



United States Department of State

*Focus* on the Issues  
**AFRICA**

Excerpts of testimony speeches, and remarks by  
U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright on Africa

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# Foreword

Africa, today, is more democratic than it has ever been—more economically open and more focused on building civil society. And although it suffers from instability in some regions, there is reason for optimism about its future as we approach the new millennium.

*Focus on the Issues: Africa* highlights America's evolving partnership with Africa and the common interest both share in ending conflicts, promoting democracy, and supporting economic reform across the continent. It is the third in a planned series of publications of excerpts from testimony, speeches, and remarks by U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright that highlight key policy issues.

# Africa

*Address before the Economic  
Community of West African States (ECOWAS)  
and the Nigerian Community  
Abuja, Nigeria  
October 20, 1999*

Secretary General Kouyate, ECOWAS resident representatives, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: Thank you for your warm welcome on this, my first visit to Nigeria.

Although I am new here, I do not feel like a stranger—for I have watched Nigeria's progress over the past year with the same mix of solemnity and joy that I felt a decade ago to see tyranny overthrown and nations reborn across central Europe. I had never given up the belief that I would one day hear freedom ring again in the streets of Prague, my native city. And I had never stopped hoping that I would be able, during my time as Secretary of State, to visit a Nigeria whole and free.

Today, it is possible to envision Nigeria becoming, at long last, what Wole Soyinka has called "an unstoppable nation, rich in human and material resources, a nation endowed with a seeming gift of leadership, one whose citizens anywhere in the world would be revered. . . simply by the very possession of a Nigerian passport."

And when the history of this decade is written, Nigeria's transformation has every chance of standing beside the Czechoslovak Velvet Revolution and South Africa's long walk to freedom, as a shining example of the strength of human dignity—and the depth of the desire for freedom.

Two days ago, I saw that same dignity and desire written across the faces of the people of Sierra Leone. I saw people who had suffered unspeakable horror, yet who sought not revenge but renewal.

I met African children eagerly learning to use prosthetics from an American veteran, himself a double amputee. I watched the most bitter enemies slowly learning to talk to each other. And I had the pleasure of reviewing ECOMOG troops—Nigerians and other West Africans—who are providing the stability Sierra Leone needs to begin again.

There is no message of easy optimism in the camps of Sierra Leone or on the long path Nigeria has still to travel. But there is an opportunity to build a true partnership between the United States and Africa—to leave behind the attitudes and habits of the past and seize opportunities to work together to achieve shared goals.

I am proud of what we have achieved thus far. President Clinton and his Cabinet, myself included, have made an unprecedented investment of time and energy to develop our ties with Africa across a broad new range of subjects—from agriculture and transportation policy to promoting trade and fighting corruption.

Our nations are working together to end conflicts and build peace: combat the crime and terror that know no borders; promote economic reform and integration; and support democratic institutions and accountable government. It matters profoundly whether we succeed, and it matters nowhere more than here in Nigeria. Nigeria is important to the United States and the world because you have the potential to be an economic powerhouse for Africa and global markets, because you are already a leader for peace and because, ever since your struggle for independence, you have been a signpost for others in search of freedom.

President Obasanjo has already done much to restore Nigeria's democratic institutions. The steps still to come include the repeal of the last repressive laws, the return of Nigeria's judiciary to its former renown, and the consolidation of civilian control of the military. These are the long-term changes which will ensure that, this time, democracy has come to Nigeria to stay.

Nigerians are also showing great determination to come to terms with the abuses of the past. I applaud recent progress toward bringing to justice the killers of Kudirat Abiola, Shehu Yar'Adua, and others. I welcome President Obasanjo's courage and farsightedness in appointing a panel to investigate human rights abuses committed since 1984, as well as establishing a committee to review dubious government contracts signed since by previous regimes. These investigations, if they are fully and honestly carried out, are an opportunity to break—for good—the cycle of impunity that has claimed so many lives and done so much to discredit legitimate authority.

We also want to do all we can to help establish justice and permanent peace among Nigerians of every ethnicity and creed. Later today, I will visit Kano, to gain a better understanding of that part of Nigeria's rich mosaic.

And I follow with concern the extraordinary challenges that Nigeria faces in the Niger Delta region. Communal tensions there have been fed by past government neglect, police and military brutality, and extreme poverty and despair—even as tremendous oil wealth is pumped from the Delta every day.

I want to commend President Obasanjo for his efforts to defuse the crisis and to hear the concerns of the Delta peoples. I stress America's desire to do what we can to help find solutions that are based on the rule of law, not the law of force—solutions that give the Delta peoples a voice in their own future and a stake in the future of Nigeria.

I believe we can help find ways to work with American oil companies on these issues. They, too, have a stake in seeing Nigeria's transformation succeed. And they can be partners in developing the Delta and bettering the lives of its people.

Nigeria's success in meeting the challenges of democracy will be a welcome inspiration across Africa. For our part, the United States will continue to be a strong supporter of democratic forces across the continent. We work with governments seeking to make the transition. And we support the elements of civil society, such as the journalists, labor unions, women's groups, and other activists that have kept Nigeria's democratic vocation alive.

President Clinton has pledged to work to return American assistance to Africa to its past high levels. We will be making the case to the American people that Africa's peace and well-being are closely bound with our national interests, whether fighting crime and terrorism or promoting exports and trade. We will be explaining that our assistance programs for Africa are an investment in our common future. We will be working with Congress to achieve a substantial addition to our funding, including a three- or four-fold increase in our assistance to Nigeria.

As President Clinton stressed at the UN General Assembly last month: The fight against poverty and underdevelopment is a critical part of our struggle for democracy and stability in Africa. . . .

The United States will continue to support Africa's modernizing economies and encourage American investors to take a closer look at the opportunities Africa has to offer. . . .

We will continue to seek out and initiate continent-wide projects such as our Safe Skies Initiative, which is making African commerce easier by making air travel safer and more secure. We will continue to be a leader in reducing the crushing burden of international debt which African nations face. The

international financial institutions and the G-7 have approved President Clinton's plan to make it easier for countries to qualify for debt relief, to provide relief more rapidly, and to ensure that savings are used to meet social needs.

Ultimately, private sector investment will be the engine of long-term growth across Africa. And if domestic investment is to be profitable, and foreign investment attractive, the battle against crime and corruption must be won. . . .

As we work to fight transnational threats, we must find ways to end the conflicts that block African development and threaten regional peace.

I have said repeatedly that our involvement in peacemaking in Kosovo, East Timor, and elsewhere around the world is not an excuse for inaction in Africa; it is a challenge to do better. One of the areas where the international community must improve is in developing the resources of our African partners so that we can move together, quickly and effectively, to prevent and respond to crises: that is why the United States is the largest contributor to the OAU's Conflict Management Center; that is why President Clinton's Africa Crisis Response Initiative has already trained and equipped battalion-sized contingents from six countries for peacekeeping.

Yesterday, I reviewed a battalion of Malian troops on its way to Sierra Leone. They are trained by Americans, supported by the Dutch, and will serve with soldiers from Nigeria, Guinea, Ghana, and elsewhere. Such partnerships are an important step—and ECOWAS is a vital partner—toward ensuring that the nightmares of Sierra Leone, and Rwanda before it, will not be repeated.

For much of this decade, ECOWAS has been on the front line of the struggle for peace in Africa. Too often, in fact, you have been the only line separating innocent civilians from utter chaos. Much has been asked of you in Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, and Liberia. You have stretched limited resources farther



than the international community had any right to expect, and you have achieved more than anyone dared hope.

The United States has been ECOMOG's largest supporter, providing well over \$100 million this decade. We have allocated an additional \$11 million in logistical support for your mission in Sierra Leone. This week, we will vote in the UN Security Council to send a peacekeeping mission to Sierra Leone to help relieve the burden you have carried so long. We are also ready to help strengthen ECOWAS itself, both in its security architecture and in its efforts to promote regional economic integration and trade.

Elsewhere on the continent, the United States has taken a lead role in reenergizing a regional peace process in Sudan. We are working with the Organization for African Unity to help end the conflict between our friends Ethiopia and Eritrea. We are working to defuse the escalating tensions in Burundi. And we will help implement the peace agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Each of these conflicts is a serious roadblock in the way of Africa's development, but they are not the sum of Africa's present or its future. Since becoming a diplomat, I have come to Africa half a dozen times and have seen both the continent's problems and its promise. From Addis to Luanda, and from Gulu to Cape Town, some of what I have witnessed has saddened me. But I have also been inspired.

Nowhere in the world are there stronger or braver people than those working now to secure justice, prosperity, and lasting peace across Africa. In recent days, I have been reminded of the immense debt that the world owes to President Nyerere and millions of Africans like him, who in our lifetime have shown us how to be champions of peace and forces of liberty. Mwalimu was unique, capable of soaring vision and deep humility. He believed, profoundly, in what Africa could be. And he lived his beliefs as best he knew how.

Sixteen years ago, the writer Chinua Achebe wrote that “One shining act of bold, selfless leadership from the top, such as unambiguous refusal to be corrupt or to tolerate corruption at the fountain of authority, will radiate powerful sensations of well-being and pride through every nerve and artery of national life.”

I expect that I will see that pride on the faces of thousands of Tanzanians tomorrow, as I join them in paying Mwalimu homage. I see that pride here today, in the faces of Nigerians who struggled for so long, performing countless acts of bravery while refusing to see their democratic will denied.

I believe that Nigeria’s new hope and pride will radiate beyond your borders, just as the courage of Nyerere, Mandela, and their million less-known colleagues illuminated not just a continent but the world. I believe they will spark more acts of leadership toward a better, freer tomorrow.

When I think about the future in Africa, I am reminded of another great force for freedom, Vaclav Havel. He has said that “I am not an optimist, because I am not sure that everything ends well. Nor am I a pessimist, because I am not sure that everything ends badly. Instead I am a realist who carries hope. And hope is the belief that freedom and justice have meaning. . . and that liberty is always worth the trouble.”

I am a realist—or, as a Malian newspaper called me yesterday, an Afro-realist. In Africa, as across the time zones and from pole to pole, liberty is always worth the trouble. I hope you will join me in striving to give freedom and justice one true meaning for us all.

Thank you very much. ■

*Address to the Annual Convention for the National  
Association for the Advancement  
of Colored People (NAACP)  
New York City  
July 13, 1999*

. . . I appreciate deeply the chance to speak with you this morning, because your 90 years of hard work have made your name a synonym for justice. Year in and year out, you have helped America to confront its contradictions and move closer to its ideals.

Your message has been heard far beyond classrooms and courtrooms here at home. The NAACP long ago went global. Your founding inspired the creation of the African National Congress.

You helped forge an invaluable partnership between the people of the United States and the people of Africa. It is this partnership that I would like to discuss this morning. I do so at a time when the United States and NATO have made a big commitment in southeast Europe to reverse ethnic cleansing, return refugees, and help a war-torn society to rebuild. That is the right approach for Kosovo and the Balkans.

In the wake of that commitment, it is no surprise that some of you are asking—and comparisons are being made with our policy toward Africa. But no one would say that we must do the same thing everywhere. And no reasonable person would say that we should have done less in Kosovo because we could not do the same everywhere.

It is true that we have been able to do far more to end conflicts in Europe than in Africa. In Europe the United States has allies to share the risks and costs of responding to crises. We have strong regional organizations to promote understanding, and economic integration to foster peace.

In Africa, such resources are scarce. But that is no excuse for disengaging or giving up. Instead, it is a challenge, as President Clinton has suggested, to use the lessons of Kosovo to help us do better in Africa.

In the weeks ahead, Africans and the international community together face tests in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone. If the peace agreements that have been signed in those two countries are implemented—and we pray that they will—then we must find the resources to support peacekeeping, reconstruction, and reconciliation. I hope I can count on your support as I work with Congress to make sure we do our share.

For we should have learned by now that America cannot be secure if millions elsewhere are trapped by strife and scarcity.

I visited Africa several times as America's Ambassador to the United Nations, and every year since I became Secretary of State. And I saw that the continent is more democratic than it has ever been, more economically open, and more alive with the energy of a growing civil society.

But I also saw that Africa is being pulled two ways. I watched war crimes investigators in Rwanda excavate with great care the skeleton of a child about the size of one of my grandsons, and the sights of that day made vivid Eleanor Roosevelt's statement that "within all of us there are two sides. One reaches for the stars, the other descends to the level of beasts."

Five years ago, when a campaign of genocide was launched in Rwanda, neither America, nor the nations of Africa, nor the rest of the international community did enough, quickly enough, to try to

stop it. It is no secret that I was not satisfied with our efforts then. And I say to you today that we must do all we can now to see that such a nightmare is never repeated.

I take great pride that the United States took the lead in creating an international criminal tribunal for Rwanda. The tribunal has offered the world a lesson by prosecuting not just the perpetrators but the leaders of genocide. And it has established, once and for all, that those who see rape and sexual assault as just another weapon of war must answer for their crimes.

Nowhere in the world are there stronger or braver people than those Africans working at the grassroots for justice and lasting peace. I look forward to meeting with these people—as well as the region's leaders—when I return to Africa this fall. I will also seek their counsel on how we can help make African societies more peaceful and safe, more democratic, and more prosperous, healthy, and free.

This morning, I want to focus on two areas where the NAACP is also taking a leading role — supporting Africa's economic development and assisting Africans in the search for lasting security and peace.

Economically, the key to progress in Africa, as elsewhere, is creating good jobs and sound economic structures. So the Clinton Administration, starting with the leadership of the late Ron Brown, has worked hard to encourage American investors to make the most of the opportunities Africa has to offer.

In March, I hosted representatives of 50 African nations for the first-ever U.S.-Africa Ministerial. It was the largest gathering of American and African officials ever, and an important opportunity to hear the concerns of the continent's leaders.

At the ministerial, African leaders told us in no uncertain terms that one of the most helpful things we could do would be to obtain passage of the

African Growth and Opportunity Act. This Act will give a hand up to leaders who have been reforming and modernizing their economies—and give new reason for others to do the same. It offers a smart path for Africa into the global economy.

I want to thank the NAACP for its decision last year to endorse this measure. It is the most important piece of legislation on Africa I can remember. Together, we have fought for its enactment. And together, we must win that fight . . . .

At the March ministerial, many of Africa's leaders also told us that international debt burdens were crippling their ability to provide even the most basic social services for their citizens. We have responded. Last month, the G-7 agreed to the President's plan to provide up to \$90 billion in additional debt relief for developing countries. The prime beneficiaries will be African.

At the same time, President Clinton has committed to work with Congress to restore U.S. assistance to Africa to its historic high levels. These steps are essential. But economic growth is linked, as well, to political development and peace.

The United States is a strong supporter of democratic forces across the continent. We know the critical importance to Africa's future of the success of Nigeria and other new democracies.

We are also working hard to halt conflicts and to address the massive human suffering they have caused. In the Sudan, for instance, we have taken a major role in trying to energize a regional peace process that could finally settle that country's disastrous 16-year-long civil war which has affected the region.

As we seek an end to war, we also seek concrete progress from the Sudanese Government on terrorism and human rights, an end to slavery and religious

persecution, and steps to address the historical grievances of the south.

When I was in Gulu, Uganda, I met with young people who had been abducted from their homes and taken to Sudan to serve as slaves or child soldiers. Some escaped from the Sudan-backed brutal lord's resistance army. All had been terribly abused, and none could imagine a future free of violence and want.

To make sure America plays its full part in that effort, I am announcing today that the President will soon appoint a special envoy who will focus on reducing human rights abuses, improving humanitarian responses, and revitalizing the regional peace effort led by Kenya. We have taken this step because the people of Sudan deserve not delay, but decisiveness; not starvation, but succor; not boundless inhumanity, but lasting peace.

The United States remains far and away the largest contributor to relief efforts in the Sudan, having provided more than \$1 billion in this decade. We are also fully engaged in efforts to resolve the other conflicts across the continent, from the seemingly endless civil war in Angola to the bloody dispute between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, we have supported Zambian President Chiluba's sustained efforts to negotiate a cease-fire. The accord signed last weekend by six countries is an important first step toward a lasting regional peace settlement. We call upon all the insurgent groups involved to sign it.

In Sierra Leone as well, a recent peace agreement offers the hope of ending a conflict characterized by horrendous abuses of human rights. If we can help alleviate the suffering caused by these conflicts, we should. This is the right thing to do; it is also the smart thing. But while responding to these conflicts, we must take broader steps to help prevent them; that means supporting the Organization of African Unity. It means enhancing Africa's peacekeeping

capacity, as President Clinton's African Crisis Response Initiative does. And it means restoring the UN's rightful place in ending war in Africa's crisis zones.

We must also be Africa's partner in a larger struggle—a struggle being waged around the globe between those with faith in the rule of law and those who believe in no rules at all. From within and without, parts of Africa are besieged by what Langston Hughes referred to as “the force that kills, the power that robs, and the greed that does not care.” It does not have to be this way.

Those complicit are white and black, African and non-African. They are diamond runners, arms peddlers, and those who consider public office a license to steal. They are mercenaries who would sell drugs and guns to a kindergarten if the markup were high enough. And they are international terrorist groups that use Africa as a convenient base of operations, such as those who killed hundreds of Americans and Africans last summer by bombing our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

We will honor those victims in a memorial ceremony on August 7. As we do so, we must vow never to forget—and never to be complacent. The world must come together with Africa, not to compete for influence, but to cooperate for peace, development, and law.

One place to start is by backing strong democratic leaders in their fight against corruption. As Nigeria's new President Obasanjo has observed, in African tradition, gifts are given in public and excessive gifts are returned. Secret offshore bank accounts, he adds, are not part of this tradition.

A second priority is the need to halt the uncontrolled flow of guns and other weapons into Africa. I know the NAACP understands this problem well, and I have great respect for your work to reduce gun violence in our own country.



In Africa, the end of the Cold War brought large quantities of weaponry into the continent at bargain-basement prices, through transactions that were neither regulated nor recorded. As a result, the continent is awash in arms that feed conflict and crime.

Today, I am releasing a special State Department report ["Arms and Conflict in Africa"] describing the dimensions of this problem, how the business of arms sales to Africa works, and what its impacts are. As the report makes clear, although prices are low, the social cost of arms sales is high. Countries that are among the world's poorest spend hundreds of millions of dollars buying tanks, jet fighters, and small arms. Diamonds are smuggled, crops are mortgaged, and relief supplies are stolen to finance these purchases. In each case, it is the African people who are the losers.

Of course, countries have the right to self-defense. Many arms transfers are legitimate, but many others are not. The United Nations has imposed arms embargoes against two African countries and three extremist rebel groups, which are responsible for more than a million deaths in this decade. Unfortunately, the enforcement of these embargoes has been lacking, and the arms have continued to flow.

The international community must do better—and the United States is determined to do its part. Currently, we are working with the United Nations and African leaders to find ways to strengthen the enforcement of arms embargoes. We are negotiating a global agreement to prevent the illicit manufacturing or sale of firearms. And we are seeking support for rules governing the export of shoulder-fired missiles—a threat to civilian aircraft and a deadly danger in the hands of terrorists.

Curbing the illicit or destabilizing sale of arms would help make Africans safer and Africa stronger. The same would be true for progress against an even deadlier threat, and that is HIV/AIDS.

Neither numbers nor statistics are adequate to describe the human destruction being caused by this disease, especially in Africa. In the minutes since I began this speech, 100 Africans became newly infected with HIV/AIDS. By the time your convention ends, another 25,000 will have been infected.

The imperative in Africa now, as in our own country a decade or so ago, is to face squarely the reality of this disease, for we know that with national leadership, international assistance and local interventions, the tide can be turned.

Uganda was among the first nations to be devastated by AIDS, but it has fought back. President Museveni has urged every cabinet minister, every school, every church, and every business to promote AIDS awareness, prevention, and treatment. Ugandans call this “the big noise,” and it has cut HIV infection rates by 50%.

Today, the big noise is starting to be heard in more and more African nations. The United States has helped by urging others to heed Uganda’s example, and by steering to Africa more than one-half of the \$1 billion we have invested in the global fight against AIDS.

But so much more needs to be done. So I pledge this morning that I will do all I can to see that we will do more—and that we stick with this fight until it is won.

Many years ago, in a speech at Lincoln University, the Rev. Martin Luther King confessed to being what he called a “maladjusted” person. He said that he simply had not been able to adjust to a world of discrimination. He had not been able to adjust to economic conditions that left a few with luxuries and the vast majority without basic necessities. And he said that the salvation of the world may well rest in the hands of the maladjusted.

Today, I hope that we, too, will be maladjusted—that we will never adjust to an America where hate crimes still occur and discrimination persists; or to a world where too many of our fellow human beings are abused and exploited, denied fundamental freedoms, and lack the means for a decent life.

I hope that we will be true partners to our brothers and sisters in Africa; that we will reach out to those who share our belief in the power of free institutions; and that we will help out those in need of relief from illness, hardship, and war.

I hope that we will take our cue from the proud tradition of the NAACP and never cease in our striving to build a freer and more equitable world—and by so doing validate the last message of your founder, W.E.B. Dubois, that “human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life.”

Thank you very much for your attention this morning and for the work you do every day for America and the world. ■

*Statement to the UN Security Council  
Ministerial on Africa  
New York City  
September 24, 1998*

Thank you, Mr. President. A year ago, we held the Security Council's first-ever Africa ministerial. We hoped to build a new and lasting partnership between Africa and the world based on common interests; mutual respect; and a shared commitment to peace, prosperity, and freedom.

Since then, some African countries and institutions have made inspiring progress: The majority of African nations are registering economic growth, as a result of the difficult but necessary steps they have taken toward participation in global markets.

In nations such as Botswana and Mozambique, democracy continues to put down strong roots. And new hope has emerged for Nigeria's long-delayed return to democratic rule.

Organizations such as ECOWAS and the Organization of African Unity are pursuing innovative approaches to preventing and ending conflicts. Perhaps most encouraging is the moratorium on the manufacture and trade in small arms proposed by a group of West African nations.

In December, I had a very successful trip to six African nations. In March, President Clinton and nine African leaders pledged to work for peace, development, and the rule of law at the Entebbe Summit. And in April, here in New York, the Secretary General submitted a thoughtful and comprehensive report on peace and development in Africa.

I wish that we had more good news. But the truth is that tragedy and conflict have led the news from Africa this year, and it dominates our thoughts as we meet today.

Just last month, we were shocked and saddened by tragic terrorist attacks in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Cape Town. Let me take this opportunity to once again congratulate local authorities for their diligence in pursuing those responsible—and to express America's sorrow for those who were hurt or lost loved ones.

But acts of terror were not the only disturbing events of recent months. From the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, and from Africa's western coast to its southern highlands, countries that had begun to recover from strife are being swept back into it; societies which were beginning to rebuild are seeing their labors lost; governments which had moved toward democracy are retreating into tyranny.

For example, the dangerous standoff in the Horn of Africa threatens to become a full-scale interstate war, Africa's first this decade. A bloody crisis in Congo has undone progress achieved since the departure of former President Mobutu. It has ensnared the armies of neighboring countries, sparking interethnic violence, and raising again the specter of genocide.

And in Angola, the parties have left the path to peace laid out in the Lusaka Protocol and are poised to drag the country back into civil war, fueled by months of new arms purchases. These and other conflicts are taking a tremendous toll in regional trust eroded, in development opportunities lost, and, most important, in human lives.

The leaders of countries in crisis have a choice: They can stop now and prevent the slide back to fullscale war; they can be statesmen and guide their nations toward a future of cooperation; or they can continue full-tilt into the past—a past of hatred,

violence, instability, and isolation. No one else—not their neighbors and not the international community—can make that choice for them.

But the international community does have a critical role to play. Our nations, acting together, can make it harder to solve disputes through violence, and we can make it easier for African nations to choose and keep to the path of peace.

We thank the Secretary General for his personal engagement in these difficult challenges, and we welcome the response his report has generated. Already we have seen important proposals for improving cooperation between the UN and the OAU, improving the effectiveness of arms embargoes, and developing African peacekeeping capacity. And the United States looks forward to leading the working group on maintaining the security and neutrality of refugee camps.

The working group led by Japan has correctly singled out an area where the international community could quickly make a great deal of difference: the uncontrolled flow of arms, ammunition, and explosives into Africa's tensest areas. This dirty business fuels conflict, fortifies extremism, and destabilizes entire regions.

All of us whose nations sell such weapons, or through whose nations the traffic flows, bear some responsibility for turning a blind eye to the destruction they cause. And all of us have it in our power to do something in response.

Together, we should move now to curb arms transfers to zones of conflict in Africa. We should begin by committing to full and timely disclosure of all arms shipments into those regions. And we should seek to build international support, over the next 6 months, for a voluntary moratorium on arms sales that could fuel these interconnected conflicts.

The United States also proposes that governments and international and non-governmental organizations meet to exchange information on regional arms transfers and to explore further steps.

Second, arms control and sanctions regimes are only as strong as their enforcement. And whether the sanctions in question are aimed at a war nearby or a would-be proliferator far away, the international community as a whole will gain from stronger sanctions regimes.

We, therefore, urge UN Member states, with relevant expertise, to prepare programs strengthening the capacity of African governments to monitor and interdict arms flows. The United States is currently considering what training and equipment we could usefully contribute, and we would welcome proposals from others.

The UN could also develop a clearinghouse for technical information and for rapid exchange of data on possible violations. Finally, sanctions cannot work where there is no national legislation enforcing them and no penalties for violators. Member states that do not have such legislation should strive to enact it.

The threat posed by arms flows, particularly small arms, is by no means limited to the African Continent. The Government of Mali and others, notably those of Norway and Canada, have done a great deal to bring this problem to the world's attention. Let me take this opportunity to welcome those initiatives and to propose two urgent steps for worldwide action.

First, we must put in place responsible arms transfer practices that are effective worldwide. Negotiations have begun, under UN auspices, on a convention based on the pathbreaking OAS Convention Against Illicit Trafficking. We should conclude those talks by the year 2000. That should also serve as a target date to restrict the export of shoulder-fired missiles.

Second, we should establish an international center to collect and share information on arms transfers. Last year we left this ministerial with new momentum behind us and high hopes before us. The majority of African states continue to move ahead,

with able leaders and citizens committed to progress and hopeful for the future. Unfortunately, in some key countries, we have seen a failure in leadership. And in too many places, the rule of law is losing out to the law of force.

Secretary General Annan has eloquently appealed to the continent's leaders to "summon the will to resolve our problems by political, not military means. For every day that we fail to do so, the innocent people of the continent pay a terrible price." And he has urged us all, Africans and non-Africans, to summon our will, and "rise to the challenges" we face in Africa.

I hope that we will all leave New York resolved to summon our will and to act. I pledge that, through the steps I have outlined today and by supporting African aspirations for peace and justice, the United States will do its part.

Thank you. ■



*Remarks at the site of the bombing  
at U.S. Embassy Nairobi  
Nairobi, Kenya  
August 18, 1998*

Mr. Foreign Minister, friends. . . : Good afternoon, and thank you all for being here. I have come to Nairobi today—to this sorrowful and now sacred location—to deliver in person a message from the American people. That message begins with sadness and grief. As a result of the cowardly act committed here, more than 250 people are dead. Five thousand were injured. Almost every family in every part of Kenya has been touched by this tragedy. So many, so well loved, have been lost. Our pain is deep—in America, in Tanzania, and most of all here in Kenya.

To the people of Kenya, I express on behalf of my country our deepest sympathy. The bombing here 10 days ago was a terrible injustice. The dead were teenage girls, office workers, mothers, children. They were not the enemies of anyone. They were innocent, just as Kenya was innocent. Why should this nation of good and proud people be singled out along with Tanzania? There is no reason. But terror is not about reason; it's about hate, and we reject hate. It's about destruction, and the peoples of Kenya and the United States reject destruction. We are builders. The terrorists would like nothing better than to drive us apart. We must not let them. We will not let them.

Together, we mourn the friends and loved ones we have lost. Together, we pray for the swift and complete recovery of those who have been injured. Together, we pledge to bring to justice the murderers

of our loved ones, colleagues, and friends. And together, we must vow to maintain warm relations between our two countries. Our friendship extends back for decades. Even before independence, the Kennedy airlift brought hundreds of Kenyans to the United States to receive a higher education. We have long been partners in supporting peace, stability, and freedom in East Africa, and we have developed strong and enduring people-to-people ties.

I know there is anguish about what happened in the aftermath of the bombings. And I cannot say we acted perfectly, but I believe that allegations of callousness are wrong. In the circumstances, amidst the horror, the fears, and the different jobs that had to be done, it's not surprising that there were misunderstandings. The U.S. Marines limited access not out of indifference but because they were afraid that the weakened building would collapse and trap new victims, in order to keep people away from the burning fuel tanks, and because they were concerned about the possibility of a second terrorist attack.

Meanwhile, there were many heroes. The people of Kenya may be proud of the efforts made with nothing more than muscles, bare hands, and the urgency of desperate caring to retrieve people from the rubble and save their lives. A number of foreign countries, especially the Israelis, earned our admiration and gratitude for all they did to help.

The United States, too, contributed much. We provided massive quantities of search-and-rescue equipment such as generators, hydraulic machines, and listening devices. An urban disaster support team from Virginia helped in the effort to find survivors and recover bodies—both from the embassy and from Ufundi House. We provided large amounts of medical supplies, and our military surgeons and paramedics have been hard at work in Kenyan hospitals. But our efforts to rebuild from this tragedy are far from complete. They must and will continue. When our Congress returns to Washington early next month, the Administration will request substantial

emergency funds to help Kenya and Tanzania recover. We want to work with the representatives of the people of Kenya and with the NGO community to identify and meet specific needs, such as medical care, assistance for the victims and their families, repairs to public infrastructure, and security improvements. We also want to reaffirm our commitment to helping the people of Kenya build a more prosperous and fully democratic society.

I know that some have said that the Kenyans who were killed would not have been killed if America had not been here in Nairobi. And that is probably true. But why are we here? The Americans and Kenyans who worked in our embassy and who were among the victims wanted nothing more nor less than to improve the quality of life for both our peoples. And that's why we have worked, and will continue to work, to broaden economic opportunities, strengthen civil society, promote sustainable development, fight disease, and safeguard the environment. These efforts reflect values and aspirations that Kenyans and Americans share—and no bombing can change that.

We are also very proud that the efforts of the United States are being carried out here by a most amazing ambassador, Ambassador Prudence Bushnell, and we are all incredibly proud of her and everything that she has done to maintain solidarity and to hold America's head up high. Pru, thank you very much.

I was very moved last week to read a story about a man who was pulled from the Ufundi Cooperative Building 36 hours after the bombing. He said he had survived because "the courage of the mind is greater than the body." "I never gave up hope," he said. Those brave words remind us that the strategy of terror is based almost entirely on replacing hope with fear. It is a strategy of intimidation. It is designed to make us forget our aspirations, to hunker down and

become passive, and turn against one another. I say there is more real strength in a single tear among the millions shed for the loved ones killed here than there can be in any terrorist act. We grieve because we care for each other, and that is also why we build—and why we have faith that if we work together, we can create a future far better than the past.

Let us choose as those who died here would have had us choose: to honor their memory by comforting their families, caring for the injured, rebuilding their society, and holding the guilty accountable; and to honor their example by redoubling our efforts to forge a future of greater freedom, security, and prosperity not just for some, but for all people.

Thank you very much. ■

*Testimony before the Senate  
Finance Committee  
Washington, DC  
June 17, 1998*

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I am delighted to be here to testify on behalf of one of our top legislative priorities: the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

My focus this morning will be on the foreign policy rationale behind the Act. And that rationale is truly powerful, for this legislation frames a new U.S. approach to a new Africa. For a century or more, outsiders have either been telling Africans what to do or manipulating loyalties for geopolitical advantage. We have a chance now, which we must seize, to usher in a better era based on changed attitudes and a changing African reality.

I do not minimize Africa's continuing problems. And I will comment on two of them briefly before I take your questions. But it would be a grave error to let problems rooted in Africa's past blind us to the immense possibilities in Africa's future.

Consider that within the past 10 years, the number of democratically elected governments in Sub-Saharan Africa has more than quadrupled. Consider that of the 48 nations in that region, no fewer than three dozen have begun economic reforms—so that the lost decade of the 1980s is being replaced by the growth decade of the 1990s.

Consider that a new generation of Africans has come of age, raised in the era of independence, liberated from Cold War divisions, ready and increasingly able to assume an equal place at the world table.

And consider that today, we export fully one-third more to Africa than to all the states of the former Soviet Union. To those who think the United States does not have important interests in Africa's success, I say—think again. Already, 100,000 American jobs depend on our trade with Africa. Already Africa supplies more than 13% of our oil—nearly as much as the Middle East. And already there can be no doubt that a stronger, more stable and prosperous Africa will be a better partner for security and peace—and for our efforts to counter global threats such as drug trafficking, terror, and crime.

In decades past, U.S. policymakers, when they thought of Africa at all, would ask: What can we do for Africa, or what can we do about Africa? Today, the right question is what can we do with Africa—to build real democracies based on open markets and respect for human rights?

By asking this question, we undertake the most fundamental change in our policy toward Africa since the independence movement blossomed on that continent four decades ago. And that change is clearly embodied in the African Growth and Opportunity Act. This legislation was developed, on a bipartisan basis and with strong Administration support, here on Capitol Hill. It reflects our strategy for placing trade and investment at the forefront of our economic relations with Africa, as they are with other regions around the globe.

The philosophy behind the Act is simple. America stands ready to help those African countries that help themselves. Specifically, the Act would achieve this by providing duty-free access to U.S. markets for many additional African products.

It would provide reform-oriented African countries with special preferential access for textiles and other labor-intensive products. It would pave the way for hundreds of millions of dollars in new investment through two new OPIC funds. And it would facilitate

technical assistance to help Africans take maximum advantage of all the opportunities inherent in the world economy.

The benefits contained in this bill are not entitlements. They will not be available to every country. Some object to that. But, quite frankly, Mr. Chairman, we would be doing no favor to Africa or to ourselves if we failed to recognize in our laws the strides that African reformers are taking.

This bill is designed to encourage African governments to place their economies on a sound financial footing, to allow private enterprise to function within the rule of law, to permit outside investment, and to liberalize trade. At the same time, the bill encourages African countries to tend to such development imperatives as poverty reduction, providing adequate health care, creating educational opportunity, and encouraging a new generation of African entrepreneurs.

This last factor is vital, because nothing will contribute more to Africa's future. That's why the legislation specifically supports microenterprise and "improved economic opportunities for women." Those are the smart things for Africa to be doing. And they are the right things for America to be supporting.

I believe one of the most striking arguments for this bill is that it is supported by many African governments that may not even qualify initially for its benefits. This reflects the dramatic change in philosophy that has been sweeping Africa.

Throughout the continent, this legislation is seen as a catalyst for deepening reform and for opening the door over time to full participation for many African countries in the world economy.

During his visit to that continent this spring, President Clinton heard warm praise for this legislation from most African leaders. And as the committee may know, it is ardently supported by Africa's diplomatic corps here in Washington. Indeed, almost

every government in Sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa, is now on record in support of this proposal. Given the diversity of Africa, that is amazing evidence that the time is right, the time is now, to enact this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I do want to emphasize that, although trade and investment are increasing in importance in our relations with Africa, that does not mean we can ignore the continuing need in many parts of Africa for aid. The Act does not impose new conditions on current assistance. Instead, this legislation explicitly states that we should continue to provide development assistance to help establish a more receptive environment for trade and investment. And let me stress that we are continuing such aid. During this decade, we have contributed more than \$15 billion in assistance to Africa.

Senators, as you know, some have expressed concern that the African Growth and Opportunity Act will lead to a major exodus of American jobs, especially in the area of textiles. The Administration takes concerns of this type seriously, because we are committed to strengthening core labor standards around the world—and we do not want to see American workers undercut.

So it is important to recognize a limit on the legislation we are now considering. Because of the difference in the size of our economies, its impact will be felt far more in Africa than in the United States.

An International Trade Commission—ITC—study concluded that even if all quotas and tariffs on African textiles and apparel were lifted, African imports still would constitute just 1% of total U.S. imports in these categories. So let's keep things in proportion. Last year, our domestic textile and apparel production was approximately \$160 billion. Our imports of these products from Africa amounted to less than one four-hundredth of that amount. The



IITC estimates that the African Growth and Opportunity Act could impact, at most, 700 U.S. jobs. In the current economy, we create more than 10 times that many jobs every day of the year.

Moreover, American businesses, workers, and farmers will benefit greatly over time as Africa becomes more prosperous and open. The continent is home to two-thirds of a billion potential consumers—as many as Japan and Southeast Asia combined. Yet our exports represent just 7% of this vast untapped market, compared to Europe, with more than 40%.

Mr. Chairman, in 1965, Nigeria's GNP was equal to Indonesia's—and Ghana's was the same as South Korea's. Over the past three decades, enormous opportunities were lost in Africa, just as they were seized in Asia. Today, we have a chance, with our African partners, to begin to make up some of that lost time. If we succeed, we can contribute to our own well-being and to a world that is safer, more prosperous, and more free than it otherwise would be.

That would be a great gift to the future. And it is ample reason, in my judgment, for the Senate to act positively and soon to approve the African Growth and Opportunity Act. . . . ■

*Address at George Mason University  
Fairfax, Virginia  
March 19, 1998*

. . . I am very glad to be able to discuss with you United States policy toward Africa and to provide a preview of the President and the First Lady's trip to that continent next week.

This historic visit will be the first comprehensive trip to Africa ever undertaken by a sitting American President, and it is occurring at an especially auspicious time, for a new generation of Africans has come of age—raised in the era of independence, liberated from Cold War divisions, and determined to assume an equal place at the world table.

As a result of their efforts, within the past 10 years, the number of democratically elected governments in Sub-Saharan Africa has more than quadrupled. More than three dozen nations have begun economic reforms, so that the lost decade of the 1980s is being replaced by the growth decade of the 1990s. Economies are expanding. U.S.-Africa trade is booming. Today, we export more to Africa than to all states of the former Soviet Union combined. . . .

Africa continues to face daunting problems of poverty, debt, and instability. In many countries, the democratic experiment has barely begun, and the Great Lakes region remains a tinderbox. We cannot—and are not—ignoring these challenges. But we also want the President's visit to spotlight the other Africa: the new and forward-looking Africa; the Africa that is eager to participate fully in the world economy.

This broader focus is important for two reasons. First, we as a nation still have much to learn about Africa. For many, our impressions are dominated by images of famine and strife, exotic wildlife, and vast deserts. The President's trip can help paint a more complete picture, including modern cities, first-rate universities, fast-developing economies, and hardworking people with aspirations very similar to our own.

Second, the people of Africa should understand—and many of them need convincing—that when the United States says it wants to work with them on the basis of shared interests and mutual respect, we are not just blowing smoke; we mean it—and, in a big way, over the long term—not only because it is right but because it is smart.

Today, connections among nations exist on so many levels that peace and prosperity are contagious. But so, too, are chaos and conflict. People everywhere will benefit from an Africa that is growing, developing strong institutions, and taking firm charge of its own destiny. But we also understand that the nature of the relationship between Africa and the rest of the world has changed.

It used be that U.S. policymakers, when they thought of Africa at all, would ask, what can we do for Africa, or what can we do about Africa? Today, the right question is what can we do with Africa to build on the progress that is being made and to encourage other nations to resolve conflicts and to move from authoritarian to more open economic and political systems.

Over the next 10 days, the President and the First Lady will visit six African countries and attend a summit in Entebbe hosted by Uganda's President Museveni. Throughout, they will promote two overarching goals. One, which I will discuss later, is to work with Africa to defeat global threats. The other is to accelerate Africa's full integration into the world community and the global economy; and, by

so doing, establish lifelines of commerce and investment that will help Africans reduce poverty, raise living standards, and equip their people with 21st century skills.

To spur progress and promote U.S.-African trade, President Clinton announced last June a Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity. Under that plan, we are committed to helping Africans who are doing the most to help themselves by

- Granting duty-free access to U.S. markets for many African products;
- Increasing our technical assistance to help Africans profit from the opportunities inherent in a dynamic world economy;
- Paving the way for hundreds of millions of dollars in new investment by working to extinguish African debt, both bilateral and multilateral; and
- Meeting annually with African leaders to map plans for economic cooperation and mutual advancement.

This past week, the House of Representatives endorsed the President's approach by approving the African Growth and Opportunity Act. This bill was sponsored and approved on a bipartisan basis. It enjoyed key backing from the African diplomatic community. It embodies our strategy for placing trade and investment at the forefront of our relations with Africa. And it reflects a firm, broad-based commitment to the African people by the representatives of the people of the United States—all of which makes it even more important that the U.S. Senate join the House and approve this legislation as soon as possible.

Although trade and investment are increasing in importance, we cannot, and have not, ignored the continuing need in many parts of Africa for aid. We have contributed more than \$15 billion in assistance to Africa this decade. An increasing focus of our

programs is the empowerment of African women. We have found that when women gain the knowledge and power to make their own choices, they are often able to break out of the cycle of poverty. Birth rates stabilize; environmental awareness increases; the spread of sexually transmitted disease slows; and socially constructive values are more likely to be passed on to the next generation. This is how social progress is made and how peace and prosperity are built.

Today, throughout Africa, we find grassroots organizations made up of women and health care practitioners, educators, and small farmers who are reaching out to create the foundations of a civil society to build the future from the ground up—often despite great hardship and poverty and prejudice. American policy is to support these efforts and to strengthen them.

That's why I met with several such groups during my recent trip to Africa. It is why I am so grateful to the First Lady for her efforts to inspire community-building efforts around the globe. And it is why I will continue to work closely with Congress and USAID, and with American non-governmental organizations, to see that we have the resources we need to support the programs that work to aid people who deserve our help.

It is essential to sow the seeds of prosperity if Africa is to become a full participant in the world economy. It is also necessary to build democracy. In this decade, people everywhere have learned that democracy is a parent to development, for people who are free to choose their leaders, publish their thoughts, organize their labor, and invest their capital will build richer and more stable societies than those shackled by repression.

As President Clinton will stress during his trip, free elections are necessary—but not sufficient—to create democracy. And that is why we are working in

46 African countries to assist homegrown efforts to develop durable and effective democratic institutions. The fruits of these efforts will be on display in several of the countries on the President's itinerary, including South Africa, whose peaceful transition from apartheid to multiparty democracy is one of the landmark events of this century. . . .

Today, our relationship with South Africa has moved beyond the celebration of its transition to become one of our most serious, wide-ranging, and mature. We share South African concerns about challenges posed by crime and uneven development. We consult often on regional and global issues. And although we do not always agree, we have developed a strong friendship based on shared values and on the commitments to prosperity, stability, and justice our peoples have in common.

Unfortunately, the democratic trend so evident in South Africa and in other nations such as Mali, Senegal, Ghana, and Botswana is not universal. Many countries have found potholes on the road to participatory democracy. In some, even elected leaders have placed undue restrictions on political activity, press freedom, and the work of NGOs.

We Americans understand that every democracy, including our own, is a work in progress. We recognize and respect diversity in the democratic institutions of other countries in the West, in Latin America, central Europe, and Asia. We should respect diversity in Africa as well. But we cannot retreat from our conviction that human rights are universal or from our knowledge that democratic values, stability, and prosperity go hand in hand.

In many African societies, national identities and institutions are fragile. A regime that suppresses the rights of its people will destroy the very foundation upon which a united and prosperous nation may be built. A regime that respects those rights will

empower its people, no matter how diverse, and create in them a sense of ownership of the nation's institutions and a commitment to its future.

Without compromising our principles or our standards, we will sometimes be engaged in Africa, as elsewhere, with countries that have flawed governments. Some of these nations are struggling against long odds to recover from natural disaster or war. Many have been victims in the past of Cold War manipulation or neocolonial ambition. We could walk away from these societies to avoid any appearance of support for policies we do not endorse. But that would do no good at all, and it would not pursue anybody's interests.

We will encourage our friends in Africa to take steps in the right direction, even if those steps are small. Moreover, we will continue to press the case for freedom and human rights. And we will join with Africa's best leaders in declaring that the era of the big man who comes to power, stays for life, and robs his country blind, is over. A new era of ever-deepening democracy must be built. . . .

Throughout the President's visit to Africa, the issue of conflict prevention will be prominent. A society cannot progress if it is being ripped apart by violence. And a region cannot integrate itself into the world community if nations within it are disrupting stability, generating refugees, deepening ethnic tensions, and illegally trafficking in arms.

The United States is sponsoring the Africa Crisis Response Initiative to enhance the capacity of African nations to prevent and contain disasters. This is part of a larger international effort and corresponds to the desire within the region to find African solutions to African problems.

The President will review with his counterparts a number of specific situations, including efforts to overcome the remaining obstacles to a durable peace in Angola. And he will express support for efforts to

counter terrorism and to negotiate a peaceful end to the long and destabilizing civil war in Sudan. He will also announce concrete steps to promote stability, democracy, and the rule of law in the troubled Great Lakes region.

One of the most unforgettable moments in my previous job as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations occurred in Rwanda a couple of years ago. I visited a church where many of the victims of the 1994 massacres had sought refuge, only to be killed and dumped into a mass grave, from which bodies were only then being excavated.

I don't think I have ever seen a place more beautiful or a sight more horrible. There is no forgetting genocide. And there can be no true reconciliation without accountability. But neither can there be a real future for the Great Lakes region unless the cycle of violence and revenge is broken. This will only happen if the peoples of the region—Hutu and Tutsi alike—find a way to live and work together peacefully, as they did for so many years in the past. African leaders can help by pointing to African models of cooperation and by advocating nonviolent solutions.

And the United States can help by supporting these efforts and by working with the countries involved to promote reconciliation; broaden political participation; lay the groundwork for economic recovery; and—through the President's Great Lakes Justice Initiative—help build systems of justice that are credible, impartial, and effective.

Ensuring justice is essential in this region, because people who have survived terrible violence deserve to know—and will not be able to live normal lives unless they know—that the experience will not be repeated. That requires a recognition on all sides that those who initiate violence will be opposed, held accountable, and stopped.



Tragically, we have not yet fully reached that point. Last December as I was leaving Rwanda, another massacre of innocent civilians occurred, and I sent back my special adviser on war crimes to investigate. Clearly, the Rwandan extremists who have been exploiting ethnic fears and goading their people into violence are false prophets. They have led their people into misery and exile. They have made their followers victims and, worse yet in too many cases, murderers.

There is an opportunity now to move ahead on the basis of international norms. Leaders in Rwanda and Burundi have made a commitment to do so. In both countries, there are growing efforts from the national level to the grassroots to marginalize the extremes, end the killing, and establish political and social networks based on interethnic cooperation. President Clinton's goal, as a participant in the Entebbe Summit, will be to encourage this fragile process and to consult with African leaders on bold ways to strengthen and sustain it.

As I said earlier, the second overarching U.S. goal in Africa is to work with the region to counter global threats. Frankly, we have not always paid as much attention as we should have to these challenges in Africa. But now, we are determined to move ahead on all fronts to develop a continent-wide counter-narcotics strategy; to foil the efforts of rogue states to gain a foothold for terrorists; to end the threat posed by land mines to civilians everywhere in Africa by the end of the next decade; to fight malaria and prevent AIDS; and to promote environmental best practices and join Africans in ratifying the Convention to Combat Desertification. . . .

During their visit to Africa, the President and First Lady will emphasize America's desire to develop productive and lasting relationships throughout the continent. They will convey our pledge to consult with African governments regularly about opportunities and problems, both urgent and long-term.

Above all, they will articulate a message, which we hope Africans and Americans everywhere welcome, that a new chapter is beginning in U.S.-Africa relations, and it is a chapter with many pages. The President's visit is a dramatic beginning but only a beginning. I will be returning to Africa. Other Cabinet members will visit regularly. And the President's special envoy for democracy, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, will continue to play an indispensable role.

Before becoming a diplomat, I was a professor who specialized in the study of history and political science. No lesson is more central to history than that circumstances change and the fortunes of societies rise and fall. History provides no guarantees, but neither does it impose artificial limits. And for Africa today, the reality is starting to catch up with the dream.

Nelson Mandela said once that, in the history of nations, generations have made their mark by appreciating critical turning points and seizing the moment. A new and better life will be achieved only if we shed the temptation to proceed casually along the road; only if we take the opportunities that beckon.

I am determined that the United States do all it can to assist the peoples of Africa as they seize the opportunities that beckon today. That is the best way to bring the international system in which we Americans have the largest stake up to its full strength. It is the smart thing to do for our economy, our security, and our interest in a world free from global threats. And it is the right thing to forge productive partnerships with people who share our values, our interests, and our commitment to the future.

To this new partnership for the new century, I pledge my own best efforts for as long as I am Secretary of State. And I respectfully ask your wise counsel and full support.

Thank you very much. ■

*Remarks at the Organization for African Unity,  
Economic Commission for Africa  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
December 9, 1997*

. . . On my first visit to the continent as America's Secretary of State, I do not come with a ready-made sermon, a long list of requests, or a sack full of promises. I come rather to open a dialogue with you and with people from all parts of Africa—whether they are powerful or impoverished, high officials, or refugees.

This is my first visit as Secretary, but it will not be my last. And our dialogue will reach new heights when President Clinton makes his planned trip to Africa.

I have come because it is time for the people of the United States to open a new chapter in our relations with the people of this continent. It is time because Africa's best new leaders have brought a new spirit of hope and accomplishment to your countries—and that spirit is sweeping across the continent. They know that the greatest authority any leader can claim is the consent of the governed. They know that the greatest challenges to their plans are the twin threats of corruption and cynicism. And they know the value of cooperation—within their own societies, with their neighbors, across the continent, and throughout the international community. . . .

The United States and the international community have not always worked together with Africa and Africans as well as we might. In my view, if we are

all more ready to listen, if we all push ourselves to understand, and if we are ready to work as true partners, we can do better. And we must do better.

We must do better because Africa matters. And right now, no place matters more in Africa than the Great Lakes.

Achieving lasting peace in this region will be as difficult as implementing the Camp David agreement and as complex as sustaining the Dayton accords. Yet the rewards are surely as great—and success no less important to us.

The region's natural and human resources as well as its strategic location make it either a catalyst or a stumbling-block to African unity. Central Africa can steady or destabilize half a continent. It can inspire or retard economic growth from Kampala to Cape Town.

I have begun my trip here at the OAU because I want the people of Africa to know that the people of the United States care about what happens in Africa. We care because we have our own important interests—economic, political, humanitarian. And we care for the sake of Africans.

But we also care because Africa's leaders have embarked on one of the great projects of our time. Can viable democratic societies be built to withstand the challenges of our times, such as globalization, environmental degradation, overpopulation? That enterprise demands the ideas and energy of people everywhere.

I will travel to the Great Lakes region to say that building an enduring peace will require more than words of concern and more than a few visits. We must make the effort to know each other well, to learn from each other, and eventually to trust each other.

I will seek out the region's young people—in schools and hospitals—clubs and refugee camps, because Africa's youth have been for too long the victims of our failures. They must instead be the foundation of our success.

In the Great Lakes today, we have an opportunity—unprecedented since African states gained their independence—to build a true partnership. A successful effort will support peace and the rule of law, promote good governance and democracy, and encourage economic development and integration.

The United States is prepared to engage deeply in this shared effort—and to act as a catalyst to gain the support of others. Together we must break the cycle of violence within and between societies. For decades, Central Africa has been the scene of multiple conflicts fueled by the tragic legacy of colonialism, by destabilizing Cold War rivalries, and by a recent history of international neglect.

In too many places, those conflicts continue—driven by ethnic rivalries, long-held grievances, or simply lust for power.

We must put an end to the culture of impunity that has claimed so many lives and done so much to discredit legitimate authority throughout the region. To do our part in addressing this challenge, the United States hopes to work with leaders across the region in a Great Lakes Justice Initiative, to develop judicial systems that are impartial, credible, and effective.

We are working to make \$30 million available to support national initiatives to train court and police officials, rebuild legal machinery where it has fallen into disrepair, and assist programs that promote reconciliation and healing after conflict. . . .

The commitment of regional leaders to the social, political, and economic empowerment of all their citizens is fundamental. It is through such empowerment that citizens gain a meaningful stake in their societies.

Those who would build democratic institutions and market-based economies in the Great Lakes face tremendous obstacles: societies weakened by protracted and brutal conflicts; devastated government institutions; and the legacies of authoritarian rule.

The process will be long. And there will be setbacks. Democracy is always and everywhere a work in progress. But in all its forms—and there are many—democracy has universal qualities that transcend institutional choices: the primacy of the will of the people; respect for the rule of law.

Openness and transparency in government will also help release the region's economic potential. Some of the region's governments are already making important progress in reforming their economies, and their growth rates show it.

Through debt relief and President Clinton's Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity, we are committed to helping countries that undertake economic reforms find capital to develop their industries and markets to sell their products. A Presidential delegation of businesspeople, Members of Congress, and U.S. Government officials was in Addis Ababa just yesterday, as the Secretary General mentioned looking at ways that this initiative can reinforce reforms already in place.

Whether economically, politically, or socially, we know that regional integration has worked wonders for peace around the world—from Europe to South America to Southeast Asia. None of us has all the answers. Could it be that, for peace to take hold in the Great Lakes, the barriers must come down and the region must open up—to free trade, to free travel, to free exchange of ideas?

In this and other areas, I want to work with the region's leaders to ask the right questions. And one subject on which you are asking very legitimate questions, and where we must help provide answers, is the responsibility of donor countries, international organizations, and African nations to learn from our successes and failures to:

- Ensure that humanitarian aid is not used to sustain armed camps or to support genocidal killers;

- Find more effective ways of preventing conflict and reconciling former adversaries;
- Achieve justice and accountability in the aftermath of largescale human right violations; and
- Resist the emergence of new tyrannies.

Let me be totally clear on where we stand. The United States has made a strong commitment to supervise our refugee assistance far more closely and to work to keep humanitarian aid from falling into the wrong hands. Prime Minister Meles and the OAU have taken an important step toward learning from past mistakes by proposing that an international panel of eminent persons be convened to study the recent genocidal violence, to examine the international community's response, and to consider how such humanitarian disasters might be prevented in future.

The United States strongly supports your proposal. We will cooperate with you in every way possible to help such a commission do its work. Let me begin that process here today by acknowledging that we—the international community—should have been more active in the early stages of the atrocities in Rwanda in 1994 and called them what they were—genocide.

We also welcome the joint initiative the OAU and UNHCR have undertaken to promote respect for humanitarian principles. In this as in so many other areas, the OAU is at the forefront of the search for African solutions to African problems.

But even more important than these steps toward a new chapter in our relations is the tone in which our partnership is conducted. It must rest on shared responsibility, mutual respect, and mutual self-interest. It must allow us to speak frankly and disagree openly, without putting into question the principles we share.

And it must contain a long-term commitment to meet formidable challenges—by promoting peace, building democracy, and supporting economic growth.

Today we have a choice. We can pursue short-sighted rivalries, seek short-term gains, and make only commitments of short duration. Or we can decide to move forward from the failures and recriminations of the past and begin to forge pragmatic, enduring responses to the immense challenges we face.

We have reached a point in history when no nation need be left out of the global system, and every nation that seeks to participate and is willing to do all it can to aid itself will have America's help in finding the right path. This view is not based on any illusions. Africa, and its friends, have seen far too much of poverty and suffering to indulge in sentimentalism. But we live in a world that has been enriched immeasurably by those who have emerged from the ravages of war to rebuild their lives, recreate their communities, and renew the progress of their nations.

It is from the best efforts of those citizens that a new Africa can be built. It is my belief that we are seeing just that from Africa's groundbreaking leaders—and people. And we pledge our best efforts to nurturing a new partnership that will work to the benefit of Africans and Americans alike. ■



*Statement at the UN Security Council  
Ministerial on Africa National Intervention  
New York City  
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The United States welcomes this ministerial session of the Council and the opportunity it affords to recognize and support a new quality in Africa's relations with the world. . . .

Ours is a supporting role. We must listen carefully to what African leaders and African citizens have to say about the challenges they face and the solutions they favor. We must be clear about what our own interests are and about what we are prepared to do to help Africans to guide change in directions that create new opportunities for their people.

We are requesting that the Secretary General report on how we can better identify sources of conflict, prevent or resolve them, and help Africans lay the groundwork for peace and prosperity.

And we take this opportunity to urge support for the Secretary General's reform proposals, which provide an important opportunity for the UN to use better its resources to address security, humanitarian, and development needs in Africa.

Our starting point is peace and security—the Council's traditional responsibility—but we should take this opportunity to look at the broad picture of our interactions with Africa. A decade ago, Africa was the scene of multiple conflicts fueled, in large

measure, by Cold War rivalries—and, in southern Africa, by the vicious and destabilizing effects of apartheid.

Today, the greatest threats to peace are posed by civil strife caused by ethnic tensions or by a straightforward competition for resources and power. These threats are aggravated by the lack, in some societies, of strong and representative institutions of government and by economic prospects so poor that hope is starved and desperation fed.

In this environment, a security strategy must include political, economic, and humanitarian components. But to implement these components, a climate of relative safety must be established and maintained. The UN is central to meeting those challenges through its peacekeeping operations, good-offices missions, and emergency relief programs.

Throughout Africa, the United States supports the OAU's role in preventing and responding to crises, and we are assisting its plan to build a conflict management center and improve its ability to react quickly to emergencies. We urge the Secretary General to strengthen the ties between the UN, the OAU, and Africa's regional security organizations in recognition of the work they are doing.

In Liberia, we congratulate ECOWAS for its success in helping to end the civil war and monitoring democratic elections. We also commend the efforts of ECOWAS's C-5 group of ministers to bring peace to Sierra Leone, and we are strong supporters of the peace process there.

In Angola, as one of three observer states to the Lusaka Protocols, we endorse strongly the efforts of the UN, supported by SADC, to ensure full implementation. We will use the powers of this Council to penalize any party that fails to meet its obligations.

The United States is also working, in partnership with Africans and donors, to enhance the ability of African nations to respond when peacekeeping is

needed. This is a capacity-building initiative, with long-term goals, openly conducted and aimed solely at preventing, ending, and alleviating the consequences of conflict.

The United States would also welcome the Secretary General's ideas on improving the overall response of the international community to complex humanitarian emergencies in Africa, including the transition from crisis to development.

We should pay special attention to lessons learned during the past 4 years in the Great Lakes region and consider steps for ensuring that refugee camps are not used as a safe haven for war criminals or as a base for military operations—and for achieving justice and accountability in the aftermath of largescale violations of human rights. We suggest that the Secretary General outline a comprehensive approach for the issues still confronting the Great Lakes—preventing further conflict and promoting human rights, democratization, and reconstruction. In shaping his ideas, we urge the Secretary General to consult closely with leaders in the region and to encourage a spirit of mutual respect and mutual responsibility.

At the same time, Africans themselves must reject the culture of impunity that has protected those guilty of gross violations of human rights or the export of terror to other nations. In this regard, let me say today that there can be no compromise with Libya when it comes to terrorism. With respect to the case of Pan Am 103, the responsibility for the effect of this Council's actions on the people of Libya rests squarely on the Government of Libya. We must be united in our demand for full compliance with this Council's resolutions. To do less is to insult the memory of those who died so tragically and to deny the victims' families the demands of justice.

UN efforts also play a central role in Africa's plans for development—development that gives citizens more opportunity, government more capacity, and peace a firm foundation.

Today, we know that in Africa, as elsewhere, the primary impetus for economic growth must come from the private sector. That requires strategies that make indigenous investment rewarding and foreign investment welcome. It requires privatization, more open markets, and regulatory and financial reform. And it requires efforts to improve education, training, and health care, so that all people—men and women—may reach their potential.

Today we know that aid cannot substitute for reform. But that does not mean stepping back from the good that only aid can do. Last year, the U.S. contributed more than \$1.5 billion in direct humanitarian and development aid, plus another \$1 billion through multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and the African Development Bank. In addition, more than 2,400 Peace Corps Volunteers are working in Africa—in a total of 29 countries. And President Clinton has proposed a Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity to stimulate commerce, reduce debt, encourage investment, and provide technical aid.

It is no accident that Africa's current economic upturn is paralleled by a growing embrace of democratic principles. Today, more than half of the 48 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have leaders chosen in elections that were deemed by international observers to have been free and fair. This is important politically and economically, because development depends on people. A democratic people free to exchange ideas, publish thoughts, organize labor, and invest capital will build a richer—and ultimately more stable—society than a people shackled by repression. Free elections are a necessary part of democracy, but they are not sufficient in themselves.

The United States is committed to working with Africa and the international community to help develop durable and effective democratic institutions, such as legislative assemblies, judiciaries, and an

independent press. We have democracy-building programs in 20 countries and are also helping to strengthen civil society in order to improve governance and bolster the rule of law.

Finally, we welcome Africa's increasing contributions to the solution of global problems that concern us all, such as proliferation, crime, terrorism, environmental degradation, and the spread of infectious disease.

Today, the greatest divide in the world is not between East and West or North and South. It is between those trapped by the grievances and preconceptions of the past and those who have the vision and courage to shape the future.

We are all here this morning to salute the Africans who have that vision and courage—and to make sure we have the vision and determination needed to support them. . . .■