



17 John Street • New York, NY 10038 • (212) 962-1210

Tilden J. LeMelle Chairman
Jennifer Davis Executive Director

29 July 1994

Dear Friend of The Africa Fund,

Together we have helped to win a great victory for freedom. When Nelson Mandela took the oath of office it marked the end of an era in human history. Colonialism and white minority rule in Africa no longer apply.

Some people have said we should declare victory and close our doors. But as we see it the battle is far from over. We believe that there is still important work to be done by the network of concerned organizations and individuals throughout the U.S. who successfully worked against apartheid.

We know that it was this network, not a handful of people on the staff of ACOA and The Africa Fund, that won the victories on sanctions, divestment, political prisoners and other issues. If there is going to be a continuing voice for Africa in the U.S., outside the beltway and the boardrooms, it will have to come from those same people and organizations. That is why we wanted to write to you to share some of our directions and concerns and to invite your response.

South Africans are only beginning to come to grips with the problems of poverty, inequality and deprivation. In other parts of Africa, people are still struggling for peace and democracy.

In Angola Jonas Savimbi is waging a brutal civil war because he lost an internationally supervised election. He is using the millions he received from Reagan and Bush to kill and maim hundreds of thousands of innocent people. We need more pressure for new strong U.S. support for the democratically elected Angolan government.

Nigeria's military dictator has annulled democratic elections and imprisoned the winner, Moshood Abiola. I hope you have already been able to respond to our action alert about working for the release of President Abiola and dozens of other political prisoners.

Mozambique is preparing for October elections to end the conflict between RENAMO, long subsidized by the apartheid regime, and the FRELIMO government. We will be communicating with you about steps we can take to ensure that free elections go ahead as scheduled and that they lead to a process of national reconstruction.



In South Africa The Africa Fund is helping grass roots efforts to overcome apartheid's devastating legacy. We are providing political, technical and limited financial assistance, supporting people on the cutting edge of democratic change. They are involved in women's organizations, civics, unions and community self-help projects.

One of these people is Fr. Michael Lapsley, an Anglican priest who lost both hands to a parcel bomb when he was an ANC Chaplain in Zimbabwe. An Africa Fund grant has helped him start a Trauma Center in Cape Town to help victims of torture and political violence heal both their physical and emotional wounds.

This is just one of the projects The Africa Fund supports in southern Africa. We are now establishing contact with new organizations we would like to work with not only in South Africa, but in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique as well. We would be delighted to hear from any one who is interested in raising material aid for projects of this kind.

We are also committed to working on the issues of U.S. policy and aid because they will go a long way to either make or break the new Africa. Judging by the record so far we can't afford to be complacent.

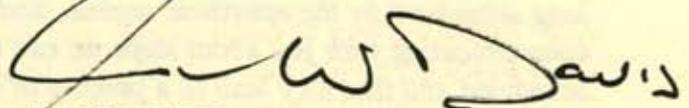
In Zimbabwe the U.S. dominated International Monetary Fund caused children to go hungry. Since independence the Zimbabwean government has put aside some grain from each harvest against a crop failure. But the IMF forced them to sell the entire grain reserve to reduce their debt.

When drought hit there was no corn on hand to feed people in need. The government had to buy corn on the international market, which costs 200% more than corn grown at home. This forced Zimbabwe to spend over ten percent of its Gross Domestic Product on drought relief. Without an engaged and committed constituency for Africa in the U.S. this story is likely to be repeated in other countries.

We realize that this doesn't represent a completely worked out program of action. Rather it is an attempt to share our thinking with you and get your ideas in return. Please write, call or fax when you get a chance.

We believe that this is a time of exciting challenges and opportunities. That's why we want to continue working with you and why we hope to hear from you soon.

For freedom,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jennifer Davis". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the left.

Jennifer Davis
Executive Director



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Tilden J. LeMelle, *Chairman*
Jennifer Davis, *Executive Director*

AFRICA EMERGENT

An Address By Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary General, Organization of African Unity

(The following remarks are excerpted from an address delivered by the Honorable Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, at the White House Conference on Africa, Washington, DC, June 26, 1994)

With the dismantling of Apartheid and the installation of an elected Government of National Unity in South Africa, the OAU has closed the chapter on decolonization in the continent. Of course, the struggle for decolonization, and especially that against racism in South Africa, enjoyed the support of millions around the world and especially in this country. It was the sustained massive public demonstrations and protests, sit-ins and campaigns of disinvestment in the legislatures and campuses around the United States which pushed the sometimes reluctant administrations, to take a definite stand against institutionalized racism in South Africa. Africa is infinitely grateful to those millions, who in selfless commitment to the cause of justice, stood in solidarity with the people of South Africa.

Africa won in its battle for political freedom and against racism, partly because it had the support of the greater part of the world. We now need the same kind of solidarity - if we are to extend the reaches of our freedom to the economic domain to liberate the people of the Continent of Africa from the oppression of grinding poverty and economic under-development. The Continent also needs to re-focus its attention to matters of governance, of human rights and of conflicts, which stand to undermine all the efforts at Development, and peace.

Africa has [now] taken the challenge of democratization seriously even in the face of the myriad of problems it faces. Today, in the continent, more and more countries are converting to political pluralism as multi-party elections have become a frequent occurrence. Five years ago, we could count how many African countries had multi-party elections. Today, we can count how many do not....It has not been an easy or smooth transition from overwhelmingly single-party political systems and military rule to multi-party politics. This transition has in some cases brought the political fabric of countries, under severe strain, as contrasting and sometimes contradicting interests, in society have had to be balanced.

Diversity and Tolerance

One of the unintended effects of the new political liberalization has been the rise of the ugly specter of tribalism, ethnicity, religious intolerance and other tendencies of separation and division. These have equally brought great strain to the social fabric in our countries. The challenge which Africa faces is how to ensure that the genuine identities of religion, ethnicity and tribe are accommodated without allowing the forces of bigotry and all forms of intolerance to exploit that accommodation....The challenge we face is to build a culture of tolerance and to use our diversity creatively as a source of strength rather than of division.



We in the Organization of African Unity who have had the privilege to be closely associated with this process of political transition...are keenly aware of the problems. We need to impress upon those who may triumph in elections that [an] electoral majority [in itself is] not always sufficient to ensure smooth transition to democratic rule. Equally, those who lose elections also need to understand that defeat is part of the democratic process. In fact, we need to know how to lose and how to win elections.

This is an area to which I believe the experience and resources of this country can be targeted. Education to build awareness among the electorate on the processes of elections and those of building and consolidating democratic institutions and governments.

Support For Democracy

These democratizing countries need to be assisted particularly in the economic field so as to sustain and strengthen the process of political transition. Otherwise, the strain of poverty will undermine the cause of democracy in the continent.

African Governments are willing to take great political risk and institute unpopular austerity and economic reform measures. These measures have meant less public spending in key social sectors such as health, education, and housing as well as rolling back development of much needed infrastructure. The consequences of these reforms, particularly to the very vulnerable segments of society, women and children have been excruciating.

Africa hoped that the urgings and encouragement it was receiving from the Western World to speed up these reforms, would have been supplemented by increased resource commitment to support that reform process in the continent. But neither the Western World, nor the international monetary and financial institutions have made available the requisite financial support. Emphasis in the West and the financial and monetary institutions seem to be on debt repayment rather than on the mobilization of the needed resources to help Africa undertake the reforms which will anchor the continent on sound economic footing.

I see the American role in the economic field falling in two broad categories. I see a role of the United States to invest in society, targeting in particular the rural poor, in those sectors vacated by Governments as a result of Structural Adjustment Programs. Investment in clinics and health centers, primary schools and drinking water for example will help meet society needs at grass root level.

Secondly, I see the United States providing leadership at the International level, with the Industrialized countries and the monetary and financial institutions in mobilizing support for reforms and development generally in the continent.

I see as a clear priority the issue of Africa's indebtedness. I therefore hope that the United States will take the necessary political decision to provide leadership and to urge for debt forgiveness in the case of Africa, as a means of liberating the Continent from this albatross as well as of supporting the political and economic transition there.

Eradicating Poverty

The social problems of the continent - high birth rates, low life expectancy...high infection rates of the HIV virus and other killer diseases, malnutrition, unemployment, environmental degradation and many others are directly linked to poverty.

Likewise we cannot hope to promote human rights or pursue matters of good government unless we address the key issue of poverty which militate against our efforts.

Lessons of Rwanda

Perhaps the most topical of all the problems of Africa are its conflicts. We know the extent of death, destruction of property and infrastructure as well as of the damage, to social fabric, these conflicts have brought about in the Continent. The phenomenon of seven million refugees and fifteen million displaced persons has partly been brought about by these wars and conflicts.

The countries of Africa are now prepared to get out of the limiting traditional political considerations, such as those of sovereignty and misplaced notions of non-interference, and to embrace each other in a partnership to bring peace and stability on the continent. We in the Organization of African Unity, see this as a fundamental transformation; which will prove key to the process of ushering in and consolidating peace.

Experience over the last one year, especially with regard to our operations in Burundi and Rwanda, has taught us some lessons. Principal among those lessons, is that Africa needs to wean itself from the dependence syndrome and the mistaken belief that the rest of the world will always be there. The ambivalence of the world, including the United Nations, to take swift and decisive action as hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered and millions fled into exiles as refugees and displaced persons in Rwanda was an indictment to us all. It was a failure for Africa, the United Nations and humanity at large.

Now, we take responsibility, in the realization that it is Africa, which can resolve its own problems even if we shall continue to require outside help. It is this realism and preparedness to assume responsibility that is at the root of the new outlook in the Continent and which holds promise.

Of course, when we look at what is happening in Rwanda it is easy to fall prey to the usual stereotype view that Africa is a continent where suffering and conflicts are endemic and which is condemned to misery and backwardness. But unfortunate as the Rwanda conflict is, it should not be allowed to overshadow the many achievements which Africa has had or the sustained efforts been deployed in the area of conflict resolution.

We should not lose sight of the great efforts in the Continent at democratization and economic reform and the positive effects these are beginning to have. It is only if the world sees and knows what Africa is doing that it can render constructive assistance.

Toward An African-American Partnership

Why should the United States care about Africa? Because I believe it is in your interest as well. Africa and this country share common bonds of history and culture. In this rapidly shrinking global village, we need global solidarity to sustain cooperation and our interdependence. Helping Africa to emerge from its present difficulties is therefore in the long term interest of this country. You need a strong Africa which can be a strong partner in global development and not a subject of your constant compassion and unending charity. Africa is not a continent resigned to fate but one which is determined to emerge from its present difficulties.

I thank you.