

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

African Affairs-Wilson, Ernest J./Rice, Susan/Smith, Gayle/Frazer, Jendayi/Byrne, Cathy et al.

Original OA/ID Number:

2851

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
29	2	11	3	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	For the President from Samuel Berger. Subject: Meeting with Reverend Jesse Jackson. Record ID: 9808087. (3 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
001b. talking points	Points to be Made in Meeting with Reverend Jesse Jackson. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
002a. draft	Draft of 001a. Record ID: 9808087. (3 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
002b. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
002c. draft	Draft of 001a. Record ID: 9808087. (3 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
002d. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
002e. draft	Draft of 001a. Record ID: 9808087. (3 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
002f. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
003a. draft	Draft of 001a. Record ID: 9808087. (3 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
003b. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)
004. memo	For Undersecretary Pickering from Susan Rice. Subject: Reverend Jackson's Thoughts on the Transition in Nigeria.... (4 pages)	11/24/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Wilson, Ernest J./Rice, Susan/Smith, Gayle/Frazer, Jendayi et al)
OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

2014-0927-F

vz5243

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 07 DEC 98
SOURCE REF: 9821180

KEYWORDS: AIRCRAFT REQUEST
SIERRA LEONE

NIGERIA
LIBERIA

SS

PERSONS: JACKSON, J

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR SPECIAL AIR MISSIONS AIRCRAFT

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 14 DEC 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: DAVIES:

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

DAVIES

FOR CONCURRENCE

~~BARKS-RUGGLES~~

FOR INFO

MCCARTHY
MILLISON
SCHWARTZ
SMITH, G

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 7, 1998

8242

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GLYN T. DAVIES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Special Envoy of the President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa, will travel to Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Liberia December 27, 1998 through January 1, 1999.

The purpose of Reverend Jackson's trip will be to visit the Niger Delta Region to seek a resolution to that ongoing conflict in the vital oil-producing area. In Sierra Leone, Special Envoy Jackson will continue his efforts to move the peace process forward, and reassure civil society of strong U.S. government support. In Liberia, Reverend Jackson will seek to reconfirm the commitments made by President Charles Taylor to support regional peace and stability at the Mano River Summit in November.

Reverend Jackson and his three person delegation plan to depart the United States for Frankfurt via commercial air on December 27, 1998, and return to Frankfurt on January 1, 1999. Milair travel is requested for Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Liberia. The Department requests that this trip be declared a Presidential Mission and that an appropriate aircraft be made available on a non-reimbursable basis.

A military aircraft is necessary because of the need to have secure communication links with the White House, the National Security Council and the Department at all times. In addition, awkward, unreliable and time-consuming commercial air schedules to and within Africa make it

000 21211

UNCLASSIFIED

impossible for the Special Envoy to visit the three countries within the six days Reverend Jackson is free to travel.

There are no connecting commercial flights on the days that Special Envoy Jackson is traveling in the region.

The point of contact in the Department of State is Joseph Huggins, Deputy Executive Director, Bureau of African Affairs. He can be contacted at (202) 647-4417, fax (202) 647-6805, or pager (202) 490-0532.

This request has been cleared by the State Department's Office of the Legal Adviser.

Rox M. Jenkins for

Kristie A. Kenney
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9808087
RECEIVED: 01 DEC 98 14

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 02 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA
SIERRA LEONE
AP

GUINEA
GHANA

PERSONS: JACKSON, JESSE

SUBJECT: POTUS MTG W/ JACKSON ON 3 DEC

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 07 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RUGGLES

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BAKER
BARKS-RUGGLES
NSC CHRON
SMITH, G

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VL NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-X

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

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DOC 3 OF 3

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9808087

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER	Z 98120215 FOR SIGNATURE
001 BARKS-RUGGLES	Z 98120215 FOR REDO
001 BERGER	Z 98120220 FOR SIGNATURE
002 BERGER	Z 98120220 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION
003	X 98120314 KERRICK SGD MEMO
003 PRESIDENT	Z 98120314 FOR INFORMATION
003	X 98121210 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003	981202	VICE PRESIDENT
003	981202	WH CHIEF OF STAFF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12/2, 1309

LOG # 0007
SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS
DOCLOG 75 A/O _____

SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
1	D 12/11	AKA
2	(P) 12/11	
3	Deputy Natl Sec Advisor has seen	
4		
5	DK/12.2	D
6		A = JS notes

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

COMMENTS:

Pres mtg w/ Jackson
3 Dec.

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 8087
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM RRS NSC INT ARS
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG DK A/O 01

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
2 Cosgriff			
Rice	1	(2) 12/2	
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg	2		
Berger	3		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	3	12/2 DMK	g/Pre
Records Mgt.	4		N

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CC:

COMMENTS:

COMMENTS: POTUS Meeting with Rev. Jesse Jackson

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

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SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

Nigeria

- Understand you may return to Nigeria in late December to work on reconciliation in Niger delta region. Would urge you to do so. Have written to Abubakar to ask for his agreement.
- Underscored to Abubakar importance of economic reform to long-term successful transition, re-emphasizing your push for accelerated economic reform.
- Also included specifics on statutory and technical aspects of counter-narcotics and airport issues.

Sierra Leone/Liberia/Guinea

- Thank you for your work to promote reconciliation, peace and stability in West Africa. Hope agreement between Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea will increase trust and cooperation.
- Understand there may be an opening to find peaceful solution to rebellion in Sierra Leone. Could U.S. support regional effort through an international contact group?

(IF ASKED - Rawlings State Visit)

- Would like to see Rawlings, but need to balance with visits by other democratic African leaders. Looking at options for me to see Rawlings while he is here this spring.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 12/1/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By ✓ NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-F

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FINAL COMMUNIQUE

- 1. At the invitation of His Excellency General LANSANA CONTE, President of the Republic of Guinea, and after consultation with their Excellencies El Hadj AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH, President of the Republic of Sierra-Leone and DAHKPANA DR. CHARLES GANKHAY TAYLOR, President of the Republic of Liberia, with the participation of Reverend JESSIE JACKSON, Special Envoy of the President of the United States of America, an Extraordinary Summit Meeting of the Mano River Union was held in Conakry on the 12th November, 1998**
- 2. The Summit Meeting recorded with particular attention the welcome statement of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Guinea and adopted it as a working document**
- 3. The Heads of State thus decided to rejuvenate the Union in order to enable it to attain its objectives of socio-economic integration and security by establishing a political consultation mechanism for security and reconciliation matters.**
- 4. The Heads of State further decided to convene the XVIth Ministerial Council Meeting in order to consider measures for the speedy revival of the operations of the Union's Executive Secretariat not later than february 1999.**
- 5. The summit further commended efforts made by the American Government for peacebuilding, stability and reconciliation in the member States of the Union.**
- 6. The summit expressed the desire to see the involvement of the Mano River Union in the reconstruction of Liberia and Sierra-Leone.**

- 7. The Heads of State decided to join efforts together with concerned international institutions, especially the UNHCR, the friendly countries and the international community for organizing the repatriation of the refugees to their countries.**
- 8. The Summit further pledged to ensure the strict observance of the Non-Aggression and Security Cooperation Agreement between Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea that has been signed and ratified by the three member States.**
- 9. The Heads of State therefore agreed to work collectively to assist in the on-going efforts to restore peace in Sierra Leone and maintain stability in the sub-region.**
- 10. The summit also reiterated its appeal to the International Community for its increased involvement in peacebuilding and reconstruction efforts for Liberia and Sierra Leone.**
- 11. The Summit reiterated its appeal to bilateral and multilateral partners as well as the international community for substantial assistance to the Union member States for their socio-economic development efforts.**

13. Their Excellencies the Presidents of the Republics of Sierra-Leone and Liberia as well as Reverend JESSIE JACKSON, Special Representative of the President of the United States of America expressed their profound gratitude to His Excellency General LANSANA CONTE, President of the Republic of Guinea, to the Government and people of Guinea for the warm African hospitality accorded to them as well as the excellent facilities put at their disposal.

Done in Conakry this 12th Day of November, 1998

For the Republic of
Sierra-Leone


Elhadj Ahmad Tejan KABBAH

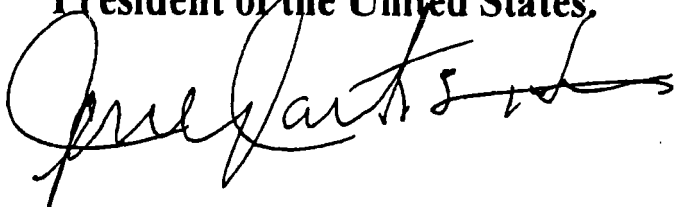
For the Republic of
Liberia


Dahkpanah Dr. Charles
Gankhay TAYLOR

For the Republic of Guinea


General Lansana CONTE

Reverend Jessie Jackson
Special Envoy of the
President of the United States.





"Nigeria's Big Tent Democracy: From Midnight to Daybreak"

Departure Statement

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

U.S. Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa

November 11, 1998

Rev. Jackson and his team, comprised of Ambassador Howard F. Jeter, Director of the U.S. State Department's Office of West African Affairs, other State Department officials and staff members of Rev. Jackson's non-governmental organization, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. The delegation arrived on Monday, November 9 for a three-day visit. They came in the context of Rev. Jackson's thirty-year relationship with Nigeria, but also under his current responsibility as U.S. President William Clinton's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa. Rev. Jackson came to lend his weight and persuasive power to Nigeria's current transition to democratic civilian government. During this trip, Rev. Jackson held meetings with a cross-section of leaders from civil society, the religious community, the current Administration, the Delta region, the business sector and the press.

Nigeria is at a crossroads between democracy and dictatorship. After the deaths of Gen. Sani Abacha and M.K.O. Abiola, there was great uncertainty as to the direction that the country would take. As I read the news accounts and talked to Nigerian pro-democracy groups in the United States, I prayed that Nigerians would come together and move forward by their hope for a brighter future and not backwards by the memories of their dark past. I watched, critically, as the government named Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar as the new Head of State, looking for a sign of positive change.

Along with the rest of the world, I did not have to wait long. On July 20, Gen. Abubakar set forth his government's plan for a democratic transition that would culminate in the hand-off from military rule to a democratically elected government in May 1999. From the darkest days of the Abacha regime, it seemed as if Nigeria was moving from midnight to daybreak. From a time when the international community built walls around Nigeria, it seemed the time had come to build bridges. The purpose of my visit was just that – to build bridges, between the U.S. and the Nigerian governments, upon which Nigeria can safely usher in a sun-filled democratic transition and move from daybreak to high noon.

The challenge facing Nigeria is to change its political culture from one of isolation to inclusion and to create a broad-based democracy, rather than tightly controlled and suffocating military government. Democratic elections can be called quickly, but it takes time to establish the democratic values and ethics of intolerance to corruption and respect for democratic institutions, including: separation of powers; checks and balances; an independent judiciary; freedom of press; broad-based access; public education; and, equal

economic opportunity. Nigeria must overcome the ills of its military culture for a new democratic culture, opting for one that is driven by democratic deliberation rather than decrees.

Our expressed purpose while in Nigeria was to push for democracy and economic reform. There are clear linkages between these two goals. In terms of the progression, stability and security lead to democracy, democracy to economic reform, which opens the door for debt restructuring and relief and ultimately development.

While in the country, we met with a cross section of leaders, including:

- Head of State, Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador I.C. Olistemeka
- Emir of Kano
- Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Justice Ephraim Omokuse Akpata
- Gen. Ibrahim Babangida,
- members of the Abiola family,
- community and religious leader from the North and South, and
- prospective political candidates
- members of the business community

In all of these meetings, the message was the same. Nigeria has to aspire toward becoming a "Big Tent Democracy," where everyone is included. I have been asked frequently, why did you meet with this person or that group. My answer is simple, you must engage partners in peace – no one who wants to be in the tent can be left on the sidelines.

I encouraged all of the groups I met with to pursue building coalitions, even when faced by challenges, because you need everyone in the tent. In our attempt to reach out to a diverse audience, I am sure that some groups and persons were missed. This written statement as well as the numerous press events I participated in are aimed at reaching those we could not meet, due solely to the limitations of time and not the lack of interest.

During our talks, we appealed to the Head of State to consider a package of political and economic reforms as well as to release the remains of the Ogoni 9. This request was based on my desire to promote healing and national reconciliation. We presented Gen. Abubakar with the joint concerns as expressed by a group of representatives from the oil-producing Delta region. We also appealed to those who are running for elected office to pledge that, should they lose, they will continue to support the new democracy and not call the military back from the barracks. After all, in a political culture where winning is everything, everyone loses. I know from my experience, having participated in two presidential elections, that when you run you hope to win. However, if you are running to serve the country and not your own personal ambitions, you realize that there are many ways to serve. "My way or no way" simply does not work.

Nigeria must undergo democratic and economic reform because military control has failed. Under military rule oil prices dropped to a new low of \$11/barrel. It was hard for me to believe that there are such things as "fuel lines" in a country that produces 10% of OPEC's oil. Next year, the government expects a fall in oil revenues from \$12 billion to 7 billion. The government must immediately address this problem or else the public could mistakenly associate the economic downturn with the advent of a newly elected democratic government.

Military rule failed Nigeria because it demonstrated it could control people with guns, but it could not get World Bank or IMF money or debt relief or air rights to desired destinations. It could control and intimidate people with guns, but Nigeria could not grow. This system cannot work.

Nigeria is so critical to Africa's stability and security. It is Africa's most populous and endowed country, with a quarter of the continent's population and a vast array of natural resources. There is a sense in which Nigerians are at a critical moment of opportunity; they should go forward by hope and dreams and not backward by memories. In these last few months, we have seen Nigeria go from isolation to a country of inclusion, moving toward its rightful place at center stage, and we are delighted.

Gen. Abubakar assured us that Nigeria will host successful democratic elections as promised. But, Nigerians have to look past democratic elections to building democratic institutions, which takes patience and time. You have to water the roots to make a democracy really grow. You must match a democratic election with democratic values. Ultimately, the military culture must see advantages to a democratic culture of accountability and transparency. The entire society must see advantages of moving from decrees to democratic decision-making. The international community demands democracy and respect for human rights as prerequisites to development.

One imperative is economic reform. I have a tremendous sense of hope about the election next year. I also think that we would do well to warn the Nigerian people to look beyond the elections and to examine the economic challenges Nigeria faces, including:

- *eliminating the dual exchange rate system* -- which benefits a privileged few and obscures the way the Nigerian government spends its funds
- *privatizing inefficient parastatals* -- including telephone and electric utilities, and petroleum refineries, in order to eradicate the 2-day long fuel lines that continue to plague this oil-rich nation
- *implementing an "alternative funding mechanism"* -- which allows multinational oil companies to fully fund oil exploration budgets, and in turn frees up government contributions to meet other pressing demands

At this point Nigeria is operating at about 25% of its productive capacity. If your lungs operated at such low levels, the lack of oxygen would lead to a heart attack and certain death. The Nigerian government must honor its stated commitment to revive all of the opportunities in this economy to prevent its economic demise. The upside of carrying out these reforms, in a just and democratic society, is that when the economy tends to grow,

investment comes and the standard of living for all Nigerians improves. The downside of inaction is that Nigeria will fall further behind its African neighbors, who are implementing reforms, and it will face growing civil unrest in light of greater economic hardship.

Nigeria is an important U.S. economic partner, with more than \$7 billion in investments and 35% of Nigerian's crude oil market in imports. So, there are strong relationships here, and I am glad that now bridges are being built between our two countries. In recent months, Gen. Abubakar has met with both President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and has welcomed United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan and leaders from the Commonwealth to Nigeria. Just two weeks ago, a civil aviation team was here to look at how to get the airports fully functional. A U.S. counter-narcotics and law enforcement team also came to discuss ways of cutting the drug flow as Nigeria tries to increase the oil flow.

Things are changing for the better in Nigeria. Political detainees are being released. I met Nigerians on the plane, who were coming home after many years of self-exile. Gen. Abubakar has set a credible election process in motion. These are all signs that Nigeria is heading in the right direction. So, in Nigeria it is morning time, and I challenge all Nigerians to be a part of this bright morning – to nurture the beginnings of this nascent democracy and create a vibrant, free and caring society.

December 2, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: GAYLE E. SMITH *MS*
FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES *ER*
SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with Reverend Jesse Jackson, Thursday, December 3, 1998, 4:15-4:45 p.m.

The President will meet with Reverend Jackson on December 3, 1998 to discuss his November 8-15 trip to Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ghana.

Attached is a memorandum from you to the President outlining the issues Reverend Jackson is likely to raise.

Concurrence by: *JB* Jamie Baker

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Talking Points
Tab B Mano River Union Communique
Tab C Jackson's "Big Tent Democracy" Speech in Nigeria

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *VZ* NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0527-F

*Can you sign
off on this?*

(SRB not attending)

done

CONFIDENTIAL

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/1/08

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Wilson, Ernest J./Rice, Susan/Smith, Gayle/Frazer, Jendayi et al)
OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

2014-0927-F
vz5243

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002c. draft	Draft of 001a. Record ID: 9808087. (3 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

2014-0927-F

vz5243

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SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

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- Understand you may return to Nigeria in late December to work on reconciliation in Niger delta region. Would urge you to do so. Am writing to Abubakar to ask for his agreement.
- Am underscoring to Abubakar importance of economic reform to long-term successful transition, re-emphasizing your push for accelerated economic reform.
- Have also included specifics on statutory and technical aspects of counter-narcotics and airport issues.

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- Thank you for your work to promote reconciliation, peace and stability in West Africa. Hope agreement between Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea will increase trust and cooperation.
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(IF ASKED - Rawlings State Visit)

- Would like to see Rawlings, but need to balance with visits by other democratic African leaders. Looking at options for me to see Rawlings while he is here this spring.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 12/1/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-F

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002d. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)

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FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

2014-0927-F

vz5243

RESTRICTION CODES

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2014-0927-F
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002f. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Wilson, Ernest J./Rice, Susan/Smith, Gayle/Frazer, Jendayi et al)
OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

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2014-0927-F
vz5243

RESTRICTION CODES

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REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

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- Understand you may return to Nigeria in late December to work on reconciliation in Niger delta region. Would urge you to do so. Have written to Abubakar to ask for his agreement.
- Underscored to Abubakar importance of economic reform to long-term successful transition, re-emphasizing your push for accelerated economic reform.
- Also included specifics on statutory and technical aspects of counter-narcotics and airport issues.

Sierra Leone/Liberia/Guinea

- Thank you for your work to promote reconciliation, peace and stability in West Africa. Hope agreement between Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea will increase trust and cooperation.
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 12/1/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5-16-2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By 12-NARA, Date 1/8/2018

Africa - Rev. Jackson
December 4, 1998

Background: Rev. Jackson visited Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone November 8-15. He debriefed the President on his trip December 3. In Nigeria, the main stop on his trip, Rev. Jackson met with leaders of Niger delta minority groups, civil society, non-governmental organizations and the Head of State while in Nigeria. His visit showed our support for Nigeria's transition to democratic, civilian government, and underscored the important role that civil society plays in any true democracy.

Policy: We are providing some assistance to Nigeria in support of efforts to ensure an open and transparent transition process and elections. We are also pursuing efforts to increase cooperation with the government of Nigeria in efforts to combat narcotics trafficking and organized crime, and to improve civil aviation security and safety. We hope that the positive progress Nigeria has made under the leadership of General Abubakar will help Nigeria enter a new era of democracy, respect for human rights, and stability, and will lead to further expansion of our bilateral relations.

What was the purpose of Rev. Jackson's visit to Nigeria?

- During his visit to Nigeria, Rev. Jackson met with Head of State General Abubakar, government officials, civil society groups and religious leaders.
- His trip succeeded in highlighting the bold steps the government has taken to implement a transition to civilian democratic rule, and emphasize the importance of civil society to a successful transition and fostering national and regional reconciliation.
- He also underscored the importance of undertaking economic reform before the hand over, to avert a potential economic crisis - precipitated by low world oil prices - after a democratically elected government is in place. We are concerned that Nigeria's political progress not be undermined by economic difficulties.

What was the purpose of Rev. Jackson's visit to President Clinton yesterday?

- He came to de-brief the President on his November trip to Africa - to Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone.
- Rev. Jackson especially wanted to discuss the prospects for change in Nigeria and issues that were raised during his trip, and his hopes to return to Nigeria at the end of this month to continue to promote reconciliation in the Niger delta region.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, December 02, 1998 8:43 AM
To: Smith, Gayle E.; Baker, James E.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Subject: FW: Package 8087 - Jackson Meeting with POTUS [CONFIDENTIAL]

Jamie/Gayle - Attached are draft summary points. Need to get to Exec Sec ASAP. Would appreciate your clearance.
Thanks - Erica



8087 jj summary pts.doc

-----Original Message-----

From: Hasman, Thomas M.
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 1998 9:08 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @CROSS - Cross Hatches; Rice, Edward A.
Subject: Package 8087 - Jackson Meeting with POTUS [CONFIDENTIAL]

Erica,

Summary points are needed for this package. Attached are the most recent versions (some edits have been made in execsec).

Please send the summary points to @cross. Thanks.

@cross - Package is in hold bin.



8087 jj prs.doc



8087 jj tps.doc

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By rz NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-F

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- Thank you for your work to promote reconciliation peace and stability in West Africa. Hope agreement between Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea will increase trust and cooperation.
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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 7/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VR NARA, Date 1/8/2018

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Baker, James E.
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 1998 6:13 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Subject: FW: JJackson Meeting POTUS Thursday 4:15-4:45pm ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Importance: High

One general comment:

There are specific statutory criteria that apply to FAA determinations regarding airport security. My recollection is that DOT has taken the view, and WH has agreed, that decisions about whether to put airports on the list, or take them off, are based solely on these statutory criteria and not on other factors, e.g., foreign policy. (White House contacts policy may also apply to the extent DOT takes the view this is a quasi adjudicatory matter.) I am not able to reach the DOT/GC at this time and therefore cannot confirm my recollection on law and process.

I note this because we do not want the President to get boxed in and commit to do something he and we cannot do with respect to lifting airport sanctions in Nigeria or contacting FAA. Either FAA will determine that they meet the criteria or not. This leads to three specific comments:

1. Your reference to "prompting greater movement on the airport" issue could be misread or misheard. I have deleted.
2. I have included a short sentence in background memo for POTUS noting that FAA applies statutory criteria.
3. DOT will likely need to clear the letter referenced in the package regarding airport security.

-----Original Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 1998 5:15 PM
To: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; Battenfield, Pat A.
Cc: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Subject: FW: JJackson Meeting POTUS Thursday 4:15-4:45pm ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Importance: High

Jamie/Newell - Do you have time to look at this before 6:00? We found out only this afternoon. Please let us know if you have time/or not ASAP. Thanks

-----Original Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 1998 4:51 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.
Cc: Battenfield, Pat A.
Subject: FW: JJackson Meeting POTUS Thursday 4:15-4:45pm ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Importance: High

Gayle -
Draft JJ papers - do we need legal clearance?

Pat -
Please package. In g:\documents folder. Thanks - Erica



8087 jj prs.doc



8087 jj srb.doc



8087 jj tps.doc

-----Original Message-----

From: Hilliard, Brenda I.
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 1998 2:02 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Davies, Glyn T.
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJackson Meeting POTUS Thursday 4:15-4:45pm [UNCLASSIFIED]

As far as we know (I checked with Betty Currie) the phone call did not take place last week.

-----Original Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 1998 1:56 PM
To: Davies, Glyn T.; @AFRICA - African Affairs

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By W NARA, Date 1/8/98
2014-0927-f

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AFRICA: Please prepare paper ASAP for POTUS

Brenda: Pls work participants

NSA: heads-up for SRB, JS schedules.

Battenfield, Pat A.

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Sent: Tuesday, December 01, 1998 6:27 PM
To: Baker, James E.; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Subject: RE: JJackson Meeting POTUS Thursday 4:15-4:45pm ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~

Jamie thanks for comments and fast turnaround. Your changes accepted and welcomed. Note that there is regular, if not constant, inter-agency work on this and that all are aware of the statutory criteria on the airport. Our point is (and DOT gets and agrees with this) is that there are certain steps Nigeria needs to take, at a technical level, to ready themselves for the airport review. The GON has been made aware that the review is an arduous and technical process, and that we cannot influence it, but that what we can do is to work with them -- through the provision of technical assistance, etc. -- to do some of the things that obviously are required. All of which is to say that I think we're in synch with DOT.

Now as for the letter, it is already with POTUS. Will ask Pat to send it to you in the morning -- if it needs amendments or you still think DOT clearance is required, we'll try to pull it back, but as I recall, it clearly stated that the review is the review (your statutory criteria).

You appear to have quite a lot of knowledge about airports and who can do what in them. G

-----Original Message-----

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 8/10/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2044-0927-F

Pat -

✓ Please package. In g:\documents folder. Thanks - Erica

✓ << File: 8087 jj prs.doc >> << File: 8087 jj srb.doc >> << File: 8087 jj tps.doc >>

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National Security Council
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OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

2014-0927-F
vz5243

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. draft	Draft of 001b. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/01/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Wilson, Ernest J./Rice, Susan/Smith, Gayle/Frazer, Jendayi et al)
OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

2014-0927-F

vz5243

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

7812

November 20, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER (R) R

THROUGH: GAYLE E. SMITH (G)

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES (E)

SUBJECT: Thank You Note From the President to Reverend
Jackson

In a marginal notation on a memo from Phil Caplan, the President requested that we draft a thank you note to Reverend Jackson on his most recent trip to West Africa, November 7-15.

Attached is a memorandum from you to the President recommending he sign the proposed thank you note.

Concurrence by: Chuck Allen
CA

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Thank You Note to Reverend Jackson

Tab II Memorandum from Phil Caplan

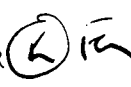
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 21, 1998

10:30 AM

98 NOV 21 PM 1:16

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER (L) 

SUBJECT: Thank You Note to Reverend Jackson

Purpose

To thank Reverend Jackson for his recent eight-day trip to West Africa as your special envoy.

Background

Attached is a note to Reverend Jackson, thanking him for the time and attention he has given to the people and problems of West Africa, and noting his invaluable service to both the United States and Africa in his position as Special Envoy.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached thank you note to Reverend Jackson.

Attachment

Tab A Thank You Note to Reverend Jackson

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1998

Dear Jesse:

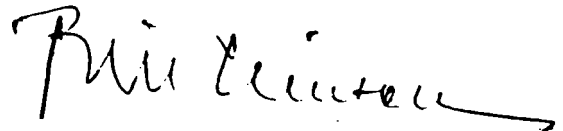
Thank you for sending me a copy of the departure statement you made at the conclusion of your trip to Nigeria.

I understand that all of your stops were very successful, and that you were able to reinforce efforts to bring democracy to Nigeria, comfort victims of atrocities in Sierra Leone, unite West African leaders in Guinea, and stop briefly in Ghana to greet my friend, President Jerry Rawlings. Your work in the region is critical to our efforts to improve the prospects for stability and peace for all West Africans.

I know you took this trip on the heels of an exhausting domestic travel schedule, and I want you to know how much I personally appreciate the commitment and energy you are devoting to your Special Envoy position. You have made unique contributions to our diplomatic efforts in Africa, and I am grateful for your dedication.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Reverend Jesse Jackson
President and CEO
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition
1002 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9807812

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BARKS-RUGGLES	Z 98111619 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
002 BERGER	Z 98112114 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
003	X 98112114 KERRICK SGD MEMO
003 PRESIDENT	Z 98112114 FOR SIGNATURE
004	X 98120209 PRESIDENT SGD LTR
004 WH STRIPPING DESK	X 98120209 FOR DISPATCH

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003 981121	VICE PRESIDENT
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004 981130 JACKSON, JESSE	
004 981130 WH STRIPPING DESK	

UNCLASSIFIED

7812

11-16-98

PLEASE STAFF

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHILLIP CAPLAN
DAVID GOODFRIEND

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

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Pg 1

Berger
NSC W.W. Desk
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Brainard

Copied

Pg 2

Berkhart
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Sperling
Brainard
Street
Lewis

For Mr. [unclear]

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Rev. Jackson's Nigeria Remarks via Betty** -- Rev. Jackson traveled to Nigeria November 9-11 with State Department officials to push for democratic and economic reform. He forwards his statement made before returning to the U.S.: Nigeria should aspire toward the "Big Tent Democracy" of inclusion and must respect the outcome of elections; economic reforms (e.g., eliminating the dual exchange rate, privatizing utilities and refineries, allowing oil companies to replace government oil exploration) are key to preventing civil unrest; the U.S. and Nigeria should continue to build bridges.

(B) **Hurricane Mitch Report from Mrs. Gore.** Written report of her trip, which will also be released publicly. After your briefing today, you probably know much of what's in it, but I thought you should have it nonetheless. Please note that she makes several recommendations for follow-up; as you know, Maria is working on many of them.

(C) **Note and Speeches from Strobe Talbott** -- Strobe forwards two recent speeches he delivered; the first on Russia, and the second on India-Pakistan; (1) *Russia* is searching for a "Russian way" of economic reform; the U.S. will focus on Russia's banking and energy sectors, food, U.S./Russia citizen exchanges; and cooperative threat reduction; Strobe also has a suggestion re: PM Primakov: because Primakov has been comparing his policies to those of FDR, you should send Primakov your favorite FDR book emphasizing the New Deal's reliance on structural features such as effective taxation -- ideas that we're urging on them. (2) *India and Pakistan* must focus on enhancing security without nuclear testing; a nuclear arms race would pose a serious economic threat to both countries;

(D) **James Harmon APEC Note and Mexico Report** -- wishes you a successful APEC trip; the Ex-Im Bank continues to actively support trade with Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand. Regarding his November 2-4 Mexico trip, Jim notes that: (1) President Zedillo was delighted that you called him on election night; he expressed concern about the tragedy in Honduras and Nicaragua; (2) Mexico currently has \$5.2B in outstanding Ex-Im loans but has a good history with the Bank; (3) there is a serious credit shortage throughout the developing world, including Mexico; and (4) many of Mexico's largest companies need more funding than in previous years.

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Embassy of the United States of America

"Nigeria's Big Tent Democracy: From Midnight to Daybreak"

Departure Statement

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

U.S. Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa

November 11, 1998

Rev. Jackson and his team, comprised of Ambassador Howard F. Jeter, Director of the U.S. State Department's Office of West African Affairs, other State Department officials and staff members of Rev. Jackson's non-governmental organization, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. The delegation arrived on Monday, November 9 for a three-day visit. They came in the context of Rev. Jackson's thirty-year relationship with Nigeria, but also under his current responsibility as U.S. President William Clinton's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa. Rev. Jackson came to lend his weight and persuasive power to Nigeria's current transition to democratic civilian government. During this trip, Rev. Jackson held meetings with a cross-section of leaders from civil society, the religious community, the current Administration, the Delta region, the business sector and the press.

Nigeria is at a crossroads between democracy and dictatorship. After the deaths of Gen. Sani Abacha and M.K.O. Abiola, there was great uncertainty as to the direction that the country would take. As I read the news accounts and talked to Nigerian pro-democracy groups in the United States, I prayed that Nigerians would come together and move forward by their hope for a brighter future and not backwards by the memories of their dark past. I watched, critically, as the government named Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar as the new Head of State, looking for a sign of positive change.

Along with the rest of the world, I did not have to wait long. On July 20, Gen. Abubakar set forth his government's plan for a democratic transition that would culminate in the hand-off from military rule to a democratically elected government in May 1999. From the darkest days of the Abacha regime, it seemed as if Nigeria was moving from midnight to daybreak. From a time when the international community built walls around Nigeria, it seemed the time had come to build bridges. The purpose of my visit was just that - to build bridges, between the U.S. and the Nigerian governments, upon which Nigeria can safely usher in a sun-filled democratic transition and move from daybreak to high noon.

The challenge facing Nigeria is to change its political culture from one of isolation to inclusion and to create a broad-based democracy, rather than tightly controlled and suffocating military government. Democratic elections can be called quickly, but it takes time to establish the democratic values and ethics of intolerance to corruption and respect for democratic institutions, including: separation of powers; checks and balances; an independent judiciary; freedom of press; broad-based access; public education; and, equal

economic opportunity. Nigeria must overcome the ills of its military culture for a new democratic culture, opting for one that is driven by democratic deliberation rather than decrees.

Our expressed purpose while in Nigeria was to push for democracy and economic reform. There are clear linkages between these two goals. In terms of the progression, stability and security lead to democracy, democracy to economic reform, which opens the door for debt restructuring and relief and ultimately development.

While in the country, we met with a cross section of leaders, including:

- Head of State, Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador I.C. Olisemeka
- Emir of Kano
- Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Justice Ephraim Omokuse Akpata
- Gen. Ibrahim Babangida,
- members of the Abiola family,
- community and religious leader from the North and South, and
- prospective political candidates
- members of the business community

In all of these meetings, the message was the same. Nigeria has to aspire toward becoming a "Big Tent Democracy," where everyone is included. I have been asked frequently, why did you meet with this person or that group. My answer is simple, you must engage partners in peace – no one who wants to be in the tent can be left on the sidelines.

I encouraged all of the groups I met with to pursue building coalitions, even when faced by challenges, because you need everyone in the tent. In our attempt to reach out to a diverse audience, I am sure that some groups and persons were missed. This written statement as well as the numerous press events I participated in are aimed at reaching those we could not meet, due solely to the limitations of time and not the lack of interest.

During our talks, we appealed to the Head of State to consider a package of political and economic reforms as well as to release the remains of the Ogoni 9. This request was based on my desire to promote healing and national reconciliation. We presented Gen. Abubakar with the joint concerns as expressed by a group of representatives from the oil-producing Delta region. We also appealed to those who are running for elected office to pledge that, should they lose, they will continue to support the new democracy and not call the military back from the barracks. After all, in a political culture where winning is everything, everyone loses. I know from my experience, having participated in two presidential elections, that when you run you hope to win. However, if you are running to serve the country and not your own personal ambitions, you realize that there are many ways to serve. "My way or no way" simply does not work.

Nigeria must undergo democratic and economic reform because military control has failed. Under military rule oil prices dropped to a new low of \$11/barrel. It was hard for me to believe that there are such things as "fuel lines" in a country that produces 10% of OPEC's oil. Next year, the government expects a fall in oil revenues from \$12 billion to 7 billion. The government must immediately address this problem or else the public could mistakenly associate the economic downturn with the advent of a newly elected democratic government.

Military rule failed Nigeria because it demonstrated it could control people with guns, but it could not get World Bank or IMF money or debt relief or air rights to desired destinations. It could control and intimidate people with guns, but Nigeria could not grow. This system cannot work.

Nigeria is so critical to Africa's stability and security. It is Africa's most populous and endowed country, with a quarter of the continent's population and a vast array of natural resources. There is a sense in which Nigerians are at a critical moment of opportunity; they should go forward by hope and dreams and not backward by memories. In these last few months, we have seen Nigeria go from isolation to a country of inclusion, moving toward its rightful place at center stage, and we are delighted.

Gen. Abubakar assured us that Nigeria will host successful democratic elections as promised. But, Nigerians have to look past democratic elections to building democratic institutions, which takes patience and time. You have to water the roots to make a democracy really grow. You must match a democratic election with democratic values. Ultimately, the military culture must see advantages to a democratic culture of accountability and transparency. The entire society must see advantages of moving from decrees to democratic decision-making. The international community demands democracy and respect for human rights as prerequisites to development.

One imperative is economic reform. I have a tremendous sense of hope about the election next year. I also think that we would do well to warn the Nigerian people to look beyond the elections and to examine the economic challenges Nigeria faces, including:

- *eliminating the dual exchange rate system* — which benefits a privileged few and obscures the way the Nigerian government spends its funds
- *privatizing inefficient parastatals* — including telephone and electric utilities, and petroleum refineries, in order to eradicate the 2-day long fuel lines that continue to plague this oil-rich nation
- *implementing an "alternative funding mechanism"* — which allows multinational oil companies to fully fund oil exploration budgets, and in turn frees up government contributions to meet other pressing demands

At this point Nigeria is operating at about 25% of its productive capacity. If your lungs operated at such low levels, the lack of oxygen would lead to a heart attack and certain death. The Nigerian government must honor its stated commitment to revive all of the opportunities in this economy to prevent its economic demise. The upside of carrying out these reforms, in a just and democratic society, is that when the economy tends to grow,

4

investment comes and the standard of living for all Nigerians improves. The downside of inaction is that Nigeria will fall further behind its African neighbors, who are implementing reforms, and it will face growing civil unrest in light of greater economic hardship.

Nigeria is an important U.S. economic partner, with more than \$7 billion in investments and 35% of Nigerian's crude oil market in imports. So, there are strong relationships here, and I am glad that now bridges are being built between our two countries. In recent months, Gen. Abubakar has met with both President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and has welcomed United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan and leaders from the Commonwealth to Nigeria. Just two weeks ago, a civil aviation team was here to look at how to get the airports fully functional. A U.S. counter-narcotics and law enforcement team also came to discuss ways of cutting the drug flow as Nigeria tries to increase the oil flow.

Things are changing for the better in Nigeria. Political detainees are being released. I met Nigerians on the plane, who were coming home after many years of self-exile. Gen. Abubakar has set a credible election process in motion. These are all signs that Nigeria is heading in the right direction. So, in Nigeria it is morning time, and I challenge all Nigerians to be a part of this bright morning - to nurture the beginnings of this nascent democracy and create a vibrant, free and caring society.

TO: BERGER

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 16 NOV 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA
ECONOMICS

HUMAN RIGHTS

PERSONS: JACKSON, JESSE

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR REPLY RE JACKSON STATEMENT ON NIGERIA BIG TENT DEMOCRACY

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER

DUE DATE: 21 NOV 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BARKS-RUGGLES

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

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DOC 1 OF 1

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United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
Bureau of African Affairs
Office of West African Affairs

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FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Nov. 24 1998

TO: ERICA BARKS - RUGGLES
FAX: 486 9260
PHONE: 486 9261

FROM: **Stevenson McIlvaine**
Crisis Country Coordinator for
Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Liberia

PHONE: 202 647-1597

FAX: 202 647-4855

COMMENTS: Please read. Note the language on
Abubakar - Jackson - Clinton accord letter
This is what ER (Tim Roche et al) will
go to.

THIS IS PAGE ONE OF 4 PAGES.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. memo	For Undersecretary Pickering from Susan Rice. Subject: Reverend Jackson's Thoughts on the Transition in Nigeria.... (4 pages)	11/24/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
African Affairs (Wilson, Ernest J./Rice, Susan/Smith, Gayle/Frazer, Jendayi et al)
OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [2]

2014-0927-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9807963
RECEIVED: 24 NOV 98 08

TO: BERGER

FROM: BARKS-RUGGLES

DOC DATE: 24 NOV 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA
SIERRA LEONE

GUINEA
GHANA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: RECOM TELEPHONE CALL TO ~~REV JACKSON~~ W/ PRES

ACTION: NFAR PER EXEC SEC

DUE DATE: 30 NOV 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BARKS-RUGGLES

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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BARKS-RUGGLES
NSC CHRON

T. EBR
2. file (22)

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DOC 1 OF 1

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9807963

DOC ACTION OFFICER

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

7963

November 24, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: GAYLE E. SMITH *JS*
FROM: ERICA J. BARKS-RUGGLES *ER*
SUBJECT: Recommended Telephone Call to Reverend Jesse
Jackson with the President

Attached at Tab I is a Recommended Telephone Call for a call
from the President to Reverend Jesse Jackson.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Recommended Telephone Call at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Recommended Telephone call
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B "Nigeria's Big Tent Democracy," speech by
Rev. Jackson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Reverend Jesse Jackson
(202) 333-5270

DATE: November 24, 1998

RECOMMENDED BY: SAMUEL R. BERGER
JOHN PODESTA

PURPOSE: To discuss with Reverend Jackson his recent trip to Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ghana

BACKGROUND: Reverend Jackson wants to give you a report on his recent trip, and discuss with you some ideas on Nigeria policy. NSC Africa Senior Director Gayle Smith spent two hours with Jackson on November 20 discussing these issues. Responses to issues he raised with her are included in your talking points.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION

1. Reverend Jackson's trip to Africa November 8-15.
2. His thoughts on Nigeria policy and his possible role in reconciliation efforts in Nigeria and the region.

CONTACT PERSON AND
TELEPHONE NUMBERS: Erica Barks-Ruggles, x69266

DATE OF SUBMISSION:

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B "Nigeria's Big Tent Democracy," speech by Rev. Jackson

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

General

- Appreciate you taking so much time out of your schedule to go to Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ghana.
- The work you are doing on promoting reconciliation in West Africa -- particularly between Liberia and its neighbors -- is important to peace and stability in the region.

Nigeria

- I know you met with many groups in Nigeria -- from the Head of State, to the opposition, to Niger delta regional leaders. Is there more we could be doing to support the elections?
- I appreciate your emphasis on moving quickly on economic reforms. This will be critical to the ultimate success of a successor democratic government.
- Understand that you are considering going back to Nigeria in late December to try to work on reconciliation in the Niger delta region. I would urge you to do so. Think this is an area where you could really help move things along. I am writing to General Abubakar to ask if he would agree to your trying something along these lines.
- Understand that you suggested to my staff that we prompt greater movement on the airport and counter-narcotics issues. We are including some specifics on these issues in my letter to Abubakar and hope we will see some action soon, specifically on extraditions and better Nigerian funding for law enforcement on the counter-narcotics front.

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- Congratulations on convincing Sierra Leonian President Kabbah not to execute rebel leader Foday Sankoh. Understand that you believe there is an opening for a regional effort to find a peaceful solution to the rebellion. What do you think of our supporting a regional effort through an international contact group?

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(Rawlings State Visit - IF ASKED)

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11/12/98 THU 10:05 FAX 202 728 1192
11/12/98 11:27 FAX 00224452573

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11-10-98

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Embassy of the United States of America

"Nigeria's Big Tent Democracy: From Midnight to Daybreak"

Departure Statement

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

U.S. Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa

November 11, 1998

Rev. Jackson and his team, comprised of Ambassador Howard F. Jeter, Director of the U.S. State Department's Office of West African Affairs, other State Department officials and staff members of Rev. Jackson's non-governmental organization, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. The delegation arrived on Monday, November 9 for a three-day visit. They came in the context of Rev. Jackson's thirty-year relationship with Nigeria, but also under his current responsibility as U.S. President William Clinton's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa. Rev. Jackson came to lend his weight and persuasive power to Nigeria's current transition to democratic civilian government. During this trip, Rev. Jackson held meetings with a cross-section of leaders from civil society, the religious community, the current Administration, the Delta region, the business sector and the press.

Nigeria is at a crossroads between democracy and dictatorship. After the deaths of Gen. Sani Abacha and M.K.O. Abiola, there was great uncertainty as to the direction that the country would take. As I read the news accounts and talked to Nigerian pro-democracy groups in the United States, I prayed that Nigerians would come together and move forward by their hope for a brighter future and not backwards by the memories of their dark past. I watched, critically, as the government named Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar as the new Head of State, looking for a sign of positive change.

Along with the rest of the world, I did not have to wait long. On July 20, Gen. Abubakar set forth his government's plan for a democratic transition that would culminate in the hand-off from military rule to a democratically elected government in May 1999. From the darkest days of the Abacha regime, it seemed as if Nigeria was moving from midnight to daybreak. From a time when the international community built walls around Nigeria, it seemed the time had come to build bridges. The purpose of my visit was just that - to build bridges, between the U.S. and the Nigerian governments, upon which Nigeria can safely usher in a sun-filled democratic transition and move from daybreak to high noon.

The challenge facing Nigeria is to change its political culture from one of isolation to inclusion and to create a broad-based democracy, rather than tightly controlled and suffocating military government. Democratic elections can be called quickly, but it takes time to establish the democratic values and ethics of intolerance to corruption and respect for democratic institutions, including: separation of powers; checks and balances; an independent judiciary; freedom of press; broad-based access; public education; and, equal

economic opportunity. Nigeria must overcome the ills of its military culture for a new democratic culture, opting for one that is driven by democratic deliberation rather than decrees.

Our expressed purpose while in Nigeria was to push for democracy and economic reform. There are clear linkages between these two goals. In terms of the progression, stability and security lead to democracy, democracy to economic reform, which opens the door for debt restructuring and relief and ultimately development.

While in the country, we met with a cross section of leaders, including:

- Head of State, Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador I.C. Olistemeka
- Emir of Kano
- Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Justice Ephraim Omosokun Akpata
- Gen. Ibrahim Babangida,
- members of the Abiola family,
- community and religious leader from the North and South, and
- prospective political candidates
- members of the business community

In all of these meetings, the message was the same. Nigeria has to aspire toward becoming a "Big Tent Democracy," where everyone is included. I have been asked frequently, why did you meet with this person or that group. My answer is simple, you must engage partners in peace - no one who wants to be in the tent can be left on the sidelines.

I encouraged all of the groups I met with to pursue building coalitions, even when faced by challenges, because you need everyone in the tent. In our attempt to reach out to a diverse audience, I am sure that some groups and persons were missed. This written statement as well as the numerous press events I participated in are aimed at reaching those we could not meet, due solely to the limitations of time and not the lack of interest.

During our talks, we appealed to the Head of State to consider a package of political and economic reforms as well as to release the remains of the Ogoni 9. This request was based on my desire to promote healing and national reconciliation. We presented Gen. Abubakar with the joint concerns as expressed by a group of representatives from the oil-producing Delta region. We also appealed to those who are running for elected office to pledge that, should they lose, they will continue to support the new democracy and not call the military back from the barracks. After all, in a political culture where winning is everything, everyone loses. I know from my experience, having participated in two presidential elections, that when you run you hope to win. However, if you are running to serve the country and not your own personal ambitions, you realize that there are many ways to serve. "My way or no way" simply does not work.

Nigeria must undergo democratic and economic reform because military control has failed. Under military rule oil prices dropped to a new low of \$11/barrel. It was hard for me to believe that there are such things as "fuel lines" in a country that produces 10% of OPEC's oil. Next year, the government expects a fall in oil revenues from \$12 billion to 7 billion. The government must immediately address this problem or else the public could mistakenly associate the economic downturn with the advent of a newly elected democratic government.

Military rule failed Nigeria because it demonstrated it could control people with guns, but it could not get World Bank or IMF money or debt relief or air rights to desired destinations. It could control and intimidate people with guns, but Nigeria could not grow. This system cannot work.

Nigeria is so critical to Africa's stability and security. It is Africa's most populous and endowed country, with a quarter of the continent's population and a vast array of natural resources. There is a sense in which Nigerians are at a critical moment of opportunity; they should go forward by hope and dreams and not backward by memories. In these last few months, we have seen Nigeria go from isolation to a country of inclusion, moving toward its rightful place at center stage, and we are delighted.

Gen. Abubakar assured us that Nigeria will host successful democratic elections as promised. But, Nigerians have to look past democratic elections to building democratic institutions, which takes patience and time. You have to water the roots to make a democracy really grow. You must match a democratic election with democratic values. Ultimately, the military culture must see advantages to a democratic culture of accountability and transparency. The entire society must see advantages of moving from decrees to democratic decision-making. The international community demands democracy and respect for human rights as prerequisites to development.

One imperative is economic reform. I have a tremendous sense of hope about the election next year. I also think that we would do well to warn the Nigerian people to look beyond the elections and to examine the economic challenges Nigeria faces, including:

- *eliminating the dual exchange rate system* — which benefits a privileged few and obscures the way the Nigerian government spends its funds
- *privatizing inefficient parastatals* — including telephone and electric utilities, and petroleum refineries, in order to eradicate the 2-day long fuel lines that continue to plague this oil-rich nation
- *implementing an "alternative funding mechanism"* — which allows multinational oil companies to fully fund oil exploration budgets, and in turn frees up government contributions to meet other pressing demands

At this point Nigeria is operating at about 25% of its productive capacity. If your lungs operated at such low levels, the lack of oxygen would lead to a heart attack and certain death. The Nigerian government must honor its stated commitment to revive all of the opportunities in this economy to prevent its economic demise. The upside of carrying out these reforms, in a just and democratic society, is that when the economy tends to grow,

investment comes and the standard of living for all Nigerians improves. The downside of inaction is that Nigeria will fall further behind its African neighbors, who are implementing reforms, and it will face growing civil unrest in light of greater economic hardship.

Nigeria is an important U.S. economic partner, with more than \$7 billion in investments and 35% of Nigerian's crude oil market in imports. So, there are strong relationships here, and I am glad that now bridges are being built between our two countries. In recent months, Gen. Abubakar has met with both President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and has welcomed United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan and leaders from the Commonwealth to Nigeria. Just two weeks ago, a civil aviation team was here to look at how to get the airports fully functional. A U.S. counter-narcotics and law enforcement team also came to discuss ways of cutting the drug flow as Nigeria tries to increase the oil flow.

Things are changing for the better in Nigeria. Political detainees are being released. I met Nigerians on the plane, who were coming home after many years of self-exile. Gen. Abubakar has set a credible election process in motion. These are all signs that Nigeria is heading in the right direction. So, in Nigeria it is morning time, and I challenge all Nigerians to be a part of this bright morning -- to nurture the beginnings of this nascent democracy and create a vibrant, free and caring society.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Reverend Jesse Jackson
(202) 333-5270

DATE: November 24, 1998

RECOMMENDED BY: SAMUEL R. BERGER
JOHN PODESTA

PURPOSE: To discuss with Reverend Jackson his recent trip to Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ghana

BACKGROUND: Reverend Jackson ^{wants to} ~~requested that you call him so that he could~~ give you a report on his recent trip, and discuss with you some ideas on Nigeria policy. NSC Africa ^{Spell out} ~~Sr.~~ Director Smith spent two hours with Jackson on November 20 discussing these issues. Responses to issues he raised with her are included in your talking points. ^{Gayle}

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION

1. Reverend Jackson's trip to Africa November 8-15.
2. His thoughts on Nigeria policy and his possible role in reconciliation efforts in Nigeria and the region.

CONTACT PERSON AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS: Erica Barks-Ruggles, x69266

DATE OF SUBMISSION: ~~{Leave blank}~~

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B "Nigeria's Big Tent Democracy," speech by Rev. Jackson

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

General

- Appreciate you taking so much time out of your schedule to go to Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ghana.
- The work you are doing on promoting reconciliation in West Africa -- particularly between Liberia and its neighbors -- is important to peace and stability in the region.

Nigeria

- I know you met with a ^{many} ~~diverse series of~~ groups in Nigeria -- from the Head of State, to ^{the} ~~opposition~~, to Niger delta regional leaders. ~~How did these meetings go?~~
- Is there more we could be doing to support the elections?
- I appreciate ^{your emphasis on} ~~you emphasizing the importance of~~ moving quickly on economic reforms ~~during your visit~~. This will be critical to the ultimate success of a successor democratic government.
- Understand that you are considering going back to Nigeria in late December to try to work on reconciliation in the Niger delta region. I would urge you to do so. Think this is an area where you could really help move things along. I am writing to General Abubakar to ask if he would agree to your trying something ^{along} ~~on~~ these lines.
- Understand that you suggested to my staff that we prompt greater movement on the airport and counter-narcotics issues. We are including some specifics on these issues in my letter ^{to Abubakar} and hope we will see some action soon, specifically on extraditions and better Nigerian funding for law enforcement on the counter-narcotics front.

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- Congratulations on convincing Sierra Leonian President Kabbah not to execute rebel leader Foday Sankoh. Understand that you believe there is an opening for a regional effort to find a peaceful solution to the rebellion. What do you think of our

supporting a regional effort through an international contact group?

Ghana

- Also pleased that you were able to see President Rawlings. He can and should play a larger role in the region.
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- Would like to see Rawlings again, but we need to balance another visit with visits by other strong reformers and democratic leaders in Africa who have not had the spotlight. We are looking to see if there is a way for me to talk with Rawlings while he is here late this spring.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

7812

November 20, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: GAYLE E. SMITH *GES*
FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES *ER*
SUBJECT: Thank You Note From the President to Reverend
Jackson

In a marginal notation on a memo from Phil Caplan, the President requested that we draft a thank you note to Reverend Jackson on his most recent trip to West Africa, November 7-15.

Attached is a memorandum from you to the President recommending he sign the proposed thank you note.

Concurrence by: Chuck Allen *CA*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Thank You Note to Reverend Jackson
Tab II Memorandum from Phil Caplan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Thank You Note to Reverend Jackson

Purpose

To thank Reverend Jackson for his recent eight-day trip to West Africa as your special envoy.

Background

On a November 13 note from Phil Caplan covering a copy of Reverend Jackson's departure remarks after his visit to Nigeria, you noted in the margin that a thank you note should be sent to the Reverend.

Attached is a proposed note to Reverend Jackson, thanking him for the time and attention he has given to the people and problems of West Africa, and noting his invaluable service to both the United States and Africa in his position as Special Envoy.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached thank you note to Reverend Jackson.

Attachment

Tab A Thank You Note to Reverend Jackson

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Jesse:

Thank you for sending me your summary remarks on your trip to Nigeria that you gave upon departure from Lagos.

I understand that all of your stops were very successful, and that you were able to reinforce efforts to bring democracy to Nigeria, comfort victims of atrocities in Sierra Leone, unite West African leaders in Guinea in the interests of cooperation and harmony, and stop briefly in Ghana to greet my friend, President Jerry Rawlings. Your work in the region is critical to our efforts to increase the prospects for stability and peace for all West Africans.

On a personal note, I especially appreciate your taking the time to thoroughly cover each stop. I know it must have been exhausting. Your service to the United States and to Africa is invaluable.

Sincerely,

Reverend Jesse Jackson
President and CEO
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition
1002 Wisconsin Ave, NW
Washington, D.C. 20007

7812

11-16-98

PLEASE STAFF

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHILLIP CAPLAN *Phil*
DAVID GOODFRIEND

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

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NSC W.W. Desk

Cos

Burkhart

Sperling

Brainard

Copied

Pg 2

Burkhart

Cos

Sperling

Brainard

Street

Lewis

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

Handwritten: - Invaluable to do T.Y. - think Sun. 12/1/98
(A) **Rev. Jackson's Nigeria Remarks via Betty** -- Rev. Jackson traveled to Nigeria November 9-11 with State Department officials to push for democratic and economic reform. He forwards his statement made before returning to the U.S.: Nigeria should aspire toward the "Big Tent Democracy" of inclusion and must respect the outcome of elections; economic reforms (e.g., eliminating the dual exchange rate, privatizing utilities and refineries, allowing oil companies to replace government oil exploration) are key to preventing civil unrest; the U.S. and Nigeria should continue to build bridges.

Handwritten: - 12/1/98
(B) **Hurricane Mitch Report from Mrs. Gore.** Written report of her trip, which will also be released publicly. After your briefing today, you probably know much of what's in it, but I thought you should have it nonetheless. Please note that she makes several recommendations for follow-up; as you know, Maria is working on many of them.

Handwritten: - 12/1/98
(C) **Note and Speeches from Strobe Talbott** -- Strobe forwards two recent speeches he delivered; the first on Russia, and the second on India-Pakistan; (1) *Russia* is searching for a "Russian way" of economic reform; the U.S. will focus on Russia's banking and energy sectors, food, U.S./Russia citizen exchanges; and cooperative threat reduction; Strobe also has a suggestion re: PM Primakov: because Primakov has been comparing his policies to those of FDR, you should send Primakov your favorite FDR book emphasizing the New Deal's reliance on structural features such as effective taxation -- ideas that we're urging on them. (2) *India and Pakistan* must focus on enhancing security without nuclear testing; a nuclear arms race would pose a serious economic threat to both countries;

Handwritten: - 12/1/98
(D) **James Harmon APEC Note and Mexico Report** -- wishes you a successful APEC trip; the Ex-Im Bank continues to actively support trade with Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand. Regarding his November 2-4 Mexico trip, Jim notes that: (1) President Zedillo was delighted that you called him on election night; he expressed concern about the tragedy in Honduras and Nicaragua; (2) Mexico currently has \$5.2B in outstanding Ex-Im loans but has a good history with the Bank; (3) there is a serious credit shortage throughout the developing world, including Mexico; and (4) many of Mexico's largest companies need more funding than in previous years.

11-16-98

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Embassy of the United States of America

"Nigeria's Big Tent Democracy: From Midnight to Daybreak"

Departure Statement

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4

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UNCLASSIFIED

Printed By: Alex Martschenko 11/16/98 01:46:39 PM

CONAKRY 6836

From: AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
Subject: MANO RIVER UNION AGREEMENT

MRN: 6836
ICNbr: TED4431

Date/Time: 131258Z NOV 98
Precedence: PRIORITY

Private Notes:

- No Private Notes -

Cable Text:

TED4431

ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 ACQ-01 CIAB-00 DODE-00 SRFP-00 DS-00
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PC-05 DSCC-00 DRL-02 SAS-00 /011W
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P 131258Z NOV 98

FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8171

INFO ECOWAS COLLECTIVE

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

USDAO DAKAR SG

USIA WASHDC 0341

USEU BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 CONAKRY 006836

DEPT FOR AF/W, AF/RA

DEPT PLEASE PASS PC FOR AFRICA REGION - CARROLL

PARIS FOR WILLIAMS

LONDON FOR FLAUMER

USAID FOR AFR/WA - DICKSON-HORTON

USIA FOR AF - CORCORAN, WEINHOLD, MUDD-KRIJGELMANS

E.O. 12958: DECL: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, GV, SL, LI

SUBJECT: MANO RIVER UNION AGREEMENT

UNCLASSIFIED

CONAKRY 01 OF 02 6836

REF: STATE 207007

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY POL/ECON CHIEF L. SHOEMAKER.
REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. (U) ON 12 NOVEMBER, REVEREND JESSE JACKSON, THE PRESIDENTIAL SPECIAL ENJOY FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFRICA, FACILITATED THE MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE OF THE MANO RIVER UNION: PRESIDENT LANSANA CONTE OF GUINEA, PRESIDENT TEDJAN KABBAH OF SIERRA LEONE, AND PRESIDENT CHARLES TAYLOR OF LIBERIA. DURING THE SUMMIT MEETING, WHICH FOLLOWED ONE-ON-ONE MEETINGS WITH REVEREND JACKSON, THE THREE PRESIDENTS REACHED AN AGREEMENT TO FOSTER PEACE AND COOPERATION IN THE MANO RIVER UNION. THE EXACT TEXT OF THAT AGREEMENT FOLLOWS DETAILS OF THE MEETINGS WILL FOLLOW SEPTEL.

3. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE AS RECEIVED:

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1. AT THE INVITATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL LANSANA CONTE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA, AND AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THEIR EXCELLENCIES EL HADJ AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA-LEONE[SIC] AND DAHKPANDAH DR. CHARLES GANKHAY TAYLOR, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF REVEREND JESSIE[SIC] JACKSON, SPECIAL ENVOY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AN EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT MEETING OF THE MANO RIVER UNION WAS HELD IN CONAKRY ON THE 12TH NOVEMBER, 1998.
2. THE SUMMIT MEETING RECORDED WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION THE WELCOME STATEMENT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA AND ADOPTED IT AS A WORKING DOCUMENT.
3. THE HEADS OF STATE THUS DECIDED TO REJUVENATE THE UNION IN ORDER TO ENABLE IT TO ATTAIN ITS OBJECTIVES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND SECURITY BY ESTABLISHING A POLITICAL CONSULTATION MECHANISM FOR SECURITY AND RECONCILIATION MATTERS.
4. THE HEADS OF STATE FURTHER DECIDED TO CONVENE THE XVTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING IN ORDER TO CONSIDER MEASURES FOR THE SPEEDY REVIVAL OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE UNION'S EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT NOT LATER THAN FEBRUARY 1999.
5. THE SUMMIT FURTHER COMMENDED THE EFFORTS MADE BY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT FOR PEACEBUILDING[SIC], STABILITY A RECONCILIATION IN THE MEMBER STATES OF THE UNION.
6. THE SUMMIT EXPRESSED THE DESIRE TO SEE THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE MANO RIVER UNION IN THE RECONSTRUCT OF LIBERIA AND SIERRA-LEONE[SIC].
7. THE HEADS OF STATE DECIDED TO JOIN EFFORTS TOGETHER WITH CONCERNED INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, ESPECIALLY THE UNHCR, THE FRIENDLY[SIC] COUNTRIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR ORGANIZING THE REPATRIATION OF THE REFUGEES TO THEIR COUNTRIES.
8. THE SUMMIT FURTHER PLEDGED TO ENSURE THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE NON-AGGRESSION AND SECURITY AND COOPERATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE AND GUINEA THAT HAS BEEN SIGNED AND RATIFIED BY THE THREE MEMBER STATES.
9. THE HEADS OF STATE THEREFORE AGREED TO WORK COLLECTIVELY TO ASSIST IN THE ON-GOING EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE IN SIERRA LEONE AND MAINTAIN STABILITY IN THE SUB-REGION.
10. THE SUMMIT ALSO REITERATED ITS APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR ITS INCREASED INVOLVEMENT IN PEACEBUILDING AND RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS FOR LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE.
11. THE SUMMIT REITERATED ITS APPEAL TO BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL PARTNERS AS WELL AS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE UNION MEMBER STATES FOR THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS.

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13. [SIC] THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE PRESIDENTS OF THE REPUBLICS OF SIERRA LEONE AND LIBERIA AS WELL AS REVEREND JESSE JACKSON, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA EXPRESSED THEIR PROFOUND GRATITUDE TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL LANSANA CONTE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA, TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF GUINEA FOR THE WARM AFRICAN HOSPITALITY ACCORDED TO THEM AS WELL AS THE EXCELLENT FACILITIES PUT AT THEIR DISPOSAL.

DONE IN CONAKRY THIS 12TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1998.

(SIGNED BY:

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA-LEONE: ELHADJ AHMAD TEDJAN KABBAH

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA: DAHKPANAH DR. CHARLES GANKHAY TAYLOR

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA: GENERAL LANSANA CONTE AND REV. JESSE JACKSON, SPECIAL ENVOY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.)

END TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE AS RECEIVED.

4. FREETOWN AND MONROVIA MINIMIZES CONSIDERED.

NAGY

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