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MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
THE SECRETARY OF HOMELAND SECURITY
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
DIRECTOR FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND ADMINISTRATOR, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: U.S. Strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa (U)


INTRODUCTION

Africa is a continent of promise and opportunity, and is linked to the United States by history, culture, economics, and geo-strategic significance. The United States will partner with African nations for an African continent that lives in liberty, peace, stability, and increasing prosperity. Ultimately, the path of political and economic freedom presents the surest route to progress in Africa. American interests, moral obligations, and values lead in the same direction. (U)

Africa faces many challenges. Its capable reforming states and sub-regional organizations must be strengthened as the primary means to foster democracy and address transnational threats on a sustained basis. We must strengthen Africa's fragile states, help secure their porous borders, build their resolve to fight corruption, and build up the law enforcement and intelligence infrastructure to deny havens for terrorists determined to strike at America and elsewhere. Forming coalitions of the willing and
cooperative security arrangements are key to confronting emerging transnational threats to personal security, national development, and global peace. These transnational threats that have shed the blood of Americans and Africans alike affect vital U.S. national security interests and demand a renewed and sustainable strategy of engagement. (U)

United States policy, in Africa, has been built on a commitment to democracy, free markets, and economic integration. The African Union (AU) has built its policy framework around similar principles as defined in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The effort to strengthen democratic institutions and free and functioning market development in Africa necessarily centers on working with sub-regional organizations. To achieve the vision of a U.S.-Africa partnership, U.S. policy toward Africa will focus on priority countries, regional organizations, and our programs and initiatives for social, political, and economic development and crisis prevention. (U)

We seek progress in Africa because our interests are directly at stake. A democratic, peaceful, stable, and economically strong Africa is mutually beneficial to both Africa and the United States. Overcoming the challenges facing the continent requires:

- Partnership, not paternalism;
- Strengthening democratic institutions;
- Economic development through greater trade and investment;
- An atmosphere of peace and stability;
- Humanitarian assistance that focuses on humanitarian need and crisis prevention; and
- Protecting the environment and using natural resources wisely. (U)

Second, our multilateral approach will focus on strengthening regional and sub-regional organizations, highlighting the effectiveness of multilateral cooperation based on shared commitment to increasing Africa's counterterrorism cooperation, and capacity to make the strategic leap from commitment to achievement. We must work with African partners to end Africa's wars by building regional peacekeeping and enhancing disaster mitigation and response capability. (U)

Third, our vision is to establish genuine economic partnerships between the United States and African countries to improve
Africa’s share in global trade. We must promote U.S. direct investment and increase capital flows to stimulate Africa’s economic development and growth based on respect and accountability. (U)

Fourth, I have directed initiatives to serve as a powerful catalyst for change to turn the tide on HIV/AIDS and malaria, to strengthen African governance, and to improve economic prosperity for the African people. We must highlight and demonstrate U.S. commitment to political, social, and economic development for Africa. (U)

Fifth, foreign assistance must combine elements of relief and recovery, democratic development, investment, and security to address the multiple dimensions of poverty. Within this emphasis, development assistance is a central component of the Africa policy. (U)

Lastly, it is important to identify synergies with our European partners, including the European Union and NATO, that can serve as a force-multiplier to enhance U.S. policy in Africa. In addition, there must be an examination of the impact of external actors (e.g., Iran, China) and policy responses for those actions that are contrary to U.S. and African interests. (U)

U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d
2. **Consolidate Democratic Transitions** to build capacity and achieve stabilization by supporting post-conflict democratic elections, establishment of government institutions, resolve to fight corruption, economic reconstruction, and professionalization of the military. United States objectives for specific countries are as follows: (U)

- **Sudan.** Successfully implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan; end the crisis in Darfur; integrate all regions into the Government of National Unity; and deny sanctuary to defeat the Lord’s Resistance Army;

- **Liberia.** Establish a democratic government accountable to the people; provide trained and professional military and police services to maintain peace and security; bring Charles Taylor to justice; broaden the institutional legal and judicial capacity; and promote U.S. investment to build infrastructure, maximize revenues, and build capacity;

- **Democratic Republic of the Congo.** Hold the first successful multi-party free and fair elections since independence; establish security and peace throughout the Great Lakes; begin post-conflict economic reconstruction; and broaden the institutional legal and judicial capacity;

- **Burundi.** Sustain the democratic momentum gained through successful democratic elections and establishment of government; establish trained and professional military and police services to maintain peace and security; and broaden the institutional legal and judicial capacity; and

- **Angola.** Hold successful democratic multi-party elections (municipal in 2007 and presidential in 2008); focus on implementation of malaria programs; reengage with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank; build food security capacity; and build peacekeeping capacity through African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA).

3. **Bolster Fragile States** with a focus to strengthen democratic institutions, especially electoral, legislative, and judicial capacity of African governments. United States objectives for specific countries are as follows: (U)

- **Cote d’Ivoire.** Successfully hold democratic elections and establish government; establish trained and professional military and police services to maintain peace and
4. Strengthen Regional and Sub-Regional Organizations to build capacity and develop lasting democratic institutions. United States objectives for specific organizations are as follows: (U)

- **African Union.** Strengthen capacity and support for all of its institutions, commissions, and councils; and support NEPAD;
- **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).** Strengthen support for its economic agenda as well as election monitoring and peace-keeping activities, and increase engagement on humanitarian affairs; train and equip ECOWAS units more fully in preparation for future conflict resolution and peacekeeping needs; and promote trade liberalization and economic integration/restructuring through private sector initiatives;
- **Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD).** Strengthen IGAD’s conflict prevention, resolution, and response mechanisms;
- **Southern Africa Development Community (SADC).** Seek out greater engagement through specific activities in the areas of food security, agriculture, and natural resource management; and the United States will comply with existing legal limitations upon assistance to Zimbabwe;
- **East African Community (EAC).** Strengthen support for the EAC’s continuing efforts at trade liberalization and economic integration; and
- **Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).** Encourage COMESA’s regional integration activities and the growth of its free trade area; build upon successful
growth of AGOA trade between COMESA and the United States; remain noncommittal regarding a potential U.S.-COMESA Free Trade Agreement (FTA), but agree to work together on building blocks toward an FTA. (U)

5. Strengthen Regional Security Capacity as the primary means to address regional and transnational threats on a sustained basis, focusing on early warning, the Africa Standby Force, and post-conflict reconstruction capacity. Continue to reform and reinforce national institutions as the building blocks to the regional effort. United States objectives for specific programs are as follows: (U)

- **ACOTA Program.** Increase multilateral battalion and brigade-level training for Africa's sub-regional organizations and for the African Union's Africa Stand-by Force; provide U.S. military trainers to train the AU staff and forces in multidimensional and joint strategic operations and to train the AU's African Stand-by Force; train 40,000 peacekeepers from 2005 to 2010; diversify training and increase the number of ACOTA partners; upgrade ACOTA Coordinator to Ambassadorial rank to restore the program as a diplomatic engagement tool; synchronize ACOTA activities where possible, through the United States European Command (USEUCOM) and the United States Central Command (USCENTCOM), with Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) activities;

- **Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS).** Accelerate the establishment of permanent satellite ACSS locations in Africa by partnering with African sub-regional institutions; strengthen African regional capacity to address political-military issues at the strategic level; enhance security; foster partnerships; improve national security decision-making; and strengthen civil-military relationships;

- **African Maritime Governance Initiative (AMGI).** Initiate the establishment of the AMGI, a United States Government program supported with appropriate resources to assist nations in better governing their maritime spaces and improve their maritime and coastal security; carry out intent to fully synchronize the execution of existing and new United States Government agency efforts and programs in the areas of coastal and maritime security, or in related areas which have application; seek to harmonize the interests of African nations, those of actors already engaged in direct assistance programs, and those of the United States Government; and link this initiative to African sub-regional organizations; and

- **Safe Skies for Africa.** Promote sustainable improvement of aviation safety and security in sub-Saharan Africa as a
means of advancing economic development and promoting United States - Africa trade and tourism; and combat terrorism, narcotics trafficking, trafficking in persons, and smuggling. (U)

7. Stimulate Africa's Economic Development and Growth with a focus on stimulating private sector development, increasing Africa's trade competitiveness, and increasing integration
within Africa itself and in the global economy. This will be achieved by improving the investment climates in reform-minded African countries, measurably reducing corruption, and developing trade-led growth strategies, and will include work on strengthening both human and non-human capital (particularly any capital which stimulates the agricultural sector). Results would be documented by increases in trade and investment as measured by trade and capital flow and increases in business growth as measured by new licenses issued and the volume of lending to small businesses.

United States objectives on specific economic issues are as follows: (U)

- **Trade.** Build on the success of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA); convene AGOA Heads of State Summit; get African support for the U.S. World Trade Organization agenda; energize discussion on Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs), so as to stimulate discussion on investment and financial services liberalization; continue to explore whether any AGOA countries are suitable candidates for FTAs or BITs; and encourage new trade-related exchanges through Trade and Investment Framework Agreements or other mechanisms to lay the groundwork for liberalization. Our trade policy will include an action plan on stimulating economic growth and employment in Africa, while addressing the significant U.S.-Africa trade imbalance;

- **Promote Competitiveness.** Work through African and Global Competitiveness Initiative, USAID Regional Trade Hubs in Accra, Dakar, Gaborone, and Nairobi, and other mechanisms to facilitate and increase cross-border, regional, and international trade;

- **Debt Sustainability (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries and Multilateral Development Relief Initiative).** Support debt reduction initiatives and ensure that International Financial Institution lending does not contribute to a build-up of unsustainable debt;

- **Financial Sector Development.** Continue developing African mortgage markets through the Africa Mortgage Market Initiative (AMMI) and increase focus on other aspects of financial sector development; AMMI to address two fundamental development issues: (1) the development of mortgage and housing markets throughout Africa, and (2) the development of formal financial intermediation through savings, contractual savings, and capital market mechanisms;

- **Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC).** Will be the major instrument to stimulate growth in good-performing countries; implement compacts for Madagascar and Cape Verde; establish compacts for Benin, Burkina Faso,
The Gambia, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Senegal, and Tanzania; and accelerate MCC threshold countries' transition to become MCC partners;

- **Boost the Fight Against Corruption.** Provide assistance to countries in the fight against corruption; support implementation of the U.N. Convention against Corruption; measure progress by the arrest and conviction of corrupt officials; deny safe haven to corrupt officials and their assets; and support the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and similar initiatives;

- **Enhance Multilateral Development Bank (MDB) Support for Private Sector Development.** Press the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the World Bank Group to continue to stimulate the private sector by focusing resources on investment climate issues, infrastructure, financial sector deepening, and small and medium enterprise development; pursue ideas for further strengthening of these efforts in the context of mid-term reviews of the African Development Fund and International Development Association replenishments; and plan exercises for subsequent replenishments;

- **Presidential Initiative on Private Sector.** Highlight U.S. support for private sector development in Africa and launch joint public/private efforts; target good performers and support improvements to the investment climate, rural development through improved technologies, business development services, and wider access to micro and rural finance; and explore new methods to stimulate foreign investment in economies committed to private sector-led growth; and

- **Africa Energy Strategy.** Develop regional energy strategy to link economic development, transparency issues, environmental stewardship, and political and economic engagement in Africa focusing on the Gulf of Guinea; a balanced and comprehensive plan will increase energy production, diversify energy sources, harness technology to improve efficiency, and enhance energy infrastructure.

8. **Implement Presidential Initiatives** as a means for highlighting and demonstrating U.S. commitment to social and economic development for Africa by strengthening and building African capacity to address long-term needs. In addition to MCC, the principal initiatives I have directed are as follows: (U)

- **President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.** Provide significant funding to 12 African countries that are experiencing the most serious effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic;
• Africa Education Initiative. Increase access to quality education by supporting training of new teachers, and provide textbooks and scholarships for children;

• Initiative to End Hunger. Improve the use of modern technology and increase agriculture productivity and income for small-scale farmers;

• Malaria Initiative. Expand malaria prevention and treatment to reduce mortality by 50 percent in selected countries;

• African Global Competitiveness Initiative. Improve the trade and investment environment and promote the fuller integration of Africa into the global economy;

• The Presidential Congo Basin Forest Partnership. Support efforts to conserve the outstanding forest and wildlife resources of the Congo Basin Forest, the second largest remaining tropical forest in the world, and improve livelihoods of the people dependent on forest resources; and

• Women’s Justice and Empowerment. Assist the existing efforts of four African countries to combat sexual violence and abuse against women, and empower them in society. (U)

9. Provide Humanitarian and Development Assistance programs to prevent and respond to crises across Africa, encourage greater support for improved disaster preparedness, mitigation, and response capacity, both regionally and at the local level, and address the sources of crises in Africa. This will be achieved through the integration of short-term life-saving humanitarian aid and longer-term development assistance into crisis prevention strategies that promote recovery and stability, strengthen local capacity, and support the development of strong democratic institutions. A major component of this effort will focus on breaking the cycle of recurrent food crises by improving early warning and agricultural technologies, promoting livelihoods and community resilience, increasing access to rural finance and support to markets, and, together with our G-8 partners, supporting the AU-led “Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program” to restore food security in Africa.

United States objectives for specific countries and regions are as follows: (U)

• Sudan. Focus on the displaced populations in Darfur and vulnerable populations in other regions of Sudan; support resettlement activities for refugees and displaced persons returning to their homes; promote activities to protect civilians, with a particular emphasis on preventing violence against women; and boost local capacities to
promote livelihood opportunities, community resilience, and stability;

- **East Africa.** Target vulnerable populations with special attention to pastoralists in northeast Kenya, southern Somalia, and southeastern Ethiopia; support and expand sustainable disaster response capabilities at the local, country, and regional levels; mitigate conflict by promoting local management of communal resources such as water and pasture; and increase rural productivity and incomes with special attention to education, livelihoods, and access to markets;

- **Trans-Sahel.** Improve nutritional status and economic resiliency of vulnerable populations; support disaster mitigation and market development efforts; reduce household debt and increase alternate livelihood strategies; and improve regional food security by improving regional market integration and protecting natural resources;

- **Central Africa.** Assist vulnerable populations to help stabilize emerging democracies such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi; support crisis mitigation efforts and the development of local capacities to respond to disasters in the region; and provide support to civil society for the building of sustainable democratic institutions;

- **West Africa.** Provide life-saving humanitarian and rehabilitation assistance to vulnerable populations; promote the transition in Liberia and stability in Cote d'Ivoire; support crisis mitigation efforts and the development of local capacities to respond to disaster in the region; and work with other donors to increase the impact of host-country, donor and private sector investment in agricultural and economic growth; and

- **Southern Africa.** Support crisis mitigation and recovery efforts and the development of local and regional capacities to anticipate and respond to disaster in the region; improve regional food security and access to markets; and provide support to local populations and institutions to affirm their democratic rights and practices. (U)

**POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION**

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d
This directive shall not be construed to impair or otherwise affect authorities granted by law to a Department or Agency head. (U)

This directive shall be implemented in a manner consistent with applicable law and subject to the availability of appropriations. (U)