. The ~~bets were~~ future seemed to favor Africa's lions over Asia's tigers.

History proved more complicated than some of those economists guessed. Colonialism left the African landscape rife with arbitrary divisions -- divisions of class, culture, race, tribe and land. The Cold War imposed new tensions, as Africa became a giant chessboard for superpowers maneuvering for strategic advantage in the world. By the time the Cold War was over, Africa had to contend with the legacy of totalitarianism and closed economies, along with old nemeses like disease, poverty, illiteracy, explosive population growth, environmental degradation, corrupt and incompetent government, and civil strife.

Now, however, we're hearing optimism again. ~~Yet despite these challenges, Africa today is living up to its promise and hope.~~ As Vice-President Mbeki of South Africa often says, Africa is undergoing a renaissance. Democracy is flowering across much of the continent. Dramatic economic growth is occurring in country after country. A new generation of reform-minded leaders is in charge in many capitals. And there is new respect for human rights -- and especially the rights of women to become equal partners in society.

This progress ~~has not been lost on~~ President Clinton ~~or~~ and his Administration applaud.

The United States wants democracy to take root and grow throughout Africa. And we want Africa to be a strong partner for peace, prosperity and progress in the 21st century. Today, the question for all of us who care about the future of ~~democracy in~~ Africa is: What can be done to sustain and deepen the democratic and economic transformation that is underway?

As we know from our own experience in the United States, democracy is a complicated and sometimes messy business. It requires many ingredients. Free and fair elections -- not once, but time and again. A functioning legislative branch, an independent judiciary, active political parties, a free press, and the basic rights of

assembly, association and free speech.

It also requires free market economies that can produce and sustain growth and support investments in human capital -- investments in the health, education and ~~the~~ well-being of every man, woman and child. People, after all, are every nation's greatest resource. ~~And as my husband often says, "We don't have a single person in this world to waste."~~

Africa has made extraordinary progress on this front. Last year, 30 African countries reported positive economic growth. In Uganda, I saw how democracy and reform had enabled an economy ravaged by decades of war to now record the stunning growth rate of eight percent a year.

What we have learned from Africa is that the right economic strategy can produce the right results. ~~Already we see how the policies of reform adopted in some countries are making Africa home to the world's new economic "lions." Such progress is not only good for Africa, it is good for us all.~~

~~Clearly~~ Trade and investment are the wave of the future if we want to assure Africa's integration into the global economy. As Secretary Rubin said earlier today, the United States can lead this effort through engagement with Africa and by encouraging trade and open markets on the continent.

The simple fact is: Nations with free market systems do better. Look around the globe: Those nations which have lowered trade barriers are prospering more than those that have not. ~~But we must also seize the opportunities that a changing Africa represents.~~

The companies represented here tonight recognize the investment potential of Africa and are taking advantage of the new economic conditions emerging there. The five countries being honored have worked hard to reduce barriers to trade and investment so that their citizens can enjoy the fruits of economic growth and the freedom that democracy brings.

We can only hope that more American businesses will be inspired by the example of the companies here. Companies like yours, and like Coca-Cola, aren't just seeking to expand their own markets in Africa but are upholding a time-

honored tradition of corporate philanthropy for which our country is known.

I gained a greater appreciation of the vital role that American corporations have played in the building of democracy when I visited Central Europe last year. In the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere I saw the extent of ~~our~~ American corporate investment. The companies opening plants and hiring workers were doing far more than improving their own bottom lines; they were creating jobs, raising incomes, spurring local development and growth, raising skill levels and lending confidence to people and institutions undergoing profound political, economic and social change. The same is true of some of our corporate efforts in Africa.

As important as trade and investment are to the continent's economic progress, the President understands that foreign assistance remains crucial for many countries. Aid must be a bridge to trade. It helps countries making the transition to democracy and free market systems give their citizens the tools they need to overcome an array of social problems and become full and productive members of society.

Let me give you some examples of American foreign assistance that I saw at work in Africa:

In Senegal, I visited a village where, with support from the United States Agency for International Development, women were working to improve health care, education and the economy and were even helping to teach their fellow villagers about the tenets of democracy.

In South Africa, I visited a primary school in the heart of Soweto where a classroom of six-year-olds -- led by a wonderful and formidable teacher -- was learning English using a tape recording funded in part with U.S. assistance. The next day, in Capetown, I went to a dusty patch of land where a group of homeless women had organized themselves into a housing and credit association. They were busy building houses for their families -- literally pushing wheelbarrows, mixing cement, laying the foundations and the sewer lines, putting up walls and windows, and layering on the paint. They, too, received support from our government.

One aside: We cannot expect the "miracle" of South African democracy to be fully realized if the people of South Africa, who have endured so much tragedy, do

not have access to the tools of opportunity: education, health care, jobs and credit, along with the legal and political rights now guaranteed in South Africa's progressive new Constitution.

It is in our interest — politically, economically, and socially — to help the people of South Africa, and all of Africa, nurture the fertile soil of democracy. Americans -- and American companies -- can take pride in the support we lent to the anti-apartheid movement in the decades before freedom came. But we cannot wash our hands now and assume the job is done. We have to help the courageous people of South Africa continue down the path they have chosen to follow. We have to encourage private investment which, along with foreign assistance, can help South Africa forge ahead with confidence in its own future.

Some of our greatest contributions are in health-related partnerships. In Zimbabwe, I saw firsthand the extraordinary efforts that country has made in the area of family planning. Not only is Zimbabwe addressing problems of population growth and disease, it is encouraging women to take responsibility for their own lives and futures.

At a local family planning clinic outside of Harare, I met with Peace Corps volunteers who are helping to educate teenage girls about the dangers of HIV and unprotected sex. This is but one way that we have helped Zimbabwe lower fertility rates, lower infant mortality rates, and increase contraceptive use, all of which are contributing to a healthier and more productive citizenry and a healthier and more productive economy.

Tanzania, ~~as you know~~, is a crucial actor in environmental protection and in bringing peace and stability to central Africa. I was fortunate to visit the Ngorongoro Crater, the Serengeti, the Olduvai Gorge and other parts of that beautiful country and to learn more about the connection between environmental protection and political and economic stability. In developing countries, people need wood and charcoal for fuel, so they chop down trees. Too few trees leads to too much erosion, which leads to the washing away of rich topsoil, which in turn makes it harder to grow food and to plant trees.

We have learned some hard lessons about the environment in neighboring Rwanda, where depleted resources and a swollen population exacerbated political

and economic pressures, which then exploded into one of this century's greatest human tragedies.

[NOTE TO SUSAN: what can (or should) we say about U.S. support for these environmental efforts?]

In Uganda, I saw how American assistance had helped ~~spurred~~ new investments in health and education, so important to Uganda's democratic and economic rebirth. I saw lending institutions, which also receive U.S. support, making credit available to poor women, enabling them to start their own businesses and lift themselves and their families out of poverty. At the AIDS Information Center, I learned that 320,000 families had already been served as part of a nationwide campaign to slow the spread of HIV and AIDS. And I also learned that the Center helped pioneer same-day testing techniques that have been transplanted back here in the United States -- which proves that foreign aid is not simply a one-way street.

President Museveni has shown extraordinary foresight in taking on this critical health issue. And I also want to commend him for recognizing the importance of investing in women and girls as part of his country's democratic and economic transition. In addition to making health care more available to women, the country is making an unprecedented effort to train teachers and educate children, especially girls who too often are left out of the academic equation. As President Museveni said to me during my stay there, "Women form more than half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every ten people."

And I would add: Not only would you be hurting yourself, you wouldn't be building a democracy. Because a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms.

That is one reason I was filled with such hope when I visited Africa's newest country, Eritrea. Here, again, women are central to the building of democracy.

I met with women freedom fighters who joined the movement as teenagers and took up arms for the better part of three decades. Today these women are a chorus of freedom and democracy and are helping to build schools, health clinics and train their fellow freedom fighters for civilian jobs.

- transparency
- legal system

have seen

What I'~~m getting at~~ is that a vibrant democracy depends not just on free elections and open markets, but on the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It depends on people ~~coming together to~~ creat~~e~~ a flourishing civil society in which individuals, community groups, religious institutions, businesses, academia and government join together to promote the common good. And it depends on strong international partners who are willing to support democracy's rise.

The President ~~United States~~ intends to strengthen America's ~~continue its~~ partnership with Africa and to support the continent's democratic and economic renewal. We are already contributing through efforts like the ones I saw to empower women politically and economically, educate children, train teachers, support AIDS prevention, spark microenterprise, keep family planning centers open, expand immunizations, [environment?], and strengthen democratic institutions.

effective / and multilateral helps

American/assistance ~~creates~~ the conditions for self-sustained economic growth. It goes hand-in-hand with private investment. And ~~I assure you that~~ the President is eager to work with Congress to find new and effective ways to support Africa through a combined program of foreign assistance and expanded trade and investment.

This approach, the President believes, will enable African countries to achieve their goals of greater self-reliance and full integration into the global economy. At the same time, it will attract investment to U.S. markets and spur jobs and growth at home.

This approach

That said, we cannot overlook threats to Africa's fragile democracies: regional conflicts; crime; narcotics trafficking and international terrorism, all of which undermine political and economic progress. And that is why the United States will collaborate with our partners in Africa to maintain peace and stability and ensure that democracy is given every chance to grow.

During my last few days in Africa I had the opportunity to visit the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, where scientists and anthropologists have made many discoveries about the origins of human kind. It is hard to walk through the gorge, as I did, without being overcome by the realization that all of us — no matter the color of our skin, our faith, or our beliefs — came from the same place. We share a

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As you know, the President will travel to Africa sometime during this term. Whenever he makes his trip, I am confident he will return home as moved as I was by the people he meets and the places he sees — and as inspired by the promise and possibility that Africa represents.

Thank you very much.

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FAX COVER SHEET
LISSA MUSCATINE
202-337-3171

TO: MRS. CLINTON

PHONE: 456-2650

FAX: 456-6255

DATE: APRIL 19

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 10

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History proved more complicated than some of those economists guessed. Colonialism left the African landscape rife with arbitrary divisions -- divisions of class, culture, race, tribe and land. The Cold War imposed new tensions, as Africa became a giant chessboard for superpowers maneuvering for strategic advantage in the world. By the time the Cold War was over, Africa had to contend with the legacy of totalitarianism and closed economies, along with old nemeses like disease, poverty, illiteracy, explosive population growth, environmental degradation, corrupt and incompetent government, and civil strife.

Now, however, we're hearing optimism again. ~~Yet despite these challenges, Africa today is living up to its promise and hopes.~~ As Vice-President Mbeki of South Africa often says, Africa is undergoing a renaissance. Democracy is flowering across much of the continent. Dramatic economic growth is occurring in country after country. A new generation of reform-minded leaders is in charge in many capitals. And there is new respect for human rights -- and especially the rights of women to become equal partners in society.

This progress ~~has not been lost on~~ President Clinton and ~~or~~ his Administration. applaud

The United States wants democracy to take root and grow throughout Africa. And we want Africa to be a strong partner for peace, prosperity and progress in the 21st century. Today, the question for all of us who care about the future of ~~democracy in~~ Africa is: What can be done to sustain and deepen the democratic and economic transformation that is underway?

As we know from our own experience in the United States, democracy is a complicated and sometimes messy business. It requires many ingredients. Free and fair elections -- not once, but time and again. A functioning legislative branch, an independent judiciary, active political parties, a free press, and the basic rights of

assembly, association and free speech.

It also requires free market economies that can produce and sustain growth and support investments in human capital -- investments in the health, education and ~~the~~ well-being of every man, woman and child. People, after all, are every nation's greatest resource. ~~And as my husband often says, "We don't have a single person in this world to waste."~~

Africa has made extraordinary progress on this front. Last year, 30 African countries reported positive economic growth. In Uganda, I saw how democracy and reform had enabled an economy ravaged by decades of war to now record the stunning growth rate of eight percent a year.

What we have learned from Africa is that the right economic strategy can produce the right results. ~~Already we see how the policies of reform adopted in some countries are making Africa home to the world's new economic "lions." Such progress is not only good for Africa; it is good for us all.~~

~~Clearly~~ trade and investment are the wave of the future if we want to assure Africa's integration into the global economy. As Secretary Rubin said earlier today, the United States can lead this effort through engagement with Africa and by encouraging trade and open markets on the continent.

The simple fact is: Nations with free market systems do better. Look around the globe: Those nations which have lowered trade barriers are prospering more than those that have not. ~~But we must also seize the opportunities that a changing Africa represents.~~

The companies represented here tonight recognize the investment potential of Africa and are taking advantage of the new economic conditions emerging there. The five countries being honored have worked hard to reduce barriers to trade and investment so that their citizens can enjoy the fruits of economic growth and the freedom that democracy brings.

We can only hope that more American businesses will be inspired by the example of the companies here. Companies like yours, and like Coca-Cola, aren't just seeking to expand their own markets in Africa but are upholding a time-

honored tradition of corporate philanthropy for which our country is known.

I gained a greater appreciation of the vital role that American corporations have played in the building of democracy when I visited Central Europe last year. In the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere I saw the extent of ~~our~~ American corporate investment. The companies opening plants and hiring workers were doing far more than improving their own bottom lines; they were creating jobs, raising incomes, spurring local development and growth, raising skill levels and lending confidence to people and institutions undergoing profound political, economic and social change. The same is true of some of our corporate efforts in Africa.

As important as trade and investment are to the continent's economic progress, the President understands that foreign assistance remains crucial for many countries. Aid must be a bridge to trade. It helps countries making the transition to democracy and free market systems give their citizens the tools they need to overcome an array of social problems and become full and productive members of society.

Let me give you some examples of American foreign assistance that I saw at work in Africa:

In Senegal, I visited a village where, with support from the United States Agency for International Development, women were working to improve health care, education and the economy and were even helping to teach their fellow villagers about the tenets of democracy.

In South Africa, I visited a primary school in the heart of Soweto where a classroom of six-year-olds -- led by a wonderful and formidable teacher -- was learning English using a tape recording funded in part with U.S. assistance. The next day, in Capetown, I went to a dusty patch of land where a group of homeless women had organized themselves into a housing and credit association. They were busy building houses for their families -- literally pushing wheelbarrows, mixing cement, laying the foundations and the sewer lines, putting up walls and windows, and layering on the paint. They, too, received support from our government.

One aside: We cannot expect the "miracle" of South African democracy to be fully realized if the people of South Africa, who have endured so much tragedy, do

not have access to the tools of opportunity: education, health care, jobs and credit, along with the legal and political rights now guaranteed in South Africa's progressive new Constitution.

It is in our interest — politically, economically, and socially — to help the people of South Africa, and all of Africa, nurture the fertile soil of democracy. Americans -- and American companies -- can take pride in the support we lent to the anti-apartheid movement in the decades before freedom came. But we cannot wash our hands now and assume the job is done. We have to help the courageous people of South Africa continue down the path they have chosen to follow. We have to encourage private investment which, along with foreign assistance, can help South Africa forge ahead with confidence in its own future.

Some of our greatest contributions are in health-related partnerships. In Zimbabwe, I saw firsthand the extraordinary efforts that country has made in the area of family planning. Not only is Zimbabwe addressing problems of population growth and disease, it is encouraging women to take responsibility for their own lives and futures.

At a local family planning clinic outside of Harare, I met with Peace Corps volunteers who are helping to educate teenage girls about the dangers of HIV and unprotected sex. This is but one way that we have helped Zimbabwe lower fertility rates, lower infant mortality rates, and increase contraceptive use, all of which are contributing to a healthier and more productive citizenry and a healthier and more productive economy.

Tanzania, ~~as you know~~, is a crucial actor in environmental protection and in bringing peace and stability to central Africa. I was fortunate to visit the Ngorongoro Crater, the Serengeti, the Olduvai Gorge and other parts of that beautiful country and to learn more about the connection between environmental protection and political and economic stability. In developing countries, people need wood and charcoal for fuel, so they chop down trees. Too few trees leads to too much erosion, which leads to the washing away of rich topsoil, which in turn makes it harder to grow food and to plant trees.

We have learned some hard lessons about the environment in neighboring Rwanda, where depleted resources and a swollen population exacerbated political

and economic pressures, which then exploded into one of this century's greatest human tragedies.

[NOTE TO SUSAN: what can (or should) we say about U.S. support for these environmental efforts?]

In Uganda, I saw how American assistance had helped ~~spurred~~ new investments in health and education, so important to Uganda's democratic and economic rebirth. I saw lending institutions, which also receive U.S. support, making credit available to poor women, enabling them to start their own businesses and lift themselves and their families out of poverty. At the AIDS Information Center, I learned that 320,000 families had already been served as part of a nationwide campaign to slow the spread of HIV and AIDS. And I also learned that the Center helped pioneer same-day testing techniques that have been transplanted back here in the United States -- which proves that foreign aid is not simply a one-way street.

President Museveni has shown extraordinary foresight in taking on this critical health issue. And I also want to commend him for recognizing the importance of investing in women and girls as part of his country's democratic and economic transition. In addition to making health care more available to women, the country is making an unprecedented effort to train teachers and educate children, especially girls who too often are left out of the academic equation. As President Museveni said to me during my stay there, "Women form more than half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every ten people."

And I would add: Not only would you be hurting yourself, you wouldn't be building a democracy. Because a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms.

That is one reason I was filled with such hope when I visited Africa's newest country, Eritrea. Here, again, women are central to the building of democracy.

I met with women freedom fighters who joined the movement as teenagers and took up arms for the better part of three decades. Today these women are a chorus of freedom and democracy and are helping to build schools, health clinics and train their fellow freedom fighters for civilian jobs.

- transparency
accepl system

have seen
What I'~~m getting at~~ is that a vibrant democracy depends not just on free elections and open markets, but on the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It depends on people ~~coming together to~~ creat[ing] a flourishing civil society in which individuals, community groups, religious institutions, businesses, academia and government join together to promote the common good. And it depends on strong international partners who are willing to support democracy's rise.

The ~~United States~~ President intends to ~~continue its~~ strengthen American partnership with Africa and to support the continent's democratic and economic renewal. We are already contributing through efforts like the ones I saw to empower women politically and economically, educate children, train teachers, support AIDS prevention, spark microenterprise, keep family planning centers open, expand immunizations, [environment?], and strengthen democratic institutions.

effective / and multilateral helps
American assistance ~~creates~~ the conditions for self-sustained economic growth. It goes hand-in-~~hand~~ glove with private investment. And ~~I assure you that~~ the President is eager to work with Congress to find new and effective ways to support Africa through a combined program of foreign assistance and expanded trade and investment.

This approach, the President believes, will enable African countries to achieve their goals of greater self-reliance and full integration into the global economy. At the same time, it will attract investment to U.S. markets and spur jobs and growth at home.

This approach
That said, we cannot overlook threats to Africa's fragile democracies: regional conflicts; crime; narcotics trafficking and international terrorism, all of which undermine political and economic progress. And that is why the United States will collaborate with our partners in Africa to maintain peace and stability and ensure that democracy is given every chance to grow.

During my last few days in Africa I had the opportunity to visit the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, where scientists and anthropologists have made many discoveries about the origins of human kind. It is hard to walk through the gorge, as I did, without being overcome by the realization that all of us — no matter the color of our skin, our faith, or our beliefs — came from the same place. We share a

common home. We are part of a larger family.

The message embedded in the rock at the gorge is that we share a common past — and we share a common future. We have a stake in each other's triumphs and failures. And I hope that in the days and months ahead we will see a growing consciousness in people's minds — here and in Africa — that despite the wide ocean between us, we are neighbors on this shared earth. We cannot live without each other. We have much to learn from each other. And we have much to give to each other.

As you know, the President will travel to Africa sometime during this term. Whenever he makes his trip, I am confident he will return home as moved as I was by the people he meets and the places he sees — and as inspired by the promise and possibility that Africa represents.

Thank you very much.

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PARTNERSHIP FOR
ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY IN AFRICA

I. Introduction

The Clinton Administration proposes a Partnership for Promoting Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa, based on the core premise that America's economic relationship with Africa can and should evolve dynamically from one characterized largely by donor-recipient ties to one in which trade and investment links serve as a powerful stimulus to private sector growth. The Administration believes that such an evolution would serve both U.S. and African interests.

In making this proposal, the Administration aims to support actively the very positive developments taking place Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), developments that stand in sharp contrast to the often negative portrayal of the region. Democratic elections in more than 20 countries, including the establishment of majority rule in South Africa, show that democracy can take root and grow. Moreover, numerous African countries are undertaking serious economic reform programs that are showing good results.

Many African countries have taken the first big steps towards democracy and economic renewal, but lasting success is far from ensured. In many cases economic reforms have led to relatively fragile economic growth. Now is the time for the United States and others to help African countries lock in and accelerate this growth. In so doing, the United States would at the same time expand U.S. business opportunities. SSA offers a largely untapped market of some 600-700 million people. Continued and intensified international economic engagement with African countries will greatly improve their prospects of achieving sustainable growth through full integration into the global economy.

The program that the Administration proposes is based on five guiding principles.

1. A sound policy framework in African countries that opens economies to private sector trade and investment offers the greatest potential for growth and poverty alleviation.

2. Investment in people, emphasizing education and health, is necessary to raise productivity, eradicate poverty, and enhance human life.

3. Consistent, transparent "rules of the economic game," fairly applied, are essential for the private sector to flourish.

4. Development assistance remains important and must be maintained, but it cannot itself be the engine of growth nor can it overcome flawed policies. Foreign assistance can make a critical difference for those countries doing most to promote their own growth by opening their economies, investing in people, and improving economic policy management and governance.

5. Sustained, rapid growth for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is fully achievable. Success can breed success and provide powerful stimulus for all the countries of Africa to follow.

II. Enhancing Opportunities for Growth

The U.S. recognizes and welcomes the substantial progress that many African countries have made in renewing their economies and achieving economic growth. Our aim is to support and accelerate this growth, which is essential to achieving sustainable economic development. Positive economic performance typically stems from government decisions to take bold steps to liberalize, open and privatize their economies. African experience shows that the most dramatic progress has resulted when countries have taken such steps in three areas: trade and investment liberalization, investing in human resources, improving policy management and governance. The U.S. would seek to establish partnerships with countries that are making efforts in the following areas:

1. Trade and Investment

- Liberalizing its trade regime by, for example, eliminating quantitative restrictions and other non-tariff barriers, reducing tariff levels, simplifying the tariff structure; and

- Introducing current account convertibility.

- Attracting foreign investment by providing national treatment for foreign investors, and privatizing sectors of the economy that are most likely to attract foreign investment (e.g., telecommunications, energy).

- Entering into bilateral investment treaties.

- Applying to join the WTO (if it is not already a member) and actively pursuing membership.

- Taking steps to bind reforms in the WTO.

- Bringing its laws and policies into conformity with key agreements, such as the Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), on Services, etc.

2. Human Resources

Improving the quality of government expenditures by shifting government investment toward:

- education, focusing on outcomes (e.g., increasing the literacy rate) rather than inputs (spending).

- health, focusing on primary health care and relatively neglected rural populations.

3. Policy Management and Governance

To develop and implement an appropriate fiscal system while rationalizing and reducing the scope of government activities (e.g. through privatization), the U.S. encourages:

- Increasing the professionalism, transparency and accountability of the public sector, particularly in key economic institutions.

- Reducing opportunities for corruption by deregulating activities that do not require state involvement, and eliminating restrictions which, by their nature, lend themselves to arbitrary administration, such as foreign investment licensing boards, import licensing systems, surrender requirements for export proceeds, and payments restrictions.

- Promoting a judicial system in which published rules are impartially applied and for which appropriate appeal procedures are in place.

III. U.S. Efforts to Support African Economic Growth

The steps noted above have proved to be in the economic interest of African countries. They clearly bring their own rewards and benefits. At the same time, the United States recognizes that, in many cases, there remain real technical and political obstacles to pursuing such growth-oriented policies. To support African growth efforts, the Administration proposes to make available a well-tailored package of assistance measures designed to help African countries achieve sustainable growth within a politically viable time period.

The U.S. recognizes that not all African countries are ready or able at this stage to take the steps necessary to spur high levels of economic growth. Therefore, the United States proposes to make available the following opportunities to Sub-Saharan African countries, according to their desired level of participation.

1. Level One Participation

To support efforts to achieve sustainable economic growth throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, the U.S. Administration will make broadly available the following opportunities:

- Enhanced Market Access. The Administration will work to renew GSP benefits currently available to GSP-eligible, less-developed countries (LDCs). In addition, GSP-eligible, least-developed countries (LLDCs) would receive enhanced GSP (basic GSP plus approximately 1,800 additional tariff lines).

- Investment Support. OPIC is currently working with the private sector sponsors of a proposed new $150 million fund for equity investments in a variety of economic sectors in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a view toward providing OPIC support. Principal managers of the fund would be U.S. citizens with offices in Washington and Johannesburg. Sponsors have informed OPIC that they have secured commitments for $105 million of the proposed $150 million fund from investors who would purchase units consisting of one-third unguaranteed equity and two-thirds OPIC-guaranteed debt.

To ensure geographic diversification of the fund, it is foreseen that the fund would invest in SSA countries other than South Africa and the other SADC countries (where existing funds operate). However, experience indicates that fund managers will likely favor investment in those countries pursuing growth-oriented policies.

- Infrastructure Investment. OPIC will work to develop separate funds focused on infrastructure. OPIC will canvass potential private sponsors to determine their interest in developing one or more additional equity funds with aggregate capital of up to $500 million. Such funds would concentrate on investments in the economic infrastructure of the SSA region, including telecommunications, power, transportation, and financial services. As with the $150 million fund, OPIC's partial guaranty would be applied to act as a catalyst for such investments, and fund managers fund managers will likely favor investment in those countries pursuing growth-oriented policies.

  We have also secured agreement that the African Development Fund will develop a capacity for financing infrastructure projects, in particular those that will improve linkages among markets, both within countries and regionally.

- Regional Integration. Under USAID's Initiative for Southern Africa (ISA), up to $25 million annually will be devoted to support private sector and trade related activities in such areas as: implementation of the SADC trade and transport protocols; telecommunications privatization; harmonizing investment policies; development of innovative financial mechanisms; small and micro-enterprise development; strengthening of regional business associations; and facilitating policy dialogue between the private sector and regional governments.

- American-African Business Partnership. USAID will devote up to $1 million annually to help catalyze relationships between U.S. and African firms through a variety of business associations and networks.

- Assistant USTR for Africa. The USTR will designate an Assistant USTR for Africa. (This person may be appointed from existing USTR staff.)

- EXIM Bank. The EXIM Bank will encourage the use of its programs to support the export of goods and services to Africa. In this regard:

  - The Board of Directors will name a senior officer of the Bank to advise the Board on ways that the Bank's programs can be used to support the export of goods and services to Africa. The officer shall act as liaison between the Bank and other Federal Government agencies working in support of U.S. trade with Africa.

- The Bank will develop a campaign for aggressive outreach in Africa, particularly with the private sector (including asset-based and project financing) in countries where the public sector is not creditworthy.

- The Bank will submit a plan bi-annually and report annually to the President on the Bank's efforts to enhance its support for the financing of exports of goods and services to Africa.

- AfDB. The U.S. has secured agreement from the African Development Bank's to develop its nascent private sector capabilities, with the goal of increasing incrementally private sector lending to 25 percent of overall Bank lending. As part of this goal, the Bank will adopt and put into practice a strategy for assistance to small and micro-enterprises.

- Research and Development. The Administration, on behalf of and with the agreement of the G-7 countries, has asked the President of the World Bank to increase investment in research and projects that have potential transnational benefits (e.g., investment in agricultural research and health) but are too expensive for any one country to support.

- Capacity Building. The U.S. will support an initiative launched by African Governors to the Bretton Woods Institutions, the World Bank and other donors to build capacity in order to raise the level of professionalism and technical skills in government economic and development institutions.

- Technical Assistance. The U.S. will support IMF efforts to establish an intensive training program in Africa to improve overall economic management and technical skills in key economic institutions. In addition, the U.S. will encourage the World Bank and others to provide assistance to improve legal regimes in order to make them hospitable to investment and commercial activity.

2. Level 2 Participation

To promote growth and integration, the United States is prepared to provide the following additional opportunities to support those GSP-eligible Sub-Saharan African countries that have taken accelerated reform measures -- as described above in Section II, with particular attention to policies that open their economies to foreign trade and investment and that promote greater international integration:

- Enhanced Market Access. To support countries' efforts to open and integrate their economies through trade and investment liberalization, the United States will offer in Africa a new program modeled on the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which would provide enhanced access to U.S. markets. Under this program, the United States would grant "CBI Plus" duty-free treatment (i.e., duty-free treatment to all products similarly treated under the CBI program, plus tuna, watches and hydrocarbons). As in the CBI program, agricultural products that are subject to U.S. tariff rate quotas will receive duty-free treatment for the within-quota shipments.

For product categories not benefiting from duty-free treatment, some, in particular handbags, luggage, leather flat goods, and leather wearing apparel, would receive preferential tariff treatment (i.e., 20 percent below existing rates). Regarding textiles, level 2 participants could participate in a preferential quota program for apparel products. [This would entail the Administration offering a preferential quota program for cutting and sewing operations using U.S. manufactured fabric in interested SSA countries.]

- Debt Reduction. To help ensure that growth-oriented countries now burdened by excessive debt are in a position to invest in human resources, the United States will:

  - Aim to provide full forgiveness of concessional bilateral debt for poorest countries. Beginning in FY 1999, the Administration will seek appropriations to forgive fully concessional debt obligations of poorest countries eligible for full program benefits. [To be confirmed.]

  - Urge the World Bank and IMF Boards to provide maximum relief under the HIPC debt initiative for HIPC eligible countries in support of their growth-promotion efforts; our goal would be to have an NPV of debt/export target of 200 percent agreed for these countries.

- U.S.-Africa Economic Cooperation Forum. A Cabinet/Minister-level US-Africa Economic Forum will be established under the joint leadership of the Secretaries of State and Treasury, and the United States Trade Representative. The Forum will meet once per year, with sub-Cabinet participation and workings groups established as necessary. The Forum will report on its work each year to Member-country heads of state. By sharing growth and reform experiences and highlighting successes and obstacles, we believe that a U.S.-Africa Economic Forum would give important support to growth-oriented African countries. [1999 Summit, if approved.]

- Technical assistance to promote reforms. USAID will provide up to $5 million annually in short-term technical assistance programs to help African governments to: liberalize trade and promote exports; bring their legal regimes into compliance with WTO standards pursuant to joining the WTO; and make financial and fiscal reforms. In addition, USDA will provide support to promote greater agri-business linkages.

- Agricultural Market Liberalization. As part of the new multi-year Africa Food Security Initiative, USAID will devote up to $15 million annually to help address such critical agricultural policy issues as market liberalization, agricultural export development, and agribusiness investment in processing and transport of agricultural commodities.

- Trade Promotion. The Trade Development Agency (TDA) will increase the number of reverse trade missions to growth-oriented countries.

- Commodity Assistance to be Reprogrammed. To help countries experiencing budget shortfall in the course of their growth programs to intensify their investments in human resources, the Administration will reallocate commodity assistance to developing countries with a view to ensuring that a greater share of the benefits of those programs accrue to growth-oriented SSA countries. With respect to food assistance made available under PL-480:

  - The U.S. Department of Agriculture, in consultation with the members of the Food Assistance Policy Council, will take steps to provide not less than 30 percent of the resources available in Title I beginning in FY 1999 to growth-oriented SSA countries. These resources, assuming a continuation of the fiscal year 1998 levels, will be obtained by ending current programs in two middle income countries outside of Africa. These funds ($10 million), in addition to the currently planned fiscal year 1998 programs in SSA of $25 million, will provide for programming of an estimated $35 million, slightly above the 30 percent target. Since all Title I programs result in monetized commodities, USDA will work with recipient countries to facilitate the use of these generated funds to help finance budget shortfalls resulting from successful trade liberalization, and ensuring that monetized resources focus on investments in human resources.

  - The Administration will explore possibilities to increase funding for Title III assistance from within PL-480, in order to generate a greater pool of monetized resources that can be used to invest in human resources.

- Africa Economic Policy Reform. In FY 1998, if the Administration's budget request is approved and funds are made available, USAID will make available up to $10 million annually to finance specific growth-oriented programs, both technical assistance and program support funds.

In addition, the U.S. will actively support multilateral financial assistance targetted to growth-oriented African economies:

- Financing. It is recognized that many SSA governments rely to a great extent on revenues from trade taxes and could face temporary balance of payments financing problems as they undertake major trade liberalization. To help them overcome these hurdles, time-limited financial support can be tailored by the World Bank and the IMF until additional resources from trade, tax and other reforms are generated. Based on discussions with the World Bank, we believe that the Bank would be willing to make available up to an additional $1 billion in loans over an eight-year period for countries that adopt the types of reforms set out in this program.

  To help ensure that the international financial institutions are able to provide the enhanced financial support and other forms of assistance, it is critical that the United States meet its financial obligations to those institutions, particularly their concessional windows.

- The World Bank Group. The U.S. will call upon the World Bank Group to expand its application of innovative financing mechanisms, including guarantees, to catalyze private sector investment in Africa. With regard to MIGA, the United States is strongly supporting a strengthening of MIGA finances through changes in its risk to assets ratio and a transfer of net income from the World Bank. We are seeking early resolution of this re-capitalization to allow MIGA to play a stronger role. We are also working with World Bank staff to develop innovative ways to increase MIGA's guarantee capacity so that it can respond positively if demand in growth-oriented countries increases, as we expect it would. This could include raising current exposure limits for individual countries if the limits would significantly constrain MIGA's ability to provide insurance for viable private sector projects in Africa. While we would expect the most accelerated reformers to take advantage of these programs, we encourage all SSA countries to seek participation.

- IFC. The IFC has introduced an initiative, called the "Reach" initiative. This initiative aims to increase the IFC's exposure in countries where it has not been active in the past, which will include several growth-oriented African countries. In addition, the IFC will expand its Africa Project Development Facility (APDF), which helps African entrepreneurs prepare bankable investment projects and find the financing for the projects.

3. Level 3 Participation

In the future, and as appropriate, the U.S. will be open to pursuing free trade agreements with high-performing, growth-oriented Sub-Saharan African countries. While we do not envision FTA negotiations in the short term, South Africa and/or the countries of the southern African region collectively might elect to engage in future discussions with the U.S. in this area.

IV. Program Implementation

The United States invites all Sub-Saharan African countries to participate to the maximum extent they desire in this program. Opportunities to participate in a Level Two partnership will be made available to all GSP-eligible Sub-Saharan African countries that the President affirms are pursuing growth-oriented economic policies characterized in Section II above. Where applicable, a country's participation in IMF and World Bank programs may be an important consideration. Finally, consistent with existing law, the President, in affording or terminating benefits under this program, may take into account whether or not a country engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights or activities that undermine U.S. national security interests.

V. Cooperation with other Donors

At the 1996 Lyon Summit, the eight Heads of State committed to make Africa a central focus of their work in the ensuing year, and to discuss operational proposals when they would next meet in Denver. Under U.S. Chairmanship, the Summit will advance consideration of an Africa agenda along four tracks: conflict management, trade, developmental assistance, and financial. The Clinton Administration program presents an approach toward Africa that is relevant to the economic discussions of our leaders. We believe that the latter three categories provide a blueprint for Summit participants to take actions along similar lines. We will magnify the economic impact of the Program if we can encourage bilateral and multilateral actions by Africa's principal trading partners and donors that work toward the same ends. For example:

- Within G7 nations' bilateral assistance programs (whether technical assistance, commodity aid, development projects, or trade and investment incentives), there is tremendous scope for targeting existing programs to the same reforming countries. We will seek agreement that greater "targeting" in providing foreign assistance is the best way to promote sustainable growth and development.

- In the trade arena, European members of the G7 will soon be re-negotiating with their European colleagues the "Lome Convention", a system of trade preferences extended to Europe's least economically developed trading partners. U.S. actions outlined in Section III above may encourage Europe to adopt a similar approach in opening its own markets further to Africa's boldest reformers.

- The Denver Summit will bring together the largest shareholders in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. We are working collaboratively with our partners to ensure that the Bank and Fund design appropriate and innovative financing vehicles to support those African countries that seek to qualify for the proposed program on the basis of their trade and investment reforms, commitments to investment in human resources, and improvements in the governance of their economies.

Collaboration among Summit partners on matters affecting Africa have already yielded dramatic results, with the unveiling last year of a program of multilateral debt reduction for "Heavily Indebted Poor Countries" -- the HIPC Initiative -- which will benefit a number of poor African countries pursuing strong reform policies, but burdened with particularly heavy debt loads. We believe that a discussion of the ideas and policies of the program at the Denver Summit will provide similarly powerful impetus for further global action on Africa's behalf.

draft #1
Saturday a.m.
4/19/97

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON AFRICA
CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA
APRIL 21, 1997

Members of the Corporate Council; award winners; Ministers, Ambassadors, distinguished guests and friends:

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts about Africa, which I am eager to do. But first, I want to bring you a brief message from my husband, the President of the United States, Bill Clinton:

[The President's video]

Just a little over three weeks ago, my daughter and I boarded a plane in Asmara, Eritrea to fly home to the United States after two weeks in Africa. It was the end of the Holy Week. We touched down in Washington as dawn broke on Easter morning, and it occurred to me how fitting our timing was. Millions around the world were celebrating a holiday that marks the passage of sorrow and despair to hope and renewal. And that was precisely the story we had seen unfolding in Africa.

I went to Africa -- at the request of the President and the Secretary of State -- to highlight Africa's economic and democratic renewal. I wanted Americans to see the importance of our partnership with Africa and to appreciate the stake we have in the future of that great continent. I also wanted to underscore America's modest contributions in foreign assistance -- and the successes they have helped produce.

By the time I reached home after visiting six countries -- Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda and Eritrea -- I was more convinced than ever that Africa is a continent on the move: a continent bulging with possibilities for political, economic and social progress. I was also convinced that American

engagement with Africa is essential to our nation's goal of strengthening peace, prosperity and democracy around the world.

This is not to say that Africa's future is cloudless. We all remember a time -- after Independence -- when economists and commentators predicted with great certainty that the African economy was on the verge of an immense boom; that the world's newest "tigers" would emerge south of the Sahara; that the continent represented the world's ripest and most lucrative new market for international trade.

History proved more complicated than some of those economists guessed. Colonialism left the African landscape rife with arbitrary divisions -- divisions of class, culture, race and land. The Cold War imposed new tensions, as Africa became a giant chessboard for superpowers maneuvering for strategic advantage in the world. By the time the Cold War was over, Africa had to contend with the legacy of totalitarianism and closed economies, along with old nemeses like disease, poverty, illiteracy, explosive population growth, environmental degradation and civil strife.

Yet despite these challenges, Africa today is living up to its promise and hopes. As Vice-President Mbeki of South Africa often says, Africa is undergoing a renaissance. Democracy is flowering across much of the continent. Dramatic economic growth is occurring in country after country. A new generation of reform-minded leaders is in charge in many capitals. And there is new respect for human rights -- and especially the rights of women to become equal partners in society.

This progress has not been lost on President Clinton or his Administration.

The United States wants democracy to take root and grow throughout Africa. And we want Africa to be a strong partner for peace, prosperity and progress in the 21st century. Today, the question for all of us who care about the future of democracy in Africa is: What can be done to sustain and deepen the democratic transformation that is underway?

As we know from our own experience in the United States, democracy is a complicated and sometimes messy business. It requires many ingredients. Free and fair elections -- not once, but time and again. A functioning legislative branch, an independent judiciary, active political parties, a free press, and the basic rights of

assembly, association and free speech.

It also requires free market economies that can produce and sustain growth and support investments in human capital -- investments in the health, education and the well-being of every man, woman and child. People, after all, are every nation's greatest resource. And as my husband often says, "We don't have a single person in this world to waste."

Africa has made extraordinary progress on this front. Last year, 30 African countries reported positive economic growth. In Uganda, I saw how democracy and reform had enabled an economy ravaged by decades of war to now record the stunning growth rate of eight percent a year.

What we have learned from Africa is that the right economic strategy can produce the right results. Already we see how the policies of reform adopted in some countries are making Africa home to the world's new economic "lions." Such progress is not only good for Africa; it is good for us all.

Clearly trade and investment are the wave of the future if we want to assure Africa's integration into the global economy. As Secretary Rubin said earlier today, the United States can lead this effort through engagement with Africa and by encouraging trade and open markets on the continent.

The simple fact is: Nations with free market systems do better. Look around the globe: Those nations which have lowered trade barriers are prospering more than those that have not. But we must also seize the opportunities that a changing Africa represents.

The companies represented here tonight recognize the investment potential of Africa and are taking advantage of the new economic conditions emerging there. The five countries being honored have worked hard to reduce barriers to trade and investment so that their citizens can enjoy the fruits of economic growth and the freedom that democracy brings.

We can only hope that more American businesses will be inspired by the example of the companies here. Companies like yours, and like Coca-Cola, aren't just seeking to expand their own markets in Africa but are upholding a time-

honored tradition of corporate philanthropy for which our country is known.

I gained a greater appreciation of the vital role that American corporations have played in the building of democracy when I visited Central Europe last year. In the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere I saw the extent of our corporate investment. The companies opening plants and hiring workers were doing far more than improving their own bottom lines; they were creating jobs, raising incomes, spurring local development and growth, and lending confidence to people and institutions undergoing profound political, economic and social change. The same is true of some of our corporate efforts in Africa.

As important as trade and investment are to the continent's economic progress, the President understands that foreign assistance remains crucial for many countries. Aid must be a bridge to trade. It helps countries making the transition to democracy and free market systems give their citizens the tools they need to overcome an array of social problems and become full and productive members of society.

Let me give you some examples of American foreign assistance that I saw at work in Africa:

In Senegal, I visited a village where, with support from the United States Agency for International Development, women were working to improve health care, education and the economy and were even helping to teach their fellow villagers about the tenets of democracy.

In South Africa, I visited a primary school in the heart of Soweto where a classroom of six-year-olds -- led by a wonderful and formidable teacher -- was learning English using a tape recording funded in part with U.S. assistance. The next day, in Capetown, I went to a dusty patch of land where a group of homeless women had organized themselves into a housing and credit association. They were busy building houses for their families -- literally pushing wheelbarrows, mixing cement, laying the foundations and the sewer lines, putting up walls and windows, and layering on the paint. They, too, received support from our government.

One aside: We cannot expect the "miracle" of South African democracy to be fully realized if the people of South Africa, who have endured so much tragedy, do

not have access to the tools of opportunity: education, health care, jobs and credit, along with the legal and political rights now guaranteed in South Africa's progressive new Constitution.

It ~~is~~ in our interest — politically, economically, and socially — to help the people of ~~South Africa~~, and all of Africa, nurture the fertile soil of democracy. Americans -- and American companies -- can take pride in the support ~~we lent to the~~ anti-apartheid movement in the decades before freedom came. But we cannot wash our hands now and assume the job is done. We have to help the courageous people of South Africa continue down the path they have chosen to follow. We have to encourage private investment which, along with foreign assistance, can help South Africa forge ahead with confidence in its own future.

Some of our greatest contributions are in health-related partnerships. In Zimbabwe, I saw firsthand the extraordinary efforts that country has made in the area of family planning. Not only is Zimbabwe addressing problems of population growth and disease, it is encouraging women to take responsibility for their own lives and futures.

At a local family planning clinic outside of Harare, I met with Peace Corps volunteers who are helping to educate teenage girls about the dangers of HIV and unprotected sex. This is but one way that we have helped Zimbabwe lower fertility rates, lower infant mortality rates, and increase contraceptive use, all of which are contributing to a healthier and more productive citizenry and a healthier and more productive economy.

Tanzania, as you know, is a crucial actor in environmental protection and in bringing peace and stability to central Africa. I was fortunate to visit the Ngorongoro Crater, the Serengeti, the Olduvai Gorge and other parts of that beautiful country and to learn more about the connection between environmental protection and political and economic stability. In developing countries, people need wood and charcoal for fuel, so they chop down trees. Too few trees leads to too much erosion, which leads to the washing away of rich topsoil, which in turn makes it harder to grow food and to plant trees.

We have learned some hard lessons about the environment in neighboring Rwanda, where depleted resources and a swollen population exacerbated political

and economic pressures, which then exploded into one of this century's greatest human tragedies.

[NOTE TO SUSAN: what can (or should) we say about U.S. support for these environmental efforts?]

In Uganda, I saw how American assistance had spurred new investments in health and education, so important to Uganda's democratic and economic rebirth. I saw lending institutions, which also receive U.S. support, making credit available to poor women, enabling them to start their own businesses and lift themselves and their families out of poverty. At the AIDS Information Center, I learned that 320,000 families had already been served as part of a nationwide campaign to slow the spread of HIV and AIDS. And I also learned that the Center helped pioneer same-day testing techniques that have been transplanted back here in the United States -- which proves that foreign aid is not simply a one-way street.

President Museveni has shown extraordinary foresight in taking on this critical health issue. And I also want to commend him for recognizing the importance of investing in women and girls as part of his country's democratic and economic transition. In addition to making health care more available to women, the country is making an unprecedented effort to train teachers and educate children, especially girls who too often are left out of the academic equation. As President Museveni said to me during my stay there, "Women form more than half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every ten people."

And I would add: Not only would you be hurting yourself, you wouldn't be building a democracy. Because a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms.

That is one reason I was filled with such hope when I visited Africa's newest country, Eritrea. Here, again, women are central to the building of democracy.

I met with women freedom fighters who joined the movement as teenagers and took up arms for the better part of three decades. Today these women are a chorus of freedom and democracy and are helping to build schools, health clinics and train their fellow freedom fighters for civilian jobs.

What I'm getting at is that a vibrant democracy depends not just on free elections and open markets, but on the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It depends on people coming together to create a flourishing civil society in which individuals, community groups, religious institutions, businesses, academia and government join together to promote the common good. And it depends on strong international partners who are willing to support democracy's rise.

The United States intends to continue its partnership with Africa and to support the continent's democratic and economic renewal. We are already contributing through efforts like the ones I saw to empower women politically and economically, educate children, train teachers, support AIDS prevention, spark microenterprise, keep family planning centers open, expand immunizations, [environment?], and strengthen democratic institutions.

American assistance creates the conditions for self-sustained economic growth. It goes hand-in-hand with private investment. And I assure you that the President is eager to work with Congress to find new and effective ways to support Africa through a combined program of foreign assistance and expanded trade and investment.

This approach, the President believes, will enable African countries to achieve their goals of greater self-reliance and full integration into the global economy. At the same time, it will attract investment to U.S. markets and spur jobs and growth at home.

That said, we cannot overlook threats to Africa's fragile democracies: regional conflicts; crime; narcotics trafficking and international terrorism, all of which undermine political and economic progress. And that is why the United States will collaborate with our partners in Africa to maintain peace and stability and ensure that democracy is given every chance to grow.

During my last few days in Africa I had the opportunity to visit the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, where scientists and anthropologists have made many discoveries about the origins of human kind. It is hard to walk through the gorge, as I did, without being overcome by the realization that all of us — no matter the color of our skin, our faith, or our beliefs — came from the same place. We share a

common home. We are part of a larger family.

The message embedded in the rock at the gorge is that we share a common past — and we share a common future. We have a stake in each other's triumphs and failures. And I hope that in the days and months ahead we will see a growing consciousness in people's minds — here and in Africa — that despite the wide ocean between us, we are neighbors on this shared earth. We cannot live without each other. We have much to learn from each other. And we have much to give to each other.

As you know, the President will travel to Africa sometime during this term. Whenever me makes his trip, I am confident he will return home as moved as I was by the people he meets and the places he sees — and as inspired by the promise and possibility that Africa represents.

Thank you very much.

###

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa JM
RE: Speech to the Corporate Council on Africa
DATE: April 19, 1997

This is a first draft of your speech for Monday night. I've borrowed from the Uganda speech where appropriate. But I've also tried to include some new points, along the lines of the meeting a few days ago. Also, I'm not sure the examples I've given of foreign assistance are necessarily the ones you want to highlight. Obviously, we can change them if need be.

We will not have precise language for the section on the U.S. program for Africa until Monday (I can explain in greater detail by phone). For now, suffice it to say that NSC and Treasury are still sorting out some sticky issues.

Finally, it's not quite as long as it looks. I printed it out in larger font; hence, more pages. (If you want a double-spaced copy to work with, I can easily send one along).

draft #2
Monday 2 p.m.

FAX-> 65709

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON AFRICA
CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA
APRIL 21, 1997

Heads of State, Prime Ministers, and Vice Presidents; Ministers; Ambassadors; Members of Congress; Members of the Corporate Council; award winners; distinguished guests and friends:

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts about Africa, which I am eager to do. But first, I want to bring you a brief message from my husband, the President of the United States, Bill Clinton:

[The President's video]

Just a little over three weeks ago, my daughter and I boarded a plane in Asmara, Eritrea to fly home to the United States after two weeks in Africa. It was the end of the Holy Week. We touched down in Washington as dawn broke on Easter morning, and it occurred to me how fitting our timing was. Millions around the world were celebrating a holiday that marks the passage of sorrow and despair to hope and renewal. And that was precisely the story we had seen unfolding in Africa.

I went to Africa -- at the request of the President and the Secretary of State -- to highlight Africa's economic and democratic renewal. I wanted Americans to see the importance of our partnership with Africa and to appreciate the stake we have in the future of that great continent. I also wanted to underscore America's modest contributions in foreign assistance -- and the successes they have helped produce.

By the time I reached home after visiting six countries -- Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda and Eritrea -- I was more convinced than ever that Africa is a continent on the move: a continent bulging with possibilities for political, economic and social progress. I was also convinced that American

engagement with Africa is essential to our nation's goal of strengthening peace, prosperity and democracy around the world.

This is not to say that Africa's future is cloudless. We all remember a time -- after Independence -- when economists and commentators predicted with great certainty that the African economy was on the verge of an immense boom; that the world's newest "tigers" would emerge south of the Sahara; that the continent represented the world's ripest and most lucrative new market for international trade.

History proved more complicated than some of those economists guessed. Colonialism left the African landscape rife with arbitrary divisions -- divisions of class, culture, race and land. The Cold War imposed new tensions, as Africa became a giant chessboard for superpowers maneuvering for strategic advantage in the world. By the time the Cold War was over, Africa had to contend with the legacy of totalitarianism and closed economies, along with old nemeses like disease, poverty, illiteracy, explosive population growth, environmental degradation and civil strife.

Yet despite these challenges, Africa today is living up to its promise and hopes. As Deputy President Mbeki of South Africa often says, Africa is undergoing a renaissance. Democracy is flowering across much of the continent. Dramatic economic growth is occurring in country after country. A new generation of reform-minded leaders is in charge in many capitals. And there is new respect for human rights -- and especially the rights of women to become equal partners in society.

This progress has not been lost on President Clinton or his Administration.

The United States wants democracy to take root and grow throughout Africa. And we want Africa to be a strong partner for peace, prosperity and progress in the 21st century. Today, the question for all of us who care about the future of democracy in Africa is: What can be done to sustain and deepen the democratic transformation that is underway?

As we know from our own experience in the United States, democracy is a complicated and sometimes messy business. It requires many ingredients. Free and fair elections -- not once, but time and again. A functioning legislative branch, an independent judiciary, active political parties, a free press, and the basic rights of assembly, association and free speech.

It also requires free market economies that can produce and sustain growth and support investments in human capital -- investments in the health, education and the well-being of every man, woman and child. People, after all, are every nation's greatest resource. And as my husband often says, "We don't have a single person in this world to waste."

Africa has made extraordinary progress on this front. Last year, 30 African countries reported positive economic growth. In Uganda, I saw how democracy and reform had enabled an economy ravaged by decades of war to now record the stunning growth rate of over eight percent a year.

What we have learned from Africa is that the right economic strategy can produce the right results. Already we see how growth-oriented policies adopted in many countries are making Africa home to the world's new economic "lions." Such progress is not only good for Africa; it is good for us all.

Clearly trade and investment are the wave of the future if we want to assure Africa's integration into the global economy. As Secretary Rubin said earlier today, the United States can lead this effort through engagement with Africa and by encouraging trade and open markets on the continent.

The simple fact is: Nations with free market systems do better. Look around the globe: Those nations which have lowered trade barriers are prospering more than those that have not.

It would be our loss if we failed to take advantage of the opportunities that a growth-oriented Africa represents. Today the United States accounts for only seven percent of the African market. Yet even that small market share has produced 100,000 jobs in our country. As that share expands, so will the number of American jobs.

We also know that companies doing business in South Africa have enjoyed returns on their investments higher than in many other parts of the world. Today leading American corporations are setting up operations throughout sub-Saharan Africa, as I saw on my recent trip. And I want to commend the companies represented here tonight for recognizing the investment potential of Africa.

Let me also note that American businesses at work in Africa are also upholding a time-honored tradition of corporate philanthropy for which our country is known. Companies like Coca-Cola aren't just benefitting financially from their investments but offer compelling examples of corporate citizenship in a democracy.

I gained a greater appreciation of the vital role that American corporations have played in the building of democracy when I visited Central Europe last year. In the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere I saw the extent of our corporate investment. The companies opening plants and hiring workers were doing far more than improving their own bottom lines; they were creating jobs, raising incomes, spurring local development and growth, and lending confidence to people and institutions undergoing profound political, economic and social change.

I saw the same spirit of American corporate philanthropy in Africa, when I visited the Dorothy Duncan Center for the Blind in Harare, which has received computers and software from an IBM subsidiary called Bedford Investments. Coca-Cola has supported arts, cultural, environmental and sports activities in Zimbabwe. And Johnson & Johnson has an active social outreach program there too.

As we continue to promote trade and investment policies that will contribute to Africa's growth, we also must remember that foreign assistance remains crucial for many countries. A good business climate requires a citizenry that is healthy, educated, free and involved in civic life. Foreign assistance -- even the modest sums the United States contributes -- helps create the social and economic conditions that are good for business and make trade and investment viable and profitable.

In other words: Aid is a bridge to trade.

And I hope all of you -- as leaders of the American business community -- will speak out in support of American foreign assistance, which is so essential to your individual corporate goals and to our nation's goals of democracy and freedom.

, ECONOMIC GROWTH

In every country I visited, I saw our foreign assistance at work in ways that I know all of you can appreciate: A village in Senegal where rural women were working to improve health care, education and the economy and were even helping to teach their fellow villagers about the tenets of democracy. A primary school in the heart of Soweto where a classroom of six-year-olds -- led by a wonderful and formidable teacher -- was learning English using a tape recording funded in part with U.S. assistance. A health clinic in Zimbabwe where American assistance has been instrumental in helping to expand family planning opportunities and lower infant and maternal mortality rates. The International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda in Tanzania, where U.S. support is crucial to the investigation and prosecution of genocide. A vocational center in Eritrea, where former women freedom fighters are teaching their fellow citizens skills and trades so necessary to the future of that young democracy. An AIDS Information Center in Uganda, where we have supported President Museveni's courageous and effective campaign to fight HIV and AIDS.

Let me also say that President Museveni should be commended for recognizing the importance of investing in women and girls as part of his country's democratic and economic transition. Uganda is making an unprecedented effort to train teachers and educate children, especially girls who too often are left out of the academic equation. As President Museveni said to me during my stay there, "Women form more than half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every ten people."

And I would add: Not only would you be hurting yourself, you wouldn't be building a democracy. Because a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms.

We all know that a vibrant democracy depends not just on free elections and open markets, but on the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It depends on people coming together to create a flourishing civil society in which individuals, community groups, religious institutions, businesses, academia and government join together to promote the common good. And it depends on strong international partners who are willing to support the rise of democratic institutions and free market systems around the globe.

JOINT

Earlier today, the President authorized the Administration to begin INTENSIVE discussions with Congress to outline a package that will strengthen our partnership with Africa and support the continent's democratic and economic renewal.

ECONOMIC

First and foremost, the President is committed to efforts that open economies to private sector trade and investment because he realizes that these strategies offer the greatest potential for growth and the alleviation of poverty.

Second, he believes such efforts must be coupled with investments in people, particularly the areas of health and education. Foreign assistance is critical-- but should be viewed as one, not the only, engine of growth.

Third, the President believes that there must be renewed emphasis on management and governance in developing countries if we want opportunities for private investment to flourish.

The United States welcomes the progress that many African nations have made thus far. We also recognize that the governments willing to undertake the boldest actions to liberalize, open and private their economies have achieved the best results.

That said, the President and his Administration understand that not all African countries are at the same stage of growth and development. The United States wishes to create opportunities for growth for all of our African partners through infrastructure investment, better regional integration, new and stronger business partnerships and new efforts to support exports to Africa. And we are prepared to provide additional opportunities to SUPPORT countries that are ~~undertaking accelerated reform.~~ PURSUING BOLD GROWTH-ORIENTED POLICY.

~~[Announce 1999 Summit?]~~

This approach, the President believes, will enable more African countries to achieve their goals of greater self-reliance and full integration into the global economy. At the same time, it will attract U.S. investment to ~~U.S. markets~~ AFRICA and spur jobs and growth HERE at home.

As optimistic as we are about Africa's prospects, we cannot overlook threats to Africa's fragile democracies: regional conflicts; crime; narcotics trafficking and international terrorism, all of which undermine political and economic progress. And that is why the United States will collaborate with our partners in Africa to maintain peace and stability and ensure that democracy is given every chance to grow.

During my last few days in Africa I had the opportunity to visit the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, where scientists and anthropologists have made many discoveries about the origins of human kind. It is hard to walk through the gorge, as

I did, without being overcome by the realization that all of us — no matter the color of our skin, our faith, or our beliefs — came from the same place. We share a common home. We are part of a larger family.

The message embedded in the rock at the gorge is that we share a common past — and we share a common future. We have a stake in each other's triumphs and failures. And I hope that in the days and months ahead we will see a growing consciousness in people's minds — here and in Africa — that despite the wide ocean between us, we are neighbors on this shared earth. We cannot live without each other. We have much to learn from each other. And we have much to give to each other.

As you know, the President will travel to Africa ~~sometime~~ this term. Whenever he makes his trip, I am confident he will return home as moved as I was by the people he meets and the places he sees — and as inspired by the promise and possibility that Africa represents.

Thank you very much.

###

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-21-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copied
Tarullo
Berger
Hilley
Scheduling
COS

April 19, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached Tarullo/Berger/Hilley memo recommends that you permit substantive consultations with Congress on moving forward on a joint legislative initiative for trade, investment and development in Africa .

The Administration has had a package of initiatives under internal discussion for several months that consists of (1) an extensive program of escalating trade benefits to African countries based on the countries' level of economic reforms; and (2) establishment of an annual Cabinet-Minister-level U.S.-Africa Economic Forum to elevate the caliber of dialogue. Details of the package are in the memo.

A bipartisan group of House Members, led by Crane, Rangel and McDermott have also been developing an Africa trade package, and have expressed interest in introducing a joint proposal. Our proposal is more detailed in its benefits, and has some downsides as there could be some domestic industry complaints over the tariff cuts, but Tarullo feels that we may be able to find common ground with the Hill -- he has met extensively with the Members.

Please note that the memo recommends a Rose Garden rollout event before the end of the month and that you host the inuagural U.S.-Africa Economic Forum in 1999. *Podesta and Stephanie* point out that there is no time on your schedule for the April event and that it is premature to plan for 1999 now. *But Podesta concurs with moving forward on a joint initiative.*

✓ Approve joint initiative ___ Disapprove ___ Discuss

Phil Caplan
Phil

should do event in May - clearly can work out '99 schedule - should do -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-21-97

2615

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1997

'97 APR 16 PM7:11

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DANIEL K. TARULLO DKT
SAMUEL R. BERGER
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT: U.S.-Africa Economic Growth and Opportunity Initiative

Purpose

That you approve a trade, investment and development initiative for Africa, and that you approve a Summit in Washington with key African participants as part of that initiative in 1999.

Background

We have been working for some time to develop an initiative to use trade and other incentives to encourage accelerated economic and political reform and growth in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and to integrate reforming nations more completely and successfully into the global economy.

The worldwide trend towards open markets and open societies has begun to take root in SSA. Democratic elections in more than 20 countries, including the establishment of majority rule in South Africa, offer great promise. A number of countries -- Uganda, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire, to name a few -- have undertaken serious economic reform programs that are showing good results. South Africa, freed from sanctions and pursuing economic integration with its immediate neighbors, can and must become an engine for growth, if the region is to prosper.

Continuing these economic and political reforms is critical to American interests. An Africa that is economically marginalized leads to poverty, instability and conflict that is more costly in human and economic terms. Moreover, our world leadership is enhanced to the degree that we show the way in helping African countries to prosper in the global economy.

We have now defined a program with the following elements:

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Trade, Investment, and Development Initiative

This program provides escalating trade benefits to African countries, depending on the level of economic reforms they have undertaken. The more extensive the reforms, the greater the trade benefits provided. Our objective is to move beyond traditional forms of foreign assistance to emphasize a new approach based on providing market-based incentives to encourage reform within African countries. That is why this approach has attracted support from both conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats: it is both market-oriented and a positive effort toward Africa.

The program establishes three categories or "tiers" of country participants. The **first tier** includes virtually all SSA countries (except Sudan, Eritrea, Nigeria, Gabon, Liberia, for various reasons). The least developed countries in this tier would receive enhanced Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) benefits (i.e., duty-free treatment on more products), a step we had already endorsed to help these countries. The **second tier**, composed of countries that have taken accelerated reform measures, would receive even greater duty-free access to the U.S. market akin to the benefits Caribbean countries receive under the Caribbean Basin Initiative. Tier 2 countries would also receive focused development assistance, support in gaining debt relief and financing programs through the World Bank and IMF. We would consider creating a **third tier** of countries with which we would begin free trade negotiations, at an appropriate time in the context of continuing reforms. No country is yet at this level, but we might signal interest in eventual free-trade talks with South Africa.

U.S.-Africa Economic Forum and Summit

To elevate the level and caliber of dialogue between Africa's boldest reformers and the United States, an annual Cabinet Minister-level U.S.-Africa Economic Forum will be established, under the joint leadership of the Secretaries of State and Treasury, and the USTR. In addition to these meetings, we propose that you host a single Summit in 1999 (in Washington) to inaugurate the program and to draw attention to the most accelerated reformers.

Congressional Considerations

A coalition of disparate members, led by Representatives Crane, Rangel and McDermott, have been developing an African trade and investment legislative initiative, and expressed interest in introducing a joint-Administration-Congressional package. Our effort is somewhat more detailed in its trade benefits and more robust in proposed financial and technical assistance, particularly if we are successful in marshaling support from the international financial institutions. Dan has met with these members, collectively and individually, and we have had a number of staff discussions. If you approve this approach, we will work rapidly with them to try to craft a joint bill. Some of the program's tariff cuts could cause some industry opposition (e.g., ferro-alloys, fruit juices, watches), and some other features cause concern in some parts of the apparel industry. While we need to make sure that the package of trade benefits offers something of value to African countries, we will also need to be sure that opposition in particular sectors does not endanger the initiative as a whole. We will identify the sensitive areas to our supporters in Congress and be sure they can test these provisions with other members.

Roll-out

Our thought is that, following Congressional and diplomatic consultations, you would invite the bill's sponsors to the White House for a Rose Garden event to announce a joint bill. We should seek to hold this event prior to the April 29 hearing scheduled by the House Ways and Means Committee.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Africa trade, investment and development initiative described above and authorize us to negotiate a common bill with Congress.

Approve________ Disapprove ________

That you agree to host a single Summit in 1999 in Washington to inaugurate the program and to draw attention to the most accelerated reformers.

Approve________ Disapprove ________

Attachment
Tab A U.S.-Africa Economic Growth and Opportunity Initiative

U.S.-Africa Economic Growth and Opportunity Initiative

Bilateral Trade Incentives

Tier 1

Reforms: LDCs in Sub-Saharan Africa would continue to receive duty-free treatment provided in the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program, while LLDCs will receive enhanced GSP treatment as provided for in existing law.

Benefits (GSP-Plus): Continued duty-free treatment for the basic GSP list of some 4000 products, plus enhanced duty-free access for about 1800 additional products; possible technical assistance in implementing trade and economic reforms. Countries likely to benefit include all SSA countries, except those that are not now GSP eligible, i.e. Sudan, Eritrea, Nigeria, Gabon and Liberia.

Tier 2

Reforms: GSP-eligible SSA countries would qualify if they are adopting accelerated programs in opening their economies to foreign trade and investment (i.e. progress on bilateral investment treaty, intellectual property rights and binding WTO commitments), while also investing in their people, and improving their economic policy management and governance. These same reforms are being contemplated in the development of special World Bank and IMF programs.

Benefits (CBI-Plus): Countries would receive duty-free and preferential tariff treatment on a further expanded groups of products identical to the preferences given to Caribbean and Central American countries under the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), plus watches, tuna and hydrocarbons, as well as additional access for certain textile products; encouragement to the IMF and World Bank that they provide enhanced balance of payments support to help countries undertake reforms; enhanced agricultural assistance under PL-480; equity investment support and more aggressive export credit marketing to attract private sector investment; support for enhancing greater regional integration and support for an American-African Business Partnership provided by USAID. The tariff preferences offered under this program would especially be attractive to those more economically advanced African countries (such as South Africa, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Ghana and Mauritius) which have arisen above LDC status and are not eligible for the enhanced GSP program.

Tier 3

In the future, reforming countries would be eligible for free trade agreements (FTAs). We do not envision FTA negotiations with any SSA country soon. However, South Africa and/or the countries of the Southern African region collectively are leading candidates and we might want to signal interest in eventual negotiations to encourage further reform, particularly in South Africa. Such a signal might also gain additional support for fast track legislation.

Multilateral Efforts

Though not requiring legislation, our initiative on Africa will be linked to two important multilateral efforts.

- **Denver Summit:** Following up on the Lyons commitment to make Africa a central focus, we expect to announce at Denver both bilateral and joint efforts with our Summit partners. On economic issues, we are working with our Summit partners to adopt common strategies on bilateral assistance, focused on capacity building, good governance, investment in human capital, and infrastructure projects that contribute to economic growth. Together, we will encourage the World Bank and the IMF to adopt special programs to promote economic growth, trade and investment in SSA (below). We also are working with Summit partners to launch initiatives to strengthen democracy and to enhance conflict management in SSA.

- **International Financial Institutions:** We are using the Denver Summit process to encourage IFIs to develop growth and integration strategies for countries which adopt accelerated reforms. This includes IMF programs to provide qualifying countries with complimentary time-limited bridge-financing until additional resources from trade tax and other support are generated; IMF and World Bank technical assistance to promote sound economic management and policy reforms, particularly in helping liberalize trade; investment in health and education; debt relief to highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) that have made accelerated policy reforms.

TREASURY MTG (3)

Speech/ Take Uganda one step further —
shaping African policy / philosophy
Draw real life examples from trip
Why this is in U.S. interests
economic
moral
stability / democracy
environmental /
nat'l security
fuller defense of U.S. interests
Preventive action that looks ahead

"we can't watch it more than they do" —
re: assistance to poorest countries
have to recognize limits of what we can do
- push entrepreneurial not political devlpt

forward defense of American interests

draft #1
Saturday a.m.
4/19/97

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON AFRICA
CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA
APRIL 21, 1997

~~Distinguished~~ audiences, [illegible]

HEADS OF STATE?, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Members of the Corporate Council; award winners; Ministers, Ambassadors, distinguished guests and friends:

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts about Africa, which I am eager to do. But first, I want to bring you a brief message from my husband, the President of the United States, Bill Clinton:

[The President's video]

Just a little over three weeks ago, my daughter and I boarded a plane in Asmara, Eritrea to fly home to the United States after two weeks in Africa. It was the end of the Holy Week. We touched down in Washington as dawn broke on Easter morning, and it occurred to me how fitting our timing was. Millions around the world were celebrating a holiday that marks the passage of sorrow and despair to hope and renewal. And that was precisely the story we had seen unfolding in Africa.

I went to Africa -- at the request of the President and the Secretary of State -- to highlight Africa's economic and democratic renewal. I wanted Americans to see the importance of our partnership with Africa and to appreciate the stake we have in the future of that great continent. I also wanted to underscore America's modest contributions in foreign assistance -- and the successes they have helped produce.

By the time I reached home after visiting six countries -- Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda and Eritrea -- I was more convinced than ever that Africa is a continent on the move: a continent bulging with possibilities for political, economic and social progress. I was also convinced that American

engagement with Africa is essential to our nation's goal of strengthening peace, prosperity and democracy around the world.

This is not to say that Africa's future is cloudless. We all remember a time -- after Independence -- when economists and commentators predicted with great certainty that the African economy was on the verge of an immense boom; that the world's newest "tigers" would emerge south of the Sahara; that the continent represented the world's ripest and most lucrative new market for international trade.

History proved more complicated than some of those economists guessed. Colonialism left the African landscape rife with arbitrary divisions -- divisions of class, culture, race and land. The Cold War imposed new tensions, as Africa became a giant chessboard for superpowers maneuvering for strategic advantage in the world. By the time the Cold War was over, Africa had to contend with the legacy of totalitarianism and closed economies, along with old nemeses like disease, poverty, illiteracy, explosive population growth, environmental degradation and civil strife.

DEPUTY

Yet despite these challenges, Africa today is living up to its promise and hopes. As ~~Vice~~-President Mbeki of South Africa often says, Africa is undergoing a renaissance. Democracy is flowering across much of the continent. Dramatic economic growth is occurring in country after country. A new generation of reform-minded leaders is in charge in many capitals. And there is new respect for human rights -- and especially the rights of women to become equal partners in society.

This progress has not been lost on President Clinton or his Administration.

The United States wants democracy to take root and grow throughout Africa. And we want Africa to be a strong partner for peace, prosperity and progress in the 21st century. Today, the question for all of us who care about the future of democracy in Africa is: What can be done to sustain and deepen the democratic transformation that is underway?

As we know from our own experience in the United States, democracy is a complicated and sometimes messy business. It requires many ingredients. Free and fair elections -- not once, but time and again. A functioning legislative branch, an independent judiciary, active political parties, a free press, and the basic rights of

assembly, association and free speech.

It also requires free market economies that can produce and sustain growth and support investments in human capital -- investments in the health, education and the well-being of every man, woman and child. People, after all, are every nation's greatest resource. And as my husband often says, "We don't have a single person in this world to waste."

Africa has made extraordinary progress on this front. Last year, 30 African countries reported positive economic growth. In Uganda, I saw how democracy and reform had enabled an economy ravaged by decades of war to now record the stunning growth rate of eight percent a year.

GROWTH - ORIENTED

What we have learned from Africa is that the right economic strategy can produce the right results. Already we see how the policies ~~of reform~~ adopted in MANY ~~some~~ countries are making Africa home to the world's new economic "lions." Such progress is not only good for Africa; it is good for us all.

Clearly trade and investment are the wave of the future if we want to assure Africa's integration into the global economy. As Secretary Rubin said earlier today, the United States can lead this effort through engagement with Africa and by encouraging trade and open markets on the continent.

The simple fact is: Nations with free market systems do better. Look around the globe: Those nations which have lowered trade barriers are prospering more than those that have not. But we must also seize the opportunities that a changing Africa represents. /?

The companies represented here tonight recognize the investment potential of Africa and are taking advantage of the new economic conditions emerging there. The five countries being honored have worked hard to reduce barriers to trade and investment so that their citizens can enjoy the fruits of economic growth and the freedom that democracy brings.

We can only hope that more American businesses will be inspired by the example of the companies here. Companies like yours, ~~and~~ like Coca-Cola, aren't just seeking to expand their own markets in Africa but are upholding a time-

honored tradition of corporate philanthropy for which our country is known.

I gained a greater appreciation of the vital role that American corporations have played in the building of democracy when I visited Central Europe last year. In the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere I saw the extent of our corporate investment. The companies opening plants and hiring workers were doing far more than improving their own bottom lines; they were creating jobs, raising incomes, spurring local development and growth, and lending confidence to people and institutions undergoing profound political, economic and social change. The same is true of some of our corporate efforts in Africa.

As important as trade and investment are to the continent's economic progress, the President understands that foreign assistance remains crucial for many countries. Aid must be a bridge to trade. It helps countries making the transition to democracy and free market systems give their citizens the tools they need to overcome an array of social problems and become full and productive members of society.

BY REAL PEOPLE

Let me give you some examples of American foreign assistance that I saw at work in Africa:

In Senegal, I visited a village where, with support from the United States Agency for International Development, women were working to improve health care, education and the economy and were even helping to teach their fellow villagers about the tenets of democracy.

In South Africa, I visited a primary school in the heart of Soweto where a classroom of six-year-olds -- led by a wonderful and formidable teacher -- was learning English using a tape recording funded in part with U.S. assistance. The next day, in Capetown, I went to a dusty patch of land where a group of homeless women had organized themselves into a housing and credit association. They were busy building houses for their families -- literally pushing wheelbarrows, mixing cement, laying the foundations and the sewer lines, putting up walls and windows, and layering on the paint. They, too, received support from our government.

?. One aside: We cannot expect the "miracle" of South African democracy to be fully realized if the people of South Africa, who have endured so much tragedy, do

not have access to the tools of opportunity: education, health care, jobs and credit, along with the legal and political rights now guaranteed in South Africa's progressive new Constitution.

?

It is in our interest — politically, economically, and socially — to help the people of South ~~Africa, and all of Africa,~~ nurture the fertile soil of democracy. Americans -- and American companies -- can take pride in the support we lent to the anti-apartheid movement in the decades before freedom came. But we cannot wash our hands now and assume the job is done. We have to help the courageous people of South Africa continue down the path they have chosen to follow. We have to encourage private investment which, along with foreign assistance, can help South Africa forge ahead with confidence in its own future.

Some of our greatest contributions are in health-related partnerships. In Zimbabwe, I saw firsthand the extraordinary efforts that country has made in the area of family planning. Not only is Zimbabwe addressing problems of population growth and disease, it is encouraging women to take responsibility for their own lives and futures.

At a local family planning clinic outside of Harare, I met with Peace Corps volunteers who are helping to educate teenage girls about the dangers of HIV and unprotected sex. This is but one way that we have helped Zimbabwe lower fertility rates, lower infant mortality rates, and increase contraceptive use, all of which are contributing to a healthier and more productive citizenry and a healthier and more productive economy.

Tanzania, as you know, is a crucial actor in environmental protection and in bringing peace and stability to central Africa. I was fortunate to visit the Ngorongoro Crater, the Serengeti, the Olduvai Gorge and other parts of that beautiful country and to learn more about the connection between environmental protection and political and economic stability. In developing countries, people need wood and charcoal for fuel, so they chop down trees. Too few trees leads to too much erosion, which leads to the washing away of rich topsoil, which in turn makes it harder to grow food and to plant trees.

We have learned some hard lessons about the environment in neighboring Rwanda, where depleted resources and a swollen population exacerbated political

and economic pressures, which then exploded into one of this century's greatest human tragedies.

AD. [NOTE TO SUSAN: what can (or should) we say about U.S. support for these environmental efforts?]

In Uganda, I saw how American assistance had spurred new investments in health and education, so important to Uganda's democratic and economic rebirth. I saw lending institutions, which also receive U.S. support, making credit available to poor women, enabling them to start their own businesses and lift themselves and their families out of poverty. At the AIDS Information Center, I learned that 320,000 families had already been served as part of a nationwide campaign to slow the spread of HIV and AIDS. And I also learned that the Center helped pioneer same-day testing techniques that have been transplanted back here in the United States -- which proves that foreign aid is not simply a one-way street.

President Museveni has shown extraordinary foresight in taking on this critical health issue. And I also want to commend him for recognizing the importance of investing in women and girls as part of his country's democratic and economic transition. In addition to making health care more available to women, the country is making an unprecedented effort to train teachers and educate children, especially girls who too often are left out of the academic equation. As President Museveni said to me during my stay there, "Women form more than half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every ten people."

And I would add: Not only would you be hurting yourself, you wouldn't be building a democracy. Because a democracy without the full participation of women is a contradiction in terms.

That is one reason I was filled with such hope when I visited Africa's newest country, Eritrea. Here, again, women are central to the building of democracy.

I met with women freedom fighters who joined the movement as teenagers and took up arms for the better part of three decades. Today these women are a chorus of freedom and democracy and are helping to build schools, health clinics and train their fellow freedom fighters for civilian jobs.

What I'm getting at is that a vibrant democracy depends not just on free elections and open markets, but on the internalization of democratic values in people's hearts, minds and everyday lives. It depends on people coming together to create a flourishing civil society in which individuals, community groups, religious institutions, businesses, academia and government join together to promote the common good. And it depends on strong international partners who are willing to support democracy's rise.

The United States intends to continue its partnership with Africa and to support the continent's democratic and economic renewal. We are already contributing through efforts like the ones I saw to empower women politically and economically, educate children, train teachers, support AIDS prevention, spark microenterprise, keep family planning centers open, expand immunizations, [environment?], and strengthen democratic institutions.

American assistance creates the conditions for self-sustained economic growth. It goes hand-in-hand with private investment. And I assure you that the President is eager to work with Congress to find new and effective ways to support Africa through [a combined program of foreign assistance] and expanded trade and investment.

This approach, the President believes, will enable African countries to achieve their goals of greater self-reliance and full integration into the global economy. At the same time, it will attract investment to U.S. markets and spur jobs and growth at home.

That said, we cannot overlook threats to Africa's fragile democracies: regional conflicts; crime; narcotics trafficking and international terrorism, all of which undermine political and economic progress. And that is why the United States will collaborate with our partners in Africa to maintain peace and stability and ensure that democracy is given every chance to grow.

During my last few days in Africa I had the opportunity to visit the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, where scientists and anthropologists have made many discoveries about the origins of human kind. It is hard to walk through the gorge, as I did, without being overcome by the realization that all of us — no matter the color of our skin, our faith, or our beliefs — came from the same place. We share a

common home. We are part of a larger family.

The message embedded in the rock at the gorge is that we share a common past — and we share a common future. We have a stake in each other's triumphs and failures. And I hope that in the days and months ahead we will see a growing consciousness in people's minds — here and in Africa — that despite the wide ocean between us, we are neighbors on this shared earth. We cannot live without each other. We have much to learn from each other. And we have much to give to each other.

As you know, the President will travel to Africa ~~sometime~~ during this term. Whenever me makes his trip, I am confident he will return home as moved as I was by the people he meets and the places he sees — and as inspired by the promise and possibility that Africa represents.

Thank you very much.

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MTG 4/15/97 Treasury/Africa

Sommers/ Twenty years ago:

- economists predict Africa ↑, Asia ↓ econ.
- never would have believed Thailand > Ghana or Indonesia > Nigeria

Africa = most profound challenge we face

20 fastest growing countries forecast → 5 in Africa

$500m investment in Mozambique

Right kind of econ. strategy — Africa can grow just as rapidly as elsewhere

Trade Obstacles

- many countries = land locked
- infrastructure (roads etc.)
- historically has pursued very closed trade policies
  - denies them imported goods
  - ↑ prices for parts, etc
  - discourages for. investment (and investment $$ end up → licenses, etc. instead of production

If Africa ⇒ open

→ spur rapid econ. growth

→ one reason this is discouraged is aid $$ → "addicting" character of aid.

TREASURY MTG 4/15/97

Sommers We think focus shld be more:

trade, selectivity, mkt

Initiative we've dvlpd w/ USTR, NSC:

- principles - selectivity in assistance
- promote openness

Forgive debt of some countries to IMF, World Bank after several yrs of strong performance

Uganda - this soon

[Bolivia]

Cote D'Ivoire, Mozambique → possible

Ethiopia — maybe

Initiative: ① Unilateral trade concessions from U.S. for strong performers wkg to open mkts

② Financing - to compensate for lost tariffs resulting from open mkts (we want to call on IMF/WB to give them transition loans as they try to put in new tax systems to replace tariffs

③ Redirecting commodity assistance to poorest countries (now a lot → middle) allow countries to sell commodities they don't need to raise $$ for stuff they do need

④ ~~Expansion of~~ Enhancing of existing structures like OPIC

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript March 28, 1997

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY

Nile Center
Kampala, Uganda

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much, Mrs. Museveni, for your kind remarks and your gracious hospitality and for your friendship as you accompany me through this wonderful visit that I have enjoyed here in Uganda. Madame Vice President, ministers, members of Parliament, ambassadors, commissioners, distinguished guests -- it seems fitting that we gather on Good Friday here in this great (inaudible) center because this is the day that Christians around the world know marks the passage of sorrow and despair to hope and renewal. (Applause.)

And that is also the journey that Uganda and so many other countries in Africa have taken in the last 10 years. Just over two weeks ago I stood at a podium like this in the United States State Department and spoke about why I was coming to Africa. The President and Secretary of State had asked me to come to Africa in order to highlight Africa's economic and democratic renewal.

I wanted to come to remind Americans of the importance of our partnership with Africa -- (applause) -- to underscore how America's modest contributions in foreign aid yield enormous results. I wanted to help our country understand the importance of investing in the people of Africa. I wanted to make sure that my country understood what was happening in your country and throughout so many of the countries in Africa as you are growing and trading and strengthening democracy.

I also knew that Africa had a positive story to tell --(applause) -- one that Americans could learn from. All across Africa individuals like yourselves and communities are coming together, forging bold and creative solutions at the grass-roots level and at the highest reaches of government. Today I can report that this trip has exceeded even my most optimistic expectations. (Applause.)

Starting in Senegal and going on to South Africa and Zimbabwe and Tanzania and now Uganda, I have been privileged to meet Africa's leaders and to see Africa's renewal firsthand.

Nowhere has Africa's progress been more impressive than in the building of democracy. Until very recently, as you know so well, there were only five democracies on this great continent. In the last six years that number has jumped to 23. But democracy is not just about one election; it is about free and fair elections that are repeated successfully. It is also about other essential processes and institutions: a functioning parliament, an independent judiciary. It is about political parties, a free press, and the basic rights of assembly and association.

Now that we have seen democracy emerge strongly in this country, on this continent, the question for all of us who care about the future of democracy in Africa includes what can be done to sustain and deepen this democratic transformation. What is needed to ensure that new democracies take root and prosper. How can we spur other nations to make the transition to sustainable democracy. To thrive, a democracy depends on many essential elements, some of which (inaudible).

It should be obvious, but often isn't, that the health of a democracy also depends fundamentally on empowering and enabling average citizens to participate fully in the decisions that touch their lives. It depends, in short, on what you are doing here in Uganda. The efforts I have seen here and the other countries I have visited are essential to building a vibrant democracy.

Now, what are some of those elements and what have I seen, and, particularly, what have I learned here in Uganda? First, a vibrant democracy requires that all women become full participants in their society. (Applause.) As the Vice President and Mrs. Museveni has said before, for too long in too many places, both in Africa and around the world, women have lived on the outskirts of opportunity. Yet we know we cannot build the kind of future we want for ourselves and our children without the contributions of women.

Over the last two weeks, I have been privileged to see women shaping their own destinies and the destinies of their countries -- building homes on a worn patch of land in Capetown; learning to manage a health clinic in a village in Senegal; working to reform the laws affecting property ownership and inheritance rights in Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Women are playing a greater role than ever here in Uganda. Women's rights are now enshrined in your constitution and I congratulate you. (Applause.) Women in Uganda have been welcomed into the government at the highest levels.

As President Museveni has rightfully said, women form more than half of our society, so you'd be hurting yourself if you left behind six of every 10 people. To your wise President, whom I enjoyed meeting first in Washington a few months ago and then again last evening, I would simply add: you wouldn't just be hurting yourself, you would not be living in a democracy, because a democracy without women's full participation is a contradiction in terms. Only with women's rights, the fullness of human rights are respected. When women begin to experience the authority over themselves that is the bedrock of the democratic experience, only then can they begin to experience the consciousness of full citizenship and the action that inspires.

Moreover, women will not flourish and neither will democracy if women continue to be undervalued inside and outside of the home. I'm often told by economists and others who look at what makes up the economy of countries that the work women do does not count. And I often respond -- when I think of the women gathering fire wood, fetching water, raising children, doctoring family members, keeping communities together -- I often think to myself, if women stopped working inside and outside the home tomorrow, the economy of the world would stop working. (Applause.)

But women constitute 70 percent of the world's poor, and so we have not done enough yet to liberate the economic potential of women the world over. Women must be assured the respect their work deserves, inside and outside the home. And they must be assured the opportunity to earn a decent income and become economically self-sufficient. When women are able to contribute to their own economic self-sufficiency, their husbands and children prosper, and their communities prosper as well.

But if more than the half citizens on this earth are underpaid, uneducated, under-represented, fed less, fed worse, not heard, threatened by violence in their own homes and on the streets of their communities, we cannot sustain the democratic values and way of life we have come to cherish.

What I have seen here in Uganda is that from your President all the way through the teachers in the primary school I visited, the workers in the AIDS information center, the women in the bank that is run by FINCA, I have seen that the people of Uganda understand that women will be a necessary part of building this nation's future. And that is a very important recognition indeed. (Applause.)

It is also true that a vibrant democracy requires investing in the education and health care of the people. That means we are willing to make a commitment to the future. I saw that for myself this morning. At the primary school, I heard how teachers as part of a national effort are getting better training. I saw new and creative learning materials in the hands of children. And in the energy-filled classrooms that we visited, I saw the results of your government's promise of free and expanded primary education.

While this commitment has put tremendous pressures on your schools, it has provided infinite hope for your people. Two million new students have registered nationwide for school. In the school I visited, the enrollment has nearly doubled. (Applause.)

I was also very pleased to see at Seguku school that you value education of girls as much as the education of boys. In other places I have visited around the world, that has not been the case. But we now know, based on both research that has been done, as well as first-hand personal observation by many people involved in government and politics and development around the world, that the single most important investment any nation can make for building a very prosperous democratic future is in the education of girls and women.

In country after country, the benefits of educating women go far beyond the school house. They turn up in stronger families, better nutrition, and higher wages. They also result in stronger democracies because, by telling girls that if they work hard and make the grade they too can have a rightful place in society, we are supporting the most important of democratic ideals -- the belief that every citizen, regardless of where that man or woman comes from, who their parents might be, what kind of village or family they call home -- that that person is entitled to his or her rightful share of personal, political, economic, and civic power.

So teaching people to read and write is essential, as is investing in health and addressing public health challenges. I have seen many programs in my visits that focus on trying to expand health care access to citizens. But I was very impressed by what I saw today. Uganda's world-leading efforts to educate its people against HIV and AIDS is a clear demonstration of your country's commitment from the highest levels to help.

At the AIDS Information Center, I learned that the center has already served more than 320,000 families and is part of a broader campaign to slow the spread of HIV and AIDS, and one in which the government, starting with your President, has assumed an important responsibility. Because your President refused to ignore HIV-AIDS and instead championed openness toward this terrible disease, you have seen positive results. (Applause.)

I know I have seen the results of the public information campaign on the more than a dozen billboards I have seen since I landed at the airport yesterday. You have made an all-out effort. There is still much to be done. The Minister of Health was eloquent in our meeting this morning in pointing out that there are many challenges ahead -- not only with HIV-AIDS, but with malaria, diarrhea, and many other diseases. But as a result of Uganda's commitment to fighting HIV-AIDS, Uganda is the only country in Africa where the rate of new HIV infections is actually decreasing. (Applause.)

As the (inaudible) group sang to me this morning, Ugandans are fighting to ensure that AIDS cannot win. And the United States is committed to helping you with that fight. (Applause.)

Other countries in Africa are tackling various health problems. In Zimbabwe, I saw a commitment, also on the national level, to family planning, to giving woman the knowledge that they needed to determine for themselves how many children they want to have and when they want to have them. As a result of Zimbabwe's cutting-edge family planning clinics, fertility rates are falling and contraceptive use is high. Infant mortality rates are low for the simple reason that healthier woman are having healthier babies. So there is progress in health and education in those countries committed to improving the conditions of life of their people.

And by doing so, we are recognizing that a vibrant democracy requires that every citizen be given the opportunity to participate fully in the economic life of their countries. It is hard to be a full economic participant if one is not educated, if one is not healthy. But I think one can participate in the economy, then one can raise one's own standard of living and, by doing so, raise the standards of living of one's country.

Africa has been making tremendous progress to this end. Last year, 30 African countries reported positive economic growth, and Uganda was one of them. I know you are proud of your surging economy. An economy that had been destroyed by decades of war now registers the stunning growth rate of 8 percent a year.

And it is not only at the level of big business, investment, and trade that we are seeing this kind of growth rate in Uganda; I saw it for myself when I visited the FINCA village bank today. That bank provides modest loans to about 4,000 women, helping them to start small businesses. I visited similar programs in Zimbabwe and Tanzania. In each country, these lending institutions are helping to stabilize democracy because they assure women and men the opportunity to earn a decent income. They help families and communities become self-sufficient.

I have also been impressed by the economic reforms carried out by your government that have encouraged Ugandan farmers to increase their agricultural production. Hundreds of new farmers have not only bolstered your economy through exports but they have brought you true security. In the last five years, child malnutrition rates in Uganda has dropped by 20 percent. That is a remarkable accomplishment.

When you expand economic opportunity, you do much reinforce democracy because people feel that they have a stake in the future of their country.

Uganda is also reinvesting new revenues in better social investments for people such as health and education. So the cycle of hope repeats itself, enriching successive generations.

A vibrant democracy also requires citizens to take personal and collective responsibility for creating a civil society. Civil society means that we call on all elements -- individuals, community groups, houses of worship, businesses, academia, government -- to take responsibility for the common good.

And again, I have seen that happening on my trip. In Senegal, I watched as villagers acted out a drama about the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy. There and in Tanzania, in a village outside of Arusha, I saw community groups coming together to work on ways of improving the common good. I've also today met with a remarkable group of Rwandan women working to rebuild their country. I was privileged to hear how they're working to heal their country from the experience of genocide, to ease the great sufferings of women and children in the refugee crisis they have endured. They described to me how they are growing together in associations to better their lives.

I was moved by what they told me, and I know how much Uganda has supported refugees and supported the Rwandan reconstruction, and I assured them that all of us would stand with them in their efforts to reconcile and rebuild their torn society. We know from our own experience -- (applause) -- in the United States, where we have been working at democracy for more than 200 years, that democracy requires patience, hard work, flexibility, and the acceptance of inherent human imperfection.

Not only does democracy ask each of us to take responsibility and to do our share, it also asks us to count on others -- people whose views you may never agree with; people from different religions and ethnic groups and tribes; people who hold ideas you may never understand. But democracy asks that we trust and rely on people unlike ourselves. With democracy, there is no day off. For democracy depends on the internalization of these values in people's hearts and minds.

Finally, we believe that a vital democracy requires Africa's friends and partners to make a contribution to Africa's democratic transformation. The United States intends to continue its partnership with Africa in its efforts to deepen and strengthen democracy. We can do this by supporting programs such as the ones I saw today -- efforts to allow women to take their rightful place at every table, efforts to educate all Africa's people, efforts to see to it that everyone has access to good health care, efforts to ensure that women as well as men have access to credit so they can participate in Africa's growing economies. These are the tools of opportunity, and these are the tools that will help sustain democracy.

I am proud of the role that America has played in African renewal. I wish the American people could see for themselves what I have seen, what is happening in Africa today. They would see that a modest contribution in United States aid to Africa, less than one-tenth of one percent of our budget, yields extraordinary returns. Aid from the United States helps train teachers, supports AIDS prevention, sparks microenterprise development, keeps family planning centers open, helps to strengthen democratic institutions.

I'm also pleased that American assistance creates the conditions of self-sustained economic growth. Assistance go hand in hand with private investment. I've had the opportunity to see American companies do well themselves, and doing well for the countries of this continent. I know that President Clinton is eager to work in Congress to find new and effective ways to support Africa through a balanced approach that involves a continuing developing partnership and an expanding role with trade and investment. We believe this approach will enable African countries to achieve their goals of greater self-reliance and full integration into the global economy.

As President Museveni told me last evening, he looks forward to a time when America's relationship with Uganda is based on investment, trade, and tourism. I am mindful that there are other threats to Africa's fragile democracies that require our concern and vigilance. That is why the United States attaches such high importance to its collaboration with regional leaders and organizations in seeking to resolve conflicts that threaten economic and democratic progress. That is why the United States is eager to support African efforts to enhance their capacity to respond to crises, such as the African Crisis Response Force. And that is why we seek to strengthen measures to protect us all from new threats to security and welfare of democracies everywhere, such as crime, narcotics trafficking, and international terrorism.

And my husband asked me to make clear his commitment on another issue. He asked me to tell you that he will come to Africa during his second term as President. (Applause.) We will have much to show him based on my own remarkable visit. I have been very privileged to learn what is happening here. And as I prepare to return home, it is with the hope that this trip may reflect the growing consciousness in the minds of the people of Africa and America that, despite the wide ocean between us, we are neighbors on this shared earth. We cannot, if we ever could, any longer live without each other. And we have much to learn from each other. In our relationship, there must no longer be an "us" or a "them" but only a "we," a "we" committed to -- (applause.)

Yesterday, I was in a place in Tanzania, the Oldavai Gorge, where many of the discoveries about our ancient ancestors have company from. And it was very clear to me as I walked through that gorge with the archaeologists and anthropologists, that we -- black, white, brown, of every religion, of every corner of the globe -- we come from the same place. We share a common home. We are part of a larger family. And if we stop for a minute to think about what we have learned about the origins of humankind, we know that we come from Africa. (Applause.) The message embedded in that rock is that we must recognize both our common past and our common future, and we must never let respect for any human being be eroded. We must make the dignity of every single person our governing principle.

Tomorrow I will end my trip to Africa in a place that is just beginning -- Eritrea -- a new country founded on timeless ideals. And I hope that its story, like that of Africa, will be one of constant renewal. One cannot come to Africa, and particularly one cannot come to Uganda today, without being moved by the faces of the people -- people who lined the streets, greet me as Mrs. Museveni and I came from the airport, the people who were out on the streets this morning, the people who were out on the streets this morning, the faces of those I saw at the school, at the center, at the village (inaudible).

The Vice President is correct that my visit has been much too short. I have not been in a home for a meal. I have not been in many other places in this beautiful country outside Kampala. And I will look forward to opportunities to return when I can see more of the natural beauty -- (applause.) But I have seen enough to convince me that you have a commitment to a future that transcends all the divisions and the differences of the past. (Applause.) And I can see that most clearly in the faces of your children.

As I stood in the classroom at the primary school and the teacher proudly told me that she had 30 boys and 44 girls -- a brave woman to teach 74 8-year-olds -- I heard in her voice what I love to hear. I heard love and commitment, I heard determination, and then I saw on the faces of those boys and girls that they were loved, they were valued. There were adults -- not just parents, but teachers and political leaders and businessmen and women and others in Uganda who believe in them.

And if you believe in a child and you set high expectations for a child, you are more likely to see that child reach and grow. What Uganda is doing is setting those high expectations. I thank you for what you have shown me. But more than that, I thank you for the example you are setting and what you are giving every day to your children so that they, too, will join the children in America to build the kind of future that all of us want them to have. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

8

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

April 3, 1997

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Assistant to the President &
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

I am writing to cordially invite First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to be the keynote speaker at the Corporate Council on Africa's Gala Awards Dinner to be held on Monday, April 21, 1997, the final evening of our *"Attracting Capital to Africa"* Summit. The summit will be held at the Westfields International Conference Center in Chantilly, Virginia.

It is our understanding that President Clinton has prepared a short video address that will be presented that evening. It is our hope that Mrs. Clinton could either introduce the video or utilize the video to introduce her remarks. (Because we do not know the content of the video, it is difficult to speculate about which particular format would be most appropriate.)

The purpose of the Gala Awards Dinner is to honor five African countries for their efforts to open their economies to the world market. President Bedie of Côte d'Ivoire, President Chissano of Mozambique and Deputy Executive President Mbeki of South Africa have confirmed that they will attend. Deputy Prime Minister Ilala of Ethiopia will receive the award on behalf of Prime Minister Meles and Dr. Martin Aliker of Uganda will accept the award for President Museveni. In addition, the Corporate Council on Africa will recognize the leadership of The Coca-Cola Company for its corporate citizenship in Africa. Mr. Douglas Ivester, President and Chief Operating Officer of The Coca Cola Company will accept this award.

I have attached information regarding the agenda for the evening, as well as a list of confirmed participants. The caliber of both our American and African guests is quite impressive and will form an excellent audience for Mrs. Clinton.

We fully expect the *"Attracting Capital to Africa"* Summit and Gala Awards Dinner to be a truly remarkable event and sincerely hope that Mrs. Clinton will be able to contribute to its success. We look forward to hearing from you and are available to assist in any manner possible with the First Lady's preparations.

Sincerely,

David H. Miller
Executive Director

cc: Mr. Percy Wilson, Chairman

Attachment: *"Attracting Capital to Africa"* Summit Brochure
List of Confirmed VIPs

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The Corporate Council on Africa

Attracting Capital to Africa

SUMMIT AGENDA

(Updated 4/1/97)

April 19, 1997 - Saturday

3:00 p.m. — Arrival at Westfields Conference Center - Chantilly, Virginia
Check-In and Registration

April 20, 1997 - Sunday

9:00 a.m. — All Day Check-In and Registration

Organized Recreation/Activities/Relaxation

- Golf
- Tennis
- Horseback Riding - Picnic
- Winery Tour
- Tour of Capitol Hill
- Tour of the National Gallery of Art

6:30 p.m.-9:30p.m. — Welcome Dinner for Visiting African Dignitaries
Featuring:

President Henri Konan Bedie
Côte d'Ivoire

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano
Mozambique

April 21, 1997 - Monday

7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. — Breakfast

Welcome Remarks
Ms, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
Assistant Administrator for Africa
United Nations Development Programme

Guest Speaker
The Honorable Robert E. Rubin
Secretary of the Treasury

9:15 a.m.- 10:45 a.m. — Workshop Sessions I
(Each session will last 1 hour and 30 minutes. All workshop sessions will run concurrently and be repeated three separate times throughout the day to allow participants to attend a total of three sessions)

10:45 a.m.-11:00 a.m. — Coffee Break

11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. — Workshop Sessions II

Attracting Capital to Africa

12:45 p.m.- 2:30 p.m. Lunch

Guest speakers
Mr. James D. Wolfensohn
President, The World Bank

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki
South Africa

3:00 p.m.- 4:30 p.m. Workshop Sessions III

CEO Awards Dinner

5:30 p.m. Cocktail Reception

7:00 p.m. Call to Dinner

Welcome Remarks and Introduction of the Head Table by:

Master of Ceremonies
Mr. Donald V. Fites
CEO, Caterpillar Inc.

Invocation: Ambassador Andrew Young

Dinner Served

Introduction by the First Lady of the United States of the President
William Jefferson Clinton*
President of the United States

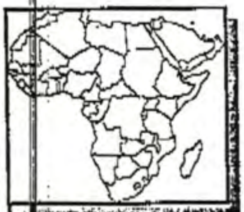
Keynote Address
Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States

Presentation of U.S. Corporate Citizenship in Africa Award

Presenter: David C. Miller, Jr.
President, The Corporate Council on Africa

Award Recipient: The Coca-Cola Company
Mr. M. Douglas Ivester, President and COO

**Video Address*



Attracting Capital to Africa

Presentation of Awards to Selected African Heads of State

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano
Mozambique

President Henri Konan Bedie
Côte d'Ivoire

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki
South Africa

Deputy Prime Minister Kassu Ilala
Ethiopia

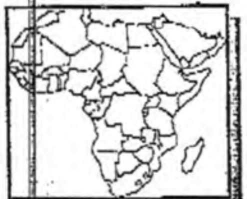
Minister of State Martin J. Aliker
Uganda

April 22, 1997 - Tuesday

8:00 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Open Breakfast Buffet
10:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Private Meetings and Appointments
12:30 p.m.	Departure

About The Corporate Council on Africa. . .

The Corporate Council on Africa, established in 1992, is a non-partisan, tax-exempt membership organization of corporations and individuals dedicated to strengthening and facilitating relationships between African and American individuals and organizations by creating educational, cultural, and commercial exchange opportunities. The Council believes that it can accomplish this goal by educating constituencies about the different social customs, cultural traditions, and economic climates on both continents, and by utilizing a network of business executives and government officials to promote U.S. - Africa relations.



Attracting Capital to Africa

Confirmed VIP Participants

Heads of State or their Representatives

- President Henri Konan Bedie, The Republic of Cote d'Ivoire
- President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, The Republic of Mozambique
- Deputy Executive President Thabo Mbeki, The Republic of South Africa
- Deputy Prime Minister Kassu Ilala, The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
- Vice President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning, F.G. Mogae, The Republic of Botswana
- Minister of State Dr. Martin Aliker, The Republic of Uganda

International Leaders

- President of The World Bank, Mr. James Wolfensohn
- President of the African Development Bank, Mr. Omar Kabbaj

Government Ministers

Algeria

Minister of Finance, Abdul Karim Harchaoui
Director, Algerian Investment Promotion Agency, Chadli Hamza
President and Director General SAIDAL (National Company of Pharmaceutical Production), Mr.Aoun Ali

Angola:

Minister of Assistance and Social Reintegration, Albino Malungo
Minister of Planning, Emmanuel Moreira Carneiro
Director General of Sonagol, Manuel Vincente
Minister of Petroleum, Albertina de Assis Africano
Vice Minister of Commerce, Manuel Da Cruz
Vice Minister and Coordinator of Health, Dr. Nilo Vaz Borja

Botswana:

Minister of Commerce and Industry, George Kgoroba
Minister of Health, Mr. Chapson Butale

Congo:

Minister of Hydrocarbons, Benoit Koukenene

Côte d'Ivoire:

Minister of Mines and Petroleum Resources, Lamine Mohamed Fadika
Minister of Public Health, Mr. Maurice Kakou Guikahue

Equatorial Guinea:

Minister of State, Antonio Fernando Nve Ngu

Eritrea:

Bank of Eritrea Governor, Tekie Beyene
Minister of Finance, Haile Woldense

Ethiopia:

Minister for Trade and Industry, Ayele Kassahun
Minister of Finance, Ahmed Sufian

Attracting Capital to Africa

Ghana:
Mr. David Renner, Ashanti Goldfields
Minister of Mines and Energy, Richard Kwame Peprah
Minister of Health, Dr. Eunice Brookman-Amissah
Mr. Sam Jonah, Ashanti Goldfields

Kenya:
Dr. D.K. Ikara, University of Nairobi
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Water Development, E.K. Mwongara
Director of Medical Services, Dr. James Mwanzia

Lesotho:
Minister of Trade and Industry, Lira Motete

Malawi:
Minister of Commerce and Industry, Chakakala Chaziya

Mauritius:
Minister of Industry, Jayen Cuttaree
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Loganarden Ramsay
Coordinator, Trade Policy Unit, Achad Bhuglah

Mozambique:
Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy, John Kachamila
Minister of Industry, Commerce, and Tourism, Oldemiro Baloi

Namibia:
Governor, Bank of Namibia, T.K. Alweendo
Minister of Works, Transport, and Communications, Hampie Plichta
Minister of Trade and Industry, Hidipo Hamutenya

Nigeria:
FSB International Bank Plc., Mohammed Hayatu-Deen
Nigeria Ports Authority, Mallam Gwandu

Senegal:
Minister of Economy and Finance, Papa Ousmane Sakho

South Africa:
Minister of Trade and Industry, Alec Erwin
Minister of Health, Dr. Nkosazana Claricc Zuma
Minister of Energy and Minerals, Penuel Maduna

Swaziland:
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Arthur Khoza

Tanzania:
Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr. William Shijo

Uganda:
Minister of Health, Dr. Crispus Kiyonga
Managing Director, Greenland Bank, Dr. Suleiman Kiggundu
Minister of Planning, Richard Kaijuke

Attracting Capital to Africa

Zambia:

Director of Zambian Privatization Agency, Valentine Chitalu
Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Mr. Siamukayungu Siamunjaye

Zimbabwe:

Minister of Industry and Commerce, Nathan Shamuyarira
Minister of Health, Timothy Stamps

Response to the Summit, which includes substantive workshops, organized recreation with visiting African dignitaries and business leaders, and a Gala Dinner has been very strong. Space is limited, to reserve your space contact the Council at **202-835-1115.**

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

CONFIRMED US CORPORATE PARTICIPANTS
ATTRACTING CAPITAL TO AFRICA
SUMMIT

Mobil	Mr. Lucio Noto Mr. M.W. Scoggings	CEO President - Mobil Africa & Middle East
Coca-Cola	Mr. Douglas Ivestor Mr. Percy Wilson	President & COO Director External Affairs, CCA Chairman
Caterpillar	Mr. Donald Fites Mr. Ben Darrow	CEO Managing Director, Caterpillar S.A.
Archer Daniels Midland	Mr. Dwayne O. Andreas	CEO
Lazare Kaplan	Mr. Maurice Tempelsman	Senior Partner
HSBC Equator Bank	Mr. Frank Kennedy	CEO
Telecel	Mr. Joseph Garr	CEO
Sooner Pipe & Supply	Mr. Henry Zarrow	CEO
MW Kellogg	Mr. A.J. Jack Stanley	CEO
Dresser Kellogg Energy Services	Mr. Keith Dodson	CEO
USA Today	Mr. Tom Curley	President & Publisher
Spatial Data Institute	Mr. William Fry	Chairman
Pryor, McClendon & Counts	Mr. Malcolm Pryor	Chairman
Labat Anderson	Mr. Victor Labat	Chairman
Fluor Daniel	Mr. Charles Oliver	Group President
UMC	Mr. Jim Smitherman	Executive Vice President
Hills & Company	Ms. Carla Hills	Chairman & CEO
J.H.M. & Associates	Mr. Jack Mower	President & Founder
TDC Energy Corporation	Mr. John Melton	President
Moving Water Industries	Mr. David Eller	COO
Chrysler	Mr. Frank Fountain Mr. Leroy Richie	Vice President Vice President

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Pryor, McClendon & Counts	Mr. Malcolmn Pryor	Chairman
Pryor, McClendon	Mr. Andrew Owiny	Senior Vice President, International Finance
Labat Anderson	Mr. Victor Labat	Chairman
Labat Anderson	Mr. Peter Leifert	Vice President International Affairs
Fluor Daniel	Mr. Charles Oliver	Group President
Fluor Daniel	Mr. Tim Kernan	
Fluor Daniel	Mr. Ian Davis	Director of Government Relations
UMC	Mr. Jim Smitherman	Executive Vice President
Hills & Company	Ms. Carla Hills	Chairman & CEO
J.H.M. & Associates	Mr. Jack Mower	President & Founder
TDC Energy Corporation	Mr. John Melton	President
TDC Energy Corporation	Mr. Charles Richards	Vice President
Moving Water Industries	Mr. David Eller	COO
Moving Water Industries	Mr. William Bucknam	Vice President
Moving Water Industries	Mr. Tony Yao Dzegede	Vice President International Division
Chrysler	Mr. Frank Fountain	Vice President
	Mr. Leroy Richie	Vice President
Emerson Electrics	Mr. Steve Cortinovis	President, Europe, Vice President, International
Eli Lilly	Ms. Katherine Dickey Karol	Manager, International Government Relations
Eli Lilly	Mr. Rolf Hoffman	Director, Commercial Operations
Eli Lilly	Mr. John Geoffrey Drowley	Area Manager - East Africa
Eli Lilly Export SA	Mr. William John Robinson	General Manager
Eli Lilly Office D'Informations	Ms. Christa Mueller	Managing Director North West Africa
AIM	Mr. Gebreyes Begna	President
GM	Mr. Edward Moorman	Director General (Fleet & Government Sales)
GM	Mr. Anthony Carroll	
GM	Mr. Irving Hicks	Washington Representative
GM	Mr. Joe Parker	Africa/Middle East Representative
EMDC	Mr. Kevin Callwood	President & V.P. CCA
Africa & Internaitonal Consultants	Mr. Duncan Sellars	President
International Business Initiatives	Dr. Lucie Phillips	President

FC Schaffer & Associates	Dr. Mima Nedelcovych	Vice President
The Obi Group	Mr. James Obi	Chairman
Overseas Bechtel	Mr. Eamonn Sweeney	Vice President
Anadarko	Mr. Robert Allison	CEO
ENRON		
CAMAC Holdings	Mr. Kase Lawal	CEO
CAMAC Holdings	Ms. Jeana Herrington	Counsel
CAMAC Holdings	Mr. Ken Bakare	
Citibank, NA	Mr. Antranig Sarkissian	Vice President
Stephens Energy Int'l	Mr. Paul O'Bryan	Executive Vice President
Free Angola Info. Services	Jardo Muekalia	Chairman
Samuels Int'l Associates, Inc.	Mr. Michael Samuels	President
LHR International Group	Mr. Leonard Robinson	President
National Summit on Africa	Mr. Mac DeShazer	Executive Director
Lockheed Martin	Mr. Jean Traisnel	Managing Director
International Trade Development Corp.	Mr. Kim Barkan	President
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. William Sparks	Manager, Venture Development
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. Ken Evans	Africa/Middle East Vice President
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. J.B. Fleece	West Africa Venture Manager
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. J.C. Symmes	Project Manager, West Africa Projects
Exxon Company International	Mr. D.L. Guttormson	President, Esso Exploration & Production Chad Inc.
Exxon Corporation	Ms. Jean Cole	Government Relations
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. Louis Smith	Upstream Business Dev. Advisor
Geogia State University	Dr. Roy Bahl	Dean/School of Policy Studies
Harvard School of Public Health	Mr. Christopher Murray	Professor

African Development Bank	Mr. Omar Kabbaj	President
Cohen & Woods Int'l Inc.	Ambassador Herman Cohen	President
World Bank	Mr. Isaac Sam	Manager
Mobil Corporation	Mr. Richard Kramer	Chief Executvie Strategic Research & Investments
Triangle Strategics	Mr. Christian Merkling	Principal
Texaco International Marketing & Manufacturing	Mr. James Hawn	Vice President, West Africa Region
State University of New York	Ms. Jean Herskovits	Professor of African History & Politics
Leboeuf, Lamb, Greene & MacRae	Mr. Jude Kearney	Partner
Leboeuf, Lamb, Greene	Ms. Tess Serranti	International Marketing
SBC Communications	Mr. David C. Fine	Vice President - Government & International Relations
SBC Communications	Mr. Richard Larios	
SBC Communications	Ms. Jennifer Taylor	
SBC Communications	Ms. Rosamond Brown	
SBC Communications	Mr. Terry Rettig	
SBC Communications	Mr. Andrew Fyfe	
SBC Communications	Mr. William Morris	
SBC Communications	Mr. William Denebim	
Jones Education Company	Mr. Paul Amos	Vice President
C/R International	Mr. Robert Cabelly	
C/R International	Mr. Derrick Raymond	
	Ambassador Paul Hare	
	Mr. Edward V.K. Jaycox	
Wharton Business School	Dr. Louis Wells	
Roosevelt University	Dr. Howard Stein	
	Ambassador Robert Pelletreau	
University of Michigan	Dr. Barbara Richardson	
ABT Associates	Ms. Tracy Harris	Director, Marketing & Business Dev.
Qualcomm, Inc.	Mr. Charles Oshunremi	Vice President, Africa & Middle East

GAO	Mr. Patrick Dickriede	Senior Analyst
GAO	Mr. Eluma Obibwaku	Senior Evaluator
GE Power Systems	Mr. Wafik Kouchouk	Regional Sales Director
Huffco Group, Inc.	Mr. David A. Trice	CEO & President
Huffco Group, Inc.	Ms. Terry Huffington	Chairman
Cotecna Inspection	Mr. Michael Wilson	Africa Regional Office
Conoco, Inc.	Mr. Rodney MacAlister	Manager Federal Affairs
AES Corporation	Mr. Kenneth Woodcock	Senior Vice President
MIGA/World Bank	Ms. Karin Millet	Manager, Investment Marketing
MIGA/World Bank	Mr. Ken Kwaku	Program Manager for Africa
Wyeth Ayerst Int'l Division of AHP	Mr. Frank Yanni	Director Strategic Projects
Chase Manhattan Bank	Mr. Homi Mullan	Managing Director & Regional Executive
International Road Federation	Mr. Wayne McDaniel	Deputy Director General
Baker & McKenzie	Jonathan Beckham	Attorney
JP Morgan	Ronald Gault	
Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Riva Levinson	Managing Director
Burson-Marsteller	Richard Uku	Director
Telecel	Bruno Ayanian	Treasurer
Coopers & Lybrand LLP	Larry D. Bailey	Partner
Marriot	Bert C Ubamadu	Attorney
Occidental Oil & Gas	Terry Fariello	Vice President-International Affairs
Occidental Oil & Gas	W. Swank	Regional Manager - Africa Exploration
Occidental Oil & Gas	Robert Shipman	Sr. Geological Counsel
Duke Engineering	Joseph Underwood	General Manager, International Energy
Emergy Worldwide	Robert Buhl	Director - Africa Business Development

Guest Complimentary Ticket List - *"Attracting Capital to Africa"* Summit

	sal	first	last	title	organization
	African Guests				
1	Angola Rep.	Mr. Tui Manuel	dos Santos	Chairman & CEO, SISTEC	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
2	Botswana Rep.	Mr. Modiri Juilian	Mbaakanyi	Director, Bots. Confederation of Commerce & Indus.	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
3	Lesotho Rep.				Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
4	Malawi Rep.	Mr. Dyress B.	Mawindo	Executive Director, Privatization Commission	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
5	Mauritius Rep.	Mr. Lloyd	Coombes	Managing Director, Mauritius Chemical & Fertilizer	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
6	Mozambique Rep.	Mr. Joao	Ribas	Grupo Joao Ferreira dos Santos	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
7	Namibia Rep.	Mr. Theo	Schoeman	Director, Schoemans Office Systems	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
8	South Africa Rep.				Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
9	Swaziland Rep.	Mr Musa	Hlophe	Executive Director, Federation of Swaziland Employers	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
10	Tanzania Rep.	Mr. Reginald	Mengi	Chairman, IPF Group of Companies	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
11	Zambia Rep.	Mr. Elias C.	Chipimo, Jr.	Managing Partner, Corpus Globe	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
12	Zimbabwe Rep.	Mr. Samuel	Zhandire	Managing Director, Caps Holding Ltd.	Commerce Reverse SADC Trade Mission
13	Ambassador	Ramtane	LAMAMRA	Embassy of	Algeria
14	Ambassador	Lucien Edgar	TONOUKOUIN	Embassy of	Benin
15	Ambassador	Archibald M.	MOGWE	Embassy of	Botswana
16	Ambassador	Gestan R.	OUEDRAOGO	Embassy of	Burkina Faso
17	Ambassador	Severin	NTAHOMVUKIYE	Embassy of	Burundi
18	Ambassador	Jerome	MENDOUGA	Embassy of	Cameroon
19	Ambassador	Corentino V.	SANTOS	Embassy of	Cape Verde
20	Ambassador	Henry	KOBA	Embassy of	Central African Republic
21	Ambassador	Ahmat	MAHAMAT-SALEH	Embassy of	Chad
22	Ambassador	Dieudonné Antoine	GANGA	Embassy of	Congo
23	Ambassador	Moise Koffi	KOUMOUE	Embassy of	Cote D'Ivoire
24	Ambassador	Roble	OLHAYE	Embassy of	Djibouti
25	Ambassador	Ahmed Maher	EL SYAED	Embassy of	Egypt
26	Ambassador	Pastor Micha Ondo	BILE	Embassy of	Equatorial Guinea
27	Ambassador	Andemichael	KAHSAI	Embassy of	Eritrea
28	Ambassador	Berhane	GEBRE-CHRISTOS	Embassy of	Ethipoia
29	Ambassador	Paul	BOUNDOUKOU-LATHA	Embassy of	Gabonese Republic
30	Mr.	Malamin	JUWARA	Embassy of	Gambia
31	Ambassador	Ekwow	SPIO-GARBRAH	Embassy of	Ghana
32	Ambassador	Mohammed Aly	THIAM	Embassy of	Guinea
33	Ambassador	Rufino	MENDES	Embassy of	Guinea Bissau
34	Ambassador	Benjamin Edgar	KIPKORIR	Embassy of	Kenya
35	Ambassador	Dr. Eunice Malephiri	BULANE	Embassy of	Lesotho
36	Mr.	Konah K.	BLACKETT	Embassy of	Liberia
37	Ambassador	Pierrot J.	RAJAONARIVELO	Embassy of	Madagascar
38	Ambassador	Willie	CHOKANI	Embassy of	Malawi
39	Ambassador	Cheick Oumar	DIARRAH	Embassy of	Mali
40	Ambassador	Bilal Ould	WERZEG	Embassy of	Mauritania
41	Ambassador	Chitmansing	JESSERAMSING	Embassy of	Mauritius
42	Ambassador	Mohamed	BENAISSA	Embassy of	Morocco

43	Ambassador	Marcos	NAMASHULUA	Embassy of	Mozambique
44	Ambassador	Veiccoh	NGHIWETE	Embassy of	Namibia
45	Ambassador	Adamou	SEYDOU	Embassy of	Niger
46	Ambassador	Theogene	RUDASINGWA	Embassy of	Rwanda
47	Ambassador	Mamadou Mansour	SECK	Embassy of	Senegal
48	Ambassador	Marc Michael Rogers	MARENGO	Embassy of	Seychelles
49	Ambassador	John Ernest	LEIGH	Embassy of	Sierra Leone
50	Ambassador	Franklin	SONN	Embassy of	South Africa
51	Ambassador	Mahdi Ibrahim	MOHAMED	Embassy of	Sudan
52	Ambassador	Mary M.	KANYA	Embassy of	Swaziland
53	Ambassador	Mustafa S.	NYANG'ANYI	Embassy of	Tanzania
54	Ambassador	Kossivi	OSSEYI	Embassy of	Togo
55	Ambassador	Azouz	ENNIFAR	Embassy of	Tunisia
56	Ambassador	Edith	SSEMPALA	Embassy of	Uganda
57	Ambassador	Dunstan Weston	KAMANA	Embassy of	Zambia
58	Ambassador	Amos Bernard Muvengwa	MIDZI	Embassy of	Zimbabwe
59	Mr.	Mukendi Tambo a	KABILA	Embassy of	Zaire
	Congress-House of Representatives				
60	The Honorable	William	Archer	Chairman Ways & Means Committee	U.S. House of Representatives
61	The Honorable	Sanford	Bishop	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
62	The Honorable	Corrine	Brown	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
63	The Honorable	Dan	Burton	House International Relations	U.S. House of Representatives
64	The Honorable	Tom	Campbell	Africa sub-Committtee	U.S. House of Representatives
65	The Honorable	Julia	Carson	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
66	The Honorable	Steve	Chabot	Africa sub-Committtee	U.S. House of Representatives
67	The Honorable	Donna M.	Christian-Green	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
68	The Honorable	William L.	Clay	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
69	The Honorable	James E.	Clyburn	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
70	The Honorable	John	Conyers, Jr.	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
71	The Honorable	Phil	Crane	House International Relations	U.S. House of Representatives
72	The Honorable	Elijah E.	Cummings	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
73	The Honorable	Danny K.	Davis	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
74	The Honorable	Ronald V.	Dellums	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
75	The Honorable	Julian C.	Dixon	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
76	The Honorable	Chaka	Fattah	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
77	The Honorable	Cleo	Fields	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
78	The Honorable	Floyd H.	Flake	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
79	The Honorable	Harold E.	Ford	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
80	The Honorable	Congressman	Gilman	International Relations	U.S. House of Representatives
81	The Honorable	Newt	Gingrich	Speaker of the House	U.S. House of Representatives
82	The Honorable	Alcee L.	Hastings	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
83	The Honorable	Earl F.	Hilliard	Member	U.S. House of Representatives
84	The Honorable	Amo	Houghton	Africa sub-Committee	U.S. House of Representatives
85	The Honorable	William	Jefferson	Ways & Means	U.S. House of Representatives

04/11/97 1:30 PM

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
CORPORATE COUNCIL ON AFRICA GALA DINNER
THE WHITE HOUSE
[TAPED APRIL 14, 1997]

Good evening, and welcome to Washington.

I want to thank and congratulate the Corporate Council on Africa for your dedicated work in building strong economic ties between our continents. I salute Lou Noto [NO-toe], Don Fites [FIGHTS] and Doug Ivester [eye-VESS-ter] as well as Ambassadors David Miller and Andrew Young, C. Payne Lucas, and Percy Wilson who took the visionary idea of a Corporate Council on Africa and turned it into reality.

When I think about Africa, I cannot help but think of my friend Ron Brown. Ron loved Africa, and he firmly believed that a thriving private sector is the key to unlocking Africa's promise. Ron understood, as do all of you, that as African economies expand and prosper, they will raise living standards and help the people of Africa achieve their full potential.

But in order for the private sector to flourish, governments must do their part as well -- reforming policies, reducing deficits, and rooting out corruption. These steps are hard, but they are the only path to sustained economic growth.

Tonight, the Corporate Council on Africa is honoring five countries for making real progress. In recent years, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Africa and Uganda have done an inspiring job of opening their economies to the world. They, like so many African nations, are struggling -- and succeeding -- in becoming places where children can grow up to be whatever they dare to dream.

I hope these awards will help all of America recognize the strides that Africa is making -- as democracy takes hold across the continent, as nations become more stable and opportunities grow. America's trade with Africa already exceeds our trade with the former Soviet Union by 20 percent. And the potential is still largely untapped.

My Administration is committed to expanding our partnership with Africa. We have an interest in working with Africa to tackle global problems like drugs and crime... to prevent and resolve conflicts... and to realize the promise of prosperity. In that regard, I'm committed to working with Congress and our partners at the Denver Summit on joint initiatives to help integrate Africa more fully into the global economy.

In closing, let me thank our African guests who traveled so far to be here. I look forward to following in the First Lady's footsteps with a visit to the continent you proudly call home.

Best wishes to you all. God bless America and God bless Africa.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 3, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR MELANNE VERVEER

THROUGH: SUSAN RICE

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Request that First Lady address the Corporate Council on Africa Conference, April 21, 1997

As we discussed this morning, we think it would be extremely valuable for the First Lady to follow up her recent trip to Africa with a substantive and future-looking address to the upcoming Corporate Council on Africa Conference. The First Lady's participation as the keynote speaker at the conference offers an unprecedented opportunity for the Administration to demonstrate its commitment to Africa to an audience that includes African leaders, members of Congress and leaders in the private sector. The three day conference entitled "Attracting Capital to Africa" will run from April 20-22, with a Gala Dinner on April 21 capping the conference and a series of workshops aimed at promoting American investment and trade with Africa.

The Corporate Council is very excited about the possibility of the First Lady giving the key-note address. Her speech could highlight the role of the private sector in Africa's development and the links between private sector business investment and continued public sector social investment. She could also solicit private sector reinforcement of our message that aid goes hand in hand with trade in developing economies and countries. We hope to have the outlines of the Administration's proposal for increasing trade and investment in Africa ready for the First Lady to highlight in her speech. This effort is the centerpiece of what the Administration hopes to accomplish in Africa during the second term as increased economic opportunities and links with the global market are the means by which Africa will achieve sustainable, stable development and governments.

Senators Lott, Helms, Feingold, Moseley-Braun, Frist, Grams and Sarbanes and 51 Representatives, including McDermott, Crane, Gilman, Gingrich, Rangel and Houghton have been invited to attend. Presidents Chissano of Mozambique and Bedie of Cote d'Ivoire and South African Deputy President Mbeki have confirmed they will attend the conference. At least 60 cabinet members of various African countries will also attend as will the CEOs from eight Fortune 500 companies (including Coke, Mobil and Caterpillar), corporate officers from more than three dozen other companies, and over 600 guests. Secretary Rubin will address a breakfast on the morning of the 21st and World Bank President James Wolfensohn will address a luncheon that day.

The Corporate Council on Africa had initially requested that the President deliver the keynote address, but he was unable to do so due to scheduling conflicts. Congressmen Archer, Rangel and Jefferson and Andrew Young and Vernon Jordan have all written to the President urging him to accept the invitation. The President has agreed to tape a short video address for the conference. The First Lady's participation would be viewed as an excellent addition and alternative to the President's attendance.

The Corporate Council on Africa is a nonprofit, nonpartisan membership organization of leading American corporations and individuals committed to developing the African private sector and strengthening the commercial relationship between the United States and Africa.

Attached is information on the conference, including the original invitation to the President to be the keynote speaker.

Attachments
Tab A Invitation to the President
Tab B Conference Information

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

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Divider Title: A

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

November 12, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to cordially invite you to be the Keynote Speaker at the Corporate Council on Africa's Gala Dinner to be held on the Monday, April 21, 1997, the final evening of our "Attracting Capital to Africa" conference. The conference will be held at the Westfields Conference Center in Chantilly, Virginia.

We are extending this invitation in appreciation for your Administration's remarkable support for the Corporate Council on Africa. At the beginning of your first Administration, the Corporate Council on Africa was a small organization of six individuals and companies with a goal to empower the African private sector and begin to capitalize on Africa great economic potential. In the interim years, individuals from your staff including Susan Rice, Assistant Secretary of State George Moose, and most importantly the late Secretary Ron Brown afforded our organization and our mission with unqualified support and guidance-support that has allowed this organization grow to over 100 member corporations and individuals that are committed to accelerate economic development in Africa by forging new business relationships on that continent.

The support of your Administration has enabled the Council to work in cooperation with the Department of State to organize the visits of over 40 African heads of state to the U.S., implement three highly successful trade missions to seven African countries, and perform countless other activities designed to introduce the American private sector to Africa.

The Corporate Council on Africa is organizing our April *"Attracting Capital to Africa."* conference for two purposes: to increase the American private sector's awareness of the many commercial opportunities that exist in Africa, and to address specific policy issues that the U.S. private sector is confronting in the African marketplace. For your information, we have included a draft brochure of the conference and have indicated the approximate time and venue for your address.

We are pleased to report that this conference, although months away, appears to be shaping up as a huge success. In addition to our members who include senior representatives of many American corporations, the **CEO of the Coca-Cola** Company, Mr. Roberto Goizueta, and Mr. Lucio Noto, the **CEO of Mobil Oil** Corporation have confirmed that they will be attending this important evening. In addition, we have also invited **President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda** and **Deputy President Thabo Mbeki** of South Africa to be honored for overseeing two of Africa's fastest growing economies.

1660 L STREET, N.W. • SUITE 301 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • (202) 835-1115 • FAX (202) 835-1117

We fully expect the *Attracting Capital to Africa* conference to be a truly remarkable event. We would very much appreciate your support and look forward to working with your staff to discuss the Corporate Council on Africa and this very important groundbreaking conference.

Best regards,

David C. Miller, Jr.
President

Attachment: Draft *"Attracting Capital to Africa"* Brochure
The Corporate Council on Africa Brochure

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

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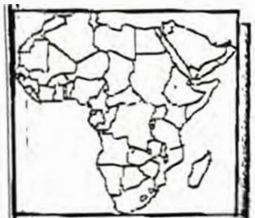


Attracting Capital to Africa

SUMMIT AGENDA

(Updated 4/1/97)

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997

April 19, 1997 - Saturday

3:00 p.m. — Arrival at Westfields Conference Center - Chantilly, Virginia
Check-In and Registration

April 20, 1997 - Sunday

9:00 a.m. — All Day Check-In and Registration

Organized Recreation/Activities/Relaxation

- Golf
- Tennis
- Horseback Riding - Picnic
- Skeet Shooting
- Winery Tour
- Tour of Capitol Hill
- Tour of the National Gallery of Art

6:30 p.m.-9:30p.m. — Welcome Barbecue for Visiting African Dignitaries
Featuring:

President Henri Konan Bedie
Côte d'Ivoire

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano
Mozambique

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki
South Africa

Deputy Prime Minister Kassu Ilala
Ethiopia

Minister of State Martin J. Aliker
Uganda

April 21, 1997 - Monday

7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. — Breakfast

Welcome Remarks
Mr. Percy Wilson
Chairman, The Corporate Council on Africa

Guest Speaker
The Honorable Robert E. Rubin
Secretary of the Treasury

Attracting Capital to Africa

9:15 a.m.-10:45 a.m.	Workshop Sessions I *(Each session will last 1 hour and 30 minutes. All workshop sessions will run concurrently and be repeated three separate times throughout the day to allow participants to attend a total of three sessions)*
10:45 a.m.-11:00 a.m.	Coffee Break
11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Workshop Sessions II
12:45 p.m.- 2:30 p.m.	Lunch Guest speaker **Mr. James D. Wolfensohn** **President, The World Bank**
3:00 p.m.- 4:30 p.m.	Workshop Sessions III

CEO Awards Dinner

5:30 p.m.	Cocktail Reception
7:00 p.m.	Call to Dinner

Welcome Remarks and Introduction of the Head Table by:

Master of Ceremonies
Mr. Donald V. Fites
CEO, Caterpillar Inc.

Invocation: Ambassador Andrew Young

Dinner Served

Introduction of the President of the United States
William Jefferson Clinton*

Keynote Address
William Jefferson Clinton*
President of the United States

Presentation of U.S. Corporate Citizenship in Africa Award

Presenter: David C. Miller, Jr.
President, The Corporate Council on Africa

Award Recipient: The Coca-Cola Company
Mr. M. Douglas Ivester, President and COO

**Invited*

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997

Attracting Capital to Africa

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997

Presentation of Awards to Selected African Heads of State

President Henri Konan Bedie
Côte d'Ivoire

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano
Mozambique

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki
South Africa

Deputy Prime Minister Kassu Ilala
Ethiopia

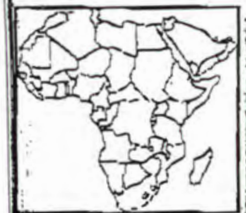
Minister of State Martin J. Aliker
Uganda

April 22, 1997 - Tuesday

8:00 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Open Breakfast Buffet
10:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Private Meetings and Appointments
12:30 p.m.	Departure

About The Corporate Council on Africa...

The Corporate Council on Africa, established in 1992, is a non-partisan, tax-exempt membership organization of corporations and individuals dedicated to strengthening and facilitating relationships between African and American individuals and organizations by creating educational, cultural, and commercial exchange opportunities. The Council believes that it can accomplish this goal by educating constituencies about the different social customs, cultural traditions, and economic climates on both continents, and by utilizing a network of business executives and government officials to promote U.S. - Africa relations.



Attracting Capital to Africa

Confirmed VIP Participants

Heads of State or their Representatives

- President Henri Konan Bedie, The Republic of Cote d'Ivoire
- President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, The Republic of Mozambique
- Deputy Executive President Thabo Mbeki, The Republic of South Africa
- Deputy Prime Minister Kassu Ilala, The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
- Vice President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning, F.G. Mogae, The Republic of Botswana
- Minister of State Dr. Martin Aliker, The Republic of Uganda

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997

International Leaders

- President of The World Bank, Mr. James Wolfensohn
- President of the African Development Bank, Mr. Omar Kabbaj

Government Ministers

Algeria

Minister of Finance, Abdul Karim Harchaoui
Director, Algerian Investment Promotion Agency, Chadli Hamza
President and Director General SAIDAL (National Company of Pharmaceutical Production), Mr.Aoun Ali

Angola:

Minister of Assistance and Social Reintegration, Albino Malungo
Minister of Planning, Emmanuel Moreira Carneiro
Director General of Sonagol, Manuel Vincente
Minister of Petroleum, Albertina de Assis
Minister of Commerce, Gomez Maiato
Vice Minister and Coordinator of Health, Dr. Nilo Vaz Borja

Botswana:

Minister of Commerce and Industry, George Kgoroba
Minister of Health, Mr. Chapson Butale

Congo:

Minister of Hydrocarbons, Benoit Koukebene

Côte d'Ivoire:

Minister of Mines and Petroleum Resources, Lamine Mohamed Fadika
Minister of Public Health, Mr. Maurice Kakou Guikahue

Equatorial Guinea:

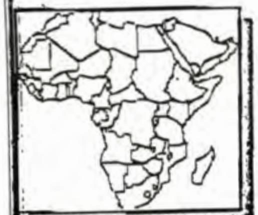
Minister of State, Antonio Fernando Nve Ngu

Eritrea:

Bank of Eritrea Governor, Tekie Beyene
Minister of Finance, Haile Woldense

Ethiopia:

Minister for Trade and Industry, Ayele Kassahun
Minister of Finance, Ahmed Sufian



Ghana:
Mr. David Renner, Ashanti Goldfields
Minister of Mines and Energy, Richard Kwame Peprah
Minister of Health, Dr. Eunice Brookman-Amissah
Mr. Sam Jonah, Ashanti Goldfields

Kenya:
Dr. D.K. Ikara, University of Nairobi
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Water Development, E.K. Mwongara
Director of Medical Services, Dr. James Mwanzia

Lesotho:
Minister of Trade and Industry, Lira Motete

Malawi:
Minister of Commerce and Industry, Chakakala Chaziya

Mauritius:
Minister of Economic Planning and Telecommunications, Rajkeswur Purryag

Mozambique:
Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy, John Kachamila
Minister of Industry, Commerce, and Tourism, Oldemiro Baloi

Namibia:
Governor, Bank of Namibia, T.K. Alweendo
Minister of Works, Transport, and Communications, Hampie Plichta
Minister of Trade and Industry, Hidipo Hamutenya

Nigeria:
FSB International Bank Plc., Mohammed Hayatu-Deen
Nigeria Ports Authority, Mallam Gwandu

Senegal:
Minister of Economy and Finance, Papa Ousmane Sakho

South Africa:
Minister of Trade and Industry, Alec Erwin
Minister of Health, Dr. Nkosazana Clarice Zuma
Minister of Energy and Minerals, Penuel Maduna

Swaziland:
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Arthur Khoza

Tanzania:
Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr. William Shijo

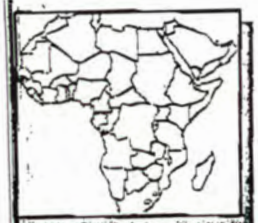
Uganda:
Minister of Health, Dr. Crispus Kiyonga
Managing Director, Greenland Bank, Dr. Suleiman Kiggundu
Minister of Planning, Richard Kaijuke

Zambia:
Director of Zambian Privatization Agency, Valentine Chitalu
Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Mr. Siamukayungu Siamunjaye

Zimbabwe:
Minister of Industry and Commerce, Nathan Shamuyarira
Minister of Health, Timothy Stamps

Attracting Capital to Africa

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997



U.S. Corporate Participants

Attracting Capital to Africa

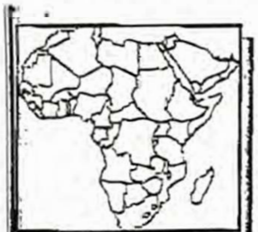
Mobil	Mr. Lucio Noto	CEO
Mobil	Mr. M.W. Scoggins	President - Mobil Africa & Middle East
Mobil	Mr. James Massey	Managing Director/Mobil Producing Nigeria
Coca-Cola	Mr. Douglas Ivestor	President & COO
Coca-Cola	Mr. Percy Wilson	Director External Affairs, CCA Chairman
Coca-Cola	Mr. Peter Lawson	
Coca-Cola	Ms. Sandi Perry	
Caterpillar	Mr. Donald Fites	CEO
Caterpillar S.A.	Mr. Ben Darrow	Managing Director
Archer Daniels Midland	Mr. G. Allen Andreas	Vice President
Lazare Kaplan	Mr. Maurice Tempelsman	Chairman
	Mr. James Barnes	
	Mr. George W. Sherrell	
	Mr. Damian Gagnon	Director/West Africa
HSBC Equator Bank	Mr. Frank Kennedy	CEO
	Mr. Kofi Sekyere	Senior Vice President
	Mr. Lawerence Friedman	Executive Director/Investment Banking
	Ambassador Rush Taylor	Vice President & Senior Washington Representative
Sooner Pipe & Supply	Mr. Henry Zarrow	CEO
	Mr. Emmit "Kip" Richards	
	Mr. Jim Arterburn	
	Mr. Joe Ottaviani	
	Mr. Phil Goodwin	Manager
MW Kellogg	Mr. A.J. Jack Stanley	CEO
MW Kellogg	Mr. Stephen Burrell	Vice President, Eastern Hemisphere Sales
MW Kellogg	Mr. Guy Allouchery	Commercial Vice President, Sales Eastern Hemisphere
MW Kellogg	Mr. Jim Andrews	Vice President Government Affairs
Dresser Kellogg Energy Services	Mr. Keith Dodson	CEO
Dresser Kellogg	Mr. Ardon Judd	Vice President & Wasington Counsel
Public Strategies Inc.	Mr. Joe O'Neill	President
USA Today	Mr. Tom Curley	President & Publisher
Spatial Data Institute	Mr. William Fry	Chairman
Pryor, McClendon & Counts	Mr. Malcolmn Pryor	Chairman

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997

Attracting Capital to Africa

Labat Anderson	Mr. Victor Labat	Chairman
Labat Anderson	Mr. Peter Leifert	Vice President International Affairs
Fluor Daniel	Mr. Charles Oliver	Group President
Fluor Daniel	Mr. Tim Kernan	
Fluor Daniel	Mr. Ian Davis	Director of Government Relations
UMIC	Mr. Jim Smitherman	Executive Vice President
Hills & Company	Ms. Carla Hills	Chairman & CEO
J.H.M. & Associates	Mr. Jack Mower	President & Founder
TDC Energy Corporation	Mr. John Melton	President
TDC Energy Corporation	Mr. Charles Richards	Vice President
Moving Water Industries	Mr. David Eller	COO
Moving Water Industries	Mr. William Bucknam	Vice President
Moving Water Industries	Mr. Tony Yao Dzegede	Vice President International Division
Chrysler	Mr. Frank Fountain	Vice President
	Mr. Leroy Richie	Vice President
Emerson Electrics	Mr. Steve Cortinovis	President, Europe, Vice President, International
Eli Lilly	Ms. Katherine Dickey Karol	Manager, International Government Relations
Eli Lilly	Mr. Rolf Hoffman	Director, Commercial Operations
Eli Lilly	Mr. John Geoffrey Drowley	Area Manager - East Africa
Eli Lilly Export SA	Mr. William John Robinson	General Manager
Eli Lilly Office D'Informations	Ms. Christa Mueller	Managing Director North West Africa
AIM	Mr. Gebreyes Begna	President
GM	Mr. Edward Moorman	Director General (Fleet & Government Sales)
EMDC	Mr. Kevin Callwood	President & V.P. CCA
Africa & Internaitonal Consultants	Mr. Duncan Sellars	President
International Business Initiatives	Dr. Lucie Phillips	President
FC Schaffer & Associates	Dr. Mima Nedelcovych	Vice President

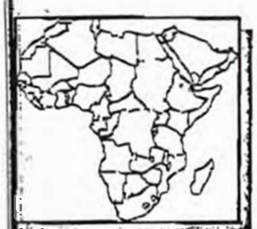
Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997



Attracting Capital to Africa

The Obi Group	Mr. James Obi	Chairman
Overseas Bechtel	Mr. Eamonn Sweeney	Vice President
Anadarko	Mr. Robert Allison	CEO
ENRON		
CAMAC Holdings	Mr. Kase Lawal	CEO
CAMAC Holdings	Ms. Jeana Herrington	Counsel
CAMAC Holdings	Mr. Ken Bakare	
Citibank, NA	Mr. Antranig Sarkissian	Vice President
Stephens Energy Int'l	Mr. Paul O'Bryan	Executive Vice President
Free Angola Info. Services	Jardo Muekalia	Chairman
Samuels Int'l Associates, Inc.	Mr. Michael Samuels	President
LHR International Group	Mr. Leonard Robinson	President
National Summit on Africa	Mr. Mac DeShazer	Executive Director
Lockheed Martin	Mr. Jean Traisnel	Managing Director
International Trade Development Corp.	Mr. Kim Barkan	President
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. R.A. Becker	Manager, Venture Development
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. Ken Evans	Africa/Middle East Vice President
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. J.B. Fleece	West Africa Venture Manager
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. J.C. Symmes	Project Manager, West Africa Projects
Exxon Company International	Mr. D.L. Guttormson	President, Esso Exploration & Production Chad Inc.
Exxon Corporation	Ms. Jean Cole	Government Relations
Exxon Exploration Company	Mr. Louis Smith	Upstream Business Dev. Advisor
Geogia State University	Dr. Roy Bahl	Dean/School of Policy Studies
Harvard School of Public Health	Mr. Christopher Murray	Professor

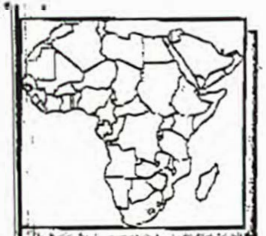
Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997



Attracting Capital to Africa

African Development Bank	Mr. Omar Kabbaj	President
Cohen & Woods Int'l Inc.	Ambassador Herman Cohen	President
World Bank	Mr. Isaac Sam	Manager
Mobil Corporation	Mr. Richard Kramer	Chief Executvie Strategic Research & Investments
Triangle Strategies	Mr. Christian Merkling	Principal
Texaco International Marketing & Manufacturing	Mr. James Hawn	Vice President, West Africa Region
State University of New York	Ms. Jean Herskovits	Professor of African History & Politics
Leboeuf, Lamb, Greene & MacRae	Mr. Jude Kearney	Partner
SBC Communications	Mr. David C. Fine	Vice President - Government & International Relations
Jones Education Company	Mr. Paul Amos	Vice President
C/R International	Mr. Robert Cabelly	
C/R International	Mr. Derrick Raymond	
	Ambassador Paul Hare	
	Mr. Edward V.K. Jaycox	
Wharton Business School	Dr. Louis Wells	
Roosevelt University	Dr. Howard Stein	
	Ambassador Robert Pelletreau	
University of Michigan	Dr. Barbara Richardson	
ABT Associates	Ms. Tracy Harris	Director, Marketing & Business Dev.
Qualcomm, Inc.	Mr. Charles Oshunremi	Vice President, Africa & Middle East
GAO	Mr. Patrick Dickriede	Senior Analyst
GAO	Mr. Eluma Obibwaku	Senior Evaluator

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997



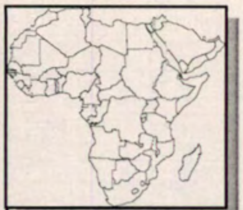
Attracting Capital to Africa

GE Power Systems	Mr. Wafik Kouchouk	Regional Sales Director
Huffco Group, Inc.	Mr. David A. Trice	CEO & President
Huffco Group, Inc.	Ms. Terry Huffington	Chairman
Cotecna Inspection	Mr. Michael Wilson	Africa Regional Office
Conoco, Inc.	Mr. Rodney MacAlister	Manager Federal Affairs
AES Corporation	Mr. Kenneth Woodcock	Senior Vice President
MIGA/World Bank	Ms. Karin Millet	Manager, Investment Marketing
MIGA/World Bank	Mr. Ken Kwaku	Program Manager for Africa
Wyeth Ayerst Int'l Division of AHP	Mr. Frank Yanni	Director Strategic Projects
Chase Manhattan Bank	Mr. Homi Mullan	Managing Director & Regional Executive
International Road Federation	Mr. Wayne McDaniel	Deputy Director General

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997

About The Corporate Council on Africa...

The Corporate Council on Africa, established in 1992, is a non-partisan, tax-exempt membership organization of corporations and individuals dedicated to strengthening and facilitating relationships between African and American individuals and organizations by creating educational, cultural, and commercial exchange opportunities. The Council believes that it can accomplish this goal by educating constituencies about the different social customs, cultural traditions, and economic climates on both continents, and by utilizing a network of business executives and government officials to promote U.S. - Africa relations.



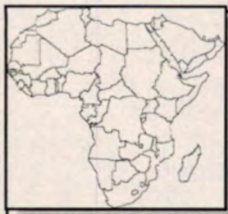
Attracting Capital to Africa

Summit Registration

Please Complete this form and fax it back to the Corporate Council on Africa

fax: 202-835-1117

The Corporate Council on Africa
1660 L Street, NW
Suite 301
Washington, D.C. 20036



Attracting Capital to Africa

Summit Registration Form

Name: ____________________

Title: ____________________

Organization: ____________________

Address: ____________________

City: __________ **State:** ______ **Zip:** ______ **Country:** ______

Phone: __________ **Fax:** __________

In order to best accommodate you, please respond to the following questions:

1. Conference participation includes lodging for three nights. Please check the boxes below to indicate the dates you will overnight at Westfields Conference Center.

☐ Saturday, April 19 ☐ Sunday, April 20 ☐ Monday, April 21

2. What is your estimated arrival time? __________; departure time? __________

3. What is your incoming flight number and carrier? __________

4. Do you have any special needs relative to your room/sleeping arrangements and/or food or beverage preferences? Please describe. __________

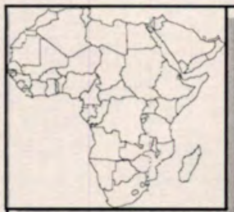
5. Would you prefer your room to be in a smoking or non-smoking area of the hotel? ______

6. Will you require simultaneous translation from English to ____ French ____ Portuguese?

7. In order to facilitate productive networking, please list the countries of greatest business interest to you. __________

8. Please list the industry sectors of interest to you? (ex. mining, telecom, etc.) __________

Please fax to The Corporate Council on Africa: (202) 835-1117



Attracting Capital to Africa

Registration Deadline: April 4, 1997

9. Please identify your **first**, **second** and **third** choice of recreational activities for Sunday, April 20, 1997.

- ☐ Golf at the Fairfax National Course
  ( ) Bring Clubs; ( ) Rent Clubs
- ☐ Tennis
  ( ) Bring Racquet; .( ) Rent Racquet
- ☐ Horseback Riding — Picnic
- ☐ Bus Tour of Washington, D.C.
  Tour of Capitol Hill or
  National Gallery of Art
- ☐ Winery Tour; Middleburg, Virginia
- ☐ Skeet Shooting
- ☐ Massage & Manicure
- ☐ Free Time

10. Please list the names of individuals and/or organizations that you would like us to inform about the Summit and/or Dinner. ______________________________

____

____

____

____

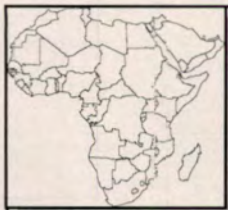
*Please complete the **workshop registration** form on **page four**.*

Please Return to:

The Corporate Council on Africa
1660 L Street, NW
Suite 301
Washington, D.C. 20036
fax: (202) 835-1117

About The Corporate Council on Africa. . .

The Corporate Council on Africa, established in 1992, is a non-partisan, tax-exempt membership organization of corporations and individuals dedicated to strengthening and facilitating relationships between African and American individuals and organizations by creating educational, cultural, and commercial exchange opportunities. The Council believes that it can accomplish this goal by educating constituencies about the different social customs, cultural traditions, and economic climates on both continents, and by utilizing a network of business executives and government officials to promote U.S. - Africa relations.



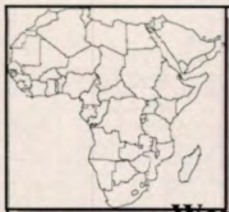
Attracting Capital to Africa

UPDATE OF SUMMIT WORKSHOPS

Each Workshop title is followed by the Corporate Sponsor and official Moderator

Each Participant will have the opportunity to attend 3 workshops on Monday, April 21, 1997.

Workshop One:	*Nigeria: The Role of the Private Sector in Accelerating Economic Growth*	
Sponsor:	Mobil Corporation	Mr. Richard Kramer
Workshop Two:	*Utilizing Progressive Taxation Practices to Accelerate Economic Growth*	
Sponsor:	The Coca-Cola Company	Dr. Roy Bahl
Workshop Three:	*Developing Opportunities for Hard Rock Mining in Africa*	
Sponsor:	Caterpillar Inc.	Panel
Workshop Four:	*Health Care Economics and Disease Management in Africa*	
Sponsor:	Eli Lilly & Company	Mr. Christopher J.L. Murray
Workshop Five:	*Angola: The Role of the Private Sector in Accelerating National Reconstruction*	
Sponsor:	Amoco Corporation	Ambassador Paul Hare
Workshop Six:	*Privatization in Africa*	
Sponsor:	HSBC Equator Bank	Mr. Edward V.K. Jaycox
Workshop Seven:	*Marketing a Region for Trade and Investment*	
Sponsor:	UNDP	Dr. Louis Wells
Workshop Eight:	*Financing Investment for Growth in Africa*	
Sponsor:	African Development Bank	Mr. Omar Kabbaj
Workshop Nine:	*Investing in African Transitions*	
Sponsor:	Lazare Kaplan International Inc.	Mr. Maurice Tempelsman
Workshop Ten:	*Private Sector Role in Infrastructure Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*	
Sponsor:	ENRON	Ambassador Herman Cohen
Workshops Eleven:	*U.S. Policies that Affect Trade and Investment Decisions within Africa*	
Sponsor:	Camac Holdings Inc.	Mr. Warren Glick
Workshops Twelve:	*World Bank - Private Sector Partnerships in Africa*	
Sponsor:	World Bank	Mr. Isaac Sam



Attracting Capital to Africa

UPDATE OF SUMMIT WORKSHOPS

Workshops 11 through 20

Workshop Thirteen: *Emerging Transportation Technologies in Africa*
Sponsor: General Motors Corporation — Dr. Barbara Richardson

Workshop Fourteen: *Fiscal Terms and Their Importance in Stimulating International Oil and Gas Investments*
Sponsor: Exxon — Mr. Lewis Smith

Workshop Fifteen: *Expanding Trade, Investment, and Development Opportunities within SADC*
Sponsor: Archer Daniels Midland — Mr. Jude Kearney

Workshop Sixteen: *U.S. Public-Private Partnerships: A Formula for Strengthening the African Private Sector*
Sponsor: United Meridian International Corporation & CMS NOMECO — Mr. Warren Weinstein

Workshop Seventeen: *Free Trade Zones in Africa: Local and Regional Impact and Possibilities for U.S. Business*
Sponsor: Sooner Pipe Supply Corporation — Dr. Howard Stein

Workshop Eighteen: *Algeria: A Nation in Change*
Sponsor: Anadarko Petroleum Company — Internal Document

Workshop Nineteen: *Creation of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises in Algeria — The Bonus from Production Sharing*
Sponsor: M.W. Kellogg — Amb. Robert Pelletreau

Workshop Twenty: *Telecommunications Privatization: The Impact on Economic Growth and Employment*
Sponsor: SBC Communicatons — Mr. David C. Fine

Please indicate your top 3 choices (plus two alternates) for Workshops and fax this back to the Corporate Council on Africa at (202) 835-1117

1.)

2.)

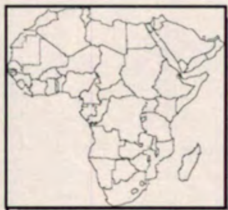
3.)

Alternate:

Alternate:

Name:

Company:



Attracting Capital to Africa

Summit Invoice #97-00-00

Thank you for your involvement in the Corporate Council on Africa's
***Attracting Capital to Africa* Summit.**
This page may serve as an invoice for your internal financial system.

I wish to participate as: (Please refer to the Summit brochure for category definitions)

- ☐ Major Underwriter/$100,000
- ☐ Underwriter/$75,000
- ☐ Benefactor/$50,000
- ☐ Patron/$25,000
- ☐ Sponsor/$10,000
- ☐ Friends/$5,000
- ☐ Council Members, African Visitors and Public Sector Representatives/$1500
- ☐ Additional Council Members/$2500
- ☐ Individual Gala Dinner ticket/$1000

Enclosed is a check (number) _________ for _______________ to ensure my participation in the Corporate Council on Africa's *Attracting Capital to Africa* Summit.

Please remit to:
Corporate Council on Africa
1660 L Street, NW
Suite 301
Washington, DC 20036