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SUBJECT:: 7/8 Goree Island #6 Annotated

TO:Brett M. Kavanaugh (CN=Brett M. Kavanaugh/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

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TO:Karin B. Torgerson (CN=Karin B. Torgerson/OU=WHO/O=EOP@Exchange [WHO])

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Remarks at Goree Island
July 8, 2003
Draft #6

Mr. President, distinguished guests, residents of Goree Island, citizens of Senegal: I am honored to begin my visit to Africa in your beautiful country. For hundreds of years on this island, peoples of different continents met in fear and cruelty. Today we gather in respect and friendship – mindful of past wrongs, and dedicated to the advance of human liberty.

At this place, liberty and life were stolen and sold.¹ Human beings were delivered, and sorted,² and weighed,³ and branded with the marks of commercial enterprises,⁴ and loaded as cargo on a voyage without return.⁵

¹ "Gorée Island is the historic site on the West African coast where hundreds of thousands of captured men, women and children were rounded up in chains to be shipped to servitude in the New World." Message of UNESCO's Director General for: "A Virtual Visit to Goree Island : Black Roots," UNESCO (<http://webworld.unesco.org/goree/en/matsuura.shtml>).

² "The transport of the slaves to the Goree depot was always preceded by a major sorting operation in which the slaves were divided into ethnic groups." *Goree – Island of Memories* (Ghent, Belgium: Unesco, 1985): 24.

³ "Built in 1776 by the Dutch, the slave House is one of several sites on the island where Africans were brought to be loaded onto ships bound for the New World. The owner's residential quarters were on the upper floor. The lower floor was reserved for the slaves who were weighed, fed and held before departing on the transatlantic journey." The Approach to Goree Island, Goree Island (<http://www.congo-pages.org/senegal/Goree/htm>).

⁴ "Recalcitrant captives were locked up behind strong bars. There they remained in the damp and darkness until the day of their embarkation when they were branded on the shoulder with the company's initials." *Goree – Island of Memories* (Ghent, Belgium: Unesco, 1985): 24.

⁵ "But Goree remained the active port where the slaves were assembled, branded and embarked for the Americas." *Goree – Island of Memories* (Ghent, Belgium: Unesco, 1985): 23.

⁶ "The forced transfer of Africans to the New World would be the largest human migration in recorded history." Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, orig. ed. 1983), Quoted in Randeep Singh Chauhan, "An American Nightmare: From Slavery to Mass Imprisonment in the United States" (<http://www.sfu.ca/cfrj/fulltext/chauhan.pdf>).

Note: Scholarly opinion varies widely on the topic of the "largest human migration in history." It is, however, widely accepted that about 11 million slaves were shipped from Africa to the Americas between 1451 and 1870. This is documented in most landmark works on American slavery, including Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997) and Juan Williams, *This Far by Faith* (New York: William Morrow, 2003). This ranks with other great migrations in human history, including the 17 million-person migration during the India-Pakistan partition of 1947, the 12 million-person European migration to the United State through Ellis Island from 1892 to 1954, and the 31-45 Asian Indians who emigrated from the Far East from 1850 to 1937. If migration is defined as passage by sea, the slave trade certain ranks among the largest in history. "The continent of Africa went through 'one of the most massive processes of human transportation ever to have taken place by sea'." Barry Boubacar,

One of the largest migrations of history⁶ was also one of the greatest crimes of history. Below the decks, the Middle Passage was a hot, narrow, sunless nightmare⁷ – weeks and months of confinement, and abuse, and confusion on a strange and lonely sea.⁸ Some refused to eat,⁹ preferring death to any future their captors might prepare for them. Some who were sick were thrown over the side.¹⁰ Some rose up in violent rebellion,¹¹ delivering the closest thing to justice on a slave ship. Many acts of defiance and bravery are recorded; countless others we will never know.

Those who lived to see land again were displayed, examined, and sold at auction in nations across the Western Hemisphere¹² – entering societies indifferent to their anguish, and made prosperous by their unpaid labor. There was a time in my country's history when one in every seven human beings was the property of another.¹³ In law, they were regarded

Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 57. This is certainly "one of the largest."

⁷ "On shipboard, slaves were chained together and crammed into spaces sometimes less than five feet high. Conditions within the slave ships were unspeakably awful. Inside the hold, slaves had only half the space provided for indentured servants or convicts. Urine, vomit, mucous, and horrific odors filled the hold." The Middle Passage, Gilder Lehrman History Online (http://www.gliah.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=68).

⁸ "A Spanish frigate ludicrously called the *Amistad*, the *Friendship*, loaded 733 captives on the West African coast and disembarked in Havana, fifty-two days later, only 188; all the rest had died during the voyage." Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969): 97.

⁹ "Many Africans resisted enslavement. On shipboard, many slaves mutinied, attempted suicide, jumped overboard, or refused to eat." The Middle Passage, Gilder Lehrman History Online (http://www.gliah.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=68).

¹⁰ "The *Zong*'s captain, Luke Collingwood, observed that dozens of his captives and crew members were dying of disease, so he decided to throw overboard, and to their deaths, 132 Africans." *African American Desk Reference* (New York: Schomburg Center, A Stonesong Press Book, 1999): 30.

"Slaves who fell sick were simply pitched overboard." Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969): 113.

¹¹ "Fear on both sides added to the brutality of everyday custom. Slave revolts at sea were put down with grim ferocity. John Atkins has left an account of how the master of the *Robert* of Bristol, one Captain Harding, dealt with an insurrection early in the eighteenth century: 'Why, Captain Harding weighing the Stoutness and Worth [of the ringleaders] did, as in other countries they do by Rogues of Dignity, whip and scarify them only; while three other Abettors, but not Actors, nor of Strength for it, he sentenced to cruel deaths; making them first heat the Heart and Liver of one of them killed. The Woman [who had helped in the revolt] he hoisted up by the Thumbs, whipp'd, and slashed her with Knives, before the other Slaves, till she died.'" Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969): 113.

¹² "The Goree Initiative, named after an island used in the shipment of African slaves to the western Hemisphere, yesterday called for an acknowledgement of the slave trade as a crime and compensation through forgiveness of Africa's current foreign debt." "US Proposes Compromise Language on Slavery; More," *United Nations Foundation*, August 7, 2001 (http://www.unwire.org/UNWire/20010807/16527_story.asp).

¹³ 1850, Total Population: 23,191,876; Slave Population: 3,204,313. 1840 Total Population: 17,063,353 Slave Population: 2,487,355." United States - Race and Hispanic Origin: 1790 to 1990, U.S. Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tab01.pdf>).

Note: In 1850, 1 in every 7.238 people was a slave. In 1840, 1 in every 6.86 people was a slave.

only as articles of commerce,¹⁴ having no right to travel,¹⁵ or to marry,¹⁶ or to own possessions.¹⁷ Because families were often separated,¹⁸ many were denied even the comfort of suffering together.

For 250 years,¹⁹ the captives endured an assault on their culture and their dignity. The spirit of Africans in America did not break. Yet the spirit of their captors was corrupted. Small men took on the powers and airs of tyrants and masters. Years of unpunished brutality, bullying, and rape²⁰ produced a dullness and hardness of conscience. Christian men and women became blind to the clearest commands of their faith, and added hypocrisy to injustice. A republic founded on equality for all became a prison for millions.²¹

¹⁴ "Though the slave was property 'of a distinctive and peculiar character,' though recognized as a person, he was legally at the disposal of his master, whose property right was very near absolute. 'The master,' proclaimed the Louisiana code, 'may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor: he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master.' Even in Kentucky, slaves had 'no rights secured to them by this constitution, except of trial by jury in cases of felony.' Legally a bondsman was unable to acquire title to property by purchase, gift, or devise; he could not be a party to a contract." Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Anti-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984): 197.

¹⁵ "The codes rigidly controlled the slave's movements and his communication with others. A slave was not to be 'at large' without a pass which he must show to any white man who asked to see it." Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Anti-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984): 208.

¹⁶ "Since slaves, as chattels, could not make contracts, marriages between them were not legally binding." Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Anti-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984): 198.

¹⁷ "The master,' proclaimed the Louisiana code, 'may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor: he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master.'" Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Anti-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984): 197.

¹⁸ "Families could at any time be separated; children could be sold away." Antebellum Slavery, Part 4: 1831-1865, PBS (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4narr1.html>).

¹⁹ "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" President Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865 ([http://www.originalsources.com/nxt/gateway.dll/law/lawagp/lawagpusp/lawagpuspiap/inaug-01-0023.xml?fn=document-frame.htm\\$f=templates\\$3.0](http://www.originalsources.com/nxt/gateway.dll/law/lawagp/lawagpusp/lawagpuspiap/inaug-01-0023.xml?fn=document-frame.htm$f=templates$3.0)). "During the century and a half between the arrival of twenty blacks in Jamestown in 1619 and the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776, slavery – nonexistent in England itself – spread through all the English colonies that would soon become the United States." Peter Kolchin and Eric Foner, *American Slavery* (Hill and Wang, 1994): 3. Most sources use President Lincoln's assessment of 250 years: "Ms Farmer-Paellmann's complaint alleges that the disparities that currently exist between blacks and whites in the US are a product of 250 years of enslavement and more than a century of institutionalized racism." "US Firms Face Slave Reparations Suit," *BBC News*, March 26, 2002.

²⁰ "Slaves could own no property unless sanctioned by a slave master, and rape of a female slave was not considered a crime except as it represented trespassing on another's property." "Slavery in America," Grolier Electronic Publishing (<http://www.simplcom.ca/lnq/mlk3/blackslavery.html>).

²¹ 1860 Slave Population: 3,953,760. United States - Race and Hispanic Origin: 1790 to 1990, U.S.

And yet, in the words of the African proverb, “No fist is big enough to hide the sky.”²² All the generations of oppression under the laws of man could not crush the hope of freedom, or defeat the purposes of God. In America, enslaved Africans learned the story of the Exodus from Egypt²³ – and set their own hearts on a promised land of freedom. Enslaved Africans encountered a suffering Savior – and found He was more like themselves than their masters. Enslaved Africans heard the ringing promises of the Declaration of Independence – and asked the self-evident question, “Then why not me?”

In the era of America’s Founding, a man named Olaudah Equiano was taken in bondage to the New World.²⁴ He witnessed all of slavery’s cruelties, the ruthless, and the petty. He also saw beyond the slaveholding piety of the time to a higher standard of humanity. God tells us, wrote Equiano, that “the oppressor and the oppressed are both in His hands; and if these are not the poor, the brokenhearted, the blind, the captive, the bruised, which our Savior speaks of, who are they?”²⁵

Down through the years, African Americans have upheld the ideals of America, by exposing laws and habits contradicting those ideals. The

Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tab01.pdf>).

²² “No fist is big enough to hide the sky. Peasant Saying: Guinea-Bissau.” Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1961), p. 266.

²³ “Exodus: The Jews departed Egypt in haste. They assembled in groups to eat the roasted paschal lamb and the unleavened bread (matza). Then after the sun rose on the 15th day of Hebrew month of Nissan, the Jewish nation rose together to leave the land of Egypt. After three days, Pharaoh started to regret that he had permitted the Israelites to leave. He mobilized his army in hot pursuit of his former slaves. He reached them near the banks of the Red Sea. Moses led the Israelites onwards until they came to the very borders of the Red Sea. Then God spoke to Moshe: “Lift up your rod, stretch out your hand over the sea and divide it; and the children shall go into the midst of the sea on dry ground.” Moshe did as God ordered. Then a strong east wind blew all night, and the waters of the Red Sea divided. The Israelites marched along a dry path through the Red Sea until they reached the opposite side in safety. The Egyptians continued their pursuit, but the waters of the Red Sea closed over them and drowned Pharaoh’s army.” Exod. 13:8, *About Passover: Part 2 – Passover Story* (http://judaism.about.com/library/holidays/passover/bl_passover_story.htm).

²⁴ “Permit me, with the greatest deference and respect, to lay at your feet the following genuine Narrative; the chief design of which is to excite in your august assemblies a sense of compassion for the miseries which the Slave-Trade has entailed on my unfortunate countrymen. By the horrors of that trade was I first torn away from all the tender connections that were naturally dear to my heart [...]” Olaudah Equiano, Preface to *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, March 24, 1789. *Slave Narratives* (USA: The Library of America, 2000): 37.

²⁵ “Is not this one common and crying sin enough to bring down God’s judgment on the islands? He tells us the oppressor and the oppressed are both in his hands; and if these are not the poor, the brokenhearted, the blind, the captive, the bruised, which our Saviour speaks of, who are they?” Olaudah Equiano, Chapter V, pg. 124, March 24, 1789. *Slave Narratives* (USA: The Library of America, 2000): 124.

rights of African Americans were not the gift of those in authority. Those rights were granted by the Author of Life, and regained by the persistence and courage of African Americans themselves.

Among those Americans was Phillis Wheatley, who was dragged from her home here in West Africa in 1761, at the age of seven.²⁶ In my country she became a poet, and the first noted black author in our history.²⁷ Phillis Wheatley said, "In every human breast God has implanted a principle which we call love of freedom. It is impatient of oppression and pants for deliverance."²⁸ That deliverance was demanded by escaped slaves named Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth²⁹ ... and educators named Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois³⁰ ... and ministers of the Gospel named Leon Sullivan and Martin Luther King, Jr.

At every turn, the struggle for equality was resisted by many of the powerful. And sometimes, we are cautioned not to judge their failures by the standards of a later time. Yet in every time, there were men and women who clearly saw this sin and called it by name. We can fairly judge the past by the standards of President John Adams, who called slavery "an

²⁶ "Our subject was stolen from her home and parents in her baby years by cruel men, who decreed for her perpetual slavery. She was about seven years of age when dragged from the land of her fathers by those who professed to be civilized Christian men...This occurred in the year 1761." G. Herbert Renfro, *Life and Works of Phillis Wheatley*, (Washington, DC: Mnemosyne Publishing Co., Inc., 1916): 9.

²⁷ "Phillis Wheatley literally wrote her way to freedom when, as a slave in 1773, she became the first person of African descent to publish a book of poems in the English language." *The Trials of Phillis Wheatley, America's First Black Poet and Encounters with the Founding Fathers*, Front List Books (<http://www.frontlist.com/detail/0465027296>).

²⁸ "Wheatley was an adamant supporter of the Patriots' cause, but vigorously condemned slavery, understanding that her life as a slave was an exception. She wrote on both subjects and may have been expressing her feelings about American independence and the institution of slavery when she penned these words: In every human Breast, God has implanted a Principle, which we call Freedom, It is impatient of Oppression and pants for Deliverance. I will assert the same Principle lives in us. God grant Deliverance." Phillis Wheatley, The Mariners' Museum (<http://www.mariner.org/captivepassage/legacy/leg003.html>).

²⁹ "Frederick Douglass, abolitionist (1818 - 1895) Born in Maryland into slavery, he escaped in 1838... Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., civil rights leader (1929 - 1968) 'I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality.' A third-generation Baptist minister, Dr. King's non-violent struggle for equality and dignity on behalf of African-Americans defined an era, and led us all towards the promise of a nation where 'all men are created equal.'... Sojourner Truth, abolitionist (1797? - 1883) Born into slavery as Isabella Bomefree, she was sold three more times before escaping with her daughter, Isabella, in 1826." Black History Month, 2003, U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer (<http://boxer.senate.gov/bhm/ltw.html>).

³⁰ "African-American educators played key roles in guiding the educational development of black colleges. Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois and Mary McLeod Bethune were among the most vocal." *Historically Black Colleges and Universities Explained*, Black Voices.Com (http://www.blackvoices.com/feature/bhm_01/ex_essay2.html).

evil of colossal magnitude.”³¹ We can discern eternal standards in the deeds of William Wilberforce, and John Quincy Adams, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Abraham Lincoln.³²

These men and women, black and white, burned with a zeal for freedom, and they left behind a different and better nation. Their moral vision caused Americans to examine our hearts, to correct our Constitution, and to teach our children the dignity and equality of every person, of every race. By a plan known only to Providence, the stolen sons and daughters of Africa helped to awaken the conscience of America. The very people traded into slavery helped to set America free.

My Nation’s journey toward justice has not been easy, and it is not over. The racial bigotry fed by slavery did not end with slavery, or with segregation. And many of the issues that still trouble America have roots in the bitter experience of other times. But however long the journey, our destination is set: Liberty and justice for all.

³¹ Adams wrote to his wife Abigail that “Negro slavery is an evil of colossal magnitude.” David McCullough, *John Adams* (Simon & Schuster, 2001): 134.

³² “In October of 1787, William Wilberforce felt God leading him to confront two societal issues as he wrote in his journal, ‘God Almighty has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the slave trade the reformation of manners.’ He introduced his first anti-slavery motion in the House of Commons in 1788, in a three-and-a-half hour oration that concluded: ‘Sir, when we think of eternity and the future consequence of all human conduct, what is there in this life that shall make any man contradict the dictates of his conscience, the principles of justice and the law of God!’” “William Wilberforce,” Europaworld, August, 2000. Europaworld web site (<http://www.europaworld.org/issue12/williamwiderforce81200.htm>). “In 1836 southern Congressmen passed a “gag rule” providing that the House automatically table petitions against slavery. Adams tirelessly fought the rule for eight years until finally he obtained its repeal.” Biography of John Quincy Adams, White House web site (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/ja6.html>). Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* which contributed to the outbreak of war because it brought the evils of slavery to the attention of Americans more vividly than any other book had done before. The book had a strong emotional appeal that moved and inspired people in a way that political speeches, tracts and newspapers accounts could not duplicate. Immediately after its publication *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was both lauded as a tremendous achievement and attacked as one sided and inaccurate. Abolitionists and reformers praised the book for its compassionate portrayal of people held in slavery. At the same time, others, who claimed that slavery was sanctioned in the Bible, attacked Harriet and accused her of fabricating unrealistic images of slavery. During the Civil War, Harriet often disagreed with President Lincoln. Lincoln’s concern with preserving the unity of the nation and his willingness to postpone freeing the slaves made her impatient.” Harriet’s Life and Times, Harriet Beecher Stowe Library web site (<http://www.harrietbeecherstowecenter.org/life/#war>). In addition to the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln said, “In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free - honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just - a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.” Lincoln’s Second Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1862. He also wrote, “I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel. And yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling.” Letter to Albert Hodges, April 4, 1864.

In the struggle of centuries, America learned that freedom is not the possession of one race. We know with equal certainty that freedom is not the possession of one nation. This belief in the natural rights of man – this conviction that justice should reach wherever the sun passes – leads America into the world. With the power and resources given to us, the United States seeks to bring peace where there is conflict ... hope where there is suffering ... and liberty where there is tyranny. And these commitments bring me, and other distinguished leaders of my government, across the Atlantic to Africa.

African peoples are now writing your own story of liberty. Africans have overcome the arrogance of colonial powers; overturned the cruelties of apartheid;³³ and made it clear that dictatorship is not the future of any nation on this continent. In the process, Africa has produced heroes of liberation for all the world – leaders like Mandela³⁴ and Senghor [san-GORE],³⁵ Nkrumah [in-CREW-mah]³⁶ and Kenyatta [ken-YAH-ta],

³³ "In 1948, the National Party (NP) won the all-white elections and began passing legislation codifying and enforcing an even stricter policy of white domination and racial separation known as "apartheid" (separateness). In the early 1960s, following a protest in Sharpeville in which 69 protesters were killed by police and 180 injured, the ANC and Pan-African Congress (PAC) were banned. Nelson Mandela and many other anti-apartheid leaders were convicted and imprisoned on charges of treason." Background Note: South Africa, U.S. Department of State, June 2003 (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2898.htm#history>).

³⁴ "Nelson Mandela (1918–), South African political leader. He earned (1942) a law degree from the Univ. of South Africa and was prominent in Johannesburg's youth wing of the African National Congress (ANC). In 1952 he became ANC deputy national president, advocating nonviolent resistance to apartheid. However, after a group of peaceful demonstrators were massacred (1960) in Sharpeville, Mandela organized a paramilitary branch of the ANC to carry out guerrilla warfare against the white government. After being acquitted (1962) on charges of treason, he was arrested (1964) and convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life in prison, where he became the leading symbol of South Africa's oppressed black majority. Released in 1990 as an expression of President de Klerk's commitment to change, Mandela was elected (July, 1991) ANC president after a triumphal global tour. He represented the ANC in the turbulent negotiations that led to establishment of majority rule. Mandela and de Klerk were jointly awarded the Nobel peace prize in 1993. In South Africa's first multiracial elections (1994), Mandela was elected president, and served until 1999, when Thabo Mbeki succeeded him. He married his second wife, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, 1936?–, b. Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela, in 1958. A social worker, she joined the ANC and was her husband's champion while he was in prison, being herself imprisoned and "banned" several times. In 1991 she was convicted in the 1988 kidnapping and beating of four young men, one of whom died, but she received a suspended sentence. Her brief tenure (1994–95) as a deputy minister in her husband's cabinet was turbulent. The Mandelas separated in 1992 and were divorced in 1996. Winnie Mandela is head of the ANC Women's League and remains a member of parliament." Information Please Online Encyclopedia web site (<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0831499.html>).

³⁵ "Leopold Senghor [san-GORE] was a poet and statesman of Senegal. He was elected president of Senegal in the 1960s. He is considered the founder of Negritude, placing value in the culture of Africa at a time when Africa was not considered valuable in the literacy sense." Information Please Online Encyclopedia web site (<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0844422.html>).

³⁶ "Kwame Nkrumah (1909–72) was an African political leader, prime minister (1957–60) and president

³⁷ Selassie [su-las-EE]³⁸ and Sadat.³⁹ And many visionary African

(1960–66) of Ghana. The son of a goldsmith, he was educated at mission schools in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and became a teacher. A brilliant student, he studied (1935–45) in the United States and then went to London. While studying law there he held important posts in African nationalist organizations, espousing Pan-Africanism. Returning to the Gold Coast in 1947, he was made general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention party by its founder, Dr. J. B. Danquah, who was later jailed by Nkrumah. In 1949, Nkrumah formed his own party, the Convention People's party, and led a series of strikes and boycotts for self-government. He was imprisoned (1950) by the British for sedition, but was released in 1951 when his party swept the general election; he became prime minister in 1952. Under his leadership the Gold Coast achieved (1957) independence and, in 1960, became the Republic of Ghana. Probably the leading proponent of pan-Africanism, he effected a loose union with Guinea (1959) and Mali (1960). Following a course of international political neutrality, he secured economic and technical aid from the United States and the Soviet Union. As president, Nkrumah suppressed political opponents, and in 1961, after a series of strikes, made himself supreme commander of the armed forces; he also assumed absolute control of the Convention People's party. Several attempts were made on his life. He increasingly isolated himself from the populace, meanwhile promoting a cult of personality. In 1966, while he was on a trip to Beijing, his government was overthrown. He subsequently took refuge in Guinea." Information Please Online Encyclopedia web site (<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0835765.html>).

³⁷ "Jomo Kenyatta (1893?–1978) was an African political leader and the first president of Kenya (1964–78). A Kikuyu, he was one of the earliest and best-known African nationalist leaders. As secretary of his tribal association (1928), he campaigned for land reform and African political rights. In England he collaborated with other African nationalist students and founded (1946), with Kwame Nkrumah, the Pan-African Federation. Returning (1946) to Kenya, he became president of the Kenya African Union. In 1953, during the Mau Mau uprising, Kenyatta was imprisoned by the British as one of its instigators, then sent to internal exile (1959). Kenyatta was elected president of the newly founded (1960) Kenya African National Union while in exile. Released in 1961, he participated in negotiations with the British to write a new constitution for Kenya, which became independent in 1963. Kenya became a republic in 1964 with Kenyatta as president. Influential throughout Africa, Kenyatta was intolerant of dissent in Kenya, outlawing some opposition parties in 1969 and establishing a one-party state in 1974. The stability resulting from his leadership attracted foreign investment. He followed a non-aligned foreign policy and died in office. He wrote *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938) and *Suffering Without Bitterness* (1968). Information Please Online Encyclopedia web site (<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0827421.html>).

³⁸ "Haile Selassie (1892–1975), emperor of Ethiopia (1930–74). He was born Tafari Makonnen, the son of a noted general and the grandnephew of Emperor Menelik II. A brilliant student, he became a favorite of Menelik, who made him a provincial governor at 14. As a Coptic Christian, Tafari opposed Menelik's grandson and successor, who became a Muslim convert, and in 1916 compelled his deposition and established Menelik's daughter Zauditu as empress with himself as regent. In 1928, Tafari was crowned king of Ethiopia, and in 1930, after the empress's mysterious death, he became emperor as Haile Selassie, claiming to be a direct descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. He attempted internal reforms and took great pride in the suppression of slavery. When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, he personally led defending troops in the field, but in 1936 he was forced to flee to British protection. Twice (1936, 1938) he vainly appealed to the League of Nations for effective action against Italy. In 1940, after Italy entered World War II, he returned to Africa with British aid, and in 1941 he reentered Ethiopia and regained his throne. In the postwar period he instituted social and political reforms, such as establishing (1955) a national assembly. In the 1960s and 70s he worked for pan-African aims, particularly through the Organization of African Unity. In 1960 he crushed a revolt by a group of young intellectuals and army officers demanding an end to oppression and poverty. In 1974, however, the army was successful in seizing control. Haile Selassie was progressively stripped of his powers and finally, on Sept. 12, 1974, deposed. He was murdered in prison at the orders of the coup leaders in 1975." Information Please Online Encyclopedia web site (<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0822368.html>).

³⁹ Anwar al-Sadat (1918–81), Egyptian political leader and president (1970–81). He entered (1936) Abbasia Military Academy, where he became friendly with Gamal Abdal Nasser and other fellow cadets committed to Egyptian nationalism. A German agent during World War II, he was imprisoned (1942) by the British but escaped after two years in jail. He was again jailed (1946–49) for participating in terrorist

leaders of today have grasped the power of economic and political freedom to lift whole nations, and have put forth bold plans for Africa's development.

Because Africans and Americans share a belief in the values of liberty and dignity, we must share in the labor of advancing those values. In a time of growing commerce across the globe,⁴⁰ we will ensure that the nations of Africa are full partners in the trade and prosperity of the world.⁴¹ Against the waste and violence of civil war,⁴² we will stand together for peace.⁴³ Against the merciless terrorists who threaten every nation, we will wage an unrelenting campaign of justice.⁴⁴ Confronted with desperate

acts against pro-British Egyptian officials. Sadat took part in the bloodless coup (1952) that deposed King Farouk. Between 1952 and 1968, he held a variety of government positions, including director of army public relations; secretary-general of the National Union, Egypt's only political party; and president of the national assembly. In 1969 he was chosen to be Nasser's vice president, and after Nasser's death (1970), he succeeded to the presidency. Less charismatic than his predecessor, Sadat was nevertheless able to establish himself as Egypt's strongman and a leader of the Arab world. He assumed the premiership in 1973 and in October of that same year led Egypt into war with Israel. He became an Arab hero when Egyptian troops recaptured a small part of the Sinai Peninsula, taken by the Israelis in 1967. A pragmatist, Sadat indicated his willingness to consider a negotiated settlement with Israel and shared the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize with Menachim Begin as a result of the Camp David Accords. He was assassinated by Muslim extremists, who were opposed to his peace initiative with Israel. Information Please Online Encyclopedia web site (<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0842905.html>).

⁴⁰ "Ruinous military conflicts, misguided economic policies and brutal suppression of liberties in some countries have cut off the Middle East from today's growing global economy." Robert B. Zoellick, "A Return to the Cradle of Free Trade," *Washington Post*, June 23, 2003.

⁴¹ "America is committed to building on the great success of AGOA. One important way we can do this is to give business the confidence to invest in Africa, knowing the law's benefits will continue long into the future. Therefore, I'm pleased to announce that I will ask the United States Congress to extend AGOA beyond 2008. My administration strongly supported the AGOA Two improvements, which are now helping African companies to sharply increase exports to the United States." Videotaped Remarks by the President to African Growth and Opportunity Act Forum, January 15, 2003 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030115.html>).

⁴² "But these days, freedom goes to those with the biggest guns like the young soldier with bloodshot eyes and an AK-47 manning the checkpoint leading to the city. The first independent republic on the African continent has proved a big disappointment in the departments of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The exclusionist society created here by those who had suffered terrible exclusion themselves set the tone, say observers, for much of what has come since, including years of civil war. "Liberia was created, in theory, as an asylum for respect, dignity, and protection of those whose rights were deprived," says Taiwan Gongloe, a prominent human rights lawyer, whose ancestors were indigenous Liberians. But it was never that. It was an illusive dream. We have never been about equal rights, and this irony has seeped into our land and poisoned us." "Liberia: From Oasis of Freedom to Ongoing Civil War," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 12, 2002 (<http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/0612/p07s02-woaf.html>).

⁴³ "In Congo, nine countries took part in a five-year war that brought death to millions. Now the parties to the conflict are moving to form a government of national unity, holding out the real possibility of peace. President Mbeki of South Africa deserves credit for his efforts to broker a peace agreement. (Applause.) All the Congo's neighbors have officially withdrawn their forces. Now I urge these governments to actively support the creation of an integrated national army and the establishment by June 30th of a transitional government. The United States is working with the Congo and its neighbors to ensure the security and integrity of their borders. To encourage progress across all of Africa, we must build peace at the heart of Africa." Remarks by the President to the Corporate Council on Africa's U.S.-Africa Business Summit, June 26, 2003 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/06/20030626-2.html>).

⁴⁴ "The Kananaskis Summit concluded with major announcements on key policy priorities of President

hunger, we will answer with human compassion, and the tools of human technology.⁴⁵ In the face of spreading disease, we will join with you in turning the tide against AIDS in Africa.⁴⁶

We know that these challenges can be overcome, because history moves in the direction of justice. The evils of slavery were accepted and unchanged for centuries – yet eventually the human heart would not abide them. There is a voice of conscience and hope in every man and woman that will not be silenced – what Martin Luther King called “a certain kind of fire that no water could put out.”⁴⁷ That flame could not be extinguished at the Birmingham jail.⁴⁸ It could not be stamped out at Robben Island Prison.⁴⁹ It was seen in the darkness here at Goree Island,⁵⁰ where no chain could bind the soul. This untamed fire of justice continues to burn in the affairs of men, and it lights the way before us.

Thank you for your friendship and your welcome. May God bless the good people of Senegal, and all the nations of Africa.

Bush. The President and the G-8 Leaders agreed to launch a Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction that puts into action a set of key principles on nonproliferation.” G8 Summit in Kananaskis, Canada, White House
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/g8/>).

⁴⁵ “The health of Africa also depends on the defeat of hunger. Forty million Africans are now at risk of starvation. They face severe food shortages, or lack of clean drinking water. This year the United States will provide more than \$800 million to address food emergencies in Africa. I've also asked Congress to provide \$200 million new dollars for a Famine Fund, so that when the first signs of famine appear we can move quickly and save lives. Yet the problem of hunger requires more than emergency measures. To help Africa become more self-sufficient in the production of food, I have proposed the initiative to end hunger in Africa. This initiative will help African countries to use new high-yield bio-tech crops and unleash the power of markets to dramatically increase agricultural productivity.” Remarks by the President to the Corporate Council on Africa's U.S.-Africa Business Summit, June 26, 2003 (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/06/20030626-2.html>).

⁴⁶ H.R. 1298 Title: To provide assistance to foreign countries to combat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, and for other purposes. Sponsor: Rep Hyde, Henry J. [IL-6] (introduced 3/17/2003)
Cosponsors: 4 Related Bills: H.RES.210, S.CON.RES.46, S.1009 Latest Major Action: 5/27/2003
Became Public Law No: 108-25.

⁴⁷ “And that was the fact that there was a certain kind of fire that no water could put out.” I've Been to the Mountaintop, Martin Luther King, Jr., April 3, 1968, A Call to Conscience: The Landmark Speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Stanford University
(http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/speeches/I've_been_to_the_mountaintop.pdf).

⁴⁸ “While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities ‘unwise and untimely.’” Martin Luther King's Letter from Birmingham Jail, Nobel Prize Internet Collection (<http://www.nobelprizes.com/nobel/peace/MLK-jail.html>).

⁴⁹ “Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment. He started his prison years in the notorious Robben Island Prison, a maximum security prison on a small island 7Km off the coast near Cape Town.” Nelson Mandela, Robben Island (<http://www.freedom.co.za/madiba.html>).

⁵⁰ “Gorée Island is the historic site on the West African coast where hundreds of thousands of captured men, women and children were rounded up in chains to be shipped to servitude in the New World.” Message of UNESCO's Director General for: “A Virtual Visit to Goree Island : Black Roots,” UNESCO (<http://webworld.unesco.org/goree/en/matsuura.shtml>).

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