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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

AFRICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE

FAX COVER SHEET

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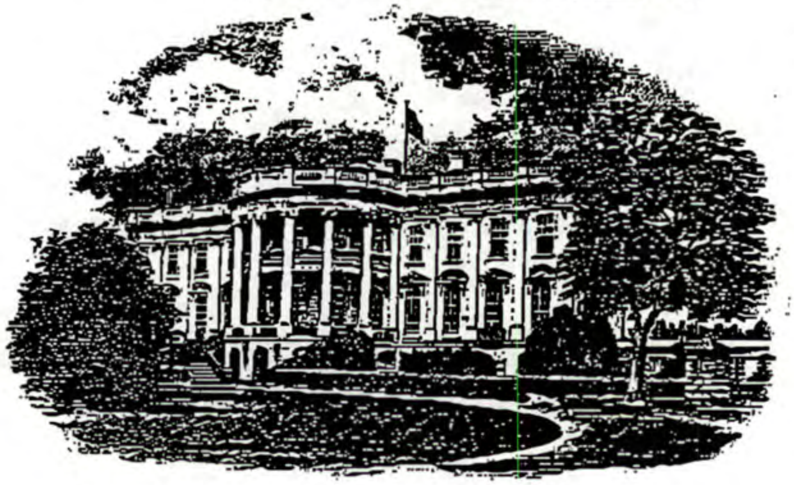

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Message:

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CONGRESSMEN PHIL CRANE, CHARLES RANGEL & JIM McDERMOTT & AMO HOUGHTON

GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY IN AFRICA: THE END OF DEPENDENCY ACT

In conjunction with the
African Trade & Investment Advisory Group

---

contact: Mike Williams @ 225-3106

THE BILL WILL BE INTRODUCED IN APRIL 1997 AND WILL:

- **Policy Statement** -- establish as U.S. policy the creation of a transition path from development assistance to economic self-reliance for those countries in Africa committed to economic and political reform, market incentives, and private sector growth. Eligibility requirements are established for participation in the programs and benefits of this bill. **The bill will not require that any cuts be made in the budget of USAID**.

- **Equity and Infrastructure Funds Initiative** -- directs OPIC to create a **$150 million equity fund and a $500 million infrastructure fund for Africa** beginning in 1998. Both funds shall pay special attention to women entrepreneurs and support innovative investment practices that expand opportunities for women and that maximize employment opportunities for the poor.

- **U.S.-Africa Economic Forum** -- establishes a U.S.-Africa Economic Forum to facilitate annual high level **(at the Secretary and minister level)** discussions of bilateral and multilateral trade and investment policies and initiatives. The Forum will generate a long term trade and investment agenda with private sector and NGO involvement.

- **U.S. Africa Free Trade Area** -- directs the President to develop a plan to enter into one or more free trade agreements with African countries or regions by the year 2020. The plan should include, but not be limited to, the negotiation of bilateral investment and tax treaties.

- **Export-Import Bank & OPIC Initiative** -- require that one member of the board of directors of the Ex-Im Bank and OPIC have extensive private sector experience in Africa. The Ex-Im Bank and OPIC are directed to establish private sector advisory committees with experience in Africa. The Ex-Im Bank and OPIC must report to Congress in six months on recommendations to expand loans, guarantees, and insurance to Africa.

- **Textile Initiative** -- eliminate the quotas on Kenya and Mauritius after these countries adopt a "visa system" to guard against transshipment. Continue existing no quota policy in Africa through 2005. Protect U.S. workers, consumers and manufacturers with annual reports to Congress on the growth in textile and clothing exports to the U.S. from Africa.

- **USTR** -- creates a new position of Assistant United States Trade Representative for Africa.

FAX TRANSMITTAL

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04/17/97

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MESSAGE:

It was great talking to you! Thanks for the help on this. Here is the Corporate Council on Africa's draft release on Coke's award and a fact sheet as a start.

I hope I'll get a chance to see the First Lady on Monday night. Have a great vacation.

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EM-3210-00 (Rev. 2/95)

DRAFT

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(On Corporate Council Letterhead)

Coca-Cola President Accepts First Corporate Council Award for U.S. Citizenship in Africa

Ivester Affirms Company's Belief In Future of Africa; Commitment To Long-Term Investment

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1997 -- The Corporate Council on Africa tonight honored The Coca-Cola Company for its long-term investment in the future of Africa.

The Council's inaugural award for corporate citizenship was presented to M. Douglas Ivester, president and chief operating officer, The Coca-Cola Company, during an international summit of business and government leaders focused on building strong markets and economic prosperity in Africa.

The summit, "Attracting Capital to Africa," convened April 19-22 at the Westfields Conference Center in Chantilly, Virginia. Five African countries also received awards for opening their economies to the global marketplace. Representatives accepting the awards were President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of Mozambique; President Henri Konan Bedie of Cote d'Ivoire; Executive Deputy President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa; Prime Minister Kintu Musoke of Uganda; and Deputy Prime Minister Kassu Ilala of Ethiopia.

"The focused investment of The Coca-Cola Company identifies Africa as a 'continent of opportunity' for companies with a disciplined, long-term vision," said Ambassador David C. Miller, Jr., president of The Corporate Council on Africa. "The infinite opportunities for business growth, however, carry with them the responsibility of good citizenship, a responsibility Coca-Cola has reflected in its African operations, year in and year out."

The Coca-Cola Company and its bottling partners have invested and committed nearly $600 million in Africa during the last two years alone.

"We believe in the future of Africa," said Mr. Ivester. "That belief is the bedrock of our commitment to help drive long-term, sustainable economic growth across the continent. Our focus is to create value for everyone who touches our business, from the retail level up, from spaza and kiosk operators to our bottling partners."

During a visit to the continent earlier this year, Mr. Ivester announced a $360 million capital infusion by the Company and its African bottling partners in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. The investment will expand operations and increase capacity at bottling plants, purchase sales and distribution equipment, and intensify marketing and retail customer initiatives, all aimed at doubling the Company's African business over the next five to seven years.

The Coca-Cola system in Africa operates more than 140 bottling plants and directly employs more than 100,000 people in the production and distribution of its soft drink brands. Through a "multiplier effect" of job creation in related industries, the Coca-Cola business in Africa accounts for more than one million jobs, many of them in Africa's burgeoning retail and 'micro-business' sector.

In East Africa, the Company recently opened a new, high-technology bottling plant in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. Also in 1997, The Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Ghana opened a state-of-the-art bottling plant in Accra, one of the first such plants in West Africa.

The Company's investment in Africa goes beyond job creation and improved infrastructure. Since 1990, The Coca-Cola system has contributed more than $30 million in support of education and community development in Africa.

The Corporate Council on Africa is a non-partisan membership organization of African and American corporations and individuals committed to developing the African private sector and strengthening the commercial relationship between the United States and Africa. It was established in 1992.

THE COCA-COLA SYSTEM IN AFRICA

FAST FACTS:

- The Coca-Cola Africa Group serves 584 million consumers in 47 countries
- Investment and Commitment: $600 million in last two years
- Top four markets: South Africa, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya
- Goal: Double the business in five to seven years
- Plants: 143 across the continent
- Jobs: Directly employs 100,000 people; generates 1 million jobs
- Community commitment: $30 million since 1990 to education and development
- Momentum: First-quarter 1997 volume up 10 percent, led by strength in South Africa

CAPTURING GROWTH

- The potential for growth in per capita consumption of Company soft drinks in Africa is huge. In more developed markets, such as South Africa, annual per capita consumption of Coca-Cola products is 150 and growing; on the continent as a whole, it is just 25.
- South Africa is the 10th largest market for Coca-Cola products in the world.
- The growth of the Coca-Cola system in Africa contributes to higher employment; an expanded retail base; development of indigenous, "micro-business" enterprises; increased investment; and expanded infrastructure.
- After re-entering South Africa in 1994 and taking the first steps to rebuild marketing and infrastructure there, the Company made major moves in 1996 to reposition its business for the future. An infusion of talent from around the global Coca-Cola system teamed with bottlers and customers to improve sales and marketing efforts in the new South Africa.
- In Northern Africa, the Company's share of soft drink sales is 80 percent. In Nigeria, a new Coca-Cola bottling plant was opened in Mushin in 1996. That country now has 18 Coca-Cola bottling plants and more than 100 depots serving 118 million consumers. The Company's share of sales in Nigeria exceeds 80 percent.
- Production and marketing efforts, coupled with improving economic conditions, are building momentum. First-quarter 1997 unit case volume in the Africa Group increased 10 percent. In the Northern Africa Division, new marketing programs and strengthened management produced an 8 percent increase. Unit case volume increased 11 percent in the Southern Africa Division, led by very strong growth in South Africa.

BOTTLING AND DISTRIBUTION

- The formation of Coca-Cola Sabco, the first "anchor bottler" on the African continent, combines Coca-Cola bottling interests in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Namibia. Sabco also operates in South Africa and Mozambique.
- Coca-Cola Sabco currently owns and operates 16 bottling plants and 25 distribution centers in six countries. It recently approved $100 million for new capital investment projects in East Africa.
- To develop the management, sales and production skills of its people in local operations, the Coca-Cola system is creating training centers to be incorporated into all new plants.
- In East Africa, the Company recently opened a new, high-technology bottling plant in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. The new facility is owned by Coca-Cola Kwanza Limited, which is a joint venture between Coca-Cola Sabco and local investors.
- In 1997, The Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Ghana -- a joint venture between The Coca-Cola Company, the government of Ghana and the African Growth Fund -- opened a $9 million state-of-the-art bottling plant in Accra, one of the first such plants in West Africa. The new facility houses a center that will offer training for production and line personnel from Ghana and other Coca-Cola bottling plants in Africa.
- In October 1994, Coca-Cola announced the formation of a joint bottling venture with the Kunene Brothers of Johannesburg, South Africa. Kunene Brothers Holdings, South Africa's largest individual black investor in the soft drink industry, owns a 64 percent share in the Coca-Cola Bottlers of Mpumulanga (CCBM).
- The Company is committed to the practice of economic improvement and opportunity for black South Africans and indigenous people of all African nations at every level of the business. In South Africa, Coca-Cola is engaged in black empowerment initiatives in employment, management and business development, education, and employee and industrial relations.

INVESTMENT PLAN

- Individual country investments include $250 million in South Africa; $60 million in Zimbabwe; $50 million in Tanzania; $14 million in Eritrea; $30 million in Uganda; and $20 million in Ghana.
- The capital infusion will expand operations and increase capacity at bottling plants; purchase new production lines, packaging, cold drink coolers and other equipment; improve truck fleets and distribution systems; and intensify marketing efforts.
- Investment will have strong impact on retail customer and "micro-business" sector.

COCA-COLA AND THE COMMUNITY

- The Coca-Cola Southern Africa division is launching a system-wide program for university students to work in each key sector of its soft drink business, cultivating a unique cadre of young black South Africans who will lead the Coca-Cola business in the years ahead.
- In the Richard Bay, Kwazulu Natal area of South Africa, six new black-owned businesses were created by selling components of the Company's primary operation to former employees and local business people.
- In South Africa, the Coca-Cola system gave $400,000 to the Center for Development of Human Resources to provide education and vocational training for black South Africans.
- Through partnership with its South African bottlers, Coca-Cola contributes approximately $5 million each year to support community programs in that country.
- The Coca-Cola system provided a grant of over $250,000 to the Universities of Zimbabwe, Ghana and Nairobi to promote new entrepreneurial and micro-business skills through a Coca-Cola Forum in Management and Marketing for students, faculty and small business owners.
- In Namibia, Coca-Cola contributed $135,000 to the U.S. Committee for UNICEF and the Namibia Ministry of Health to provide preventive health care services and educational programs for children.

Massive confidence boost to local economy

Coca-Cola to invest $600m

FINANCIAL GAZETTE
(Zimbabwe)
February 6, 1997

Staff Reporter

UNITED States soft drinks giant Coca-Cola Company said yesterday it would invest $600 million in its Zimbabwean operations over the next four years in a move local analysts described as a major confidence boost for the local economy.

Coca-Cola president and chief operating officer Douglas Ivester said the investment was mainly in equipment that would put small entrepreneurs into business. He made the announcement in Harare when he met President Robert Mugabe to brief him on the company's investment plans.

Local economic analysts were generally upbeat yesterday on the Coca-Cola investment plans, saying the world's largest beverage company had registered its confidence in the country's fledgling economy.

The Coca-Cola investment is one of the largest by a foreign investor in the past 17 years in Zimbabwe, which hauled in its single biggest prize when Australian firms Delta Gold and BHP Minerals poured $2 billion to establish the Hartley platinum mine in 1990.

"It's a good sign, given that we are looking at inviting a lot of foreigners to come in and invest here. This shows we are beginning to compete internationally," Kenias Mafukidze, Zimbabwe Economics Society president, said of Coca-Cola's move.

Kerry Traubert, a communication officer at Coca-Cola's headquarters in the US city of Atlanta who is accompanying Ivester, said: "After South Africa, Coca-Cola has identified Zimbabwe as the key centre for the company's growth and expansion plans. We have a lot of confidence in your country."

Ivester flew into Harare from South Africa, where he announced plants to invest $3,1 billion (1,25 billion rand) in seven Coca-Cola bottling plants in the next five years.

Douglas Ivester: 'Zimbabwe is the next centre for growth in Africa'.

In Zimbabwe, Ivester said the $600 million initiative would expand Coca-Cola's operations and boost production capacity at Zimbabwe's five bottling plants. It would purchase new production lines, packaging, sales and cold drink equipment.

"We are committed to helping drive long-term economic

- more -

growth in Zimbabwe," he told reporters.

"The market conditions we see now position Zimbabwe as the next centre of growth of business on the African continent. Most importantly, our Zimbabwean bottling partners share our aggressive goals for investment in infrastructure and people," the Coca-Cola chief said.

Ivester, on a tour of Africa during which he will make announcements on investments by his firm in the continent, said in addition to upgrading Zimbabwe's five Coca-Cola plants, the capital infusion in the marketplace for equipment, soft drink coolers, merchandising programmes and consumer promotions would benefit 17 000 retail customers, kiosk operators and trolley vendors.

The company's operating bottling plants are in Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare, Gweru and Masvingo. In addition to the plants, Coca-Cola has 25 distribution centres dotted around the country and employs more than 2 300 people.

Coca-Cola estimates that for every job it provides, five extra jobs are created in the local economy through suppliers and retailers.

Coca-Cola licensed bottlers in Zimbabwe, the United Bottlers owned by local conglomerate Delta Corporation and the Mutare Bottling Company principally owned by businessman Simon Goldberg, produce the country's top three soft drink brands — Coca-Cola, Fanta and Sprite.

Ivester said the company was also going to invest US$30 million in Tanzania, US$30 million in Uganda and had several other investment plans for Mozambique, Kenya and Ethiopia.

He said in a very short period of time Africa as a whole should see about US$500 million invested by Coca-Cola.

Coca-Cola boss gives $500 000

THE HERALD
(Zimbabwe)
February 5, 1997

FRONT PAGE

Herald Reporter

THE visiting president and chief operations officer of the Coca-Cola Company, Mr M. Douglas Ivester, yesterday gave US$50 000 (about Z$500 000) to the Coca-Cola/University of Zimbabwe Forum in Management and Marketing.

He presented the cheque to the acting Vice-Chancellor of the UZ, Professor Graham Hill, on behalf of his company at a brief ceremony in Harare.

The forum is aimed at developing entrepreneurship, management and marketing skills among university students, and the private sector. The Coca-Cola company is committed to that vision.

Through research, training, internship, counselling and consultancy, the Coca-Cola/UZ Forum contributes to the development of small and medium-scale enterprises in the country.

The programme is geared towards cultivating an entrepreneurial culture among the students. It exposes them to practical business operations, while at the same time students assist the organisations in areas of their capacity.

Thanking Mr Ivester, Prof Hill said: "We, in Zimbabwe regard anyone who chooses to invest in the country as a special friend."

Mr Ivester, who arrived in Harare yesterday, is expected to call on President Mugabe this morning, during which he will announce a major Coca-Cola investment in the country.

Accompanying him is the Coca-Cola senior vice-president and president of the Coca-Cola Africa Group, Mr Carl Ware. Mr Ware was in Zimbabwe at the launch of the Sixth-All Arica Games.

Coca-Cola has expanded its operations in Zimbabwe since its establishment in the country in 1948. It has undertaken a number of development projects — economic, social and cultural programmes.

The company, with a total of five plants in the country, in Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Masvingo and Mutare, also plays a major role in promoting sport in Zimbabwe.

It was one of the major sponsors of the Sixth All-Africa Games held in Zimbabwe in 1995.

Africa/Hillary Rodham Clinton
Vogue June 97
EDITED 4525 words

VOGUE FINAL # 1
6 pm. THURS.

I have always wanted to visit Africa. As a child, I imagined exploring the Blue Nile, Victoria Falls, the Serengeti and other exotic places I discovered through books and movies. In college I studied writers like Nobel Prize winner Chinua Achebe and researched how the United States and the Soviet Union used the continent as a giant chess board to maneuver for advantage during the Cold War. After I read Isak Dinesen, I longed to sleep in a tent where I could hear the lions roar at night.

Finally, in March, I went to Africa. For two weeks, I was overwhelmed by new sights, sounds, smells, and tastes. Like so many others before me, I came home transformed by the experience. I also returned more convinced than ever that what happens in Africa should matter to Americans.

As with earlier trips I made on behalf of the United States, to Asia, South America, and Europe, I tried in Africa to stress our nation's commitment to democracy, human rights, and free markets. Today there is a worldwide surge of peace, prosperity and democracy-building. Every region is making its own contributions, but Africa deserves special attention, as I saw in six countries that are leading the continent's democratic and economic renewal: Senegal, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda, and Eritrea.

In particular, I wanted to support and speak out about efforts to advance the roles and rights of women and girls. A democracy without women's full participation is a contradiction in terms. To live up to its promise, a democracy must ensure that girls have the same opportunities as boys in education and health care and in the economic, political and social lives of their countries.

It happens that on several trips I have been lucky enough to travel with my daughter Chelsea. These experiences have given me the greatest joy in my life. When Chelsea comes along, I get the added pleasure of watching the excitement on her face as we visit a new place. And people in other countries see that the President of the United States has a child--a daughter whom he values, respects and has done his utmost to invest with every chance to fulfill her own God-given potential. I am beyond grateful for the times we have circled the globe together. And if those travels have changed minds in countries where daughters are not as prized as sons--well, all the better.

As you can see from the memorable photographs by Annie Leibovitz, I met impressive national leaders and a lot of remarkable women (and even a few men dressed as women!). These photos, full of hope and promise, offer such a different picture than most of what we see on TV or in the newspaper about Africa. So much of the time, it seems, the only news that filters in from Africa is bad. Too often overlooked are stories of democratic and economic progress, of people living up to their best selves while overcoming obstacles I can't even imagine. That's the Africa I saw. I hope, through these pictures, you will see it too.

After weeks of planning, our departure was postponed because Bill injured his leg the day before Chelsea and I were to leave. Instead of last minute packing, I was with Bill at the hospital or preparing the White House for his return. When I first saw how much pain he was in and learned how serious the operation was, I told him that Chelsea and I should either cancel the trip or abbreviate it. He would only agree to a one-day delay that would still permit us to complete the whole schedule. He thought the trip was an important demonstration of our country's concern about Africa. Besides, he didn't want to play up his injury and worried that my being a "nervous Nellie" would do just that. Once Bill was safely resting at home, I left for the airport filled with anxiety about him and anticipation about Africa. It was only after talking to him almost daily from the road--and hearing that he was doing fine--that I felt a sense of relief.

Our plane touched down in Dakar, Senegal shortly after 3 a.m. on March 18th. My first impression was of a densely dark sky and air that felt like a wall of heat and humidity. Accustomed to sweltering Washington summers, I had packed enough lightweight suits, pants, and blouses to be comfortable even in the tropical weather. (Little did I know that during the trip I'd end up wearing some traditional African garb too)!

After a quick nap at the hotel, our first stop was Goree Island off Senegal's coast, one of the departure points for millions of Africans sold into slavery from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries and shipped across the Atlantic to North and South America. Just as Africa's history is rife with ironies and contradictions, so is Goree Island. As we approached by boat, we saw the peaceful shore filled with brightly dressed people singing and dancing to welcome me. It was jarring to remember that this seemingly idyllic spot was part of an industry that profited from the sale of human beings.

Nothing speaks more to the depravity of humankind than the slave compound, where African men and women were segregated by sex and kept in cages before they were sold and shipped away. At the aptly named Door of No Return, Chelsea and I saw the passageway where slaves were forced onto ships, separated from their loved ones, their land, and their culture with cruel finality. It was one of the most heartbreaking monuments I have ever seen.

Yet I quickly learned that the history of tragedy in Africa often conceals a deeper story of human resilience. Goree Island not only offers a stark reminder of a shameful past, but a message about America's vital ties to Africa and the contributions of African Americans to our own culture. It was a message that echoed throughout my time in Africa.

After a whirlwind day in Senegal--where I met many Senegalese, from the country's impressive seven-foot President Abdou Diouf and his family to girls attending a school named in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr. to villagers acting out a skit about democracy to a group of women who are working to improve education, women's rights, health care and the economy--we were back on the plane for another red-eye, this time eight-and-a-half hours across the continent to Johannesburg, South Africa. I had been to South Africa once before to attend President Nelson Mandela's inauguration in 1994. But that brief visit had only whetted my appetite.

Just outside of Johannesburg is the famous township of Soweto, scene of so much of apartheid's tragic history. As we approached the Entandweni Primary School, children in uniforms lined the dusty streets, waving and smiling. Escorted by the principal, Primrose Sishi, who was clad in a traditional dress of the Zulu tribe, I visited a class of six-year-olds who were learning English. Their teacher, Sibongile Vilikazi, was using a taped program funded partly through assistance from the United States Agency for International Development and private foundations. The lesson for the day taught the words "outside" and "inside" and the children were asked to use each word in sentences. I couldn't help but smile when one boy said: "The police are outside," because too often in the past, the police "inside" Soweto ended up fueling violence and racial tension.

Unfortunately, crime and violence remain big problems in South Africa; fortunately, all citizens--black, white and coloured--are joined in combatting them. African women first helped focus world attention on one crime, domestic violence, at the United Nations World Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985. Domestic violence remains all too common in every country of the world. But as I heard over and over in Africa, domestic violence crimes are often not prosecuted--or even considered crimes at all--in many parts of the continent. That's why it was so heartening to see women from South Africa to Zimbabwe to Tanzania and elsewhere devoting their energies to changing local laws and attitudes.

The next morning I flew to Capetown, where a dramatic backdrop of mountains and a Riviera-like coastline converge in one of the most beautiful cities in the world. African women find strength in song, and everywhere I went, women sang as they worked, as they walked, as they welcomed us to their homes and villages. And on a dusty patch of land at the city's edge, I watched women, their faces painted brightly, pushing wheelbarrows, pouring concrete, and mixing paint--singing all the while.

Homeless squatters living in deplorable conditions, they had formed their own housing and credit association, modeled after one they had heard about in India. Pooling their savings, they bought shovels, paint, and cement. They asked for information from the government about how to lay a foundation for a house. They put in a sewer line. Today, they have completed 18 houses and continue to build more. They are also helping lay the foundation for a new South Africa.

Later, I learned the translation of the lyrics of one of their songs: *Strength, money, and knowledge -- we cannot do anything without them*. Good advice for any woman.

One cannot spend time in South Africa without being inspired by its democratic transformation. That democracy could take root after so many decades of violence and racial hatred is a testament to the courage and humanity of millions of South Africans of all races who are committed to peace and reconciliation. Some are famous, like President Mandela, who took Chelsea and me on a tour of the tiny prison cell he occupied for years on Robben Island. As depressing as the prison was, our spirits were lifted by the realization that Mandela and his fellow inmates had not only survived the injustice of apartheid, but had triumphed over it.

Many of the heroes of South African democracy are not so famous. They are like the women at a memorial tree-planting I attended with Archbishop Desmond Tutu in honor of those who died or disappeared during apartheid--women whose names will never make the nightly news, yet whose tear-stained faces told the story of the pain and agony they had endured. They weren't there to forget their pain; they were there to help themselves and their country move beyond the past to a brighter future.

That is the purpose of the nation's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Archbishop Tutu invited me to meet its members. In the most ordinary of conference rooms, these men and women are undertaking the most extraordinary of efforts, working to heal their nation after generations of injustice and brutality. Democracy is a complicated business under the best of circumstances. Given its past, South Africa has a challenging road ahead. But President Mandela and Archbishop Tutu know that their country cannot achieve democracy and equality for all citizens without forgiveness. Under the leadership of the Archbishop, the Commission is urging those who committed hate crimes during apartheid to step forward and confess. In return, they are granted amnesty. Through this great experiment in healing, the people of South Africa are not only shaping their own destinies, they are challenging the rest of the world--from Belfast to Bosnia to Burundi--to put aside ancient enmities in search of higher moral ground.

I spoke about South Africa's lessons for us all in a speech at the University of Capetown, presided over by its dynamic woman Vice Chancellor, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele. I wondered aloud what might have happened in our own country if President Lincoln had lived out his second term and been able to implement the vision of a healed nation set out in his Second Inaugural Address, which urged all citizens to unite as Americans and feel "malice toward none." Would our country have had its own Truth and Reconciliation Commission after the Civil War? Could we have averted a century of racial injustice and a legacy of prejudice that haunts us still?

From the southern tip of the continent, we journeyed northwest to Zimbabwe, another story of democratic renewal. It's a beautiful country--green and peaceful. My first stop was a formal call on President Robert Mugabe and his wife, Grace. The two stuffed lions guarding the entrance of their official residence were the first signs of wildlife I had seen.

I was also thanked for arriving with the season's first heavy rainfall, and I was happy to take credit, since President Mugabe explained that the weather had been unusually dry.

In an elegant art gallery in the capital of Harare, a group of Zimbabwean women in politics, the professions and business explained to me that, although women enjoy many basic rights, ancient customs and attitudes often prevail. They recounted stories of women who had been beaten by their spouses for having "bad manners" or wearing pants, a practice deemed only acceptable for men. One woman summed up the problem: "As long as you have a law that says men can have two wives, but women can't have two husbands, then you're not dealing with reality."

I've heard the same refreshing candor from women around the world, who confirm that Mary Wollstonecraft's remark more than 200 years ago still rings true: "I do not wish women to have power over men but over themselves." Yet as I was reminded time and again on this trip, women's authority over themselves cannot be legislated; it has to start from within. That's why Zimbabwe deserves great credit for its advances in family planning, which have encouraged women to assume responsibility for themselves. At the Kuwadzana Municipal Clinic I watched a play about "baby-dumping," the tragic practice by teenagers of orphaning or killing babies by "dumping" them. The actresses were school girls under the direction of Peace Corps volunteers. The skit is aimed at persuading girls to postpone sexual activity or, if they do not, to use contraception.

At my next stop I saw responsibility in action as I met with members of the Zambuko Trust, which assists women with small loans to start or expand businesses. After my remarks, I asked if the audience had any questions. I felt I was at a small business meeting back home when one after another asked if I knew where she could get second-hand items like sewing machines and steel punches. (If anyone reading this has any equipment to donate, I hope they will contact me!)

From Harare we flew to Victoria Falls, where we were drenched by the spray as we walked the length of the viewing area in the park, marveling at the power and magnitude of the falls and the frequent rainbows that festoon the gorge. Chelsea and I couldn't wait to call Bill and tell him how beautiful it was.

From there it was on to Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, a country formed from the
union of two former colonies whose names entranced me as a child: Tanganyika and Zanzibar. At my first stop, I met President Benjamin Mkapa, who is working to open his nation's economy to take advantage of its natural resources and strategic location on the Indian Ocean. With the vigorous assent of Mrs.Mkapa and the women Ministers in attendance, I encouraged the President to change laws that limit women from owning and inheriting property, restrictions that are not only unfair but hobble the economic potential of half the country's population.

If there is one thing that most people associate with Africa, it is wildlife. Tanzania is working hard to set aside land for parks and reserves and Chelsea and I were fortunate to see first-hand some of the country's treasures: the Ngorongoro Crater, the Serengeti plain, and the Olduvai Gorge, where Mary and Louis Leakey made their historic discoveries about human ancestry. Traveling by Land Rover across rutted and rocky trails, we were awed by the vast zebra and gazelle herds, running ostriches, bull elephants, sleeping mother hippos whose babies rested on their heads half out of the water, lions eyeing wildebeests and other potential prey. No matter where we looked, our eyes could not take it all in.

For Chelsea, seeing exotic wildlife was a special treat. She loved animals when she was little, and watching her in the game parks brought back memories of our visits to the zoo and the circus years ago. Now, of course, she's a young woman heading off to college. And while I dread the day she leaves, I'll always remember the priceless moments we shared in Africa, when her face conveyed pure joy at every new experience.

Near the wildlife reserve, we also visited an extended family belonging to the Masai tribe, whose simple, pastoral way of life is at odds with Africa's push for development. Anyone who sees Masai men and women standing tall and proud in their red robes, earrings and elaborate beaded necklaces may well feel that there is something bittersweet about the march of progress.

Along with its environmental efforts, Tanzania is also a crucial actor in bringing peace and stability to war-torn central Africa. In Arusha, I visited the International War Crimes Tribunal investigating ~~and prosecuting~~ genocide in Rwanda. The recently reorganized Tribunal, led by Canadian Justice Louise Arbour, is charged with prosecuting war crimes and punishing those responsible.

The success of the Tribunal is vitally important for all of Africa, but especially for women and children, whose lives and dignity are too often sacrificed in war and civil strife. In Rwanda, rape and sexual assault were committed on a mass scale as tactics of war. Through the Tribunal, the international community can and must demand that those who committed genocide and crimes against humanity be brought to justice.

Wars spawn many lasting repercussions, and one is the inevitable proliferation of refugees, most of them women and children. In Africa, as elsewhere, women and children comprise the majority of those left homeless, starving and dying from preventable diseases in the aftermath of war. In Kampala, Uganda, I met with a delegation of Rwandan women whose soft voices and drawn faces told the story of the genocide in their country. One young woman described how, after her arm was severed with a machete, she tried to keep it attached while she sought futilely to find medical care. When an infection inevitably occurred, she had to remove the arm herself. As she showed me her stump, another woman explained that there is a severe shortage of prosthetic limbs. The woman also gave me a photo album that documented the price of Rwanda's violence. On each page were graphic images of bones, skulls, dazed survivors and orphaned children. But more than the album's photos, I will long carry mental pictures of the women I met there--and their determination as they talked about how they would overcome the inhumanity of their past to help rebuild their devastated lives and country.

Uganda was memorable for other reasons, as well. In the face of one of the worst AIDS epidemics in Africa, it is the only country to have lowered the rate of infection through an educational campaign that includes the billboards I saw along the road from the airport. This campaign is led by Uganda's charismatic President, Yoweri Museveni, who believes in confronting head on problems that traditionally have been ignored and neglected. He and his wife, Janet, entertained me at Nakasero State House, where I met some of the government and business leaders who are shaping the fastest growing economy in Africa.

One of the President's priorities is education and his policies have led to a huge increase in the numbers of boys and girls attending primary school. I saw the results when Mrs. Museveni and I visited the Seguku Primary School, where I announced a USAID grant to Uganda to train teachers and prepare teaching materials. We met two Peace Corps volunteers who are helping to make classroom materials out of plentiful items like bottle caps and banana leaves. I saw how necessary these efforts were when I walked into a classroom with 74 third-graders and one dedicated teacher, who proudly told me she had more girls than boys in her class for the first time.

When I helped dedicate the AIDS Information Center, constructed in part with funds from user fees and donations from the German, Japanese and American governments, I listened with tears in my eyes as a young woman with AIDS told me how her aunt's husband, infected with HIV, had forced himself on her. She had found help and understanding, she said, at the Center. Other clients performed a song used in the country's education campaign. The refrain: "AIDS cannot win."

U.S. investments in projects to improve education and fight AIDS aren't just foreign aid for the sake of foreign aid. An American doctor at the AIDS Center explained that the policy of same-day testing pioneered there is now being transplanted back to the U.S.; and there is no doubt that medical research and clinical trials in Uganda can help advance the search for a vaccine and cure.

I also saw the vitality and outspokenness of Uganda's women in a village bank and at a gathering of women who attended a speech I gave at the Nile Conference Center. FINCA (Foundation for International Community

Assistance) is an international microcredit association whose banks I have visited in Managua, Nicaragua, and Washington, DC. But never before had the stories of what women did with their loans been conveyed to me in song and dance.

And there was more singing before my speech. I was touched to hear, in this order, the Uganda National Anthem, the United States National Anthem, and the

traditional Uganda song celebrating women that begins with the words: "Mothers, daughters. . . ." I was surrounded by articulate, powerful women, including Uganda's Vice President, Dr. Specioza Wandira Kazibwe.

Anyone who doubts the strength, courage, and tenacity of African women need only travel to Eritrea, the sixth and final country I visited. It is Africa's newest nation, a democracy born out of a 30-year civil war in Ethiopia. The first thing I saw getting off the plane was a red, white, and blue banner that said: "Yes, It Does Take a Village." Descending onto the tarmac, I was greeted by women in brilliantly-colored dresses ululating and throwing popcorn at me, a welcoming practice that protects the visitor from evil forces and assures good fortune. As we drove out of the airport, a large banner proclaimed: "Welcome, sister."

The Eritrean people pride themselves on industriousness and self-sufficiency, and time spent with Eritrean women explains why. I met women freedom fighters who helped wage the war for independence. Many took up arms as teenagers and fought for the better part of three decades. Now they have laid down their weapons (in fact, most Eritreans turned over their guns at the request of the new government, so that even police in the capital, Asmara, don't carry them) and are busy building schools, health clinics and training fellow freedom fighters for civilian jobs.

In an animated discussion hosted at our Ambassador's residence, moderated by Askalu Menkerios, the President of the National Union of Eritrean Women, I learned how proud the women are of their country's new Constitution, whose motto is "emancipation through equal participation."

One woman spoke for others present when she said women like her had not fought for national independence to see victory bring a return of female dependence. That is why women who were active in the liberation struggle are speaking out in favor of girls participating in compulsory national service and against the practice of female genital mutilation, which is prevalent among Eritreans.

The President of Eritrea, Isaias Afwerki, and his wife, a former freedom fighter named Saba Haile, do not live in the Presidential Palace--they prefer to live in a small house in town with their children--but that is where they entertained me. Saba gave me a traditional Eritrean "tilfi," a dress of soft white, hand-loomed cotton decorated with embroidery and silver with a matching shawl which I wore to the reception. I sat in a courtyard in front of the palace, built by the Italians during their occupation, watching folk dances from various parts of the country. I asked the President, who became a guerilla fighter while a university student in his early twenties, if, during the long war, he had ever found time to dance. "Of course," he replied. "We had to keep dancing to keep ourselves going."

Just at that moment the dancers came off the stage and beckoned to the President and me to join them. He appeared as surprised as I was, and at first he demurred. But the dancers were persistent and both of us made our way slowly to the stage, where we were joined by Saba and a few other guests similarly recruited. The dance, thankfully, was a simple circle movement that even I could manage. As the music filled the air and I danced around the circle, I looked at the smiling men and women surrounding me and felt very lucky--and very grateful--to be part of their celebration of independence and democracy. If I'd had some popcorn, I would have thrown it at everyone in sight.

A few hours later, Chelsea and I were [back] on the plane heading home. We couldn't wait to tell Bill about all the places we had been and the people we had met. We knew that our stories would excite him even more about the trip he plans to take to Africa sometime this term.

It was early on Easter morning when we arrived back in Washington, which seemed especially fitting. People around the world were celebrating the message of Holy Week, which tells us that loss and despair can lead to hope and redemption. And that, after all, was the story we had just seen unfolding in Africa.

Africa's renewal can't be measured by statistics. There is a new generation of reform-minded leaders. There is a new relationship between Africa and the United States, one based as much on free trade and shared ideals as it is on development assistance.

To be sure, Africa faces formidable challenges. Many of the African democracies are new and fragile. Too much of the continent continues to be riven by AIDS and other diseases, poverty, injustice, corruption, and perilous conflicts. Refugee crises trap women and children, in particular, in lives that go from bad to worse.

Yet for all the cruelty and suffering, there is now more cause for hope than despair. The credit goes to the African people who have endured so much and come so far. But the United States has been ~~helpful, lending Africans the tools to help~~ helping Africans help themselves ~~and~~ to become stronger partners for peace, prosperity ~~freedom,~~ and democracy in the 21st century. We have a stake in their success. ~~should do more of it.~~ Their hope is ours, too.

Lissa:

As per our conversation, Shawn

1. Prime Minister Chissano (cha-sah-no)
2. Vice President Mogae (mo-gay)
3. Executive Deputy President Mbeki
4. Vice President Mills
5. Prime Minister Duncan
6. Prime Minister Musoke (Moo-so-kee)
7. Prime Minister Cisse (see-say)
8. Deputy Prime Minister Illala (ee-LA-la)

THE U.S.-AFRICA PROGRAM
FOR
ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY

I. Introduction

The Clinton Administration proposes a U.S.-Africa Program for Economic Growth and Opportunity, 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 American and African interests.

In making this proposal, the Administration wants to respond to and support the very positive developments taking place in a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, developments that stand in sharp contrast to the prevailing negative picture 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. A number of countries--Uganda, Mozambique, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, to name a few--have undertaken serious economic reform programs that are showing good results.

These countries have taken the first big steps towards democracy and economic renewal, but lasting success is far from ensured. In many cases the growth that has resulted from economic reforms is relatively fragile. Now is the time to help such countries lock in and accelerate progress by taking their own reforms to a higher level. In so doing, the United States would at the same time be expanding U.S. business opportunities. Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is a largely untapped market of some 600-700 million people. If the United States does not seize this opportunity, and try to enlist others to join us, it may well be that much of SSA becomes increasingly marginalized with unsustainable levels of poverty and environmental degradation. That path leads to poverty, instability and conflict that is costly in human and economic terms. Alternatively, with continued international economic engagement African countries greatly improve their prospects of achieving lasting 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 but cannot overcome flawed policies. It can

make a critical difference for those countries doing most to help themselves to open their economies, invest in their people, and improve economic policy management and governance.

5. Sustained, rapid growth for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is fully achievable. Individual "success stories" can provide powerful stimulus and examples for other countries to follow.

II. The Program: Reforms and Benefits

Implicit in the above principles is the notion that African governments must take the lead in committing to and implementing policy reforms. At the same time, countries and institutions interested in seeing Africa succeed must recognize that even the most committed reformers have difficult obstacles to overcome. Accordingly, the program set out below is structured to highlight the reforms that a participating country should make and assistance that would be offered to support them.

A. Reforms

The precise mix of economic reforms that is most appropriate for a particular country depends on that country's specific circumstances. However, there are areas of reform that have proven to be extremely beneficial to countries that have adopted them, and are highly relevant for many SSA countries. These reforms fall into three categories: (1) trade and investment; (2) human resources; and (3) economic policy management and governance.

1. Trade and Investment

-- To promote a country's integration in the global economy, and to enjoy the myriad benefits that flow from such integration (improved resource allocation, efficiency gains, etc.) a country should:

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

  o introduce current account convertibility.

-- To attract sorely needed foreign investment, a country should provide national treatment for foreign investors, and privatize sectors of the economy that are most likely to attract foreign investment (e.g., telecommunications, energy). These sectors will benefit from the financing, technology and know-how that foreign investment typically brings.

Some countries may be ready and inclined to enter into negotiations with the United States on a Bilateral Investment Treaty.

-- To confirm its intention to become a full member of the international trading community, and to abide by internationally agreed trading rules, a country should apply to join the WTO (if it is not already a member) and actively pursue membership. To increase business confidence in the durability of trade reforms undertaken as part of this program, a country should take steps to bind reforms in the WTO (if it is a WTO member) or in some other fashion that achieves this objective.

Even if a country is not a WTO member, it can demonstrate commitment to WTO principles, and at the same time enhance its trade and investment climate, by taking steps to bring 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

-- To put itself in a better financial position to increase investments in human resources, a country participating in this program should develop and implement an appropriate fiscal system while rationalizing and reducing the scope of government activities through, for example, privatization.

-- A country should improve the quality of government expenditures. In this regard, there should be a relative shift in government investment toward:

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

o health, focusing on primary health care and improving the health of relatively neglected rural populations; and

3. Policy Management and Governance

-- A country should undertake to improve governance by, for example, increasing the professionalism, transparency and accountability of the public sector, particularly in key economic institutions.

-- One of the most difficult problems to address is corruption. There are no simple solutions, but a first and important step is to reduce 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. These reforms are extremely important for increasing the transparency, consistency, predictability, efficiency and fairness of the economic system and society, which in turn helps to improve conditions for trade, investment and economic growth.

-- To improve conditions for both foreign and domestic investors, and generally to create an environment conducive to private sector growth, a country should undertake a program that would promote a judicial system in which published rules are impartially applied and for which appropriate appeal procedures are in place.

B. Assistance

The reform measures noted above are, without a doubt, in the interest of African countries and bring their own rewards and benefits. At the same time, those familiar with development challenges in Africa (and elsewhere) and the very real technical and political obstacles to reform, will appreciate the desirability of having at the ready a well-tailored package of assistance measures that gives seriously reforming democratic governments a better chance to see the benefits of reform within a politically viable time period. In that spirit, the following assistance measures, targeted at strong reformers, would be offered.

1. Trade and Investment

-- Enhanced Market Access. To promote trade development and investment, and to support bold efforts by SSA countries participating in the program to open and integrate their economies through trade and investment liberalization, the United States would offer a new program, modeled on the Caribbean Basin Initiative, providing 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) to countries eligible for full program benefits (see part III.A.2) 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 benefitting 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, countries eligible for full program benefits would be entitled to 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 participating in the program.

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

-- 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.

-- Technical assistance to promote reforms. Up to $5 million will be provided annually by the USG to support short-term technical assistance to African governments to respond to those countries taking steps to:

o liberalize trade and promote exports (USAID);

o bring their legal regimes into compliance with WTO standards pursuant to joining the WTO (USAID);

o make financial and fiscal reforms (USAID);

o encourage market-oriented reforms in food and agriculture systems to promote greater agro-business linkages (USDA).

World Bank and, in certain cases, IMF technical assistance would also be available to support such reforms.

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

-- 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). Fund managers would be encouraged to give special consideration to SSA countries participating in the core program.

The Administration is calling on the World Bank Group to expand its application of innovative financing mechanisms, incuding 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 recapitalization 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 SSA program countries grows, 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.

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 African countries likely to be eligible for this program. 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.

We have secured agreement for the African Development Bank 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 microenterprises. Through this and other initiatives (see below, infrastructure investment and human resources), the African Development Bank Group can play an important role in this program.

-- <u>Infrastructure Investment</u>. 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 would be encouraged to give special consideration to SST countries participating in the core program.

We have secured agreement for the African Development Bank to develop a capability for financing infrastructure projects, in particular for projects that improve linkages among markets, both within country and regionally.

-- <u>Trade Promotion</u>. First, the Trade Development Agency (TDA) will increase the number of reverse trade missions, focusing on countries eligible for full program benefits. Second, the EXIM Bank will encourage the use of its programs to support the export of goods and services to Africa. In this regard:

o 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.

- o 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.

- o 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.

-- Regional Integration. Under the Initiative for Southern Africa (ISA), up to $25 million annually of the ISA will be devoted to 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. (USAID)

-- American-African Business Partnership. Up to $1 million will be provided annually to catalyze relationships between U.S. and African firms through a variety of business associations and networks. (USAID)

2. Human Resources

-- Commodity Assistance to be Reprogrammed. To help countries experiencing budget shortfall in the course of their reform programs to intensify their investments in human resources, programs under which the United States provides commodity assistance to developing countries will be reallocated with a view to ensuring that a greater share of the benefits of those programs accrue to SSA countries eligible for full program benefits. With respect to food assistance made available under PL-480:

- o 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 eligible 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.

- o 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.

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

- o 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.]
- o Urge the World Bank and IMF Boards to provide maximum relief under the HIPC debt initiative for HIPC eligible countries participating in this program in recognition of their strong reform efforts; our goal would be to have an NPV of debt/export target of 200 percent agreed for these countries.

-- 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.

3. Policy Management and Governance

-- Africa Economic Policy Reform. In FY 1998, if the Administration's budget request is approved and funds are made available, up to $10 million annually could be used to finance specific policy reform programs, both technical assistance and program support funds. (USAID)

-- Capacity Building. In response to an initiative launched by African Governors to the Bretton Woods Institutions, the World Bank and other donors are working on a new capacity building initiative to raise the level professionalism and technical skills in government economic and development institutions.

-- Technical Assistance.

- o The IMF is working on the establishment of an intensive training program in Africa to improve overall economic management and technical skills in key economic institutions.
- o Technical support for efforts to rationalize government activities, in particular by

getting governments out of activities better handled by the private sector. (IMF and World Bank).

- Assistance to reform legal regimes in order to make them hospitable to investment and commercial activity. (World Bank, USAID)

III. Program Implementation

A. Eligibility

The Program is designed to focus support on African countries willing to undertake bold reforms. At the same time, we recognize that not all countries are willing or ready to undertake such reforms. To take into account the heterogeneity of circumstances in African countries, the Program accommodates three different "tiers" of countries, each of which has its own set of benefits and eligibility requirements.

1. Tier 1 Countries: Basic GSP and Enhanced GSP

GSP-eligible, less-developed countries (LDCs) will continue to receive basic GSP benefits. GSP-eligible, least-developed countries (LLDCs) will receive enhanced GSP (basic GSP plus approximately 1,800 additional tariff lines).

2. Tier 2 Countries: Full Program Benefits

GSP-eligible Sub-Saharan African countries shall qualify for the full range of Tier 2 benefits if they take accelerated reform efforts. Qualification for Tier 2 is at the discretion of the President, as would be the decision to terminate a country's participation in the program should that country make a significant reversal in its economic reform efforts. Countries will qualify if their reform program meets the Tier 2 objectives in trade and investment reform, described in section II above, while investing in human resources and improving governance of the economy. Tier 2 requirements are intended to complement IMF and World Bank financing programs which support these same reforms. Under normal circumstances, and where applicable, a country's participation in the IMF and World Bank programs would be an important consideration in their qualification for Tier 2. The President may also 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. This would apply both to entry and exit from the program.

3. Tier 3 Countries: Free Trade Agreements

In the future, and as appropriate, reforming countries would be eligible for free trade agreements. We do not envision FTA negotiations with any SSA countries in the short term. 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.

B. U.S.-Africa Economic Forum

A vital component of this program is to elevate the level and caliber of dialogue that takes place between Africa's boldest reformers and the United States. To this end, 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 reform experiences and highlighting successes and obstacles, we believe that a U.S.-Africa Economic Forum would give important support to countries and their economic leaders that are committed to change the status quo. [1999 Summit, if approved.]

C. 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 Eight have advanced their consideration of an Africa agenda along three tracks: political, foreign affairs, and economic. The Clinton Administration program presents an approach toward Africa that is relevant to the economic discussions of our leaders. We believe that it provides 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:

- In the trade arena, European members of the G7 will soon be renegotiating 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 II 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.
- 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.

Collaboration within the G7 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 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.

Economic Initiative Issues for FLOTUS CCA Speech

Trade, Investment and Development Initiative: Why it is Needed

Worldwide trend towards open markets and open societies has begun to take root in sub-Saharan African. One of the major goals in Africa for the second term of the Administration is the integration of Africa into the global economy.

Integration requires economic and political reform: this is beginning to happen (5 democracies have grown to more than 20, 30+ countries recorded positive economic growth last year). Continuing these trends toward political and economic reform is critical to U.S. national interests. A marginalized Africa will be poor, unstable and riddled with conflict--we need an Africa that is an international partner, in trade, development and conflict resolution and prevention. Democratic governments with surging economies make good partners: in trade, multilateral force and in conflict resolution. We have national security interests at stake in preventing the spread of narcotics trafficking, international crime, terrorism and disease. We cannot afford to ignore these problems, or they soon will become our problems. The United States must be actively engaged in Africa to prevent these threats from pushing Africa and the rest of the world backwards.

What is the U.S. Doing?

The Administration is working closely with key members and staffers on the Hill to construct a coherent national policy to encourage Trade, Investment and Development in Africa. This policy is aimed to give incentives to countries that are already instituting tough economic and political reforms which are already in their interest to continue and expand their efforts. Those countries that have instituted economic reform policies and demonstrated their sustained success will be eligible for access to the incentives offered by this policy, including:

1) Support for expansion of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) plus benefits that allow duty free treatment of certain products from accelerated reformers that are opening their markets to U.S. products and meet other foreign policy criteria.

2) Expanded efforts by international financial institutions to provide qualifying countries with time-limited bridge financing, increased technical assistance to promote sound economic management and policy reforms, and debt relief to highly-indebted poor countries (HIPC) that have made accelerated policy reforms.

The Administration also plans to:

3) Focus on Africa at the G-7 Summit in Denver. We hope to be able to announce with our summit partners common strategies on bilateral assistance which focuses on capacity building, good governance, investment in human capital, and infrastructure projects that contribute to economic growth.

4) Name an Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Africa who will be responsible for expanding trade and investment with and in Africa.

5) Establish an annual Cabinet-level U.S. Africa Economic Forum to draw attention to accelerated reforms and to work on ways and means to improve trade and investment with Africa. [It has been recommended that the President participate in a one time inauguration of the summit in 1999 in Washington.]

6) Encourage expansion of EXIM Bank programs to support the export of goods and services by U.S. companies to Africa.

What Does this Mean for U.S. Investor/Businessperson?

-- We all win when trade expands. U.S. gains jobs and income from exports, Africa gains market access, expertise and links to global market. Everybody's security, stability and prosperity increases. This is a win-win situation, not zero sum game. Conversely, if Africa is marginalized, we all lose.

-- Administration working hard to make it easier for U.S. business to invest in Africa (EXIM, Assistant USTR, work on tax treaties).

-- Administration working with multilateral institutions to ensure that African countries that are undertaking difficult reforms receive meaningful benefits that enable them to further liberalize economies and attract more investment and trade. Priming the pump for private industries.

-- Administration working hard with the Hill on joint initiative to encourage further investment in human capital. In order for countries to take advantage of trade opportunities must have healthy, educated population with peaceful, democratic governments. Aid AND trade go hand in hand.

-- The United States cannot promote development, democracy and trade and defend against the threats of international crime, narcotics trafficking, terrorism and weapons proliferation on the cheap. Since 1995 our assistance to Africa has decreased from $802 million to $650 million. This is money well spent. It helps to enable Africa's population to become literate and healthy, and supports stability and democracy so that Africa and outside investors can benefit from its opportunities and riches.

-- Social development goes hand in hand with business development and we need to do more of both. The United States holds only 7% of Africa's market of over 700 million people, but this is more than our trade with all of the former Soviet states combined.

-- 100,000 U.S. jobs depend upon our exports to Africa, and this number will increase as our market share grows and as the African market grows.

-- Our exports to Africa increased by 39% between 1994 and 1996 to $6 billion. Africa is rich in natural resources -- mineral, biological and human. We need to work as partners with African countries to ensure their wise use to bring development to all of the continent's people not just profits to the elite.

-- In order to take advantage of the historic opportunities in Africa we must devote more time, energy and resources to increasing trade and investment.

-- Now is the time for private industry to step up to the plate. Need to accelerate U.S. investment, or we will be left behind: Asian investment in Africa is up and growing rapidly, the European Union is trying to negotiate Free Trade Agreements in parts of Africa.

-- U.S. businesses need to be involved in all aspects of African trade -- promote markets in U.S. and Africa for bilateral trade, promote programs that help African entrepreneurs learn the ways of the global economy, work with us to promote programs that help businesses take advantage of opportunities in high-risk African markets.

→ Trade Policy files

PROPOSED RESOLUTION OF ISSUES
AFRICA INITIATIVE

Issue 1: Product Coverage

The Administration supports granting "GSP Plus" duty-free treatment (i.e., duty-free treatment to all products similarly treated under the CBI program, plus tuna, watches and hydrocarbons) to countries eligible under the enhanced market access program.

Issue 2: Textiles

Countries participating in the core program would be eligible for the equivalent of Section 807a and Section 809 benefits under the CBI program.

Issue 3: Eligibility/Termination

Countries will be eligible for tier 1 if they are GSP-beneficiaries.

GSP-eligible Sub-Saharan African countries shall qualify for core program (Tier 2) benefits if they take accelerated reform efforts. Qualification for Tier 2 is at the discretion of the President, as would be the decision to terminate a country's participation in the program should that country make a significant reversal in its economic reform efforts. Countries will qualify if their reform program meets the Tier 2 objectives in trade and investment reforms, invests in human resources, and improves governance of the economy (see section II). Tier 2 requirements are intended to complement IMF and World Bank financing programs which support these same reforms. Under normal circumstances, and where applicable, a country's participation in the IMF and World Bank programs would be an important consideration in their qualification for tier 2. The President may also take into account, whether or not a country engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights, or ~~significantly~~ undermines other core goals of U.S. foreign policy. This would apply both to entry into and exit from the program.

actions that undermine U.S. national security interests.

Issue 4: EXIM Bank

The EXIM Bank shall encourage the use of its programs to support the export of goods and services to Africa.

- The Board of Directors shall 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 shall 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 shall 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.

Issue 5: Assistant USTR for Africa

The USTR will designate an Assistant USTR for Africa. (This person may be appointed from existing USTR staff and may have responsibilities in addition to Africa issues.)

2518

This is our attempt to
get a common bill
in Congress (re: McDermott)

ACTION

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DANIEL K. TARULLO
SAMUEL R. BERGER

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:

Trade, Investment, and Development Initiative

Our program would provide incentives to SSA countries to promote growth and development by opening their economies to trade and investment. This plan recognizes that SSA countries vary considerably, and offers tiers of participation based on how advanced their reform efforts are in three areas: opening economies to foreign trade and investment, improving policy management and governance, and investing in people. The program features trade, investment, and

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

DRAFT

development assistance benefits for accelerated reformers, including: greater access to U.S. markets, modeled on the Caribbean Basin Initiative; focused development assistance, which we will coordinate with our Denver Summit partners; and a linkage to debt relief and financing programs being developed by the World Bank and IMF. A more detailed description is attached.

U.S.-Africa Economic Forum and Summit

To elevate the level and caliber of dialogue between Africa's boldest reformers and the US, 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), but the most sensitive sectors are largely excluded (textile, footwear), as with similar programs like the CBI. Our Congressional supporters should help us manage any industry opposition.

Roll-out

Our initial thought is that, following Congressional and diplomatic consultations, you would invite the bill's sponsors to the White House for a press conference 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. Ideally, several African countries would also have expressed interest in the approach. We will consult with Scheduling regarding the press conference.

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 ________

U.S.-Africa Trade, Investment, and Development Initiative

Bilateral Trade Incentives

Tier 1

Reforms: LLDCs and LDCs in Sub-Saharan Africa would qualify if they already qualify for U.S. Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program, which provides duty-free treatment for specified exports from developing countries.

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), improving their economic policy management and governance, and investing in their people. Need more here on type of reforms and role of IFIs.

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 "cut and sew" 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 Lyon 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 for 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.

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON

AFRICA

David H. Miller

Executive Director

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Fax (202) 835-1117
e-mail: africacncl@aol.com

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

Board Members

Mobil Africa

General Motors

The Coca-Cola Company

Ambassador David C. Miller

Edlow International

Equator Bank Ltd.

Emerging Markets Development Corporation

Pryor, McClendon, Counts & Company

Atlantic TeleNetwork

Dr. Chester Crocker

Ambassador Andrew Young

Africare, Mr. C. Payne Lucas

H.J. Heinz Company

AT&T

Amoco Overseas Exploration Company

West African Distributors

F.C. Schaffer & Associates

Phillips Petroleum Company

American International Group, Inc.

Caterpillar Inc

Sooner Pipe & Supply Corporation

Archer Daniels Midland

Exxon Exploration Company

Anadarko Petroleum

The M.W. Kellogg Company

CAMAC Holdings Inc

SBC Communications

(Please see revese for CCA Annual Members)

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

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Occidental International Corporation
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CMS NOMECO Oil & Gas Company
Eli Lilly and Company
Standard Chartered Bank, USA
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Mr. Arnold Daniels, Jr.
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McDonald's South Africa
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Resource Internationale Inc.
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ENRON Corp
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Black Entertainment Television
International Wireless, Inc.
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Wilson Global Communications
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Emerson Energy Company
Raytheon
CCC Communications
American Home Products
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General Electric
Overseas Bechtel Inc
LHR International
Bristol-Myers Squibb
Ernst & Young LLP
Hogan & Harston
Marriott International, Inc.

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

MISSION STATEMENT

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.

PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

The Council is a non-profit organization of American individuals and businesses whose goal is to improve the interaction between the U.S. and African private sectors. To this end, the Council is committed to working with the governments of Africa and the United States, as well as the African private sector, to improve the trade and investment climate in Africa.

The Council's programs and activities include:

- African Visitors Program - The Council is in close contact with the U.S. Department of State and African Embassies to arrange private meetings between visiting African officials and Council Members.
- Meetings Program - Through this monthly program, the Council affords its Members an opportunity to meet with key American, and African policy makers to discuss U.S. Africa policy and business issues. In addition, these monthly meetings provide the Membership the opportunity to network with other members and invited guests.
- Opportunities in Africa - The Council maintains a database of World Bank, African Development Bank, and U.S. Government projects in Africa, informing its Members of procurement and tenders, and other trade and investment opportunities in Africa on a monthly basis.
- African Business Roundtable - The Council's unique relationship with the African Business Roundtable gives the Council the ability to search for new opportunities and to support the development of an African private sector.
- Trade & Investment Missions Program - The Council sponsors trade missions to specific African countries. These missions are designed to introduce our Membership to commercial opportunities in Africa.
- *Perspectives* - The Council's quarterly publication where Members' voice opinions on various areas of interest concerning the trade and investment climate in Africa.
- Government Outreach - Invitations to testify before Congress and to participate in U.S. Government policy seminars that provide our members an opportunity to educate senior-level decision makers about the needs of U.S. corporations in Africa.

Additionally, the Council works closely with the U.S. Government foreign policy and commercial agencies, and the African Ambassadors Economic Committee here in Washington, to receive notification on arrivals of influential African business and government leaders into the U.S. As a Member of the Corporate Council on Africa, you will have all of the resources of the Council available to help your company's efforts in Africa.

PERSPECTIVES

FROM THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON AFRICA

Vol. III, No. 6

Winter 1996

MORE THAN 100 MEMBERS AND GOING STRONG

In mid-1992, six people – individuals and company representatives – sat together discussing their frustrations over Africa's failure to keep pace economically with other parts of the developing world. What was clearly missing was input and involvement from the American private sector, and the Corporate Council on Africa was born.

In October 1996, the Corporate Council on Africa welcomed Lockheed Martin Astro Space Commercial as its 100th member. This dramatic growth reflects not only the hard work of the staff, but also the vision of those founding members in understanding the powerful potential of the American private sector in filling a critical void in America's relationship with the continent of Africa. By press time, the Corporate Council on Africa membership roll stood at 107, and is still growing.

South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, with CCA Chairman Percy Wilson as moderator, at a members-only breakfast, hosted by CAMAC Holdings Inc.

In the intervening months, the Corporate Council on Africa has won recognition as one of the premier organizations involved with Africa and a reputation as the foremost authority in Washington on African trade and economic policy issues. Council members are regularly invited to testify before Congressional committees, and the Corporate Council on Africa's two benchmark studies of trade and investment opportunities in Africa have won wide acclaim as key inputs to Administration policy. The Council's Nigeria Working Group is playing an influential role in educating American policy-makers about the economic dimensions of our bilateral relationship with Nigeria.

The Corporate Council on Africa has hosted over 40 African Heads of State and over one hundred African Cabinet Ministers and executives from the African private sector, introducing them to a full range of American business leaders, through programs around the United States. CCA-led trade missions have introduced American business executives to Africa, with another mission (to Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and Cote d'Ivoire) scheduled for January 1997.

The success the Corporate Council on Africa has enjoyed is due to the strong and steadfast support of our members. Together we will continue to grow and Africa will prosper.

ATTRACTING CAPITAL TO AFRICA SUMMIT

The Corporate Council on Africa is pleased to announce that it will hold a summit of African and American business leaders from April 19-21, 1997 in Chantilly, Virginia. This groundbreaking summit will be held at the luxurious Westfield's Conference Center and will bring together African heads-of-state and government ministers, as well as invited guests from the U.S. government and African business executives. The conference will be open to all interested parties. However, Council members will receive priority access to this important summit.

The conference will focus on "Attracting Capital to Africa." The specific issues that will be addressed at this exclusive gathering are being determined by the members of the Corporate Council on Africa. All interested parties are welcome to suggest specific topics for

continued on page 8

Westfield's Conference Center

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON

AFRICA

NEW MEMBERS

(As of February1, 1996)

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON

AFRICA

FOUNDING MEMBERS

American International Group, Inc.
Caterpillar Inc.
Sooner Pipe & Supply Corporation
Archer Daniels Midland
Exxon Exploration Company
Anadarko Petroleum Corporation
The M.W. Kellogg Company
CAMAC Holdings Inc.
SBC Communications

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Michael Baker Corproation
Ashland Exploration, Inc.
J.P. Morgan
ACDI
Black Entertainment Television
International Wireless, Inc.
Spatial Data Institute
The Obi Group
Texaco Inc.
Stewart & Stevenson Services, Inc.
Triarm Healthcare Inc.
Wilson Global Communications
Qualcomm Inc.
Huffco Group Inc.
Emerson Energy Company
Raytheon Company
CCC Communications
American Home Products
Louis Berger
GTECH
Hogan & Hartson
General Electric
Overseas Bechtel Inc
LHR International

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

- ***February 3, 1997*** - Private Breakfast honoring H.E. Alpha Oumar Konare, President of The Republic of Mali. Sponsored by: Equator Bank, Ltd., West African Distributors and NetCom Solutions International. Washington, D.C.

- ***February 4, 1997*** - Private Reception and Dinner honoring H.E. Yoweri Museveni, President, The Republic of Uganda. Sponsored by: The Coca-Cola Company, Burson Marsteller, Pryor, McClendon, Counts & Company and International Wireless. Washington, D.C.

- ***February 4, 1997*** - Private Reception and Dinner with H.E. Dr. Pascoal Mocumbi, Prime Minister of Mozambique. Washington, D.C.

- ***February 6, 1997*** - Corporate Council on Africa *Meetings Program* featuring The Honorable Ronald E. Neumann, U.S. Ambassador to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. Washington, D.C.

- ***February 24, 1997*** - Private Reception & Dinner with H.E. Ramtane Lamamra, Algerian Ambassador to the U.S., and Investment Officials from Algeria. Washington, D.C.

- ***March 12, 1997*** - Private Reception & Dinner for H.E. Didier Ratsiraka, President, Republic of Madagascar. Washington, D.C.

- ***March 19, 1997*** - New African Ambassador's Reception honoring the Ambassadors form Mauritius, Nigeria, Namibia, Uganda and Guinea Bissau. Washington, D.C.

- ***April 19 - 21, 1997*** - Corporate Council on Africa *Attracting Capital to Africa Summit*. Chantilly, Virginia.

- ***May 1 & 2, 1997*** - Annual Corporate Council on Africa/Department of State/Department of Commerce Conference on *"Doing Business In Africa."* Phoenix, Arizona.

AMBASSADOR DAVID C. MILLER, JR
President

Ambassador David C. Miller, Jr., currently President and CEO of ParEx, Inc., a privately held investment company located in Washington, Baltimore and Warsaw, Poland, has a long and distinguished career in international consulting, investment banking and diplomacy. From 1976-1980 he managed the Westinghouse Electric Corporation's $200 million sales and construction business in Nigeria. In 1981 he was appointed by President Reagan to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania and in 1984 he was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Zimbabwe. In 1989 Miller was appointed a Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, for the first two years of the Bush Administration. A former White House Fellow, Miller graduated from Harvard in 1964 with honors, and received his J.D. from Michigan Law School. In 1991 he received an Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree from Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon. Ambassador Miller is currently the President of the Corporate Council on Africa and a member of the Council of American Ambassadors; the Council on Foreign Relations; and the Board of Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

DAVID HUMMEL MILLER
Executive Director

Mr. David H. Miller, the Executive Director, is the principal liaison between the Council staff and the seventy members of the Corporate Council on Africa. Mr. Miller is the principal person responsible for implementation and oversight of all operations of the organization. Mr. Miller has served as the Executive Director since he joined the Council in May 1993.

Prior to joining the Corporate Council on Africa, Mr. Miller was the Senior Associate for Africa at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) where he lead over 140 American companies on investment missions to sixteen African countries. Before joining OPIC, Mr. Miller was the Desk Officer for South Africa, Angola, and Namibia at the U.S. Agency for International Development. Mr. Miller has also worked for the public relations company of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly as a Research Associate (1987-89) and Congressman Mark Siljander as a Legislative Assistant for Foreign Affairs (1985-1987).

Mr. Miller received a B.A. in Political Science from George Washington University and a Masters in Business Administration concentrating in finance from the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

Name of Organization: ____________________

Address: ____________________

City: ____________ State: ________ Zip: ____________

Chairman's Name: ____________________

President's Name: ____________________

CEO's Name (if not one of the above): ____________________

The following individual is designated as the contact person:

Name: ____________________

Title: ____________________

Mailing Address: ____________________

City: ____________ State: ________ Zip: ____________

Phone: (______) ____________ Fax: (______) ____________

Enclosed is our check (number) ____________ in the amount of $3,000.00 for our Annual Membership Dues in the Corporate Council on Africa.*

____

(signature) (title) (date)

Please return to:
The Corporate Council on Africa
1660 L Street, N.W.
Suite 301
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 835-1115
Fax: (202) 835-1117

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*Good for 12 months commencing the month we deposit your check.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

For the long term, The Corporate Council on Africa needs to know the distribution of its members' interests in the U.S. - African business relationship. This knowledge will enable the Council to better meet the needs of its Members, not only in terms of detailed program planning, but also guiding the evolution-within the confines of its stated mission-of this dynamic organization.

Please take a few minutes to answer the following questions, and return this with your application form.

1. Describe briefly your organization's current interests in or its current business relationship with Africa, including specific countries with which your organization is involved.

2. Please describe, if possible, your organization's goals for starting a business relationship with Africa, expanding current activities, or starting new ones. *(Itemize specific countries, if possible)*

3. How do you envision The Corporate Corporate Council on Africa assisting your organization's business goals in Africa?

October 4, 1995	Meetings Program with His Excellency Ibrahima Boubacar Keita, Prime Minister of the Republic of Mali. Washington, D.C.
September 7, 1995	Meetings Program with Assistant Secretary of State for Afircan Affairs George Moose and the U.S. business community on the developing business and political situation in Nigeria. Department of State, Washington, D.C.
August 27 - September 2, 1995	CCA Trade and Outreach Mission to Mozambique and Zimbabwe.
August 26, 1995	CCA/Gary Player Golf Tournament to Build Linkages between the U.S. and Traditionally Disadvantaged South African Private Sector. The Lost City, South Africa.
July 18, 1995	Private Dinner for His Excellency Nicephore Soglo, President of Benin. Houston, Texas.
July 17, 1995	Private Luncheon Meeting with His Excellency Nicpehore Soglo, President of Benin. Atlanta, Georgia.
July 14, 1995	Private Luncheon Meeting with His Excellency Nicephore Soglo, President of Benin. Washington, D.C.
June 30, 1995	Final CCA Roundtable with the African Ambassadors Group Part 3 of a 3 Part Series. Washington, D.C.
June 13, 1995	Meetings Program with Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, UNDP Assistant Administrator & Director, Regional Bureau for Africa. 8:00- 10:00 a.m. Washington, D.C.
May 31, 1995	Meetings Program with The Honorable Moises Chingongo, Angola Vice-Minister for Mines and Geology 8:00- 10:00 a.m. Washington, D.C.
May 22, 1995	Meetings Program with the African Ambassadors Group and the U.S. Private Sector, Part 2 of a 3 Part Series, Washingotn, D.C.
May 18, 1995	Private Reception & Dinner for His Excellency Robert G. Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, Washington, D.C.
April 29- May 8, 1995	Corporate Council on Africa/U.S Trade and Development Agency African Petroleum Sector Orientation Visit - Houston, Texas; Mobile, Alabama; Washington, D.C.
April 27, 1995	Meetings Program with Mr. Babacar Ndiaye, President of the African Development Bank. Washington, D.C.
April 25, 1995	Meetings Program with the African Ambassadors Group and the U.S. Government, Part 1 of a 3 Part Series, Arlington, VA.
April 11, 1995	Private Dinner for His Excellency Frederick Chiluba, President of Zambia, Washington, D.C.
April 11, 1995	Meetings Program with The Honorable Idrissa Seck, Minister of Trade, Handicrafts and Industry for the Republic of Senegal, Washington, D.C.
April 10, 1995	Meetings Program with Mrs. Helen Suzman, Former President of the South Africa Institute for Race Relations and Former Minister of Parliment of the Republic of South Africa, Washington, D.C.
April 4-5, 1995	Corporate Council on Africa/U.S. Department of State/U.S. Department of Commerce "Trade and Investment in Africa Annual Conference", San Francisco, California.
March 21-22, 1995	Corporate Council on Africa/United Nations Development Program/African Business Roundtable "Executive Forum", Cameroon.

BULLETIN/PAST EVENTS

(As of February1, 1996)

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

Since its creation, the Council has been active in providing its Membership the opportunity to host and participate in numerous events with key American, African and international policy makers.

February 1, 1996	Meetings Program with Mr. Lionel C. Johnson, DAS, Department of the Treasury, and Mr. Jim Fall, DAS, Department of the Treasury, advisors to the Inter-Agency Country Risk Assessment System (ICRAS). Washington, D.C.
January 19, 1996	Meetings Program with Ambassador Charles H. Twining, the new U.S. Ambassador to Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea.
December 15, 1995	Meetings Program with Dr. Rita Rodriguez, Director, & Mr. Richard J. Feeney, Senior Vice President, Export Import Bank of the United States. Washington, D.C.
December 14, 1995	CCA Board of Directors Meeting. Washington, D.C.
December 14, 1995	Morning Breakfast Meeting with George Moose, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Washington, D.C. (Members Only).
December 8, 1995	Private Dinner for His Excellency Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Republic of Angola, Washington, D.C. Hosted jointly by the U.S.– Angola Chamber of Commerce and the Corporate Council on Africa.
October 26, 1995	Private Dinner for His Excellency Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. Washington, D.C.
October 25, 1995	Private Dinner for His Excellency Yoweri Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda. Washington, D.C.
October 25, 1995	Private Luncheon for His Excellecny Habib Thiam, Prime Minister of the Republic of Senegal. Washington, D.C.
October 25, 1995	Private Luncheon for His Excellency Jaoquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique. New York City, N.Y.
October 24, 1995	Economic Forum on Uganda featuring The Honorable Mayanja Nkangi, Uganda Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, sponsored by the International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C.
October 23, 1995	Private Luncheon for His Excellency Zenawi Meles, President of Ethiopia. New York City, N.Y.
October 23, 1995	Private Luncheon with His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic. New York City, N.Y.
October 20, 1995	Private Luncheon with His Excellency Muluzi Bakili, President of the Republic of Malawi. Washington, D.C.
October 20, 1995	Private Breakfast with His Excellency Ange Patasse, President of the Central African Republic. Washington, D.C.
October 17, 1995	Private Luncheon with His Majesty Mswati III, King of Swaziland. Washington, D.C.
October 12, 1995	Investment seminar on Ethiopia featuring The Honorable Sufian Ahmed, Ethiopian Minister of Finance and The Honorable Girma Birru, Ethiopian Minister of Economic Development and Cooperation. Washington, D.C.
October 10, 1995	Meetings Program with His Excellency, Musalia Mudavadi, M.P., Minister of Finance of the Republic of Kenya. Washington, D.C.

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BULLETIN/PAST EVENTS

THE CORPORATE COUNCIL ON
AFRICA

March 9, 1995	Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors.
March 8, 1995	Congressional testimony before House International Relations Subcommittee on Africa, Washington, D.C.
March 8, 1995	Private Dinner for His Excellency Jerry Rawlings, President of Ghana, Washington, D.C.
February 16, 1995	Congressional testimonies by Council Board Members General Motors and Equator Bank before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, Washington, D.C.
February 9, 1995	Monthly Breakfast Meeting with Assistant Secretary of State, George Moose, Washington, D.C. (members only)
February 8, 1995	Meeting with staff members of the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives to discuss the role of Africa in the Congress, Washington, D.C.
January 17, 1995	Private Meetings and Dinner for His Excellency Isaias Afwerki, President of the State of Eritrea, Washington, D.C. (members only).
January, 10, 1995	Meeting with U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique, Dennis Jett, regarding business opportunities in post-election Mozambique, Washington, D.C.
December 13, 1994	Private Luncheon Meeting between General Paul Kagame, Vice President of the Republic of Rwanda, Washington, D.C.
December 7, 1994	Private Breakfast Meeting between Council Board of Directors, and Assistant Secretary of State George Moose, Washington, D.C.
November 22, 1994	Meetings Program with Deputy Younus Patel, Member of Zimbabwe Parliament, Washington, D.C.
November 10, 1994	Meetings Program with Department of State, Part 3 of a 3 Part Series- Arlington, Virginia.
November 8, 1994	Meetings Program with Deputy President of South Africa, F.W. DeKlerk, Washington, D.C.
October 19, 1994	Dinner Reception for the First Lady of Ghana, Her Excellency Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, Washington, D.C.
October 16, 1994	"Run for Rwanda" fund-raiser hosted by the African Diplomatic Group and the African Ambassadors' Wives Association, in cooperation with Africare and The Corporate Council on Africa, Washington, D.C.
October 13, 1994	Meetings Program with Department of State, Part 2 of a 3 Part Series- Arlington, Virginia.
October 12, 1994	Meetings Program with Petros Solomon, Foreign Affairs Minister of Eritrea, Washington, D.C.
October 7, 1994	Meetings Program with His Excellency Nicephore Soglo, President of Benin, Washington, D.C. (members only)
October 6, 1994	Dinner Chair for the 1994 Africare Bishop John T. Walker Memorial Dinner honoring His Excellency Nelson Mandela, President of South Africa - Washington D.C.
October 4-8, 1994	Made in USA, Inc., Southern African Trade Expo - Johannesburg, South Africa.
October 4, 1994	Meeting with Kengo Wa Dondo, Prime Minister of Zaire, Washington, D.C.
October 2, 1994	Lunch Meeting with His Excellency Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania - Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C. (members only)
September 30, 1994	Meetings Program U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman - Washington, D.C. (members only)

Continued over ➧

September 29, 1994	Meetings Program with the Republic of the Congo Minister of Economic Planning and the Minister of Petroleum - Washington, D.C.
September 19-20, 1994	United States/South Africa Business Development Committee Inaugural Meeting Washington, D.C.
September 9, 1994	Meeting of the Board of Directors - Washington, D.C.
September 8, 1994	Meetings Program with Department of State, Part 1 of a 3 Part Series - Arlington, Virginia.
August 10, 1994	Meetings Program with President Meles Zenawi, President of Ethiopia - Washington, D.C.
July 30 - August 6, 1994	Corporate Council on Africa/U.S. Trade and Development Agency "Orientation Visit" of African automobile procurement officials - Detroit, Michigan.
July 7, 1994	Meetings Program featuring 18 African Ambassadors representing the Group of 12 - Washington, D.C.
June 26-27 1994	White House Conference on Africa - Washington, D.C.
June 9-11, 1994	World Economic Forum - Southern Africa Summit - Cape Town, South Africa.
June 20, 1994	Meetings Program led by President Museveni of Uganda- followed by Evening Reception in his honor, hosted by the Council. - Washington, D.C.
June 3-4, 1994	"Investing in People: U.S.-South Africa Conference on Democracy" - Atlanta, Georgia.
May 19, 1994	Testified before the House Subcommittee on International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy on "U.S. Contribution to the African Development Bank".
May 6, 1994	Meeting with Dr. Nthato Motlana, African National Congress, during his visit from South Africa.
March 3, 1994	Meeting with Edward V.K. Jaycox, Vice President for Africa for the World Bank, to discuss World Bank activities and policies towards Africa.
December 9, 1993	The Inaugural Reception of the Corporate Council on Africa at the U.S. Department of State attended by the Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown, Under Secretary of State Joan E. Spero, the African Diplomatic Corps, Members of Congress, and the U.S. Corporate Community.
October 7, 1993	Hosted a dinner for Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki during his historical first visit to the U.S.
September 25, 1993	Hosted a dinner for President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.
September 20, 1993	Hosted a dinner in honor of President Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea Bissau.

Past events of the Council include:

- ***January 30, 1997*** - Corporate Council on Africa Meetings Program *Business Trends in West Africa* featuring Ambassador Lannon Walker, U.S. Ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire; Ambassador Edward Brynn, U.S. Ambassador to Guinea; and the Commercial Counselors form the U.S. Embassies in Lagos and Abidjan. Washington, D.C.
- ***January 7 - 16, 1997*** - Corporate Council on Africa *Trade and Outreach Mission* to The Congo and Cote d'Ivoire.
- ***December 12, 1996*** - Congo Embassy/Corporate Council on Africa *Trade and Outreach Mission* Holiday Reception. Washington, D.C. (*By invitation only*).
- ***December 10, 1996*** - CCA/International Finance Corporation Conference: Commercial and Investment Opportunities in Eritrea. Washington, D.C.
- ***December 10, 1996*** - Holiday Reception with H.E. Isaias Afwerki, President of Eritrea, and members of the Eritrean Cabinet. Washington, D.C.
- ***December 8-17, 1996*** - CCA/USAID Eritrea Reverse Trade Mission. Washington, D.C., Houston, Texas and San Francisco, California.
  December 11: Private Breakfast with Under Secretary Of International Trade Administration, Mr. Tim Hauser. Secretary of Commerce Conference Room. Washington, D.C.
  December 12-14: Private Meetings, Houston, Texas
  December 15-17: Private Meetings, San Francisco, California
- ***December 6, 1996*** - Cote d'Ivoire Embassy/Corporate Council on Africa *Trade and Outreach Mission* Holiday Reception. Washington, D.C. (*By invitation only*).
- ***December 6, 1996*** - CCA Meetings Program with the West African Enterprise Executive Committee Members. Washington, D.C.
- ***November 21, 1996*** - CCA Meetings Programs with the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office Africa Research Group. Washington, D.C.
- ***November 19, 1996*** - CCA Breakfast Meetings Program with the New Nigerian Ambassador to the United States, H.E. Alhaji Hassan Adamu. Washington, D.C.
- ***November 14, 1996*** - CCA/American Foreign Service Association/Department of State Symposium: Trade and Investment Opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa. Department of State, Washington, D.C.
- ***November 12, 1996*** - CCA Award Presentation Reception Honoring Dr. Jane Goodall Award of the Tanzania Medal of Achievement. Washington, D.C.

- ***October 16, 1996*** - CCA/Export Import Bank of the United States *Working Group* General Meeting. Ex-Im Bank, Washington, D.C.
- ***October 8, 1996*** - Luncheon Meetings Program with the Honorable Hidipo L. Hamutenya, Minister of Trade and Industry, Republic of Namibia. Washington, D.C.
- ***October 7, 1996*** - Private Reception & Dinner for H.E. William Benjamin Mkapa, President, United Republic of Tanzania. Washington, D.C.
- ***October 4, 1996*** - Private Breakfast Meeting with H.E. Saidy Toure, Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea. Washington, D.C.
- ***October 1, 1996*** - Private Luncheon with Mr. Omar Kabbaj, President African Development Bank. Washington, D.C. (CCA Board Members)
- ***October 1, 1996*** - Private Breakfast Meetings Program with Mr. Warren Christopher, Secretary of State. Washington, D.C. (CCA Board Members)
- ***September 30 - October 4*** - CCA will host Kablan Daniel Duncan, Prime Minister of Cote d'Ivoire for programs in Houston, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and New York.

September 30, 1996:	Private Business Meetings. Houston, Texas
October 1, 1996:	Private Reception & Dinner CCA members and invited guests, Washington, D.C.
October 4, 1996:	Private Luncheon CCA members and invited guests, New York.

- ***September 30, 1996*** - Private Reception & Dinner for H.E. Emmanuel Golou, Minister of Mines, Energy and Hydraulics. Houston, Texas
- ***September 17 - 24, 1996*** - CCA will host Dr. Pascoal Mocumbi, Prime Minister of Mozambique for programs in Atlanta, Houston, Washington, D.C., and New York.

September 18, 1996:	Private Luncheon with CCA/Greater Houston Partnership, Houston, Texas.
September 19, 1996:	Private Reception & Dinner CCA members and invited guests, Washington, D.C.
September 20, 1996:	Roundtables with TDA/OPIC/Ex-Im Bank/U.S. private sector and Mozambique delegation, Washington, D.C.
September 23, 1996:	Private Luncheon CCA members and invited guests, New York.

- ***September 11, 1996*** - CCA Meetings Program with H.E. Thabo Mbeki, Executive Deputy President, Republic of South Africa. New York, NY. (CCA members only)
- ***August 26, 1996*** - Meetings Program with Ambassador Marc C. Ginsberg, U.S. Ambassador to Morocco. Washington, D.C.
- ***August 20, 1996*** - Meetings Program with Roelof Meyer, Secretary General of the National Party of South Africa. Washington, D.C.
- ***August 19, 1996*** - Meetings Program with H.E. Payadowa Boukpessi, Togo Minister of Industry and State Corporations. Washington, D.C.

- ***August 16, 1996*** - CCA Board of Directors Meeting. Washington, D.C.
- ***August 5, 1996*** - Meetings Program with His Excellency Major General Paul Kagame, Vice President and Minister of Defense, Republic of Rwanda. Washington, D.C.
- ***August 5, 1996*** - Meetings Program with Ambassador John Hicks, new U.S. Ambassador to Eritrea. Washington, D.C.
- ***July 31, 1996*** - Corporate Council on Africa's Export-Import Bank Working Group Meeting. Washington, D.C.
- ***July 30, 1996*** - Meetings Program with Ambassador Arlene Render, new U.S. Ambassador to Zambia. Washington, D.C.
- ***July 18, 1996*** - Corporate Council on Africa Welcome Reception for the new African Ambassadors to the U.S. Washington, D.C. (Members and by invitation only).
- ***July 18, 1996*** - Meetings Program with 14 African privatization officials on USIA international visitor program. Washington, D.C.
- ***July 10, 1996*** - Private Breakfast with The Honorable Mireille Lissouba, Secretary, Congolese Privatization Committee. Washington, D.C.
- ***June 24 - 27, 1996*** - Corporate Council on Africa/U.N. Economic Commission for Africa/World Bank *Reviving Private Investment In Africa Conference*. Accra, Ghana.
- ***June 21, 1996*** - Meetings Program with the Honorable George Ward, U.S. Ambassador to Namibia, and the Honorable Harold Geisel, U.S. Ambassador to Mauritius, Comoros, and Seychelles. Washington, D.C.
- ***June 4, 1996*** - Meetings Program with Mr. Shiferaw Bekele, Secretary General, Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce. Washington, D.C.
- ***June 13, 1996*** - Private Reception and Dinner for His Excellency Sir Ketimule Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana. Washington, D.C.
- ***May 30, 1996*** - Meetings Program Corporate Council on Africa De-Brief of *Trade and Outreach Mission* to Eritrea and Ethiopia. Washington, D.C.
- ***May 30, 1996*** - Corporate Council on Africa's Export-Import Bank Working Group Meeting. Washington, D.C.
- ***May 23, 1996*** - Meetings Program with the U.S. Offices of the World Bank on Procurement Policy and Business Opportunities with the Bank. Washington, D.C.
- ***May 1 - 10, 1996*** - Corporate Council on Africa *Trade and Outreach Mission* to Eritrea and Ethiopia.

- ***April 18 - 19, 1996*** - Corporate Council on Africa/U.S. Department of State/Department of Commerce "Trade and Investment in Africa Annual Conference," Houston, Texas.

- ***April 17, 1996*** - Private Reception and Dinner for The Honorable Mr. Omar Kabbaj, President, African Development Bank. Presidential Suite, Wyndham Warwick Hotel. Houston, Texas

- ***April 11, 1996*** - Private Cocktail Reception to honor the Corporate Council on Africa's *Trade and Outreach Mission Program.* The Club at Franklin Square. Washington, D.C. (members only or by invitation)

- ***April 11, 1996*** - Meetings Program with the U.S. Offices of the World Bank on General Policy of the Bank. Washington, D.C.

- ***March 28, 1996*** - Private Cocktail Reception to honor the Corporate Council on Africa's *Trade and Outreach Missions Program.* Eritrean Embassy, Washington, D.C. (members only or by invitation)

- ***March 22, 1996*** - Meetings Program with Dr. J. Brian Atwood, Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development. Washington, D.C.

- ***March 21, 1996*** - Meetings Program with the Southern African Development Community Executive Secretary, Dr. Kaire Mbuende and his delegation. Washington, D.C.

- ***March 19, 1996*** - Private Breakfast for His Excellency Leon Kengo wa Dondo, Prime Minister of Zaire. Washington, D.C.

- ***March 6, 1996*** - Private Luncheon for His Excellency Hipolito Pereira Zozimo Patricio, departing Mozambique Ambassador to the U.S., honoring his work in representing Mozambique. Washington, D.C. (members only)

- ***March 6, 1996*** - Meetings Program with African Government Officials representing nine countries to discuss how their respective governments can encourage international commerce. Washington, D.C.

- ***February 29, 1996*** - Private Reception & Dinner for The Honorable Omar Kabbaj, African Development Bank President. Washington, D.C.

- ***February 22, 1996*** - Meetings Program with South African Legislators and National Conference of U.S. State Legislatures. Washington

- ***February 20, 1996*** - Safari Cocktail Reception with Zimbabwe tour guide Mr. John Stevens, hosted by Ambassador David C. Miller, Jr. Washington, D.C.

- ***February 7, 1996*** - Meetings Program with The Honorable Tokyo Sexwale, Premier of Gauteng Province, South Africa. Washington, D.C.

NSC / CCA SPEECH - AFRICA (2-3 day workshop)

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Ellie
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Spur trade + investment w/ Africa
Speech = capstone - after Rubin at breakfast
We're try to induce reforms (econ) through a series of bi + multi lateral incentives
More on debt relief, etc. development assistance

Draw on Uganda
Slot in this stuff } a little heavier

Encourage pri. sector to get involved in devpt assistance + trade
long term - ideally want trade / to supplant
now still need devlpt assistance

SR/ Unique opport to say to several audiences simultaneously that:
1) we are committed to Africa
2) more engagement during 2nd term

Take credit for what we've done
Countries = opportunity more than an annoyance

Aid <u>and</u> trade

Susan Rice

- We do not have the Pres to talk abt this in the relevant time frame
- ∴ FLOTUS speech that [illegible] more important
- S African Min. of Trade — Share goals + principles — but DOA if you don't Δ yr. method

① We (Afr.) all agree that it is in country's own interests to reform + grow

② all for incentives to enc. reform but if Africans hear external conditions —

you could achieve same thing — just don't say it that w

Say: US willing that + wants to support econ growth + ref in Africa

Know lots of countries doing it — want to see those efforts + sustain

We want to work on a pkg w/ Congress that provides a series of benefits to help African countries succeed.

> The ~~[illegible]~~ benefits are available to e.b — but most useful to those already refng get rid of tiers — 2 is only real one anyway —
gonna be self-selecting —

- just say e.b. is open to it but all
- Exim + OPIC — follows mkt anyway.
- AID / Commodities — debt relief we can make these decisions w/o saying publicly.

RICE

Summary of McDermott legislation
They're still on to conditionality etc.

HRC/ Corp. responsibility
East Eur. did events w/ corp that had invested
Role they can play – not just for their own
benefit
but to invest
philanthropy tradition

Centers history –

Keynote >
Video > Intro →

4/21/93

SR/

Progress

U.S. committed to growth oriented performers
- supporting efforts to achieve growth
- make available opport. → growth (w/ Congress to)
  - generalized step under level I
Recognize that Afr. countries are diff -
prog & Ag in diff ways
To support those who~~se~~ are making boldest
moves - (Level 2)

mkt access under GSP
- resources - to support
Kapashnchi the OPIC
-.

[Too much on S. Africa]

Can & Love trade/inv -
aid = bridge
creating conditions -
can't have tr. & investm w/o
health. educ. etc.
Call on bus. community to support devlpt assist.

Still need to put ~~more~~ emphasis on tr. & investment.

School for Blind - corporate support -

[redacted]

Our mkt share is relatively small - but
SW Bell, GM in Namibia, Ovieys Crossing in Botswana
biggest privatization effort in S. Africa
(Telkom)

* Madagascar just won strategic effort

7% of this market -
100K jobs
grow our mkt share - ↑ in U.S. jobs
get highest return on investments
33% return in 1995 vs 12% globally

- POTUS has authorized the Adm. to begin discussions w/ Congress on ways . ..

Corp. responsibility
philanthropy

Blind i Harare
Telephone/Tanzania