

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [4]

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
001. email	Gayle Smith to Africa. Subject: FW: For SRB on his return/Africa. (3 pages)	09/08/1998	P1/b(1)
002. email	White House Situation Room to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Robert Bell, Joseph Bouchard et al. Subject: Rev. Jackson Brokers Liberian-Sierra Leonean Joint Communique. [Monrovia 002737] (7 pages)	07/28/1998	P1/b(1)
003. email	White House Situation Room to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Donald Jordan, John Pendergast et al. Subject: Rev. Jackson's July 18-20 Visit to Liberia A Diplomatic Tour de Force. [Monrovia 002699] (3 pages)	07/23/1998	P1/b(1)
004. email	James Babbitt to Leon Fuerth. Subject: SAG Disclosure Update. (1 page)	08/20/1998	P1/b(1)
005. email	Erica Barks-Ruggles to Gayle Smith. Subject: FW: Nigeria-Rev. Jackson. (1 page)	07/15/1998	P1/b(1)
006. email	Robin Sanders to Africa. Subject: Plane Issue - JJ Trip. (1 page)	07/14/1998	P1/b(1)
007. draft	Memorandum to Jesse Jackson from Gayle Smith. Subject: Your Trip to Nigeria and Liberia. (2 pages)	07/14/1998	P1/b(1)
008. email	John Prendergast to Edward Rice, Gayle Smith et al. Subject: RE: Options for Abiola Funeral. (2 pages)	07/10/1998	P1/b(1)
009. email	Robin Sanders to Execsec. Subject: FW: JJ Travel - Nigeria/Liberia. (1 page)	07/09/1998	P1/b(1)
010. email	White House Situation Room to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Donald Jordan, John Prendergast et al. Subject: Scen-Setter for Visit by Presidential Special Envoy. [Lagos 007125] (5 pages)	07/15/1998	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] [4]

2014-0927-F

vz5245

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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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.

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

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Friday, September 25, 1998 1:07 PM
To: @PRESS - Public Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: DAILY GUIDANCE UPDATE [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

@AFRICA: What are we willing to do to help Abubakar with sanctions relief or international assistance? What do we want him to do in the coming months?

- We have a range of sanctions in place - some of which are statutorily mandated and some of which fall under executive branch purview.
- We will continue to look at the appropriateness of our sanctions in the context of Nigeria's progress on its transition to democratic, civilian government that respects human rights.
- As we announced in July, the United States will review on a case-by-case basis waivers of the visa and travel restrictions for those Nigerian officials who are working to ensure an open transition to democratic government.
- The status of statutory sanctions stemming from Nigeria's not being certified for counter-narcotics cooperation, will depend on progress on increased cooperation.
- We hope that General Abubakar and the government and people of Nigeria will continue to make progress on their transition to civilian, democratic rule, and that the situation of all remaining political prisoners can be quickly and completely resolved.

@AFRICA: The Johnson deal - how did Jesse help?

Background: The deal is still unfolding. Helos just took off - party is out of range over the water on the way to Sierra Leone.

- Our Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, Rev. Jesse Jackson, has played a central and important role in resolving the situation with Roosevelt Johnson and his party at our embassy.
- We would like to sincerely thank the Government of Liberia, and especially president Charles Taylor, for the enormous amount of cooperation and assistance we received in ensuring an amicable and mutually agreeable solution to this situation.

@LEGISLATIVE: Do we want fast track now? If not, why not

We have asked INTECON/Lael for concurrence on this as it is very much wrapped up in the Africa trade bill. Have not seen!

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

From: Wozniak, Natalie S.
Sent: Thursday, September 24, 1998 7:29 PM
To: @ALLNSC - NSC Staff
Cc: @VP - VP Natl Security Affairs
Subject: DAILY GUIDANCE UPDATE [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

Please review and forward your updates to @PRESS by 10:00 a.m. Friday, September 25. Thanks.



sep25gui.doc

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

TO : EXEC SEC

9/24/98

FROM : ERICA BARKS RUCKLES 

PER PARALE 6491 AND PHONE CALLS,
REV. JACKSON WAS INVITED TO THE
9/23 POTUS BILATERAL WITH GENERAL
ABUBAKAR. BECAUSE OF SCHEDULING
CONFLICTS REV. JACKSON WAS UNABLE
TO ATTEND. HE DID, HOWEVER, MEET
GENERAL ABUBAKAR BRIEFLY ON 9/24
IN NEW YORK ON THE MARGINS OF
THE UNCTA.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sandy

Melrose Team
invited to the
Mandela stuff -
+ the Abubakar
Meeting

Copied
Berger
NSC West Wing
Desk
cos

Sandy

make sure
Jesse invited to
the Mandela stuff
& the Abubakar
meeting

BK

9-21-98
please
stuff to
Africa
Enca
Tara

CA
NE
my
did
not
begin

Points for Rev. Jackson meeting with General Abubakar

- Pleased to have opportunity to meet in person - hoping and planning to come to Nigeria soon. Would welcome opportunity to meet with you again there.
- Told you had a good meeting with the President the other day. Important that he thinks you are moving forward in right direction on transition - enough so that he wanted to meet with you despite some of the inevitable criticism from those who are doubters here.
- Like the President, I have been impressed by how far you have come in such a few short months.
- In my work as the Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy - one of the themes I have stated over and over again - from Kenya to Zambia, from Liberia to Ethiopia, is the necessity of reconciliation, dialogue and understanding between parties with opposite views.
- Your efforts to reach out across Nigeria's political spectrum to open dialogue, and your commitment to increasing respect for human rights - especially continued prisoner releases - have been critical to the success your efforts have thus far enjoyed.
- Are there ways we can help build on your efforts?
- Are there specific forms of assistance that would be useful or not useful during your transition?
- Know you discussed with the President a range of issues from cooperation on counter-narcotics and anti-crime activities, to technical teams coming out to discuss civil aviation safety and security issues.
- All those efforts will help as the United States and Nigeria gradually rebuild the bilateral relationship that has been so strained the past few years.

Liberia

- As you know, I have spent a lot of time with President Taylor and the people of Liberia. Distressed that last weekend's violent outbreak has led to an impasse with our embassy and a

halt of vital reconciliation efforts as the Krahn and Taylor's people accuse each other of starting the violence.

- I have been working hard - talked to Taylor (twice/thrice) and think we have outlines of deal [STATE COUNTERPROPOSAL FOR GOL THAT REV. JACKSON IS TO TALK OVER WITH TAYLOR WILL BE FAXED SEPARATELY].
- We really must try our best to nail down this evening where Johnson and his party will go once they are flown to Sierra Leone. Clearly they cannot stay there beyond refueling/changing planes.
- Initially Ghana had agreed to take the party for a week. Now they are hesitating. Important that you and Rawlings and other regional leaders work out where the party will go initially very quickly. Would like ECOMOG to remove the party tomorrow. Will you work with Rawlings on this (he is in Pittsburgh, but returning to NYC late on Thursday evening)? The longer we delay, the stronger the chances that the deal will fall apart.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary



For Immediate Release

September 23, 1998

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Meeting with Nigerian Head of State Abubakar

The President met today for the first time with Nigerian Head of State General Abdulsalam Abubakar. They had a friendly and open discussion across a range of issues, including the progress that has been made on the transition to democratic civilian rule. The two leaders discussed how the United States and the international community could assist Nigeria in ensuring an open and transparent transition process and elections.

The President and General Abubakar also discussed increased cooperation in efforts to combat narcotics trafficking and organized crime. They had a productive exchange on ongoing technical assistance efforts to improve civil aviation security and safety.

The President expressed his strong appreciation for the efforts of General Abubakar to make progress towards a new era of democracy, respect for human rights, and stability, which will lead to further expansion of our bilateral relations.

#

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Wednesday, September 23, 1998 8:39 AM
To: Davies, Glyn T.; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Sutphen, Mona K.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Subject: JJ - Abubakar [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

I just spoke with Jesse again. **He would love to participate in the Abubakar meeting but cannot make it** as he has to return to Ohio. He has requested that we check with the Nigerians to see if Abubakar could meet him in NY late tomorrow afternoon. We will follow up with the Nigerian Embassies here and in NY and try to get word back to him by the time we see him on the Hill this morning. Erica will get back to you once she and I get our ears unglued to telephones with our suggestion for JJ's replacement at the meeting. For what it's worth, JJ is fine and says he is delighted with this office (we're working closely with him on Liberia, as well), so SRB can let POTUS know that we've followed up on his request and JJ is happy even though he cannot make it. Cheers, GS

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 1998 10:01 AM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: JJ Travel [UNCLASSIFIED]

Gayle/Erica - You asked about aircraft availability for JJ travel to Nigeria and Ghana Oct 10-16. I have aircraft penciled in for these dates. Need formal request ASAP so we don't lose it and we aren't trying to set this up at the last minute. Thx.

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UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9805384
RECEIVED: 29 JUL 98 14

~~CLIPON FILE~~

JJ

TO: BERGER

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 28 JUL 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: LIBERIA

SIERRA LEONE

PERSONS: KABBAH, AHMAD T

TAYLOR, CHARLES GHANKAY

SUBJECT: PRES COMMENT ON JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF MTG BTW TAYLOR OF LIBERIA &
KABBAH OF SIERRA LEONE

ACTION: *Prepare memo for Berger* DUE DATE: 04 AUG 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: BARKS-RUGGLES

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

BARKS-RUGGLES

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BUSBY
MCCARTHY
RAGAN
SANDERS
SCHWARTZ
SMITH, G

COMMENTS:

*8/28 OBE - by conversations of Jesse Jackson &
Ed Rice in his next trip*

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDRS

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

5384

Sunday
Jeri's really
proud of this
Bk

1-28-98

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE MEETING BETWEEN

HIS EXCELLENCY DAHKPANNAH

DR. CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

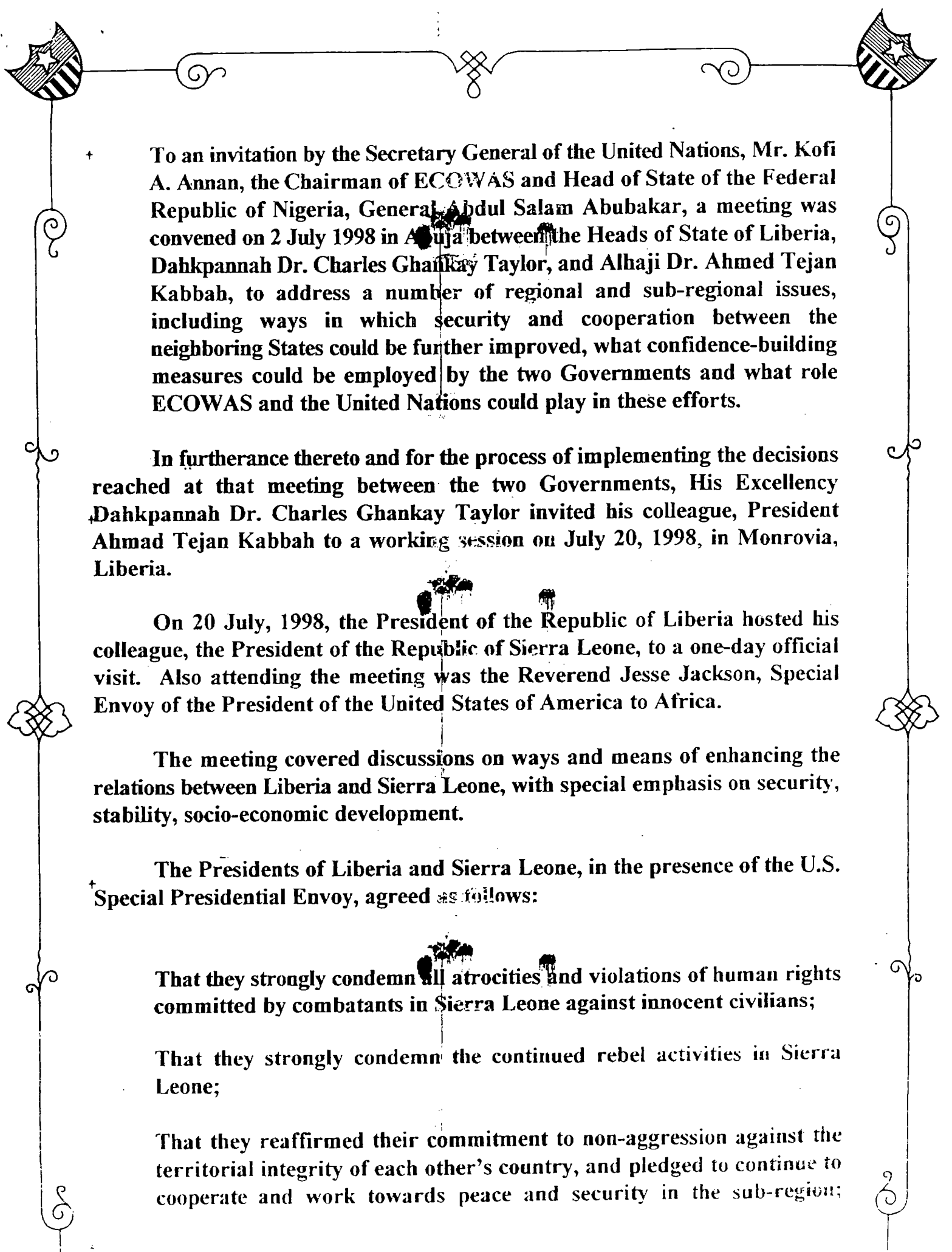
AND

HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAJI DR. AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

20 JULY 1998

copied
Berger
NSC west
wing desk
Bowles



+ To an invitation by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi A. Annan, the Chairman of ECOWAS and Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Abdul Salam Abubakar, a meeting was convened on 2 July 1998 in Abuja between the Heads of State of Liberia, Dahkpannah Dr. Charles Ghankay Taylor, and Alhaji Dr. Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, to address a number of regional and sub-regional issues, including ways in which security and cooperation between the neighboring States could be further improved, what confidence-building measures could be employed by the two Governments and what role ECOWAS and the United Nations could play in these efforts.

In furtherance thereto and for the process of implementing the decisions reached at that meeting between the two Governments, His Excellency Dahkpannah Dr. Charles Ghankay Taylor invited his colleague, President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah to a working session on July 20, 1998, in Monrovia, Liberia.

On 20 July, 1998, the President of the Republic of Liberia hosted his colleague, the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, to a one-day official visit. Also attending the meeting was the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Special Envoy of the President of the United States of America to Africa.

The meeting covered discussions on ways and means of enhancing the relations between Liberia and Sierra Leone, with special emphasis on security, stability, socio-economic development.

+ The Presidents of Liberia and Sierra Leone, in the presence of the U.S. Special Presidential Envoy, agreed as follows:

That they strongly condemn all atrocities and violations of human rights committed by combatants in Sierra Leone against innocent civilians;

That they strongly condemn the continued rebel activities in Sierra Leone;

That they reaffirmed their commitment to non-aggression against the territorial integrity of each other's country, and pledged to continue to cooperate and work towards peace and security in the sub-region;

 That they reaffirmed their commitment to foster socio-economic cooperation between their two countries. 

The two leaders renewed their call on ECOWAS and the United Nations to deploy observer units to the Liberian-Sierra Leonean border to assist the security forces of both countries in ensuring full compliance with UN Resolution 1132.

The two leaders agreed to coordinate their border security activities, and to cooperate with ECOMOG forces and UN observers, with the view of creating a mechanism to enhance border security.

They also expressed the hope that the Government of the United States of America will consider providing logistical and technical assistance in support of the above mentioned efforts.

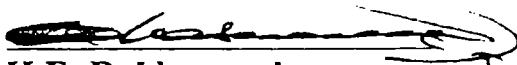
That they would continue to take measures to build confidence among the political leadership and people of their two countries.

+ Both leaders expressed their gratitude to President Bill Clinton for the attention his Government has given to West Africa, and in particular, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

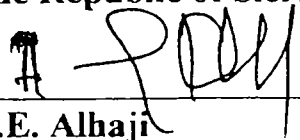
That at the close of the working session His Excellency Alhaji Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah expressed sincere thanks to the Government and People of the Republic of Liberia for the warm welcome and traditional African hospitality extended to him and his delegation.

That His Excellency President Kabbah extended an invitation to His Excellency Dahkpannah Dr. Charles Ghankay Taylor to visit Sierra Leone. This invitation was accepted with pleasure, and the date will be arranged through normal diplomatic channel.

+ Done at Monrovia, 20 July 1998
The Republic of Liberia


H.E. Dahkpannah
Dr. Charles Ghankay Taylor
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF LIBERIA

The Republic of Sierra Leone


H.E. Alhaji
Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah
PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

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Barks-Ruggles, Erica

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Thursday, August 20, 1998 1:36 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.; Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: JJ - where should he go? ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

JS

CAR - If the Sept elections happen, I think it would be worthwhile given our support for MINURCA and all the fighting with the French on a follow-on UN force.

Angola - toward the end of year might be worthwhile depending on how the next couple of months go

On JJ - I think you should sit down with him. My first recommendation would be to go where he is, or see when he is coming this way for other things in order to work out a time for a meeting here - rrs

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

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Wednesday, August 19, 1998 4:28 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ - where should he go? ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

Erica -- thanks for thinking ahead. I would also recommend the following:

- a) We can/should think about Eritrea/Ethiopia, including asking him to participate in one of the sessions (rights of nationals) when we invite the delegations here, and also, if we are successful, as a consolidator of some sort of deal.
- b) Something he raised with me in Addis was working with the African diaspora to support transitions. I think we can also be supportive of him on this, and perhaps work it up as one of his things and one of the angles for his travels.
- c) I think we should also think of him as someone who can help on the OAU/ECA front. We should set up meetings for him with KY, but also think about a continent-related Addis visit.

Also, I think we need a sit down with him. I am prepared to go to where he is, to strategize, or to invite him to a half-day session with us whenever it is convenient. What do you think is the best way to proceed -- I write to him?

Thks again. I am having a terrible day. Sorry. GS

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, August 19, 1998 3:06 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ - where should he go? ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

Colleagues -

In the "try to think ahead" mode: Jackson will likely soon turn his attention back to Africa. We have been caught too many times in "react" mode on his trip planning. Our ExecSec has firmly instructed us to try and work with State and Jackson to get a work plan so we don't have to scramble every time he travels.

In this spirit, could you please give a few minutes thought to where you think Jackson should go, what he might be helpful on, and timing for travel between now and December. I asked State to do a similar exercise and we will compare notes tomorrow afternoon. Also please put down countries/issues we would like him to avoid. Brief one/two sentence explanations would be helpful. Thanks. List started below

- Erica

JJ Travel Suggestions

August

September

October

• Sierra Leone

- Liberia - another round of atta-boy with Taylor. Would also like him to highlight NGO/rebuilding assistance. Perhaps have Susan go with him. Taylor will need to be stroked if he stays away from UNGA again due to outstanding Mass. warrant.
- Guinea - a "keep elections on track" message for national parliamentary elections scheduled for December. Also

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 8/16/2007
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By W NARA, Date 1/8/2008
2014-0877-F

recognize Guinea's help with Liberia, Sierra Leone and Bissau refugees.

November

- Nigeria - late in the month: half way through transition program, can give them a yank back onto the tracks or a strong push forward as needed. Do not recommend sooner as too high profile - Nigerians might see him as meddling, need steady as you go message for now.

December

AVOID

- Trade Bill - Fast Track too messy and too sensitive. Best to let Cabinet lead on this one.
- Nigeria before November - not enough progress, avoid stepping on GON toes, etc.

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vz5245

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]
- 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]
- 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]

Barks-Ruggles, Erica

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Wednesday, August 19, 1998 4:28 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ - where should he go? ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Erica -- thanks for thinking ahead. I would also recommend the following:

- a) We can/should think about Eritrea/Ethiopia, including asking him to participate in one of the sessions (rights of nationals) when we invite the delegations here, and also, if we are successful, as a consolidator of some sort of deal.
- b) Something he raised with me in Addis was working with the African diaspora to support transitions. I think we can also be supportive of him on this, and perhaps work it up as one of his things and one of the angles for his travels.
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Also, I think we need a sit down with him. I am prepared to go to where he is, to strategize, or to invite him to a half-day session with us whenever it is convenient. What do you think is the best way to proceed -- I write to him?

Thks again. I am having a terrible day. Sorry. GS

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, August 19, 1998 3:06 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ - where should he go? ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Colleagues -

In the "try to think ahead" mode: Jackson will likely soon turn his attention back to Africa. We have been caught too many times in "react" mode on his trip planning. Our ExecSec has firmly instructed us to try and work with State and Jackson to get a work plan so we don't have to scramble every time he travels.

In this spirit, could you please give a few minutes thought to where you think Jackson should go, what he might be helpful on, and timing for travel between now and December. I asked State to do a similar exercise and we will compare notes tomorrow afternoon. Also please put down countries/issues we would like him to avoid. Brief one/two sentence explanations would be helpful. Thanks. List started below

- Erica

JJ Travel Suggestions

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December

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

AVOID

- Trade Bill - Fast Track too messy and too sensitive. Best to let Cabinet lead on this one.
- Nigeria before November - not enough progress, avoid stepping on GON toes, etc.

Susan not been in too far ahead things
will change

Nigeria
Leone } September

no deer trips until after elections

~~X~~ (BF) GH / CAM / GQ
↓

**National Office**

930 East 50th Street • Chicago, Illinois 60615 • Phone: 773-373-3366 • Fax: 773-373-3571

Washington, DC Bureau

1002 Wisconsin Avenue, NW • Washington, DC 20007 • Phone: 202-333-5270 • Fax: 202-728-1192

Wall Street Bureau

40 Wall Street, Suite 429 • New York, New York 10005 • Phone: 212-425-7874 • Fax: 212-968-1412

For Immediate Release
August 20, 1998

Contact: Dina Anderson, Deputy Press Secretary
(773) 373-3366

Jackson Lauds U.S. Response to Terrorist Attacks

Chicago – Following President Clinton's announcement of U.S. military strikes against terrorist operations in Afghanistan and Sudan, Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr. responded favorably to the administration's actions.

"I support the U.S. government's efforts to debilitate terrorist operations in order to protect the lives of innocent people. As these violent acts continue to escalate, we must take every action necessary to protect members of the world community," said Jackson.

Jackson, who serves as the U.S. Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights in Africa, was glad to see the strong show of bipartisan support for President Clinton's order. Jackson stated: "During this time of domestic political turmoil, the United States cannot be paralyzed by division. Domestic tranquility requires a strong defense. We must stand united in this battle against terrorist violence."

Jackson responded strongly to questions regarding similarities between the timing of the U.S. counterattack and the plot of the movie, "Wag the Dog." "While there is a prevailing cynicism about the timing of the President's order, we must remember that Osama bin Ladins' public declaration of a holy war against the U.S. preceded the grand jury testimonies. This cynicism grows out of diversionary tactics that were used by past Presidents, including Reagan's Grenada invasion and Bush's attack on Panama. However, the terrorist attacks in Kenya and Tanzania and the unveiled plans for future attacks are real," said Jackson.

He continued: "Terrorists assume that the U.S. is vulnerable because of our domestic crisis. However, the U.S. defense and intelligence community is not paralyzed. Our people overseas and in this country depend on this."

Jackson also commended the administration for the manner in which the strikes were executed. According to reports from the U.S. Department of Defense, the strikes took place during the late evening to minimize the chances of harming innocent civilians. On the contrary, Jackson argued, "by detonating bombs, in broad daylight and in the busiest areas in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, those responsible for the bombings in East Africa intended to kill scores of people."

Jackson reported that Clinton has spoken with several African heads of state, including President Daniel arap Moi from Kenya and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, who voiced their support for the United States' action. "They too want to see terrorist activities eradicated from the continent," said Jackson.

In his support of the strike, Jackson cautioned the United States against turning this effort into a personality-driven war. Jackson declared, "Unfortunately, terrorism wears no singular face. If we continue to call attention to the actions of individual actors, we serve to provide them with the attention and the publicity they seek through their deadly missions." Jackson concluded, "President Clinton has demonstrated that the United States and its allies will not faint in the face of this challenge. Those who prey on vulnerability, now realize that their targets stand ready to defend their interests and their people."

Executive Committee

Rev. Willie T. Barrow, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees • Angela Jordan Davis, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Friday, August 21, 1998 5:14 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.
Cc: Battenfield, Pat A.
Subject: RE: Marie Nelson/JJ's office [UNCLASSIFIED]

Gayle -

I called her back - went through the broad outlines of Guinea, Sierra Leone drop by (for Kabbah/Taylor reciprocity meeting), CAR, and possibility of Eth/Eritrea conf. here depending on what happens on the ground. Only mention of Nigeria was me asking about Nigeria conf. here that he was pushing earlier. She did not breath a word about travelling to Nigeria. That said State is indicating that he is pushing hard to go to Nigeria. His time frame is around Spet 8-12 or so. I REALLY think we need to consider this long and hard... - Erica

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

From: Battenfield, Pat A.
Sent: Friday, August 21, 1998 2:31 PM
To: Weinstein, Jeremy M; Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Subject: Marie Nelson/JJ's office [UNCLASSIFIED]

Marie Nelson from Jesse Jackson's office would like a call from one of you at 333-5270

18/02

Rainbow/PUSH Coalition
1002 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20007
(202) 333-5270 (tel)
(202) 728-1192 (fax)

Fax

ive

To: Sandy Berger	From: Marie Nelson, Director of Africa Policy
Fax: 757-1330	Pages: 2
Phone:	Date: 08/20/98
Re: U.S. Military Strike	CC:

Please find attached a copy of Reverend Jesse L. Jackson's statement in response to the U.S. military strike in Afghanistan and Sudan.

Bell
Prendergast
Smith G
McCarthy
Clarke R
Simon
Sanders
Barks - Ruggles

Budig
TOPDOWN

Gayle -
FBI



For Immediate Release
August 20, 1998

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Battenfield, Pat A.

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

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Friday, August 14, 1998 6:19 PM
To: Malley, Robert; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @KERRICK; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Rev. Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

Just to note - Rev. Jackson has the annual meeting of the Rainbow Coalition/Operation Push this weekend in Chicago. He had hoped someone from our office would attend and had also invited Pickering. Pickering is not/not going -- we are trying to get word out of State as to whether or not they are sending someone else (Susan not attending either). We've been in touch with his staff and explained that we cannot get away this weekend, and I've been playing phone tag with JJ but have not connected. As far as we can see, they're understanding, but just in case, consider this a heads up --

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Thursday, August 13, 1998 5:48 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Smith, Gayle E.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ forum in Chicago [UNCLASSIFIED]

JJ

Do we have to involve ourselves in everything? Seriously, we should draw some lines in the sand.

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Thursday, August 13, 1998 5:45 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ forum in Chicago [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

Gayle -

It appears that the JJ forum is even less organized (whether due to JJ or State I'm not sure) than I thought.

Akinyemi just backed out today as their keynote speaker. Pickering was invited verbally by Jackson but has not responded. His staff says he is planing to return JJ's call this evening, and that he is not planning to go. It is unclear who from AF is going (I have a call in to Johnny and have asked Pickering's office to track this down as well).

In short JJ is going to be a pretty unhappy guy. His number is (312) 922-4400, Room 2504. He is available until 6:30, and after 11:00 this evening.

- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Hilliard, Brenda I.
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 1998 8:19 AM
To: Davies, Glyn T.; Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @Transnational - Transnational Threats; Malley, Robert; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re the Rev Jackson portion, I don't recall a similar situation as this either, and agree that State should cover him.

Re the taping of the President, WH Comm confirms that the Radio Address is presently scheduled for Friday afternoon, which would allow time after the address to do the taping. Megan also confirmed this would allow ample time, if she/we are working with VOA, USIA etc, for the taping to be ready to run on Sunday.

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

From: Davies, Glyn T.
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 1998 7:39 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @Transnational - Transnational Threats; Malley, Robert; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Erica:

Yes, need an SP for the video message.

Don't know how Jackson does his taping -- never quite ran into this issue before. Would suggest State make arrangements for his taping as he is administratively supported out of State. BRENDA: Any thoughts on this?

I suspect USIA, through Worldnet facilities, is best bet for feed of ceremony. You should work with Planning to ensure FSNs are properly noted by MKA -- but also energize AF on this score.

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Monday, August 10, 1998 9:55 PM
To: Davies, Glyn T.; @KERRICK
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @Transnational - Transnational Threats; Malley, Robert; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Importance: High

Glyn -

- What do we need to do to get the POTUS video message scheduled and taped (is SP needed for this?).
- We assume that it is OK to ask Rev. Jackson to tape a benediction based on this - is that correct? If so, should we offer our facilities to do so? Or have State offer theirs?
- Who do we need to work with (or do you all do) to ensure that arrangements are made for video and audio transmission of Thursday morning ceremonies to Kenya and Tanzania? [Also need to ensure that Kenyan/Tanzanian ambassadors and their flages will be shown on those shots. Also, who is working with MKA's speechwriters to ensure that the FSNs are well noted in her remarks?]

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

From: O'Brien, Penelope R.
Sent: Monday, August 10, 1998 7:47 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.; Malley, Robert; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @Transnational - Transnational Threats; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Importance: High

Berger has read and:

On taped audio message from POTUS, he has also written in "Albright."

Option 1: Agrees, "but must be approved by schedulers -- check w/Glyn"

Option 2: Agrees

Option 3: Disagrees

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

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Monday, August 10, 1998 12:47 PM
To: Malley, Robert; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @Transnational - Transnational Threats; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By VR NARA, Date 1/8/2018

2014-0927-f

PLEASE PASS TO SANDY FROM GAYLE, THANKS

Given that neither Embassy Nairobi nor Embassy Dar can handle a high-level visit, MKA will not be travelling to Africa, and will instead return with Amcit coffins from Ramstein. We feel that we therefore need to consider alternative gestures to the people and Governments of Kenya and Tanzania, and propose the following:

1. That we provide a taped audio message from POTUS, with a benediction from Rev. Jackson, to be broadcast over state radio on Sunday, August 16;
2. That we ensure that both Kenyan and Tanzanian television are provided a live feed from the memorial service at Andrews on Thursday; and
3. That we consider an alternative representative, of sufficiently high rank to speak with authority to both the Kenyan and Tanzanian people and our foreign service officers, but of a status which will not/put undue strain on our Embassies.

Option 1: agree _____ disagree _____

Option 2: agree _____ disagree _____

Option 3: agree _____ disagree _____

Let's discuss _____

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Monday, August 10, 1998 12:32 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ questions/issues [UNCLASSIFIED]

Gayle/Colleagues -

We have a number of issues we need to be proactive on with JJ or he is going to get off the reservation. In relative order of immediacy:

- 1) JJ is doing this big Rainbow/PUSH annual meeting in Chicago 8/13-15. The 15th (Saturday) will be dedicated to discussing relations with Africa. Schedule is:
 - workshops in the morning,
 - luncheon at which former For. Min. of Nigeria, Akinyemi (IBB administration), will keynote
 - then panel discussion on democracy with Ambassadors (Berhane, Congo-B and three others he couldn't name off the top of his head will participate) and hopefully a State person (Pickering has been asked) will participate
 - wrapping up with panel discussion on trade bill (Rosa is going)

Yuri wanted to know who from here is going. They would very much like someone to participate in either panel. Also, **is Akinyemi really the right person to keynote?** If we want JJ to give positive Africa story, I'm not at all certain that Akinyemi is the guy we want up there talking about a new partnership with Africa.

2) JJ asked to speak at State Dept. memorial service on Friday. He cannot do it, but **is thinking of doing a memorial service in Chicago on Saturday morning. Is this what we want him to do? Has anybody talked to him about the message/benediction for Kenya/Tanzania?**

3) Yuri disturbed by our "totally biased" State Department statement on deportations from Ethiopia. He thinks it is totally isolating Ethiopians and blaming them only for what is a two sided problem. He asked John to call him - he is in town - beep him at 1-800-946-4645. (Just a reminder that Yuri is still not a U.S. citizen and does not have security clearance).

4) Yuri says they have gotten calls from Liberians and other third countries (unnamed) saying that three former warlords are talking about launching a war on Taylor. He is very worried. I told him these rumors were not new, but we take these things seriously and I will look into it. Roosevelt Johnson appears to be one of the main problems in this area.

- Erica

Barks-Ruggles, Erica

From: WHSR
Sent: Monday, July 27, 1998 7:10 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Jordan, Donald L.; Prendergast, John P.; Sanders, Robin R.; Smith, Gayle E.; Weinstein, Jeremy M
Subject: JACKSON MEETS KONARE DURING BAMAKO STOPOVER

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
DTG: 271028Z JUL 98
MSGTO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1528
RUEHNV/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY 2853
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
PREC: PRIORITY
SSN: 3985
TOR: 980727070629 M3393989



UNCLAS BAMAKO 003985

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KDEM

SUBJECT: JACKSON MEETS KONARE DURING BAMAKO STOPOVER

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - PROTECT ACCORDINGLY

1. DURING SPECIAL ENVOY JACKSON'S STOPOVER JULY 18 IN BAMAKO FOR REFUELING, HE HAD THE HAPPY COINCIDENCE OF LANDING A FEW MINUTES BEFORE A LIBYAN-CHARTERED PLANE BRINGING PRESIDENT KONARE HOME FROM HIS STATE VISIT TO PERU. AFTER WELCOMING CEREMONIES AND PRESS INTERVIEWS, PRESIDENT KONARE INVITED REVEREND JACKSON OVER TO THE PRESIDENTIAL VIP ROOM FOR A BRIEF CONVERSATION. PRIME MINISTER KEITA AND FOREIGN MINISTER SIDIBE ALSO GREETED THE JACKSON DELEGATION.

2. REVEREND JACKSON EXPLAINED TO PRESIDENT KONARE HIS MISSION TO LIBERIA: TO MEET WITH LIBERIANS INCLUDING THE DIASPORA AT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF LIBERIA, TO ENCOURAGE PRESIDENT TAYLOR TO HOLD THE COURSE AND TO BROKER A MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT TAYLOR AND PRESIDENT KABBAH. KONARE NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DIASPORA RETURNING TO LIBERIA AS STABILIZING ELEMENTS IN A FRAGILE SITUATION. HE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED REVEREND JACKSON IN HIS EFFORT TO BRING UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN TAYLOR AND KABBAH. IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT STABILITY RETURN TO THAT CORNER OF THE SUB-REGION NOT ONLY TO BRING PEACE BACK TO SIERRA LEONE BUT ALSO IN ORDER NOT TO EXACERBATE THE CRISIS IN GUINEA BISSAU.

3. REVEREND JACKSON SAID THAT HE HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN SCHEDULED TO GO ON TO NIGERIA TO MEET WITH CHIEF ABIOLA, BUT TRAGICALLY THAT MEETING WOULD NOT HAPPEN. THE UNITED STATES HOPED, NONETHELESS, FOR CONTINUED PROGRESS TOWARD A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA. KONARE SAID THAT NIGERIA WAS VITAL TO ALL THAT WAS BEING DONE IN THE REGION, WITNESS THE SUCCESS OF ECOMOG IN LIBERIA AND THE RETURN OF KABBAH IN SIERRA LEONE. WHAT WAS REQUIRED TO NUDGE THE MILITARY BACK TO BARRACKS WAS DEMOCRATIC COMPROMISE. UNFORTUNATELY, SOME FORCES OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA WANTED TO HAVE IT ALL THE WAY. THEY WERE, FOR EXAMPLE, CRITICAL OF SECRETARY GENERAL ANNAN'S PROPOSALS, WHICH GIVEN THE CONDITIONS AT THE TIME THEY WERE PROPOSED, APPEARED TO BE A RATIONAL WAY FORWARD.

NIGERIA MUST HAVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY,
FOR IF IT EXPLODES, ALL AROUND IT GOES DOWN AS WELL.

4. AS PRESIDENT KONARE STPPED TOWARD HIS CAR, REVEREND JACKSON (WHOM WE HAD QUICKLY BRIEFED ON THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO LIBYA, CUBA, ARGENTINA AND PERU) ASKED KONARE WHEN HE WOULD NEXT VISIT THE UNITED STATES. KONARE SAID HE HOPED IT COULD BE SOON BUT QUERIED JACKSON AS TO WHY HE ASKED. "WELL," RESPONDED THE SPECIAL ENVOY, "YOU SEEM TO BE TRAVELING EVERYWHERE ELSE." KONARE TOOK THE POINT BUT LEFT WITH AN EMBRACE AND A SMILE.

RAWSON

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: O'Brien, Penelope R.
Sent: Monday, August 03, 1998 2:30 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.; Malley, Robert; Hachigian, Nina L.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor;
@EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Rev. Jackson Phone Call [UNCLASSIFIED]

Berger has read and replies: "Gayle--I spoke to Jesse Saturday. Reported on meeting/Sierra Leone-Liberia initiative. He is interested in pursuing."

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

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Wednesday, July 29, 1998 11:21 AM
To: Malley, Robert; Hachigian, Nina L.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Rev. Jackson Phone Call [UNCLASSIFIED]

ROB/NINA -- PLEASE PASS TO SANDY AND JIM FROM GAYLE

I just called Rev. Jackson, who will remain at Doctors' Hospital in Chicago at least through the weekend. He says he's feeling better, but sounds extremely tired -- and is unwell enough to be missing some meetings on Sierra Leone which would otherwise be a priority for him. If POTUS has not already called him, and you think we should schedule a POTUS call, let us know and we'll prepare talking points on Jesse's latest trip to West Africa.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Wednesday, July 29, 1998 11:21 AM
To: Malley, Robert; Hachigian, Nina L.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Rev. Jackson Phone Call [UNCLASSIFIED]

ROB/NINA -- PLEASE PASS TO SANDY AND JIM FROM GAYLE

I just called Rev. Jackson, who will remain at Doctors' Hospital in Chicago at least through the weekend. He says he's feeling better, but sounds extremely tired -- and is unwell enough to be missing some meetings on Sierra Leone which would otherwise be a priority for him. If POTUS has not already called him, and you think we should schedule a POTUS call, let us know and we'll prepare talking points on Jesse's latest trip to West Africa.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Thursday, July 16, 1998 6:01 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson Mission to Africa - Important Update [UNCLASSIFIED]

For all - J. Jackson's mission has been approved by J. Podesta. Air Force resolved questions on Liberian airfields and will fly into Roberts Field. Mission is a go!

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

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Wednesday, July 15, 1998 5:41 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Jesse Jackson Mission to Africa - Important Update [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

Sandy - Here is the latest on Jesse Jackson's mission to Africa:

- Nigeria portion cancelled due to security and policy concerns (you approved this).
- Liberia portion is also in jeopardy. . . Air Force commander in Europe has not authorized the mission due to condition of the airfields in Liberia. There are a few other options to explore, but as of now, there is only a slim possibility of finding a way to get Jackson safely into Liberia.
- State is updating Jackson's staff on status.
- DoD will continue exploring options. . .should be settled one way or the other by noon Thursday.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. email	Erica Barks-Ruggles to Gayle Smith. Subject: FW: Nigeria-Rev. Jackson. (1 page)	07/15/1998	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] [4]

2014-0927-F

vz5245

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]
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)]

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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]

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Wednesday, July 15, 1998 7:11 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson Mission to Africa - Important Update [UNCLASSIFIED]

Ed - State is holding off on contacting Jackson until they get an answer on the C-12 option going from Cote d'Ivoire to spriggs-payne airport in Monrovia. JJ's staff is out of pocket until tomorrow. State will talk to his staff early in the morning and hopefully we will have info on the possibility of the C-12 to land into Spriggs-Payne. OSD is working the issue now on the C-12. This plane mostly recently went into Spriggs-Payne about 4 wks ago.

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

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Wednesday, July 15, 1998 5:41 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Jesse Jackson Mission to Africa - Important Update [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

Sandy - Here is the latest on Jesse Jackson's mission to Africa:

- Nigeria portion cancelled due to security and policy concerns (you approved this).
- Liberia portion is also in jeopardy. . . Air Force commander in Europe has not authorized the mission due to condition of the airfields in Liberia. There are a few other options to explore, but as of now, there is only a slim possibility of finding a way to get Jackson safely into Liberia.
- State is updating Jackson's staff on status.
- DoD will continue exploring options. . .should be settled one way or the other by noon Thursday.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. email	Robin Sanders to Africa. Subject: Plane Issue - JJ Trip. (1 page)	07/14/1998	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] [4]

2014-0927-F

vz5245

RESTRICTION CODES

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

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 1998 2:45 PM
To: Wozniak, Natalie S.; Budig, Nyda N; Smith, Gayle E.; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Rev. Jackson op-ed [UNCLASSIFIED]

According to State, the piece may have been killed. I have a call in to JJ's office to verify. Press, thanks for looking. If you see this, please let us know ASAP. Thanks - Erica

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

From: Wozniak, Natalie S.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 3:16 PM
To: Budig, Nyda N; Smith, Gayle E.; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Rev. Jackson op-ed [UNCLASSIFIED]

Library just called. They did a Lexis-Nexis search for Jackson's Op-ed on Nigeria. The only thing they came up with is a piece in March in the San Diego Union Tribune -- not on Nigeria. I'll check tomorrow.

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

From: Budig, Nyda N
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 12:46 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Rev. Jackson op-ed [UNCLASSIFIED]

didn't see it in today's LA Times for sure. will check the weekend editions. do you know which day it was supposed to be in?

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

From: Smith, Gayle E.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 12:16 PM
To: @PRESS - Public Affairs
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Rev. Jackson op-ed [UNCLASSIFIED]

Please let us know if Rev. Jackson's op-ed piece did, in fact, appear in the LA Times; it was slated for syndication, as well -- any other coverage? Thks, GS

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 1998 4:00 PM
To: Sanders, Robin R.; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ tidbits [UNCLASSIFIED]

Thanks.

To all - FYI, holdup on "message to the Liberian people" for JJ to read in Liberia is still held up in AF/W. Working with Jeter to get a draft pronto so we can make a go/no-go judgement. Both he and Susan support.

Heads up on another Liberia issue. The military assessment team scheduled to go and help Libeirans figure out what they need to do to downsize/rightsize their armed forces is now being held up by Kramer. This is something we hoped that to be able to have JJ talk to Taylor about. Vicki and Howard are seeing Kramer tomorrow. After their meeting, we may need to weigh in.

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

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 1998 3:29 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ tidbits [UNCLASSIFIED]

Erica - when I spoke to June about the plane/DoD issue - she said that meeting for JJ was 11:30 in Carson's office. Susan will stop in. Susan also has a half an hour w/JJ tonight after her speech to the NAACP this evening

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, July 14, 1998 6:24 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ trip 2 pager [CONFIDENTIAL]

Gayle -

First cut. I want to see what State produces (especially on Liberia), but wanted to see if this is at least the right concept for what you had in mind. State (Susan and AF/W) both have no objections to us doing a separate memo, especially on Nigeria, as they think it will reinforce to JJ the importance of getting this right with no slip ups. If you see this in a completely different light conceptually let me know. I will work on this with AF to ensure we are in lock step before giving to you in final tomorrow.



jjnigeria&liberia.doc

- Erica

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. draft	Memorandum to Jesse Jackson from Gayle Smith. Subject: Your Trip to Nigeria and Liberia. (2 pages)	07/14/1998	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] [4]

2014-0927-F

vz5245

RESTRICTION CODES

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Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 5:26 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: JJ - Enugu ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Yes Ed there is an Enugu in southwest Nigeria. This is not/not a done deal and there is no/no decision on this stop. Embassy does not/not support it, verdict from JJ still out on whether he will push back on the embassy's non-concurrence. Someone in JJ's camp has recommended to him that he go to Iboland in the southwest to show ethnic diversity in his trip itinerary. Embassy position is key government/key ngo figures of most ethnic groups are in Abuja and Lagos or have reps there. I would add to this the additional security issue outside of the capital areas. stay tuned - will keep you posted.

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

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 2:24 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: JJ itinerary [UNCLASSIFIED]

In the meantime, I will keep you posted on the continuing changes - as you asked for what the timeline would be on the ground (if this is approved) - this is JJ's current wish list:

Depart Washington at 5:30 from Dulles

Monrovia - midday 7/17-7/19 departing early 7/20 for Abjua

Abuja - arrived midday 7/20 - 7/22.

Return Washington - wants to be back in Washington on 7/23

State - providing revised commercial airline schedule asap based on revised itinerary with Monrovia first

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

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 1:34 PM
To: Sanders, Robin R.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: JJ itinerary [UNCLASSIFIED]

Heads up to all. SRB has not yet approved this travel so no commitments should be made. Will let you know as soon as I get a decision.

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

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 12:50 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: JJ itinerary [UNCLASSIFIED]

Ed - JJ will now go to Monrovia first and then on to Lagos. Currently still leaving Washington on July 16th

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 11:15 AM
To: Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: upcoming JJ visit [UNCLASSIFIED]

Further justification for milair vice commercial

-- State exec memo should have said - Jackson's arrival on midday July 20 and departure on July 22 on commercial flight is "not enough time" for him to hold the meetings.

-- Wants to leave on July 16th vice 15 our of Washington

-- May change order of itinerary stopping in Monrovia first, then Lagos - will get back to you as soon as I have confirmation or this.

@africa -- JJ also plans to do a press hook by phone prior to trip - may be July 15 or 16th depending on timing. Susan said ok, but State will ensure that he is well-briefed.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Monday, July 13, 1998 8:38 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: Jesse Jackson Trip to Africa - Need Quick Action [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

Rob - I received the request Saturday from State for JJ's trip to Africa. He is going to Nigeria and Liberia and wants a plane. There are no aircraft available from Andrews, but there is one available in Germany (he has traveled out of Germany the last two times he has gone to Africa). A military aircraft is necessary due to difficulty of commercial travel between Lagos and Monrovia. **I need Sandy to get the President's authority for a Presidential Mission. . . JJ departs this Wednesday.** The purpose of the mission is:

Nigeria

- Reinforce U.S. message to Nigerian leaders
- Discuss the Nigerian government's transition to a stable civilian democratic government

Liberia

- Engage President Taylor on Liberia's importance in ensuring ECOMOG's continued efforts to restore stability in Sierra Leone
- Facilitate a meeting between President Kabbah and President Taylor in Monrovia
- Reinforce the importance of reconciliation with civil society and the opposition

**National Office**

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Wall Street Bureau

40 Wall Street, Suite 429 • New York, New York 10005 • Phone: 212-425-7874 • Fax: 212-968-1412

REAP THE WHIRLWIND

By Reverend Jesse L. Jackson

07-12-98 © Los Angeles Times Syndicate

What if Nelson Mandela had died in jail? Imagine the horrors that would have ensued. Now Nigeria faces that grim prospect. Moshood K.O. Abiola, virtually the Nelson Mandela of Nigeria, has died suddenly while still in the generals' prison. "They have sown the wind," warns the Bible, "and they shall reap the whirlwind."

Unlike Mandela, Abiola is virtually unknown in this country. Nigeria has none of South Africa's prominence. But Nigeria is to Africa as China is to Asia. One of four Africans is Nigerian. One of two Africans lives in Nigeria or in countries that border upon it. Eighty percent of its neighbors' trade goes to Nigeria. Instability in Nigeria can destabilize the continent. Democracy there could inspire the continent. But Nigeria's dreams of glory now are poised on the edge of a nightmare. Riots have started in Lagos on word of Abiola's death. If they spread along tribal divisions, the toll could make Bosnia pale in comparison.

Abiola was a remarkable man. Educated in the West, he made himself into a businessman of great wealth, with ties to military leaders and the corrupt politics of the early 1980s. With the riches to live a life of luxury, he grew larger, not smaller. He began using his philanthropy to work at reconciling Nigeria's diverse peoples. When the military allowed an election, he offered himself as a presidential candidate. From the minority Yoruba ethnic group, he surprised all by taking the lead across the country, across the divide of ancient rivalries. He offered the Nigerians the promise of reconciliation and liberty, of unity across the crippling ethnic divides.

The generals stopped him cold. They annulled the elections. When Abiola announced that he had been elected, they clapped him in jail and held him in isolation. No radio, no television, no newspapers. When U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan finally was allowed to visit him last week, Abiola was shocked. "Who are you," he asked. "I am the Secretary General of the U.N.," said Annan. "What happened to the Egyptian," asked Abiola, referring to Boutros Boutros Ghali, Annan's predecessor.

Abiola's health was precarious. Under pressure from the West, the military suggested that he might be released if he would relinquish all claims to lead the country. But Abiola chose freedom for Nigeria over his own personal freedom. His dreams for his country were stronger than his memories of private pleasures. He grew in stature, making the same sacrifice that Nelson Mandela had made in South Africa.

Executive Committee

Rev. Willie T. Barrow, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees • Angela Jordan Davis, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees

Fate - or a grislier hand - intervened. Abiola made the ultimate sacrifice. His sudden death - just as it seemed that the military might bow to pressure and release him - is a devastating loss. Even Nigeria's new military rulers understand the peril. General Abubakar, Nigeria's ruler, called for calm. Responding to widespread belief that his jailers had poisoned him, he promised a "full and transparent autopsy" with international doctors. He expressed his "very heavy heart" at the "national tragedy". He promised continued movement of democracy, while dismissing the civilian ministers that the military had installed.

But his words were hollow. Few in Nigeria believe them. The promises for democracy ring false without concrete action. The military cannot avoid responsibility for Abiola's death. Whether they poisoned him is not the question. They held him in poisonous conditions in prison isolation. They cannot escape culpability.

Popular protests have begun. Riots have already ended in deaths. All must pray that the Nigerian people turn their pain into power, not into violence. Abiola's dream - democracy and reconciliation - cannot be forged in blood.

The Nigerian military rulers must be made to realize how little time they have. They must act with dispatch to free political prisoners, announce free elections, establish an interim government and step aside. If they continue to stall, to hold onto power, to enforce order with arms, the anger, bitterness and frustration will only grow.

Like China, Nigeria is too big to ignore, too undemocratic to embrace. The U.S. should engage the Nigerian leaders and challenge them - with conditions attached. We must not choose oil over freedom. What Abiola's death proves once again is that the stability offered by dictatorship is a chimera, a fortress built on sand. Democracy is not a threat to stability, but its only secure foundation. For too long, the western democracies have winked at repression in Nigeria while continuing business as usual. Now the West must make it clear: there must be rapid movement to free elections, a release of political prisoners, the creation of civilian government - or there will be a concrete price to pay. The U.S., which purchases one-fourth of Nigeria's oil and speaks with a loud voice alone, should enlist its allies to magnify the message.

Nigeria is a nation great in promise, endowed with natural resources, and proud peoples. For too long, its promise has been stained by dictatorship, corruption, misrule, repression. Now those who have sown the winds, face the whirlwind. Only the fresh, cleansing light of freedom offers a way out.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. email	John Prendergast to Edward Rice, Gayle Smith et al. Subject: RE: Options for Abiola Funeral. (2 pages)	07/10/1998	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] [4]

2014-0927-F
vz5245

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Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Thursday, July 09, 1998 9:41 PM
To: Smith, Gayle E.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ Nigeria/Liberia travel state of play ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Gayle -

To update the round of emails on this topic:

Spoke with Susan, she says Liberia issue is "not worth fighting" JJ over, so she agrees he should go. State L PDAS, Jim Fesson, is not yet satisfied over whether JJ can keep his Rainbow/PUSH role separated from his Special Envoy role. He and JJ are meeting on Friday about this. Elaine Shokeas will support the trip IF Fesson is satisfied following interview. Only after that meeting will plane request come. JJ and Nigeria should be coordinated with his potential role leading a funeral delegation and with Embassy security concerns. You may want to check with June and/or Susan on status around noon.

- Erica

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By 12 NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-F

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. email	Robin Sanders to Execsec. Subject: FW: JJ Travel - Nigeria/Liberia. (1 page)	07/09/1998	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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- 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]
- 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]
- 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]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4460 redo

June 22, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Response to a Statement by Reverend Jesse Jackson
on Nigeria

On June 11, three days after General Abacha died, Reverend Jackson issued a statement on Nigeria, calling for a clear and unified U.S. voice on the importance of a swift and credible transition to civilian democratic government, and the need to ensure the respect for basic human rights. He also called for Congress to pass a resolution urging the military to implement true democratic reforms.

Attached at Tab A is a draft letter to Reverend Jackson outlining the results of the President's phone call to General Abubakar, the recent release of prominent prisoners and our policy as we have publicly stated it to the Nigerians.

Concurrence by: Richard Ragan

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Reverend Jackson

Tab B Statement Issued by Reverend Jackson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 9, 1998

Dear Jesse:

Thank you for sending the President and me copies of your statement on the rapidly changing situation in Nigeria. I agree with your assessment that the sudden and unexpected death of General Abacha might afford Nigeria an opportunity to make progress on a credible transition to civilian democratic government. As we work through this process, it will be important for all of us to work together and speak with one voice to communicate clearly and quickly to the Nigerian government our desire to see improved bilateral relations in the context of a successful transition.

As you know, the President's call to General Abubakar conveyed our hopes for a credible and lasting transition to civilian democratic government in Nigeria, while reaffirming our friendship with the people of Nigeria. Abubakar appreciated receiving the call, and appeared receptive to the message. The President also emphasized, as you did in your statement, the need to increase respect for basic human rights and the rule of law -- especially in regard to political prisoners -- to ensure progress and a credible transition program.

We are gratified that since the call, the Nigerian government has announced the release from prison of fourteen prominent detainees, including: former Head of State Obasanjo, oil union leaders Milton Dabibi and Frank Kokori, journalist Chris Anyanwu, human rights activist Beko Ransome-Kuti, politician Bola Ige and others.

These releases are a positive first step, but only a first step. Our Ambassador has seen General Abubakar and reiterated the President's offer to send a small team, headed by Under Secretary Pickering, to Nigeria to discuss in detail our hopes and possible support for a credible transition program. We do not yet have a date when the Nigerians will be ready to accept the team, but they have agreed in principle.

I appreciate your continued deep concern for Nigeria and your counsel to me and the President. Your hard work on behalf of the President and Secretary of State in the promotion of democracy throughout Africa is beginning to bear fruit in Nigeria -- one of the most important countries in Africa. Your devotion to this often-frustrating task is extraordinary and helps us to keep the ball moving forward.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Sandy", written in a cursive style.

Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

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



00 11 98 THE CHICAGO FREE PRESS 400 4371 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FD 4-100 0002
National Office 6-16-98
930 East 50th Street • Chicago, Illinois 60615 • Phone: 773-373-3366 • Fax: 773-373-3571
Washington, DC Bureau
1002 Wisconsin Avenue, NW • Washington, DC 20007 • Phone: 202-333-5270 • Fax: 202-728-1192
Wall Street Bureau
40 Wall Street, Suite 429 • New York, New York 10005 • Phone: 212-425-7874 • Fax: 212-968-1412

Democracy in the Balance
Jesse L. Jackson
6-11-98

The sudden death of Nigerian leader General Sani Abacha this week opens new possibility and new peril for that country. We offer condolences to the Abacha family for their sudden loss. Nigeria now stands in the balance, between the threat of a costly instability and the promise of democratic reform. It is vital that the United States and other nations of the world encourage the transition military government to move forward with democratic reform immediately.

Nigeria is a country with the potential to lift the dreams of African people. One fourth of all Africans are Nigerian. The nation's political and economic influence extends to all corners of the continent. Nigeria produces 10% of all of the oil production of OPEC, the oil producers' cartel. The economies of Nigeria and South Africa drive the African continent's economies. Africa will rise or fall with them.

For fourteen years, the Nigerian military has maintained a monopoly of political power in Nigeria. During this time, corruption has grown. Poverty has spread. People's aspirations have been dashed. Regional and ethnic tensions remain, exacerbated by poverty and the lack of political expression.

General Abacha had committed the military to make a transition to an elected civilian government by October 1. But he jailed many of Nigeria's independent leaders. Independent parties were suppressed. Abacha was nominated as the presidential candidate for each of the five parties contesting the election scheduled for August 1. In April, Nigerians signaled their disapproval by boycotting the election Abacha had scheduled for the civilian legislature.

Now the sole presidential candidate is no more. The transition military regime of Nigeria - led by Maj. Gen Abdusalam Abubakar - faces a major choice: whether to move down the road of real democratic reform or to seek to maintain the military monopoly.

It is vital that the world community encourage Nigeria to move to democracy now. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan immediately offered assistance to Abubakar, encouraging him to "proceed with a peaceful and democratic transition to civilian rule." The Clinton Administration reiterated its support for a "genuine transition to civilian rule."

The tests for that transition are clear. Democracy requires an open process, including the release of political prisoners, freedom of the press, freedom of speech and assembly, and open, free and fair nonviolent elections. Respect for basic human rights - the rule of law, due process, freedom of association, the right to organize - is essential if democracy is to take root.

The United States must speak clearly at this moment. We consume 40% of Nigeria's oil production. We must make certain that the Nigerian military understands that we support the Nigerian-people's demand for freedom. That we will not trade human

Executive Committee

Rev. Willie T. Barrow, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees • Angela Jordan Davis, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees
Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr., Founder & President • Nancy M. Ware, Executive Director

*Study
This is good. tell
Jesse what will do. would be
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DONE - WOULD*

*BE GOOD TO
HAVE CONG.
RESOLUTION
AS HE SAYS
BC*

JUN 17 14:18

rights for oil. The United States must insist that the military government not be given another extended grace period to implement true democratic reform. We must make clear that repression of the Nigerian people's democratic hopes will have harsh bilateral and multilateral consequences. And that pursuit of the path of democratic reform will produce a stronger relationship, in which we can provide significant help in righting the Nigerian economy.

The Nigerian people demand and deserve democracy now. Too many years have passed and too many lives have been lost for the people receive anything less. Their desire to breathe free cannot be deferred again.

The new regime will be tested immediately. Human rights groups are calling for the release of political prisoners. Pro-democracy activists are organizing marches. Workers are seeking rights. The Abubakar government can open the door to freedom, or find itself struggling against the power of hope. The latter course would be truly destructive. Only the former offers a way to move forward.

History opens opportunity which can be grasped or lost. Nigeria now faces a new opportunity. The stakes for Nigeria's proud people and for all of Africa are very great. The United States should not stand mute as the new leaders weigh their options. We should stand clearly for democracy and human rights in Nigeria. If we stand for democracy there, we can expand the promise of liberty to all of Africa. If we do not press firmly for democracy in Nigeria, we cannot stand for freedom anywhere in Africa.

~ [Republican congressional leaders should add the voice of the Congress to that of the White House. A resolution should be passed urging the military to implement true democratic reforms and sponsor free elections to elect a civilian government. The Nigerian people will determine their course. But at this critical moment, the US should speak with one voice, our values and our interest made clear.

MEMORANDUMSensitive But Unclassified

Date: February 4, 1998
TO: Special Envoy Jackson
Through: Assistant Secretary Rice
From: AF/C - Marc Baas
Subject: Your Feb 9-10, Visit to Kinshasa

The purpose of your visit to Kinshasa is twofold: first, to deliver a stern, "tough-love" message to Kabila on the need for immediate progress on democratic reforms and respect for human rights; second, to reassure the opposition and civil society that we believe they have a key role to play in the political and economic reconstruction of their country.

The Context in the Congo

Your visit comes at a sensitive time both in Congolese politics and in USG policy towards the Kabila government. A Constitutional drafting commission, appointed by Kabila, is due to produce the first draft of a new constitution by the end of February. A constituent assembly is to be convened by June. Preparations for elections must begin in earnest if the Government is to meet its own timeframe for a national vote by April 1999.

This is a period when Kabila should be reaching out to other political and social groups as part of the constitutional reform and electoral process. Instead, his government is increasing harassment of political opponents (e.g., by trying some minor political opponents before military courts) and has issued statements forcefully reiterating the ban on political party activities. The January 3 cabinet shuffle added some new representatives from opposition parties to a ministerial roster that was already quite broad-based, but also reinforced perceptions that he is surrounding himself with an inner circle of advisors drawn from his own ethnic group.

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The GDROC continues to block the UN human rights investigation -- abetted by the ineptitude of the UN team leaders themselves. He has also stepped up gratuitous accusations that UN agencies and international NGOs are supporting anti-government rebel groups in eastern Congo. These hostile attitudes towards the international community have tended to overshadow some positive steps, such as good cooperation with the World Bank and IMF.

The Context in Washington

The USG is also at a politically sensitive point in its relations with the GDROC. With the visit of the Secretary in December and our announcement of plans to provide a total of some \$45-50 million in aid -- including targeted government-to-government assistance and a contribution to a World Bank Trust Fund for the Congo -- we have taken a very public stand in favor of engagement with the GDROC. Given the Congo's pivotal role in the stability and economic future of Central Africa, we have concluded that only by working with the Government -- warts and all -- can we hope to shape its decisions in favor of democratic and economic reforms, respect for human rights, and cooperation with the international community.

Our approach is controversial, however. Critics in the human rights and NGO community and in some quarters in Congress believe we should take a firmer stand and refuse any assistance to the GDROC until there is clear evidence of progress, particularly on cooperation with the UN investigation. Legislative restrictions linked to the UN inquiry currently prohibit direct assistance to the Government but can be overcome through a Presidential determination.

The Secretary has decided to begin the politically risky process of congressional consultation preliminary to recommending that the President use his authority to overcome these legislative restrictions. But if these consultations are to be successful, we need to see much clearer evidence of progress by the GDROC in the coming weeks.

Message to Kabila: Get Serious about Human Rights and Reform

In your conversation with Kabila, you will deliver a candid message that our patience is wearing thin. We need to take charge and show immediate progress on the UN team, in improving human rights conditions, and in reaching out to non-ADFL political and civil society figures as the GDROC prepares for elections. These points have been made before -- by our Ambassador, by Bill Richardson, and most recently by the Secretary. But with your credentials as a successful competitor in the American political arena, we hope you can be particularly effective in persuading Kabila that he is making unwise and counter-productive political choices.

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Specifically, as our suggested talking points outline, you need to press for him to take responsibility for ensuring that the UN human rights inquiry moves forward. In practical terms, this means giving the team formal written authorization and any necessary laissez-passers to return to the field in Mbandaka, and issuing an unambiguous public statement that the team should receive full cooperation. Donors have shown their bona fides at the Friends of the Congo meeting in December and in establishing a World Bank Trust Fund. But all this good will is at risk if the UN team remains stuck in Kinshasa, or, worse, eventually gives up and withdraws. The GDROC is only hurting itself by continued obstruction.

On internal political reforms, you should use Kabila to reach out to other political and civil society figures in the constitutional reform process, and to lift the ban on political party activities as quickly as possible. Though he has included non-ADFL members in his cabinet, the constitutional drafting commission is not broad-based and has operated in secrecy. There have been no visible preparations for selecting a more representative Constituent Assembly which is to be convened in June.

You should assure him that we see no evidence that other political parties pose a serious threat to his authority. Detention and trial before military courts of minor opposition figures serve only to enhance their reputation and tarnish his. Banning political meetings and demonstrations makes him appear dictatorial and may force political opponents to pursue more radical alternatives if they are denied peaceful outlets for dissent. Explain that, in our view, much of the "opposition" is prepared to work with -- if not formally join -- his government. A first, step helpful overture from him would be to acknowledge the role that Kinshasa-based opposition groups and the civil society played in pushing the Mobutu government to introduce reforms in the 1990s.

You should also be very candid -- "political leader to political leader" -- with Kabila about the political risks the Administration has taken by moving ahead early to engage his government. So far, we have calculated that our interests in the Congo outweigh these risks -- but the balance is quite close. Explain to him that we are not prepared to use up our capital on the Congo indefinitely absent clear signs of progress on his side.

Message to the Opposition: Play a Constructive Role

Your meetings with opposition figures will underscore that believe they have a constructive role to play in the country. They will seek reassurance that we have pressed Kabila to end harassment of political opponents, to lift the ban on party activities, and to ensure that the constitutional reform process is broad-based.

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Kabila and the Kinshasa-based political opposition had almost no contact prior to his takeover in May 1997 and continue to view each other with suspicion. Although more than half of the cabinet is drawn from outside the ADFL, the members were selected by Kabila, and the government is in no way a coalition of parties. The Kinshasa "political class" is outraged that the new government considers it to have been less than a full partner in ousting Mobutu. Instead, leader of the Kinshasa - based opposition to Mobutu often denigrate the ADFL military victory, claiming that Kabila merely "plucked the ripe fruit" of political change following years of peaceful political protest orchestrated by the non-violent opposition.

Your message to the opposition must acknowledge the role they played in pressing Mobutu to make grudging reforms (although the transition process he permitted was moribund by late 1996 when the rebellion began). But we must also be very clear that the arrival of the ADFL has launched a new era in Congolese politics and offers for the first time in a generation, an opportunity for real change. This is a time for opposition political leaders to be constructive, in presenting policy proposals, not merely reflexively critical of the government.

The dogmatic Etienne Tshisekedi is still widely considered the preeminent opposition figure, although many of his top lieutenants have left his party and, in some cases, have joined the new government. Tshisekedi was a founding member in 1982 of the first opposition movement to challenge Mobutu's one-party rule, and later was instrumental in organizing the anti-Mobutu Sovereign National Conference, which elected Tshisekedi Prime Minister in 1992. Through a combination of his own inept governance and Mobutu's machinations, Tshisekedi was replaced in the post after three months but -- even today -- continues to maintain that he is the legitimate Prime Minister. When the ADFL arrived in Kinshasa, ADFL Secretary General Bugera invited Tshisekedi to meet with him, but Tshisekedi insisted that, as "Prime Minister" the meeting should instead be held at his office. Subsequent efforts to arrange a meeting between Kabila and Tshisekedi have also foundered, and the three-hour detention of Tshisekedi by overzealous security guards in June further poisoned their relationship even before it could begin.

In your conversation with Tshisekedi, you should acknowledge his pre-eminent role as an opponent of Mobutu. But the heart of your discussion should be to urge Tshisekedi to accept and adapt to the changed political environment following the ADFL takeover. Again, your political credentials may help you to make this argument. Tshisekedi is an important figure, still with a substantial following. Yet, every day that he lives in the past -- sulking over his removal as Prime Minister -- he forgoes an opportunity to influence the political future of the country during this crucial transition period.

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Message to Civil Society: Still Key, but Must Accept Change

As in your meetings with the opposition, part of your message to the civil society is simply to signal that we consider its members to be an important factor in the political and economic development of the Congo. We have faced some criticism following previous visits by Ambassador Richardson and the Secretary that, although they met with civil society and the political opposition, most of their contacts were with government officials.

Again, somewhat akin to the views of the political opposition, civil society leaders complain that their role in pressing Mobutu for reform has not been properly acknowledged by the ADFL government. There is also a more fundamental tension between the civil society and the new government. Under Mobutu, the effective collapse of the state led to expansion of the role of the non-governmental sector (e.g., it provided virtually all health and education services). The new ADFL authorities, seeking to restore a functional state, expect that the need for NGOs to provide services in these sectors will inevitably diminish as the government assumes these responsibilities.

Your work in the non-governmental sector in the U.S. will add to your credibility in dealing with civil society leaders. They have an important role to play in offering constructive suggestions for economic and political reform, and we hope they will be active in the constitution-drafting process, and will generate ideas even if not asked. You should reassure them that the USG will continue to channel much of its assistance to the Congo through national and international NGOs. Meanwhile, we also believe it is important to work towards restoring a functional government for the country.

Conclusion

Depending upon the rapport you develop in your conversations with government, opposition, and civil society organizations, you may also be able to push them to improve contacts and cooperation immediately. Your talking points include some specific ideas (e.g., early rescheduling of the National Reconstruction Conference). The key to a successful democratic transition is to press the government to open up the reform process, and to persuade the opposition and civil society that they can and should play constructive roles in this process.

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2/2/98

Cleared:AF/C:MBaas

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO - POLITICAL OVERVIEW

The eight-month old government of Laurent Desire Kabila has yet to hit its stride. President Kabila and most of his cabinet have no previous government experience. They remain deeply suspicious of the Kinshasa-based political leaders -- both pro- and anti-Mobutu -- with whom they had little prior contact. While initially capitalizing on popular euphoria at the departure of Mobutu, Kabila has been slow to establish his own political base. His January 3 Cabinet shuffle created two new "superministries and appears to have been intended in part to improve decision-making structures.

The GDROC's record on human rights and democratic reform has been mixed at best. Poorly organized security forces continue abuses -- including arbitrary arrest, extra-judicial killing, and mistreatment of detainees -- although the level of abuses has declined since the Mobutu era. Civilians convicted of murder and armed robbery in a military court were publicly executed in mid-January. In his inaugural address on May 29, Kabila announced a two-year timetable for constitutional and electoral reform, leading to national elections by April 1999. In November, he appointed a Constitution Drafting Commission -- the first step in that process; but unfortunately, its members are drawn heavily from the ranks of the ADFL and thus far have deliberated in secrecy.

Kabila has included non-ADFL members in his cabinet and as regional governors and made early progress in integrating the military (including former Mobutu soldiers). But a continued ban on political party activities has poisoned relations with opposition groups and Kabila has missed opportunities for internal dialogue. The mid-January conviction by military courts of two minor political opponents will add to tensions. Prominent but feckless anti-Mobutu opposition leader - Etienne Tshisekedi - of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) - remains a staunch critic of Kabila, though other UDPS members have joined the cabinet.

Kabila still looks to regional neighbors for guidance and is dogged by changes that he is captive to "foreign masters.". The core of this group is Rwanda, Uganda, and Angola -- which directly supported the ADFL rebellion -- but Ethiopia, Eritrea, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and South Africa are also influential. The Congo's rapid admission to the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) reflects efforts by neighboring leaders to support the emergence of a stable Congo to anchor the region. But these are also signs that neighboring leaders are increasingly alarmed by Kabila's erratic behavior.

The GDROC's relations with the West and, especially, with the UN have at times been hostile. Kabila and some key advisors fear that the UN intends to make the ADFL a scapegoat for human rights abuses that were at least in part the result of western and UN failure to deal effectively with the 1994 Rwandan genocide and its aftermath in the refugee camps of then eastern Zaire. Government obstruction of the inquiry has tarnished Kabila's reputation internationally and delayed donor assistance.

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DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO - ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

As large as the U.S. east of the Mississippi and with a population of 45 million, the Congo has vast but unfulfilled economic potential. Agriculture, timber, and minerals all provide a basis for economic recovery. In the minerals sector alone, the Congo has 28 percent of the world's reserves of cobalt; 18 percent of industrial diamonds; and 6 percent of copper. Reserves of gold and zinc are valued at \$7 billion. The Congo River has 13 percent of world hydroelectric potential.

Despite this potential, the Congolese economy effectively collapsed during the final years of the Mobutu regime. Per capita income dropped to less than \$150. Endemic corruption sapped resources for maintenance of infrastructure. Copper and cobalt production fell by more than 90 percent from peak years. Unconstrained Government circulation of new currency pushed inflation above 9000 per cent in 1994.

The new Government has yet to define a clear policy for economic recovery. As a first step, the Central Bank has stopped issuance of new currency, which stabilized the exchange rate in Kinshasa but caused further economic contraction. Formation of an Interministerial Economic Committee in October has helped bring order to previously disorganized economic ministries that had developed competing recovery plans. The January 3 Cabinet shuffle created a new "superministry" for economy and petroleum which may further improve coordination. The government has cooperated with the World Bank and IMF, which have sent several technical missions to the Congo.

The World Bank hosted the December 3-4 "Friends of the Congo" donors meeting in Brussels, at which donors agreed to establish a Trust Fund for the Congo. A subsequent steering committee meeting for the Trust Fund elicited tentative pledges of \$50 million out of a hoped for a total of \$100 million.

Within the private sector, new U.S. investor interest has been greatest among mining companies and telecommunications firms. Among more established firms, Bechtel is preparing an infrastructure development "master plan" in hopes of receiving contracts if the Government implements the plan. Longtime U.S. operators in the Congo include Chevron (which produces oil offshore) and Mobil (which has a fuel distribution network). Investors remain cautious due to dubious contract enforcement and property rights and occasional harassment and arbitrary detention of foreign and local businessmen. A unilateral Government announcement December 31 calling into question the validity of several existing mining agreements has added to the uncertain of the Congolese business climate.

The Congo has the potential to play a significant role in economic development throughout Africa. Its geographical position historically made it a center of trade among East, Central, and Southern Africa. A significant increase in cross-border trade with Rwanda and Uganda is already evident, and the Congo was admitted to the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) in September.

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DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO - BILATERAL RELATIONS

USG/GDROC bilateral relations are nascent but on balance constructive, despite frustrations on both sides. The USG was the first Western government to establish contact with the ADFL following the start of the rebellion. We initially maintained contact through our embassy in Kigali and later assigned an Embassy Kinshasa officer to eastern Zaire. Then A/S Moose and then NSC Senior Africa Director Rice met with Kabila in South Africa in February-March 1997. Three missions led by Amb. Bill Richardson underscored U.S. willingness to work with the ADFL, now the Government. The Secretary's December 11-12 visit was a high profile demonstration of our commitment to engage the new Government. These efforts have helped to reverse lingering GDROC suspicion of our previous close ties to Mobutu, although in the last 5 years of his rule, we increasingly distanced ourselves from Mobutu.

The GDROC is frustrated by what it perceives as over-emphasis by the U.S. and other donors on the UN human rights investigation. In the Congolese view, this narrow focus distracts us from other pressing issues, notably economic development. While appreciative of our political support, the GDROC is unimpressed by the tangible assistance we have provided. Thus far, we have provided no direct aid to the central government and continue to work through NGOs and UN humanitarian agencies. Total USG aid committed in FY 1997 was approximately \$8 million. During her visit to Africa, the Secretary announced she would work with Congress to provide an FY 1998 program of \$35-40 million in bilateral assistance and \$10 million for a World Bank Trust Fund for the Congo. Some of these funds would be provided directly to the government.

For our part, we are frustrated by the Government's counter-productive resistance to the UN human rights inquiry. We believe the GDROC's best strategy is to cooperate with the UN team, take corrective action, then put the investigation behind it. Similarly, the GDROC's forced repatriation of refugees (sometimes intermingled with militiamen) under UNHCR protection has led to an increasingly tense relationship with UN refugee and humanitarian agencies. The GDROC's slow progress on democratic reforms -- including a continued ban on political party activities -- appears to us more damaging to Kabila's domestic and international standing than the criticism he might get from freely functioning opposition parties. Finally, the disorganization of the Congolese Government has impeded resolution of other issues, through a recent cabinet shuffle may improve coordination among ministries.

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Talking Points1. U.S. Engagement - Political Risk

- U.S. at forefront of international engagement with Congo and have leveraged other donors through the Friends of Congo; U.S. has also, provided major political support, e.g., through Secretary's visit.
- But political risks are high for us; much public and congressional opposition to aid to Congo; we need clear progress on Congolese side to justify these risks.

2. UN Human Rights Team

- Regret must raise UN team again; Stalled team jeopardizes all international assistance; we understand team is inept, but Congolese government will pay the price if team withdrawn; Kabila must remove all obstacles to the team now.
- Time for Kabila to take charge personally - Give letter to team authorizing travel to Mbandaka and other points; laissez passers as needed; make a clear public statement to government officials and civilians to cooperate.

3. Internal Human Rights Issues

- Arrest/detention of political opponents and journalists is counterproductive and enhances the reputation of these minor figures.
- Trial of civilians by military courts smacks of military dictatorship; must stop.

4. Relations with Opposition Parties and Civil Society

- Ban on party activities hurts government more than opponents; we see no serious political threat to Government by opposition parties; ban gives them an excuse to provide no alternative policy proposals.
- National reconciliation conference offered opportunity to reach out to other political groups and grassroots civil society; needs to be rescheduled ASAP.

5. Constitutional Reform Process

- Hope the new draft constitution will ensure an independent judiciary, checks on executive power, an elected legislature, and protection of human rights; How can the U.S be helpful to the drafters of this document?
- Constitution Drafting commission was drawn from a narrow political group and has deliberated in secret; Constituent Assembly must be more open and broad-based.
- Convening constituent assembly would be good opportunity to end ban on party activities, so that the process could include their views.

Opposition

Talking Points

1. Role of Opposition

- Opposition groups played a critical role in pressing Mobutu to make reforms, begin transition; Free opposition is essential in functional democracy to keep government in check.
- But, we all recognize that the Congo is in new transition period post-ADFL takeover; Opposition must adapt to new environment, even while continuing to press for reforms.

2. Ban on Party Activities

- U.S. firmly opposed to ban on party activities; urged Kabila to lift ban ASAP.
- How are you able to operate in this environment? What are major problems?
- Despite unacceptable restrictions on parties, we are pleased that political leaders continue to get alternative messages out through newspapers and in private meetings of party members.

3. Need Constructive, 'Loyal' Opposition

- Despite your frustration with Government, opposition must look for opportunities to contribute to lasting change in the Congo.
- Parties must provide constructive, creative ideas for the country, not just criticism of the Government.
- There may be times when opposition should cooperate with the Government for good of the country; does not mean compromising principles or identity; must get past the zero-sum politics of Mobutu era.

4. (For Tshisekedi) Look to the Future

- Can't continue to live in the past; must accept changed political reality with fall of Mobutu and move forward.
- Unless your contributions are relevant to the current policy debate, your supporters will turn elsewhere.
- Continue pursue efforts to meet with Kabila on mutually acceptable terms; even if you disagree substantively at the meeting it would be a start to a more mature government-opposition political relationship in the post-Mobutu era.
- Keep an eye on history. You have an opportunity to play a constructive role in the post-Mobutu transition that will shape the future of your country, or you may be left behind.

Civil Society

Talking Points

1. Acknowledge Role

- We recognize role played by civil society in pressing for reform and monitoring human rights abuses, under Mobutu and today.
- As state ceased to function under Mobutu, civil society also provided essential social services - education, health; these needs remain today.

2. U.S. Commitment

- USG strongly committed to supporting NGOs, civil society, private sector.
- Most of our assistance to the Congo continues to flow through NGOs.

3. New Environment

- With arrival of ADPL, civil society faces new relationship with government; that transition is difficult.
- Understandable that new government expects relationship to evolve further as functional state begins to be restored; role of NGOs may change.
- We're disturbed by anti-NGO statements by some government officials, but encouraged that we have received relatively few reports of efforts to curtail NGO activities. What have been your experiences?
- The civil society conference hosted when the government first arrived and the recent regional reconstruction conferences suggest some willingness by the new authorities to reach out to the grass roots. We hope reconstruction conference will be rescheduled soon.

4. Must be Constructive

- Strong civil society in Congo has opportunity to influence policy debate at this historic moment; but to do so NGOs must be creative and constructive and not merely critical.
- Hope civil society will also look for opportunities to cooperate with the government; this can be done without compromising principles or identity.

Jackson Arrival Statement

I am pleased to be in the Congo on my first visit as Special Presidential Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa. I have meetings scheduled with President Kabila, representatives of the civil society, and members of the political opposition. Having served in government, as head of a political movement, and as head of a non-governmental organization, I have a special understanding of the critical role of each of these sectors in a well-functioning democracy.

The United States is committed to a policy of engagement with the government and people of the Congo. But we are also impatient to see progress in democratic reforms, establishment of the rule of law, and progress in respect for human rights (including cooperation with the UN investigative team).

I intend to discuss these issues in all of my meetings and to encourage constructive dialogue among the government, opposition, and civil society on the future of the Congo.



JS
LIBERIA
TRIP

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

JUL 16 1998

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

To: Special Envoy Jackson
From: AF - Susan E. Rice
Subject: Your Visit to Liberia: Focus on Sierra Leone

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Encourage a more energetic leadership stance by Sierra Leone's President Kabbah.
2. Encourage the recent rapprochement between President Kabbah and President Taylor by urging them to continue their constructive dialogue.
3. Convince both Presidents, but particularly President Taylor, to take strong, positive steps to stem the flow of rebel forces, arms, and ammunition into each other's territory.

II. APPROACH

Your visit to Liberia will include a meeting with Sierra Leone President Kabbah as well as a joint meeting with both Presidents Kabbah and Taylor. Your stature as a pre-eminent leader in the civil rights movement and your position as the President's Special Envoy will resonate strongly with your interlocutors. Your meetings will underscore our support for Kabbah and for seriousness with which the United States views the need to promote reconciliation between Sierra Leone and Liberia to bring an end to cross-border rebel activities.

This will be the second meeting of Presidents Kabbah and Taylor in a month. UN Secretary General Annan, in collaboration with Nigerian Head of State Abubakar, brokered the first meeting between the two Presidents in Abuja at the beginning of July. That meeting concluded with the signing of a joint communique in which the two leaders strongly condemned the continued rebel activities and horrendous atrocities being committed in Sierra Leone, re-affirmed the existing Mano River Union non-aggression protocol, and promised to arrest and prosecute any of their citizens involved in destabilizing activities against the other state.

Nonetheless, there is still wide-spread suspicion that President Taylor and his NPFL continue their long-standing support for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone. The RUF is engaged in a systematic campaign of terror targeted against the civilian population of that country. The RUF is well-known for amputating arms, legs, and ears of its victims (including children as young as five) as well as engaging in unspeakable and grisly tortures, including rape, castration, mutilation of pregnant women, and injecting battery acid into their victims.

President Kabbah

President Kabbah will want to tell you about the history of Liberian (and Burkinabe and Libyan) support for the RUF. You should assure him that the United States will condemn any external actor supporting the RUF's atrocities in Sierra Leone. We have already delivered strong messages to President Taylor about our concerns and you are meeting with the two Presidents to reinforce that message.

A retired UN bureaucrat, Kabbah is a reserved personality challenged by the burden of trying to end a rebel war and reconstruct the poorest country in the world. In addition to being exiled by a violent military coup from May 1997 to March 1998, he has also suffered several personal tragedies in the last year -- the death of his wife, the arrest of a son for drug trafficking, the burning of his family home by the junta, and the death of Sani Abacha, whom Kabbah considered a close friend. You can give him inspiration from your own experiences in the civil rights movement to overcome these personal tragedies and move forward. You should encourage him to be a more forceful and visible leader. You should encourage him to visit the hospitals, rehabilitation centers, or refugee camps sheltering the victims of RUF depredations and violence.

You should urge Kabbah to face the difficult issue of national reconciliation. The international community has made it clear that RUF leaders responsible for atrocities should be brought to justice. However, the bulk of the RUF's fighting force is made up of teenagers and young adults kidnapped from their villages as children, and then drugged, brainwashed, and forced into fighting. These elements, numbering a few thousand, need to be rehabilitated and brought back into mainstream society.

There is a justified fear among RUF rank-and-file that they will be killed by local Civil Defense Militias if they surrender. Kabbah needs to ensure that RUF fighters' fear of retribution is dispelled. The fighters need to be given credible assurances that they will be rehabilitated and

reintegrated into society. Sierra Leone's traditional secret societies have powerful mechanisms for dealing with conflict resolution, including village-level purification ceremonies. You should encourage President Kabbah to support and employ these mechanisms to promote the rehabilitation and reintegration into their communities of surrendered combatants.

President Taylor

President Taylor and his NPFL have had strong links with rebel leader Foday Sankoh and the RUF since the two rebel organizations were founded in the late 1980s. Following his election as President, Taylor has repeatedly assured us and the international community in public and private that the Government of Liberia is not supporting or assisting the RUF. Taylor does acknowledge that Liberians are involved in the fighting in Sierra Leone, but claims they are not subject to his control.

You should deliver a strong message to Taylor about the need for vigorous efforts to ensure RUF elements and RUF supporters are not able to use Liberian territory for succor and resupply. Unspeakable atrocities are being committed against innocent villagers and children in Sierra Leone. Some Liberians are involved. True or not, the international community believes Taylor is complicit in Liberian support for the RUF. Even if, as Taylor claims, these Liberians are operating independently of Government control, it is incumbent on Taylor as President of Liberia and leader of the NPFL, to take strong, positive steps to ensure that no aid or succor reaches the RUF from Liberian soil. The Abuja declarations were a good first step. Taylor now must follow up with real action: Interdict arms shipments moving across the border, arrest the people organizing these shipments, and arrest RUF leaders and combatants who enter Liberia, stop RUF recruitment on Liberian soil, and punish any of his own people who are supporting the RUF.

Taylor will want to put the onus on the international community to post border monitors along the common border between the two countries. The simple truth is that neither ECOMOG nor the UN has the necessary resources to take on this task. As President, it is Taylor's responsibility to control what Liberians are doing on Liberian territory. He should publicly denounce the RUF, order all Liberians to immediately cut off cross-border support for the rebels, and use his limited security forces (police, customs) to prevent fighters, arms, and ammunition from crossing the border.

Taylor will also point a finger at Kabbah accusing him of allowing ex-Liberian faction leaders to train their forces in

Sierra Leone. He will also say that Kabbah recruited Liberians as mercenaries for the pre-coup Sierra Leone army. Some Liberian factions did originate in Liberian refugee camps in Sierra Leone early in the civil war. However, there is no evidence that any Liberian factions are in Sierra Leone training to re-enter Liberia. Indeed, fighters of several Liberian factions have found they can earn a living fighting for the RUF against the Government of Sierra Leone. President Kabbah has received and rebuffed requests for support from Liberian faction leaders and as a sign of openness, honesty, and goodwill he notified Taylor about these approaches.

III. BACKGROUND

The conflict in Sierra Leone is an outgrowth of the Liberian civil war. In 1990 former President Momoh agreed to let ECOMOG use Sierra Leone as a base for its peacekeeping operation in Liberia. Taylor threatened that for its interference, Sierra Leone would "taste the bitterness of war." Months later in March 1991, Foday Sankoh's RUF crossed the border from Liberia into Sierra Leone to launch its first rebel attack. Although it claims to be fighting for democracy, for seven years the RUF has targeted its attacks against innocent civilians and villagers. The nine months in which it joined the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) military junta to rule Sierra Leone following the May 1997 coup were marked by some of the most horrific human rights abuses on the Continent.

The regional response to the Sierra Leone crisis has been remarkable and serves as a model for Africans banding together to solve their own problems. For the first time, all African states condemned a coup on the Continent. When negotiations and sanctions failed, a Nigerian-dominated regional peacekeeping force (ECOMOG) reversed the coup and used force to restore President Kabbah's democratically elected government. ECOMOG troops have secured most major population centers, but ex-junta and RUF forces continue to commit horrendous atrocities in Sierra Leone.

The humanitarian consequences of the Sierra Leone crisis are staggering. The war has generated more than 500,000 refugees and an equal number of internally displaced persons. In the last few months alone, the RUF has kidnapped several hundred children. The RUF has mutilated and killed thousands more. Hundreds of thousands have fled their homes seeking safety, many crossing the border into Guinea and Liberia. Rebel attacks have prevented farmers from planting their crops which will result in widespread food shortages next year. Poor security conditions prevent humanitarian assistance from being delivered to those most in need.

The implications of the Sierra Leone crisis for regional stability are frightening as well. The flow of combatants and weapons across borders threatens the stability of Liberia's very fragile peace. This month already saw the first cross-border rebel attacks from Sierra Leone into Guinea. It is not hard to imagine these conflicts spreading to Guinea and merging with the conflicts in Guinea-Bissau and the Casamance to produce an uncontrollable regional conflagration covering a half-dozen countries. It is strongly in the interest of all regional leaders to ensure that external support for the RUF is severed and the Sierra Leone crisis is solved before it engulfs other countries.

Attachment:

- Tab 1 - Talking Points
- Tab 2 - Abuja Communique

SL: BM-JJ-Liberia/Sierra Leone

drafted: AF/W:MThomas

SEMDT 364 x7-3469 15 July 98

Cleared:	AF:VHuddleston	
	AF/W:HJeter	ok
	AF/W:DMathieu	ok
	P:SSchwartz	ok
	S/P:SMorrison	info
	NSC:EBarks-Ruggles	ok

Special Envoy Jesse Jackson

Talking Points: Sierra Leone President Kabbah

- Offer condolences on the death of Mrs. Kabbah; tell him that although we differed with Abacha, we respected Kabbah's his close relationship an friendship with Abacha and were grateful for Abacha's assistance in restoring democracy to Sierra Leone.
- The United States is deeply committed to supporting the efforts of the Sierra Leone Government, ECOWAS, and ECOMOG to restore peace and stability to Sierra Leone.
- The international community has clearly stated that the leaders of the RUF and the former military junta who are responsible for the atrocities in Sierra Leone must be brought to justice.
- Rewarding these terrorists or granting them impunity would only set an example for others to use criminal violence and terror in their quest for power and riches.
- However, many of the RUF rank-and-file are themselves victims of RUF violence: children kidnapped from their villages by the RUF and impressed into the conflict. These combatants cannot be held to the same standard of justice as the leaders who conceived, organized, and lead the RUF's atrocities.
- The two-week amnesty announced in June for rebels who surrendered was a good start. However, RUF fighters cannot reasonably be expected to surrender when they are convinced they will be killed if they fall into the hands of the Civil Defense Units.
- As President, you need to take strong action to ensure that Civil Defense Units remain a positive force protecting their local communities and do not themselves begin to commit atrocities, or otherwise abuse the human rights of the Sierra Leonean people.
- National reconciliation is key to a stable society. Reconciliation can only come about through forgiveness and dialogue. It is difficult but necessary to set aside memories and feelings generated by seven years of terror. As President, your country needs you to lead this process.
- Sierra Leone has rich traditional mechanisms to deal with conflict resolution. You need to tap the strengths of these traditions to promote the rehabilitation and reintegration of former combatants so that they can become productive members in their communities. The international community is willing to provide resources to help you.

Special Envoy Jesse Jackson

Talking Points: Kabbah-Taylor Joint Meeting

- Just as Sierra Leone and Liberia are strongly connected, both countries share deep historical and cultural ties with the United States.
- As a friend of both countries, we are distressed and pained to hear continuing allegations of each country supporting rebels in the other.
- I was glad to see the positive communique that resulted from your joint meeting with Kofi Annan in Abuja earlier this month. That meeting was a critical first step to beginning a dialogue that must continue.
- The commitments you made in the Abuja Communique must be followed up with concrete action to bring an end to the flow of fighters, arms, and ammunition across your borders.
- We worked long and hard to support ECOWAS's efforts to bring an end to the conflict in Liberia. Now we are working with ECOWAS to restore peace and stability to Sierra Leone while continuing our support for stability, reform and rebuilding in Liberia. We are determined to see these efforts succeed.
- As long as your neighbor's house is on fire, your own house is at risk. The conflict in Sierra Leone could easily reignite the Liberian war. It is in each of your interests to help put out the flames.
- Furthermore, this conflict is not isolated. It has a very negative impact on the world's perception of Africa as a continent of unending chaos and conflict, unable to successfully govern itself in peace.
- What do you foresee as next steps to bring an end to this conflict?

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE MEETING HOSTED BY
THE CHAIRMAN OF ECOWAS AND HEAD OF STATE OF THE
FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA, AND ATTENDED BY THE PRESIDENT
OF SIERRA LEONE, THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, AND
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
2 July 1998, Abuja

1. On 1 July 1998, at the initiative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi A. Annan, the Chairman of ECOWAS and Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Abdusalam Abubakar, hosted a meeting between President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone and President Charles Ghankay Taylor of Liberia.
2. The meeting, which was co-chaired by the Chairman of ECOWAS and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, addressed a number of regional and sub-regional issues, including ways in which security and cooperation between the neighbouring states of Liberia and Sierra Leone could be further improved, what confidence-building measures could be introduced by the two Governments, and what role ECOWAS and the United Nations could play in support of these efforts.
3. The Heads of State of Sierra Leone and Liberia, in the presence of the Chairman of ECOWAS and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, reached agreement on the following points:
 - that they strongly condemned the continued rebel activities in Sierra Leone as well as the horrendous atrocities that had been committed there;
 - that they were determined to cooperate to promote an end to the fighting in Sierra Leone, and to foster peace and security in the sub-region;
 - that they reaffirmed the non-aggression protocol of 1986 of the Mano River Union Agreement, and agreed to seek ways to enhance its effectiveness. Special attention was drawn to the need to control the activities and movements of demobilized former combatants, and the leaders expressly reaffirmed their commitment not to permit their territories to be used for actions aimed at destabilizing the other;
 - that as a further confidence-building measure the two leaders would exchange official visits;
 - that both leaders would welcome and support the deployment of United Nations and ECOMOG observers along their border;
 - that both leaders called upon their citizens not to be involved in destabilizing activities against the other state, and that all those caught committing such offences should be arrested and prosecuted under the laws of the arresting state;
 - that both leaders welcomed the initiative taken by the Secretary-General and the Chairman of ECOWAS in facilitating their discussion and expressed their appreciation for this.
4. The three regional leaders called upon the United Nations to increase its presence in Sierra Leone, in support of the efforts being undertaken by ECOWAS and the Government of Sierra Leone to promote peace and security in the country. The Secretary-General of the United Nations expressed support for the need to increase the United Nations presence in Sierra Leone, and noted that the Security Council was presently considering the matter.

5. The participants expressed grave concern over the situation in Guinea-Bissau, and noted the ongoing consultations among ECOWAS member states on this matter.

6. The participants expressed their special appreciation to the Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Abdusalam Abubakar, for having hosted the meeting, and for the facilities which he had made available.

Done at Abuja on 2 July 1998.

Abdusalam Abubakar
Chairman of ECOWAS,
Head of States of the
Federal Republic of Nigeria

Ahmed Tejan Kabbah
President of Sierra Leone

Charles G. Taylor
President of Liberia

Kofi A. Annan
Secretary-General
of the United Nations

To the People of Liberia:

Liberia has convened a National Conference to bring together all its people to chart a new course for Liberia. The United States is pleased to be represented at this historic event by my Special Envoy, the Reverend Jesse Jackson. This Conference is remarkable because only one year ago Liberia held its first free and transparent national elections after a terrible and destructive eight-year civil war. That somber chapter in the history of your country is over, and hope for a new era is at hand.

It is important as you chart a new course to learn from the mistakes of the past, and use them as valuable and hard-won lessons to inform and shape the contour of Liberia's future. I support your efforts at this Conference to ensure that you, your children and your children's children never suffer the trauma and trials of war again.

At this, the celebration of Liberia's 150th anniversary, I call on all Liberians to seize the moment to heal the wounds of the past and grasp the promise of the future. Now is the time for a new beginning; a beginning where a whole, peaceful and prosperous Liberia once again stands as a bulwark of democracy and freedom in Africa. It is the time for Liberia to join with other African democracies in forging a new future of hope, freedom and prosperity for the children of Africa.

As you construct your vision for Liberia's future at this Conference, I wish you the best of luck, and underscore our determination to work with all the people of Liberia as partners to achieve your vision.

Sincerely,

Proposed Itinerary For Reverend Jesse L. Jackson
OPTION A

July	17	1720	Depart Washington Dulles via UA 916
	18	7:10am	Arrive Frankfurt
		8:00am	Depart Frankfurt via Milair [C-20]
		9:05am	Refuel stop in Tunis
		10:20am	Depart Tunis
		1:40pm	Refuel stop in Bamako
		2:55pm	Depart Bamako
		4:10pm	Arrive Monrovia, Liberia [Plane RON in Bamako]
	19		In Monrovia
	20	4:25pm	Depart Monrovia
		6:15pm	Refuel Stop in Dakar
		7:30pm	Depart Dakar
	21	3:10am	Arrive Frankfurt
		12:25pm	Depart Frankfurt via UA 917
		3:00pm	Arrive Washington Dulles

Amex has confirmed reservations for Jesse Jackson, Howard Jeter, Yuri Tadesse, and Marie Nelson.

Flight time from Frankfurt to Monrovia--10 hours and 45 minutes.

JH 7/16/98 @ 12:50am

9th revision

2:00 drop dead date for confirmation

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. email	White House Situation Room to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Donald Jordan, John Prendergast et al. Subject: Scen-Setter for Visit by Presidential Special Envoy. [Lagos 007125] (5 pages)	07/15/1998	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] [4]

2014-0927-F

vz5245

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]
- 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]
- 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]

Barks-Ruggles, Erica

From: WHSR
Sent: Wednesday, July 15, 1998 11:58 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Budig, Nyda N; Crowley, Philip J.; Jordan, Donald L.; Prendergast, John P.; Sanders, Robin R.; Smith, Gayle E.; Weinstein, Jeremy M
Subject: PROPOSED PRESS STATEMENT ON REVEREND JESSE

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
DTG: 151544Z JUL 98
MSGTO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3357
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
PREC: IMMEDIATE
SSN: 7123
TOR: 980715115604 M3378118

UNCLAS LAGOS 007123

DEPT FOR P, AF, AF/W, AF/P
PLEASE PASS TO USIA FOR AF
PLEASE PASS TO NSC FOR GAYLE SMITH

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PREL, OPRC, NI
SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESS STATEMENT ON REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

1. THE FOLLOWING IS PROPOSEO PRESS GUIDANCE AND Q/A'S CONCERNING THE JULY 20-22 VISIT TO NIGERIA OF SPECIAL ENVOY JESSE JACKSON. NOTE: ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS MISSION WAS BROADCAST BY VOA JULY 14 AND HAS ALREADY RECEIVED PRESS COVERAGE IN NIGERIA. AT MID AFTERNOON JULY 15, ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER CHINADE HAS CONFIRMED A JULY 20 MEETING WITH HEAD OF STATE ABUBAKAR FOR S/E JACKSON. END NOTE.

2. BEGIN TEXT: PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT HE IS SENDING THE REVEREND JESSE JACKSON TO NIGERIA NEXT WEEK TO MEET WITH HEAD OF STATE GENERAL ABUBAKAR AND OTHER NIGERIANS TO TALK ABOUT THE ONGOING TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND HOW WE MIGHT POSSIBLY ASSIST THE NIGERIANSAIN THIS EFFORT. AT THE TIME OF REV. JACKSON'S NOMINATION, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE WOULD UNDERTAKE SPECIAL PROJECTS TO BOLSTER DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS, PROMOTE GOOD GOVERNANCE AND BUILD AND SUSTAIN DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN AFRICA. IT IS, THEREFORE, VERY APPROPRIATE FOR THE REVEREND JACKSON TO VISIT NIGERIA AT THG TIME.

THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY TAKEN SOME IMPORTANT STEPS LEADING TO A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY AND WE HOPE THAT THE REVEREND JACKSON'S VISIT WILL ENCOURAGE THEM EVEN MORE SO IN THAT REGARD. AS WE HAVE SAID PREVIOUSLY, WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT GENERAL ABUBAKAR WILL ENSURE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE TRANSITION PROCESS BY PERMITTING FREE SPEECH, UNFETTERED POLITICAL AND PARTY ACTIVITY, FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND THE PRESS, AND OPEN ACCESS FOR ALL CANDIDATES TO THE MEDIA. WE ALSO HOPE THAT ALL THOSE WHO WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS WILL BE ALLOWED TO DO SO IN ORDER FOR NIGERIA TO HAVE A RAPID AND TRANSPARENT TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN RULE.

3. SUGGESTED Q/A:

Q: WHY SEND THE REVEREND JACKSON TO NIGERIA NOW SINCE UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICE

WERE JUST THERE?

A: THE PRESIDENT FELT THAT IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO SEND HIS SPECIAL ENVOY AT THIS TIME TO DEMONSTRATE OUR INTEREST IN NIGERIA'S TRANSITION AND THE IMPORTANCE WE PLACE ON IT FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND FOR THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA.

Q: WILL THE REVEREND JACKSON BE SEEING MEMBERS OF THE ABIOLA FAMILY?

A: IF IT CAN BE ARRANGED I AM CERTAIN THAT THE REVEREND JACKSON WOULD APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS HIS CONDOLENCES TO THE ABIOLA FAMILY.

Q: WHAT OTHER NIGERIANS WILL THE REVEREND JACKSON BE SEEING?

A: I EXPECT THAT THE REVEREND JACKSON WILL MEET WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION TO HEAR THEIR VIEWS ON NIGERIA'S PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY.

--END TEXT.

TWADDELL

Barks-Ruggles, Erica

From: WHSR
Sent: Wednesday, July 15, 1998 1:56 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Jordan, Donald L.; Prendergast, John P.; Sanders, Robin R.; Smith, Gayle E.; Weinstein, Jeremy M
Subject: DRAFT ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE STATEMENTS FOR

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
DTG: 151605Z JUL 98
MSGTO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3362
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
PREC: IMMEDIATE
SSN: 7126
TOR: 980715135143 M3378414

UNCLAS LAGOS 007126

DEPARTMENT FOR P, AF, AF/W, AND AF/P
PLEASE PASS USIA FOR AF

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (JACKSON, JESSE), 'gELV- NI
SUBJECT: DRAFT ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE STATEMENTS FOR
NIGERIAN VISIT OF S/E JACKSON

1. POST PROVIDES THE FOLLOWING DRAFT ARRIVAL AND
DEPARTURE NOTICES FOR THE JULY 20-22 NIGERIAN VISIT OF
PRESIDENTIAL SPECIAL ENVOY JESSE JACKSON.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT

2. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR S/E
JACKSON; BEGIN TEXT:

-- AS I ARRIVE IN NIGERIA, THE COUNTRY IS CLEARLY AT A
CROSS ROADS. WHILE MANY WOULD LOOK BACKWARD IN ANGUISH,
I WOULD INSTEAD ENCOURAGE EVERYONE TO LOOK FORWARD TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF A STABLE AND PROSPEROUS NIGERIA LED BY A
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT THAT IS, IN LINCOLN'S WORDS, OF THE
PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE.

-- FATE HAS BEEN WOUND TIGHTLY AROUND NIGERIA IN RECENT
DAYS. SELDOM HAS ANY COUNTRY LOST TWO INFLUENTIAL
FIGURES AS HAS NIGERIA IN THE LAST TWO MONTHS. LET ME
EXPRESS MY CONDOLENCES TO BOTH FAMILIES.

-- SUCH TIMES CALL ON PEOPLE TO MUSTER ALL THEIR INNER
STRENGTHS IN ORDER TO START ANEW. THE GREAT CHALLENGE
THAT LIES AHEAD FOR NIGERIA IS TO DEVELOP A POLITICAL
FRAMEWORK THAT IS FAIR AND JUST SO THAT ALL NIGERIA'S
PEOPLE, REGARDLESS OF THEIR ETHNICITY, FEEL THAT THEY
HAVE A STAKE IN THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE.

-- THE UNITED STATES AND NIGERIA HAVE PASSED THROUGH A
PERIOD OF RELUCTANT ESTRANGEMENT IN RECENT YEARS. I HAVE
COME HERE IN THE BELIEF THAT A NEW ERA IS AT HAND, ONE IN
WHICH NIGERIA CAN ACHIEVE THE DREAMS SO WIDELY SHARED AT
INDEPENDENCE AND DEVELOP A VIBRANT DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. I
ALSO BELIEVE THAT WE NOW HAVE THE CHANCE TO RETURN TO A
CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP BASED ON THE MANY FAMILY, CULTURAL
AND FRIENDLY TIES THAT BIND OUR TWO COUNTRIES CLOSELY
TOGETHER.

-- END TEXT.

DEPARTURE STATEMENT

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR S/E JACKSON; BEGIN TEXT:

-- I COME AWAY FROM MY MEETINGS WITH EMINENT NIGERIANS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY CONVINCED THAT NIGERIA HAS THE POTENTIAL TO RENEW ITSELF AND TO MOVE FORWARD TOWARD A BRIGHT TOMORROW.

-- WE ALL KNOW THERE ARE BIG JOBS AHEAD FOR NIGERIANS, AND IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE COUNTRY TO AGREE ON WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW TO DO THEM. IN THE COMING MONTHS, THE COUNTRY MUST UNDERTAKE A NEW EFFORT TO RESOLVE MANY LONG-STANDING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. NO OUTSIDER, NO MATTER HOW WELL INTENDED, CAN TELL THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA HOW SUCH ISSUES SHOULD BE HANDLED. I APPLAUD YOUR EFFORTS SO FAR, AND ENCOURAGE YOU TO KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE GREAT GOALS A GREAT NATION SHOULD ACHIEVE -- POLITICAL FREEDOM, ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL EQUALITY.

-- IN MY MEETING WITH GENERAL ABUBAKAR, WE DISCUSSED THE WAY AHEAD FOR NIGERIA. I TOLD HIM THAT AMERICA CAN NOT PRESCRIBE HOW THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM SHOULD OPERATE, THOUGH I EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES STANDS AT THE READY TO PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA'S NEW DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

-- IN MY MEETINGS WITH MANY EMINENT NIGERIANS, INCLUDING THE HEAD OF STATE, WE DISCUSSED THE CHALLENGES AHEAD. WE CONSIDERED HOW DECENTRALIZATION OF POWER WOULD AFFECT THE COUNTRY, WAYS THAT WOULD ACHIEVE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, ALL OF WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE COUNTRY'S NEW DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. MY CONCLUSION IS THAT FEW COUNTRIES ARE SO ENDOWED WITH BOTH NATURAL RESOURCES AND HUMAN POTENTIAL AS IS NIGERIA, AND THAT IS WHY I BELIEVE THAT, FOR ALL THE DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE AHEAD, NIGERIA STILL HAS A BRIGHT FUTURE.

-- END TEXT. TWADDELL