



VISIONS

LEON H. SULLIVAN FOUNDATION *Committed to Excellence, Progress, Results.*

MESSAGE FROM THE LEADERSHIP

Dear Friends and Family,

As we look toward 2006 we are excited about the many challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.

While we represent a long and historic legacy, the Leon H. Sullivan Foundation is a very young organization. Yet, if we look at our accomplishments to date, many of which are documented in this issue of *Visions*, we have achieved goals that organizations decades-old could only imagine. We are grateful to our corporate partners, and our remarkable team members for contributing to our success.

The Sullivan Foundation team is a dynamic fusion of veterans and newcomers. We have team members whose feet are planted firmly in the past, and those who have wings that can hardly wait to take off in new and uncharted directions. Within the contrasts that comprise the wonderful mosaic of the Leon H. Sullivan Foundation team, there is one characteristic that we all share—a passion for the legacy of Leon H. Sullivan, and a commitment to remain loyal to all he represented. Working together, we challenge each other to be faithful and daring all at once. With the Leon H. Sullivan Summit VII in July and the launching of *Leverage Magazine* in the late spring, in 2006 the Foundation is retaining its roots and growing new branches!

We would like to dedicate this issue of *Visions* to the individuals who

Continued on page 2

Liberia's Ellen!

Sullivan Foundation celebrates a Testimony to and the Promise of a Woman's Worth ■ *By Marianna Ofosu, Editor-In-Chief*

Ellen Johnson- Sirleaf is no rookie. Her professional career in banking and international development is enviable. Her courageous commitment to her country, Liberia, spans more than three decades and is evidenced by numerous political accolades and scars, including a period of imprisonments during the Doe administration. Some call her “grandmother,” others “Iron Lady.” Many refer to her simply, affectionately, as “Mama Ellen.” She represents both strength and compassion, a combination that Liberia’s voters set their hopes on when they elected her as President on November 8th, 2005 to the surprise of many foreign observers. How did a Harvard- educated technocrat and politician, who originally supported Charles Taylor’s rise to power, beat the popular footballer George Weah?

Ellen’s answer is simple—“I’m a woman. And that enabled me to go after fifty- one percent of the population who just thought that a woman’s time had come!” During a discussion at a Foundation dinner held in her honor, seated across from Andrew Young, a champion of Africa and the chairman of the Foundation’s Board of Directors, Ellen fielded questions with the grace, intelligence and humility expected from someone of her experience. Her qualities challenge Africa’s popular reputation as a continent led by “big men,” whose bravado and personal interests often jeopardize their people’s well-being. But Ellen argued that it is not her professional qualification that makes all the difference. She believes that she was chosen to serve her country, to nurture and heal her people after many years of war, using the special touch of a woman.

Continued on page 2



President Johnson- Sirleaf speaks at a Foundation Dinner

INSIDE VISIONS

- 4** Foundation Honors Colin Powell
- 5** NEPAD Town Hall Meeting
- 6** On the Hill — Gulf of Guinea Briefing
- 7** GSP Corner — Investing in Africa
- 8–9** Sullivan Summit VII
- 10** OIC International
- 12** OIC of America
- 13** Looking Back, Reaching Forward
- 15** Legacy Notes from Rev. Sullivan



President Johnson-Sirleaf, Julienne Malveaux and Ambassador Andrew Young discuss Liberia's future

Ellen, continued from page 1

In her opening remarks, Hope Masters, the president of the Foundation, recalled Ellen's conviction that her gender is of critical importance to the promise that her election holds for Liberia:

"When asked what she brings to this historic job as a woman, President-elect Johnson-Sirleaf said, 'I bring sensitivity to human needs. Maybe that comes from being a mother and interacting with other women, many of whom carry the biggest burden in times of war and in times of peace.' Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is living proof that there is no weapon stronger than the heart on fire."

Ellen's perspective recalls that of Colin Powell, the first African American National Security Advisor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of State, at a Foundation dinner held in his honor in May 2005. He declared that while many believe that he transcended race through his accomplishments, he would always see himself as an African American, and would leverage the historical experience and cultural perspective of the African American community for the benefit of the United States (*see* story on page 4). The careers of Ellen and Powell represent a familiar paradox: when it comes to leadership and excellence, gender and race are as significant as they are insignificant.

That is to say that Ellen and Powell, who are exceptional individuals by any standard, were able to transform race and gender from factors of failure to factors of success. Theirs is an inspiring perspective because it challenges thinking on minority experiences and contributions to society most expertly articulated with respect to race by W.E.B. Dubois,

the Harvard sociologist, more than a century ago: "the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."

Ellen and Powell transcend Dubois' civil war of "ideals" to say: we succeed beyond expectations, not *despite* our race or gender, but *because* of it!

As with other victories, Ellen's is also a challenge. She inherits the leadership of a diverse and deeply divided nation, whose history of despotic regimes has entrenched a culture of corruption, oppression and violence. The ruination of economic infrastructure and absence of domestic security forces make Liberia a hard sell to investors. Liberia's debt, acquired and wasted by previous regimes, prevents the country from investing in itself.

The daunting task before the president will be doubly judged because she is a woman. The state of gender relations on the continent has registered some improvements since gender became a focus of international development policy in the early 1970s, but women are still lagging far behind men in the attainment of political

continued on page 3

SPRING 2006

AMBASSADOR ANDREW J. YOUNG
Chairman of the Board of Directors

PUBLISHER Hope Masters
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF Marianna B. Ofose
CONTRIBUTING WRITER Witney Schneidman
Diana Sole,
Ralph Perkins
ART DIRECTOR Lynne Smyers,
OmniStudio, Inc.

LEON H. SULLIVAN FOUNDATION STAFF

Hope Masters President and CEO
Linval Crosdale Chief Financial Officer
Howard H. Sullivan Senior Vice President,
Technology
Ralph Perkins Senior Vice President,
Programs and Operations
Ann Graham Controller
Heather Washington Lewis Special Assistant to the
President, Director,
Operations
Wanda Lockridge Director, Business
Development & Special
Events
Marianna B. Ofose Director, Government
Relations & Publications
Nichet Smith Director, Public Relations
Witney Schneidman Director, GSP — Global
Sullivan Principles
Sharlie Mello Programs and Operations
Coordinator
Malik Perry Office Assistant

Our mission is to carry on the spirit and legacy of Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, the great African American international humanitarian, by leveraging the commitments and resources of the African Diaspora and Friends of Africa for positive change in the world. We do so by advocating for domestic and international issues that Rev. Sullivan dedicated his life to, by supporting the work of the organizations he founded, and by providing a platform for Africa's political, economic and cultural leaders in the United States. Our work is guided by the principles that Rev. Sullivan championed: self-help, social responsibility, economic empowerment and human rights.

LEON H. SULLIVAN FOUNDATION
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Ambassador Andrew Young
Chairman of the Board

Peter J. Robertson
Vice Chairman of the Board

Andrew Brimmer
Treasurer

Alexis Herman
Rodney Slater
William J. Clinton

William Crist
Mark Whitaker
Bernard E. Anderson
Connie Wilson Collins
Maurice Tempelman
Roderick Gillum

Message, continued from page 1

continue the work of a man whose passion and enthusiasm for helping the underprivileged was so infectious that it has spread to young people who know him only through his writings and the sound of his recorded voice. One such young person is Marianna Oforu, a new team member and the new editor of this newsletter.

Marianna's impressive track record of academic excellence and intellectual creativity, and passionate commitment to issues of interest to the African Diaspora, make her an enthusiastically welcomed addition to the Foundation. Marianna's character, spirit, and hard work were most notably recognized in 2003 when she was awarded the prestigious Rhodes Scholarship for "excellence in qualities of mind and in qualities of person which, in combination, offer the promise of effective service to the world in the decades ahead." She comes to us with many distinctions for academic work at Howard and Oxford Universities, and research experience in international development at a number of organizations,



including the Embassy of Rwanda, the UN Development Program, and the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Studies. We are confident that Marianna's efforts to drive our advocacy work and develop our publications will commemorate the legacy of Leon H. Sullivan with the spirit and enthusiasm of a new generation of his admirers.

In this issue of *Visions* we would like to recognize the young, enthusiastic team members who believe in the beautiful visions that Leon H. Sullivan had for a better world, and who refuse to allow us to remain trapped in the past when the future is so bright and full of new and exciting

opportunities. Likewise, this issue is an expression of gratitude to the individuals who worked with Leon H. Sullivan for thirty years or more and who will not yield to the voices of change that could modify the Reverend's memory into a vision that does not resemble him. And finally, this issue of *Visions* is dedicated to the members of the Reverend's family, his wife, his children, and his son in law, who guard his memory and his vision with a ferocity and passion that would touch him deeply and make him proud.

From the bottom of our hearts, thank you, team. ■

In the Spirit,

Hope Masters and Andrew Young

Ellen, continued from page 2

and economic freedoms and in the security of human rights. The stakes in Ellen's performance are high for Liberians and for women across the continent.

The promises Ellen has made have elevated expectations as high as the stakes:

"Certainly the first item on our agenda is to secure the peace to make sure that we do not go into chaos and into conflict. And then of course to start the process of the development agenda, fighting the root causes of conflict. I hope that I will lead the team that will start the processes of renewal that will put the emphasis and the priority on those things that are necessary—human resources, through education, making sure that we bring the dignity of our people back through jobs, making sure we have balanced development, and we have to reform a gender that is very robust, and we want to see it implemented

to make sure that every Liberian has equal opportunity. No longer will any Liberian feel that there's no hope."

Fraçois Duc de la Rochefoucauld, a classical French thinker and critic of one of Europe's "big men," Louis XVII, scoffed with his trademark brevity that "people make promises according to their hopes, and break them according to their fears." While Ellen is a seasoned, fearless lady, able to negotiate the numerous interests and many difficulties that the leadership of post-conflict Liberia will have to face, will she succeed in delivering on the hopes that she has brought to Liberians?

We believe that she is well equipped. The faith in the chances of her success that many share with us should boost Liberia's ability to secure international aid. Already Ellen has begun a robust anti-corruption campaign, and is planning political reforms towards participatory democracy and decentralization of power. Additionally, Ellen's cosmopolitanism may attract the resources of the sizable

population of Liberians in the diaspora who contribute hundreds of millions of dollars to the country through remittances each year.

And of course, Ellen's spiritedness for actively involving women in Liberia's recovery, and for dealing sensitively with questions of reintegrating and rehabilitating former combatants, bode well not only for the economic prospects of Liberia, but also for the possibility of positive change in its volatile political culture.

But before we begin to judge the accomplishments of Ellen's Liberia against expectations, let us again join Hope Masters in congratulating her and all Liberians who contributed to the historic result that her election represents. "Well done, Liberia, well done!" ■



Foundation Honors Colin Powell, “Distinguished General and Statesman”

Colin Powell’s remarkable career in the military and government has rightfully earned him the title of a “trailblazer,” a person who charts an inspiring course for others. He is one of the most popular living American figures. His contributions to the United States span two retirements and three first: that of first African American National Security Advisor, Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, and Secretary of State. He rose through military ranks from ROTC to General. He successfully commanded 34 nations in the counter-offensive of the Persian Gulf War. He has received two Presidential Medals of Freedom. He has been knighted by the Queen of England. Many respect him as a “distinguished general and statesman,” and an exemplar of dignity, courage, a sense of conscience, and response to duty.

While on many occasions he has been honored for the strength of character that he has displayed throughout his career, at a Foundation dinner celebrants made it clear that Powell’s partnership with wife Alma, fidelity to his family, and personal influence are as impressive as his service to his country. Nigeria’s President Olusegun Obasanjo began a series of gushing personal orations that reconciled the man and the leader, warmly painting a picture of a life of service guided by commitment to family, community, nation and the world.

In 1999, Colin Powell joined both the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute as an observer of the national elections in Nigeria. He sat in a hotel room with Olusegun Obasanjo, awaiting the final results. Six years later, at the Foundation dinner, Obasanjo affectionately confided that “if we must find good in every bad thing, then I will say that if not for the slave trade, I would not be able to have Colin Powell as my brother across the Atlantic...In



At the Foundation Dinner: “Twins of two different mothers,” General Powell and President Obasanjo (above); President Obasanjo, General and Alma Powell (left)

Nigeria, I am trying to achieve transparency, rule

of law, democracy, and am employing measures against corruption. I see in Colin Powell what I am trying to achieve in Nigeria. We are twins of two different mothers.”

Powell has also been a model and mentor for former Congressman JC Watts, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and former Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman, who thanked him for personal and professional guidance. Hope Masters, the president of the Foundation, compared Powell to her father observing that “both lived lives with vigor and truth that were as contagious as they were inspirational.” Jay Pryor, the managing director of Chevron Nigeria Ltd., who met Colin Powell at Sullivan Summit VI in Abuja in 2003 and again a few months later when the Department of State awarded Chevron the corporate award for humanitarian work in the Niger Delta, made a forward-looking request: “I know in retirement a man of your stature will not be reading books...As you think of things to do, think of us in Africa.”

It was Africa that Powell focused on in his remarks, and on the need for the United

States to do more in its policy toward the continent. While he praised the important accomplishments of America’s Africa policy over the last four years—the enactment of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, creation of the Millennium Challenge Account, expansion of emergency aid for HIV/Aids, and doubling of official development assistance—he also argued that “we must find the political will and courage to invest more in Africa so that it can get the infrastructure to invest in itself.” He defended the 2003 decision to expel Liberian dictator Charles Taylor to Nigeria in order to prevent renewed civil war in the country, and his decision to call the violence in Darfur a genocide.

Finally, Powell stressed the importance of history and of remembering one’s origins:

“I will always see me as an African American. I know where I came from, what people have done for me...people say that I transcend color now that I’ve been Secretary of State...we’ve worked hard to accomplish all that we have, but we have to remember our roots, and what those who came before us have done so that we can do what we do.” ■

At Sullivan Town Hall Meeting, Africa's Development is a Matter of International Partnership

Africa is rich in natural resources, but poor in human resources," started Professor Mucavele, the chief executive of the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), at the Sullivan Foundation's recent town hall meeting held in October 2005. The professor, who joined us from South Africa, passionately argued that the way to solve Africa's human development deficit is to allow Africans the space to come up with the solutions.

In an attempt to do just that, Africa's leaders have been brought into a partnership with each other and with international partners under NEPAD, and must continue to promote democracy, good governance and macroeconomic reforms, invest in education and health, and advance gender equality in their nations. The other dimension of the "self-help" approach to Africa's development that Mucavele stressed was the engagement of both Africans living abroad and members of the broader Diaspora in NEPAD's development plans.

While he praised NEPAD as a home-grown, purely African initiative, Dr. Gerard Byam, the acting Vice President for Africa at the World Bank, was surprised that it is largely unknown throughout Africa. Dr. Byam referred to what is commonly known as the lack of NEPAD's "democratic credentials." George Obiozor, the Ambassador of Nigeria to the United States, answered this criticism by arguing that NEPAD will directly mani-

fest itself to the citizens of Africa through the development projects that it sponsors.

Douglas Menarchik, the Assistant Administrator for Policy and Program Coordination at the US Agency for International Development (USAID), stressed that for the first time in America's history international development is a pillar of national security. It is in the interest of the

Born out of an "African experience," NEPAD requires the pooling of Africa's resources, and the rooting of Africa's international policy in pan-Africanism.

American government to support initiatives, such as NEPAD, which actively promote the establishment, development and maintenance of strong states that are peaceful, prosperous and responsive to their citizens. Although major American aid initiatives for Africa, such as the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), operate on a system of grants as rewards for governing well, investing in people and promoting economic freedom, the administration is not ignoring the security threats posed by states that are engaged

or recovering from conflict. In line with this policy shift, the administration has committed 20–25% of its international development allocation to failed and fragile states, and has resolved to support NEPAD in its efforts to secure peace across the continent.

Answering a question on Nigeria's role in NEPAD's success, Ambassador Obiozor shifted focus to the initiative's African origins. NEPAD is an economic and political partnership between Africa and the rest of the world defined much more by Africa's needs than ever before. Born out of an "African experience," NEPAD requires the pooling of Africa's resources, and the rooting of Africa's international policy in pan-Africanism. Through NEPAD, the leadership of Africa's nations want to change the political and economic image of Africa and to say that it is open business.

The theme that emerged as most prominent in the discussion and question and answer period of the town hall meeting was the importance of involving the Diaspora in Africa's development. Although NEPAD is largely a partnership between Africa and its donors, all speakers stressed the critical role that people of African descent living outside of the continent should play in helping Africa meet its development goals. Since the need for the Diaspora's investment of their financial and technical resources into Africa is urgent, Professor Mucavele and Ambassadors Obiozor and Young argued that individuals must take the initiative in engaging Africa in business and other endeavors. ■



Meeting Panelists: George Obiozor, Nigerian Ambassador to the US; Ambassador Andrew Young; Dr. Gerard Byam, Acting VP for Africa at the World Bank; Douglas Menarchik, Assistant Administrator for Policy and Program Coordination at USAID; Dr. Firmino Mucavele, Chief Executive of NEPAD

Foundation and Congressional Members Host Briefing on the Gulf of Guinea

The Congressional briefing and discussion sponsored by the Leon H. Sullivan Foundation and held at the Rayburn House Office Building on Capital Hill, brought together a diverse group of stakeholders to debate numerous dimensions of America's interest in the Gulf of Guinea. It was important for the Foundation to support the research of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation and the desire of the Congressional Hosts to promote a comprehensive and constructive dialogue on this issue.



The purpose of the briefing was to raise awareness of West Africa's position as a potential strategic partner for the US; to discuss how the US can reach its broader foreign policy goals—democracy, good governance, poverty reduction—by pursuing

a strategic relationship with oil-rich West African partners; and to bring Congressional Members and African Ambassadors together for a discussion on the subject.

As the supply of oil sourced from the Gulf of Guinea countries increases to constitute 1/5th of US imports, West African oil producers are becoming vital partners. The US, nonetheless, has not developed a strong sustainable policy towards the Gulf of Guinea that would secure oil supply and to encourage all stakeholders to work together in order to translate the oil wealth of West African nations into an improved quality of life for their people. Working with African governments, oil companies, international NGOs and local civil society, the US and American private organizations could produce a strategy that would encourage sustainable American investment with corporate social responsibility practices at the core, transparency in revenue reporting, and the investment of oil revenues into economic and human development projects.

Congressional hosts included Representatives Jefferson, Watson, Meeks, Payne, Jackson-Lee, and Rangel. Representatives Payne, Jackson-Lee and Jefferson made remarks calling for a greater participation of African American businesses in servicing the oil industry in the Gulf of Guinea, and for more transparency and accountability on behalf of African governments.

The Ambassadors of Angola, Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria were on hand to answer questions. Former US Ambassador to Nigeria, and current VP of GoodWorks International, Howard Jeter, moderated presentations made on behalf of the US State Department, Global Witness, the IMF, the CBCF, and the Global Sullivan Principles (GSP).



Hope Masters, President and CEO of the Foundation, and Ambassador George Obiozor of Nigeria



Ambassador Josephina Pitra Diakite of Angola



Former Ambassador Howard Jeter moderates the discussion among panelists, African Ambassadors and Congressional Members

Can We Increase Investment in Africa?

In certain respects, 2005 was a good year for Africa in its relation with the WTO. The Blair Commission published an impressive report on the state of the continent calling on donor countries to commit an additional \$25 billion per year in aid to Africa by 2010, with a further \$25 billion to be implemented by 2015.

At the G8 meeting in Gleneagles, developed nations pledged to double their development assistance.

Even Nigeria received some of the debt relief that it had been pressing for since President Obasanjo was first elected to office in 1999.

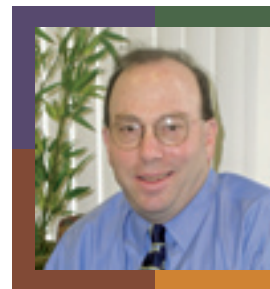
And, by the end of the year, the WTO's Doha ministerial ended with a communiqué pledging to end agricultural subsidies by 2013.

While the Hong Kong round was an improvement on trade negotiations in Cancun and Seattle, and a hopeful sign that negotiations can redress some imbalances in the global trading system, tangible benefits do not appear to be close at hand for most African nations. Moreover, turning G8 pledges into reality will require steadfast advocacy from all of Africa's partners.

Looking toward 2006, the January 16 inauguration of Liberia's Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was a truly historic event. As Africa's first woman president, she gives hope to every African woman that it is possible to control her own destiny. The ascendance of Johnson-Sirleaf to Liberia's presidency underscores both the vitality and endurance of the movement toward democratically-elected governments so pervasive on the continent today.

Turning closer to home, attention is being focused on ensuring that the African Growth and Opportunity Act, the flagship program of trade benefits signed into law by President Clinton and expanded twice by President Bush, remains as central to US-African trade relations as it has for the last five years. With a 16 percent decline last year in apparel exports to the US under AGOA, due largely to the expiration of the Multi-Fiber Agreement and increased shipments from China, questions

While the Hong Kong round was an improvement on trade negotiations in Cancun and Seattle, and a hopeful sign that negotiations can redress some imbalances in the global trading system, tangible benefits do not appear to be close at hand for most African nations.



are being asked about what steps can be taken to ensure ongoing growth in the US-African commercial relationship.

At a recent meeting of the AGOA 3 Action Committee, Uganda's eloquent Ambassador, Edith Ssempera, noted that there was a need to support the emergence of Africa's private sector. She noted that more had to be done to promote foreign direct investment in Africa.

Ambassador Ssempera is raising an important subject.

Nearly three years ago, the Commission on Capital Flows to Africa, sponsored by the Corporate Council on Africa and the International Institute on Economics, called on Congress to reduce to zero the tax on repatriated income by US companies investing in Africa. If this tax incentive were confined to investments in AGOA-eligible countries, and did not include investments in extractive sectors, it could increase the level of US investment by as much as 20 percent. The revenue loss to the US Treasury

would be minimal, or about \$70 million.

In short, a tax incentive for new investment would lead to the creation of many new jobs in Africa, the single most potent tool of development anywhere.

A second suggestion for increasing US investment, raised by Ambassador Ssempera and endorsed by the Commission, is for Congress to relax the statutes that prevent the Overseas Private Investment Corporation from investing in projects that would stimulate the growth of light-manufactured exports to the US. While these statutes were designed to prevent job loss, the reality is that no jobs have been lost in the US over the last five years due to AGOA. While OPIC has developed some very important programs in Africa during the Bush Administration, Congress should enable the agency to do more to help AGOA achieve its full potential.

To capture Africa's opportunities, the G8 must ensure that last year's commitment's become realities, and that bold new steps are taken. ■

The Global Sullivan Principles

Created by Leon H. Sullivan in 1976 ■ www.thegsp.org



GLOBAL
SULLIVAN
PRINCIPLES
of Social Responsibility

The Global Sullivan Principles are intended to be a catalyst and compass for corporate responsibility and accountability. They are aspirational not apologetic...celebratory not punitive. The Global Sullivan Principles advance a development framework that enables businesses of all sizes and in all sectors to pursue their business objectives while being mindful and respectful of employees and the communities in which they operate.

LEON H. SULLIVAN SUMMIT VII

AFRICA

A Continent of

OPPORTUNITIES

BUILDING PARTNERSHIPS *for* SUCCESS

Abuja, Nigeria
July 17 – 20, 2006

*Africa needs partners
who can bring skills,
expertise and resources
to the problems and
challenges it faces and
defines. It is through these
partnerships that Africa
can realize its full potential.*

Join us and become a partner with Africa!

T*The Leon H. Sullivan Summits bring together the world's political and business leaders, delegates representing national and international civic and multinational organizations, and members of academic institutions in order to focus attention and resources on Africa's economic and social development. This mission was inspired by Rev. Leon H. Sullivan's belief that the development of Africa is a matter of global partnerships. It was particularly important to Rev. Sullivan that Africa's Diaspora and Friends of Africa are active participants in Africa's development.*

The Sullivan Summits are organized by the Leon H. Sullivan Foundation, and held biennially in an African nation to highlight key issues and best practices, stimulate discussion and define opportunities, promote private enterprise and foster high-level strategic partnerships. Creative and innovative initiatives emerge out of discussions and negotiations at the Summits, and new relationships are brokered in order to make those initiatives a reality. The Sullivan Summits are a bridge between America and Africa, serving as a forum for economic and cultural cooperation. Africa needs partners who can bring skills, expertise and resources to the problems and challenges it faces and defines. It is through these partnerships that Africa can realize its full potential.



*Carlton Masters and
Andrew Young, Summit
Chairmen*



Building a Bridge of Knowledge and Hope: US Farmers Helping African Farmers

Opportunities Industrialization Centers International (OICI) is proud to be leading a new and exciting program called FarmServe Africa (FSA). Funded in part by the US Agency for International Development's Farmer-to-Farmer program, FSA helps African small family farmers increase productivity and profitability by sending American agricultural specialists on three-week volunteer assignments.

FarmServe is unique in that it is both a volunteer program and that it is focused on increasing the role of minorities in agriculture and international development. To this end, OICI has partnered with the following Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Alcorn State University; North Carolina Agriculture and Technical State University (NC A&T), Southern University System (SUS), and University of Arkansas Pine Bluff. This unique partnership has enabled one of Reverend Leon H. Sullivan's dreams of creating a bridge of support between African Americans and Africans to come to fruition through training and the promotion of *self-help*, a principle on which OIC and OICI were founded.

FarmServe Africa currently operates in Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Nigeria, and relies on the constant coordination and communication of its US-based and

Africa-based staff. Emails and phone calls fly back and forth through cyberspace, and make what would be impossible an attainable reality.

To date, the program has sent over thirty volunteers to Africa, they have taught everything from erosion control to direct marketing of farm products. In 2005, fifty percent of our volunteers were African American, five percent were of other non-Caucasian ethnicities. Twenty four percent of our volunteers were women. OICI strives to increase the number of minorities and women in years to come.

Are FSA projects really making a difference?

To achieve the maximum impact, OICI first conducted a needs assessment to determine what the most critical needs were among farmers, farm educators and researchers. OICI then sought to address each issue through a series of planned interventions, as detailed on the next page. Each planned intervention represents a volunteer assignment, and OICI recruits



accordingly. This makes FarmServe Africa a needs-based, demand-driven approach that response directly to the needs of the people. This approach is also a founding pillar of the OIC/OICI movement, and it is what makes our entities and programs such great successes.

"Helping people to help themselves" is the OICI/FSA approach. By offering training and hands-on assistance that enables farmers to do what they never thought possible, farmers become confident and move toward the goal of being self-sufficient. This is the true measure of sustainability. FSA is showing farmers that they can make money and live off of less than five acres of land. FSA does this by teaching techniques such as intensive gardening/farming, diversification, crop rotation, natural fertilizers and pesticides, composting, integrated farm management, marketing and management. And those volunteers which OICI sends are doing it themselves, proof and motivation that it can work.

The program runs through the end of 2008, and will continue to build on its network of minority serving institutions and HBCUs to send a total of three hundred volunteers, with minorities and women as a focal point, to increase the diversity

Opportunities Industrialization Centers International

Created by Leon H. Sullivan in 1970 ■ www.oicinternational.org

Opportunities Industrialization Centers International (OICI) improves the lives of disadvantaged people through training and sustainable organizational development in Africa, Poland and Philippines. We connect diverse groups and individuals in order to help them collaborate with and learn from each other. Working in partnership with local communities, host governments, donors, and other contributors, OICI establishes sustainable informal skills training and human service institutions, tailored to the needs and desires of local communities. The philosophy that guides OICI is built on 5 principles: self-help, institutional building, capacity building, social enterprise and partnership.

ISSUES	RECOMMENDED ACTION
<p>1. Market Saturation: There is a lack of diversification in the market. Small family farmers are producing and selling the same thing as their neighbors.</p>	<p>1. Diversification: Think outside the box. Be creative. Think non-traditional. (Ghana, Mali, Nigeria)</p>
<p>2. Limited Growing Season: Given the seasonality of products and severe weather extremes (from hot and dry to hot and wet) products have a limited growing season. This makes producing and marketing a higher risk endeavor in that there is one chance to make the product a success, from production to marketing and all the steps between.</p>	<p>2. Improved Natural Resource Management (NRM): Identify techniques of farming that will enhance soil, water and environment to enable products to be grown with less pest and disease damage. This will increase productivity and reduce risk. (Guinea, Ghana, Mali)</p>
<p>3. Product Surplus: Products such as mangos are harvested by all farmers at the same time of year. Hence there is a flood of product on the market, and much of it rots or is sold at cost or below cost.</p>	<p>3. Add Value, Increase Shelf-Life: Be different. Make products different and better quality by adding value, transforming them, making them more user friendly and in demand. For certain value added products such as food drying and canning, the longer shelf life can ensure that when products are no longer in season, one can secure a higher price. (All countries)</p>
<p>4. Perceived Value of African Products as Lacking: The typical West African household contains many imported non-African products that could actually be locally made. When asked why this is, we have been told that imported products are better and that African products lack quality.</p>	<p>4. Add Quality and Value: All FSA countries demonstrate this tendency. The solution will be to teach people how to make the same products they are currently buying, work at making them better, and proving that they are better through product research and marketing. (All countries)</p>
<p>5. Product Development Skills Lacking: When it comes to typical producers they are growing food products, and selling that product raw. This gives the farmer a miniscule share of the profit margin.</p>	<p>5. Alternative Usage, Cross-Category Products: Food products can be used to make beauty products like soap, salves, and lotion. Some food products can be used to make medicine like ginger tea and other kinds of tea. Some products can be used to make decorative and household products like engraved bowls made from gourds, or necklaces made from bamboo. (Ghana, Mali, Nigeria)</p>
<p>6. Poor Soils, Desertification, and Erosion: Africa was once called the "woodlot of Rome." Deforestation has now produced desertification, as the Sahara desert encroaches on the land and soils south of it. Monocropping and extensive application of inputs has made soils void of nutrients, and thus more dependent on inputs. All of this has increased erosion, making many once fertile and active pieces of land now useless and abandoned.</p>	<p>6. NRM and Soil Regeneration: Teach farmers locally available techniques, like composting, to increase soil structure and fertility. Teach farmers agroforestry techniques that will help halt desertification from affecting their land and production. (Guinea, Ghana, Mali)</p>
<p>7. Lack of Business Skills: 98% of the markets in Africa can be defined as "informal sector" while the opposite is true in the US. While this works well for individual producers, when groups and cooperatives form and want to take their businesses to the next level, they don't know how to.</p>	<p>7. Organizational Development for Producer Groups and Cooperatives: Teach groups about the basics of running a business in order to lessen risk and increase rewards. Teach topics such as accounting, sales and marketing, and strategic thinking like forecasting, marketing research and product development. (Nigeria)</p>

in agriculture and international relief and development. By together building a bridge of knowledge and hope, African Americans and Africans are keeping Reverend Sullivan's dream alive. ■

For more information, contact:
Michelle Frain Muldoon, FarmServe Africa
Program Director, 215-842-0860,
mfrain@oici.org

Opportunities Industrialization Centers International (OICI) enters the new year of 2006 with renewed commitment and dedication to preserving the legacy of our late Founder and Chairman, Reverend Leon H. Sullivan. We do so through quality programs and services targeting to the needs of the undereducated and unemployed, such as FarmServe Africa (FSA), which you read about above. We have set into motion strategies and initiatives to strengthen and expand the OIC International board, staff and global network of 46 OIC programs operating in 19 countries. Despite the many challenges and obstacles we are determined to make real the Founder's vision of helping people to help themselves.

—Ron Howard, President and CEO



Fo' Real: A Second Chance for At-Risk Youths

Dear Friends and Supporters of OIC of America:

The past year afforded OIC of America the opportunity to provide new programs to meet new constituency needs. Careful management decisions resulted in a leaner and more efficient organization with a renewed emphasis on initiatives and funding priorities. By focusing on changing consumer needs, the leadership, management and staff of OICA were creative and flexible in the development of programs and services. As a result, OICA evolved from primarily an employment skills training entity to a multi-service organization offering a variety of diverse programs.

The programmatic directions led the organization to work more closely with OICA affiliates, the community, consumers of service, and corporate partners.

Together, with other Sullivan entities, we endeavored to develop innovative programs that respond to the needs of the population we serve. Our programs are designed to anticipate the changing needs of the citizens of this nation.

The expansion, enhancement and diversification of programs is a lasting tribute to the vision and legacy of our founder, Reverend Leon H. Sullivan. This is the primary objective and mission of OIC of America. In order to continue the mission and achieve the objectives, we will focus on the priorities set forth in the organization's Strategic Plan. Our efforts will have a major impact on the way we conduct our business and the way in which we provide service.

— Thomasenia Cotton,
President & COO



OIC of America, Inc. (OICA) has implemented its FO' REAL (Fostering Opportunities to Reach Educational and Employment Aspirations for Life) project through eight affiliates across the United States. This project is designed to increase the self-sufficiency skills of 400 youth between 16 and 24 years of age who have dropped out of school. Within the dropout population, OICA affiliates will serve young men and women, and focus on minority youth who have come into contact with the criminal justice system. This project reflects the core vision of OICA's founder, Reverend Leon H. Sullivan of "Helping People Help Themselves," and is consistent with OIC's emphasis of providing those with the greatest need with training and employment opportunities.

The FO' REAL project will increase basic and job preparation skills and prepare young men and women for entrance into post-secondary institutions and other skills training programs. OIC affiliates will provide prevocational training that will lead to training in high-wage, high-demand fields (healthcare, construction, transportation, etc.) where there are direct employer connections and commitments.



OIC Fo' Real session for trainers held at headquarters in Philadelphia

With funding primarily from the US Department of Labor, eight affiliates with established relationships with local one-stop career centers, community colleges, and local workforce investment organizations, were selected to work with youth associated with the criminal justice system and/or raised in foster care. The affiliates participating in the project are: OIC of New Britain, New Britain, CT; Chester County OIC, West Chester, PA; OIC of Washington, DC, Washington, DC; OIC of Broward County, Fort Lauderdale, FL; Central Alabama OIC, Montgomery, AL; Northwest Indian OIC, Bemidji, MN; Los Angeles OIC, Los Angeles, CA; and OIC West, Menlo Park, CA.

As pictured above, OIC of America staff provided training for affiliates' staff in preparation for a successful project. ■

Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America

Created by Leon H. Sullivan in 1964 ■ www.oicofamerica.org

Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. (OICA) is a non-profit organization that operates through a national network of local affiliated organizations. OIC prepares people for today's workforce with quality life skills development, fundamental education, superior job skills training, and employment readiness services. Our philosophy of self-help and the system of developing the whole person enables individuals to become self-sufficient, productive workers. OICA has 60 affiliates in 30 states across the country and the District of Columbia. OICA has forty years of experience in serving the poor, unemployed, underemployed and youth.

A Hand Up, Not a Handout *In Liberia with the Reverend ■ By Diane Sole*

It took me awhile to convince that humble man of the need to tell his story—and my passion to tell it. But once convinced, he and I began a friendship that I hold very dear. There has been no other person in my life who influenced me as deeply as the Reverend. In addition to the time we spent together in the US, I was blessed to travel with him to Africa on a couple of occasions. One of those trips—in April of 1998—was to Monrovia. Let me share with you a portion of the journal I kept:

April 4, 1998
Monrovia, Liberia

Words cannot describe the sights and sounds and smells that greeted me in Liberia. Roberts Airfield is a collection of bombed-out buildings. Two military jets painted in camouflage sit on the runway. Men with machine guns stroll through the crowd. Steve, an American who is working for IFESH, walks up to me and says, “While you are here you are to be no more than three steps away from Reverend Sullivan...for your own safety.” Based on my observations, I decide three steps is two too many!

...We are driving from Roberts Airfield to the U.S. embassy where Reverend Sullivan will stay. There are numerous checkpoints along the way staffed with men bearing machine guns. We are stopped once, then told to go on our way. We have a 3-car convoy. I am with the Reverend in the second car. The lead vehicle has a large sign on the side that reads, “No arms on board.”

We pass poverty, thatched huts. Sullivan tells me more than half the population of Liberia lost their homes during seven years of civil war. For seven years, there have been no school days...only days of bombings and killings. Sullivan speaks of a window of six months to a year to make progress in peace or war looms again, ready to strike with further devastation.

Everywhere we look, we see the ruination of war. The carcasses of cars and buildings

dot our path. Reverend Sullivan is here to give Liberians “a hand up, not a hand out.”

“I do things that are difficult,” says the Reverend. In the face of such overwhelming need, I wonder how he knows where to even begin.

April 5, 1998

The piano is missing several keys and those that remain ring out in an odd, discordant harmony. “How Great Thou Art” has never sounded more beautiful. We are at the oldest church in Liberia where Reverend Sullivan will deliver a sermon broadcast to the nation. In a city shattered by war, the stained glass windows of this church remain remarkably untouched.

More old hymns are sung from memory. There are no hymnals. No one can read them anyhow. The literacy rate is as poor as the country. Sullivan, the man who walks with presidents of many nations, once walked on the “colored” side of the street as a child in Charleston. He tells them that story and about growing up without shoes.

He delivers an inspiring message in which he pleads with Liberians to keep the peace. Unrest simmers beneath the surface. Liberian President Charles Taylor’s chief rival maintains his own armed forces right here in the capital city.

“Gather round the radio,” Sullivan beckons several times during his sermon. He unveils plans to build 100 schools in the next two years, and to staff them with American teachers. He promises pencils and paper and books. He challenges the nation to rise up like a Phoenix from the ashes of war, and to stand as an example of what can be done through working together. “But you must keep the peace,” he reminds them. “Otherwise I can not help you help yourselves.”

Afterwards, I talked with Elizabeth Sele Mulbah, National Community Development Officer for UNDESA, a division of the United Nations. Elizabeth is a Liberian native. When I ask her to describe her country’s greatest needs, she says: “One, food on the table. Two,



Diana Sole and Reverend Sullivan in Liberia

to be able to lie down to sleep at night and not worry about uninvited guests. And, three, schools for everyone.”

U.S. Ambassador William Milam has spent two and a half years here. He says Liberia’s greatest need is “finding a way to find peace.”

Palm Sunday

We stand in a circle holding hands, native Liberians on both sides of me. We sing, “We Shall Overcome,” and then we pray. We are a circle of hope in a city of ruin on this Palm Sunday, certainly the most memorable one of my life! The U.S. Ambassador is here and so are roughly 20 Liberian leaders. Those present represent various non-governmental organizations that are committed to resurrecting this country. Sullivan’s OIC in Liberia has been taking former combatants and training them for the work of peace: agriculture, carpentry and small business

continued on page 14

development. “Peace is tied to economic development,” Sullivan says. “It will not be easy. But I only do what others cannot do. If others can do it, then I don’t need to spend my time on it.” He recounts the tale of South Africa and proudly reminds them that justice was served without war. He tells them of the Philadelphia boycotts and the shopping centers and housing developments he has helped to build. As he weaves his tale of hope, he brings them into the dream of what is possible.

“Build schools collectively,” he says. “Dig wells collectively,” he urges. “If you work together the dream can be realized. I’m going to help you but you must help yourself.” He stuns the group by warning them of the repercussions if they do not. “Liberia must self-help. If you’re not helping yourself in a year or two, I’m going to withdraw from here and look for another place I am needed.” The challenge is at the core of Sullivan’s personal philosophy: “a hand up, not a handout.”

He tells them of the Philadelphia boycotts and the shopping centers and housing developments he has helped to build. As he weaves his tale of hope, he brings them into the dream of what is possible.

The meeting is taking place at Steve’s apartment. Steve has left his wife and two children in Philadelphia to answer the Reverend’s call for a year’s assignment in Liberia. It will be his charge to deliver the aid that Sullivan has promised. Steve is the man for the job. He has worked in Cape Town, Sierra Leone and, “If anyone else had asked me to take on this challenge, I could have told them ‘no,’” Steve tells me. “But I couldn’t say no to the Reverend.”

His apartment building is surrounded by armed security guards. In his kitchen is a two-burner propane stove and a refrigerator that operates on 12 hours of power generation daily. His building is one of no more than a dozen that have any power at all. Monrovia is dark at night. Islands of light are sparse. Unilluminated streetlights stand as sentinels over the rubble. They are reminders of a time when light prevailed in this country.

Since that week in Liberia, I have closely followed the country’s news. Coincidentally, I was in Nigeria with the Sullivan Foundation when Charles Taylor was removed from power. The night the Reverend, his colleague Dr. Wright, and I met with Taylor ranks among the most frightening nights of my life. This last fall, as I followed the news online about the presidential elections, I was stunned, like many, to learn of the run-off between the soccer star and the “Iron Lady.” To the world’s amazement, she won! ■

Liberia and the Sullivan Legacy

■ *By Ralph Perkins*

In the African America community, there is an old proverb “what goes around comes around.” It means fate has a way of setting things right—or wrong—depending on your point of view. This proverb applies in the right way to a unique relationship between the new President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and the Leon H. Sullivan legacy.

In the early 1970s, OIC International (OICI), founded by Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, was organized

Sullivan’s philosophy of “self-help,” OICI developed community-based organizations that provided vocational, agricultural and small enterprise development services to the unemployed and underemployed. The Sullivan development philosophy was and is based on the “bottom-up” approach. Today, Sullivan Organization’s OICI has over 40 training centers in 15 African countries.

In 1973, Reverend Sullivan sent his organizers to Monrovia to work with Liberians interested in organizing a local OIC. The Government of Liberia appointed their Minister of Finance to provide government oversight and to liaise with Reverend Sullivan’s team of advisors and organizers. That Minister of Finance was Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf.

In hindsight, during those early days, the Liberia OIC Training Program, with-

out the close personal, sometimes daily, guidance of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, may not have become what it eventually became: the largest and most successful NGO vocational training program in Liberia. It grew to provide employment and agricultural services to the disadvantaged in most of Liberia’s counties.

Fast-forward to December of 2005. The Leon H. Sullivan Foundation in Washington wants to honor the first female president elected on the African continent. The Foundation leaders contact Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Can you come to Washington on December 14, 2005 for a dinner in your honor? The future President of the Republic of Liberia says “yes”—it’s a Sullivan organization! ■



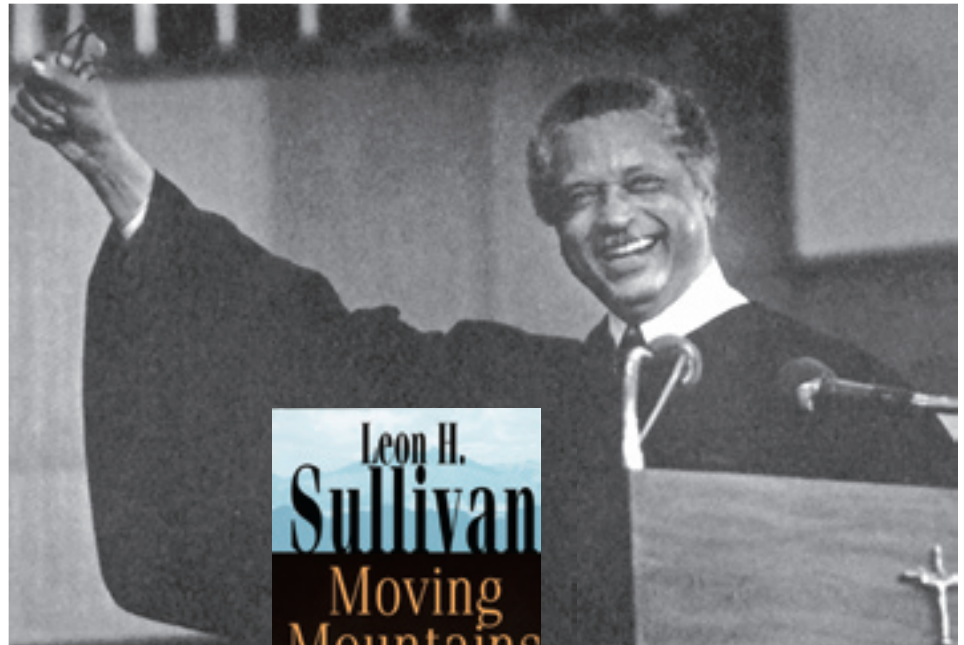
to respond to the economic development needs of sub-Saharan Africa. Based on Dr.

Building a Bridge

I had heard and heeded the call from God and from Africa and from African Americans and others of the black diaspora to try at last to unite people of African heritage with Africa, to make a link, to build a bridge from America and other parts of the world to Africa among peoples of African heritage that would never be broken again. The building of this bridge would lead to a series of landmark African- African American summits...

...the First African- African American Summit...was to be held in Abuja, and hosted by President Houphouet-Boigny, a friend who offered to open his nation to this first gathering of African and African American leaders and people. From my sick bed in Arizona, I called more than six hundred people—teachers, doctors, ministers, businesspeople, civil rights leaders, politicians, youth leaders, and anyone who, I believed, had an interest in the advancement of Africa. The telephone bill was higher than the doctors bills...I knew that if the first summit was not successful, it might be the last summit. I was determined to make the hopes of W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, and others from the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa a reality. As I reflect on things now, I believe my being sick was a part of God's plan, for I had to be tied to a sickbed in order to get the job done.

Over the next year, I along with our small committee of African diplomats completed the organization and the launch of the First African-African American Summit, on that would prove to be a seminal event for future relations between and among African Americans, Americans and Africans. We took 300 African Americans, of whom 90 percent had never been flown over an ocean, to the first summit in Abidjan in 1991. It was the largest contingent of African Americans ever to return to Africa. I called them the "Historical 300," for it was they who opened Africa as a new frontier



for future youth of the African Diaspora.

President Houphouet-Boigny, one of the most honored African leaders of his time, has since passed on, but I will never forget a statement he made in his address to the thousands present at that first summit: "They will return to the tree one day, and when they do, we will be here waiting to receive them."

...Some skeptics had thoughts that the summits would produce little more than good speeches, some posturing, and some politicking, along with a log of black leaders trying to get their names and pictures in the newspapers and their speeches on radio and television. Some of these sceptics likened the summits to sending up a rocket that goes nowhere fast only to flicker out and fade away.

But I had promised myself and God that something worthwhile would come out of these efforts to help the poor and the needy of Africa, especially the children. God had given me a little more time to do what I wanted to do, and I was determined that the time I had left in my own life would be put to the best possible use. This mission

was important to me because Africa had been marginalized by the rest of the the world. Much of the world believed that, outside of Africa's minerals, exceptional climate, animals and forest preserves, little more could

come out of sub-Saharan Africa, with South Africa being the exception to the rule. But I had made up my mind to show the world that the opinions of Africa were not true. A continent where, over the a period of four hundred years, a third of the people had been taken away in slavery, leaving behind the old, the very young, and the very weak, could become a cornerstone of economic, social and political progress.

I became involved in Africa believing that God would help me move the mountains that stand in the way of the African people. I look forward to the day when black youth everywhere will stand alongside their peers in every other part of the world, proud and confident in their economic, educational and social equality. We can learn science and math; we can become mechanics and engineers; we can develop banks and financial institutions and businesses. We can do what we prepare ourselves to do. ■

Leverage

Insight. Passion. Commitment.

LEVERAGE INTELLIGENCE
COMPASSION
RELATIONSHIPS
RESOURCES
TIME

Leverage Magazine. Coming Spring 2006 from the Leon H. Sullivan Foundation. www.thesullivanfoundation.org



Leon H. Sullivan Foundation
1800 K Street NW, Suite 1021
Washington, DC 20006

First Class
U.S. Postage
PAID
Washington, D.C.
Permit # 4020

www.thesullivanfoundation.org