

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [5]

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
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001. draft	Cable re: Proposed Travel of Special Envoy Jesse Jackson. (3 pages)	07/14/1998	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [5]

2014-0927-F

vz5246

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]

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9805054
RECEIVED: 14 JUL 98 18

TO: PEOPLE OF LIBERIA

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 16 JUL 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: LIBERIA



PERSONS: JACKSON, JESSE

SUBJECT: GREETINGS TO PEOPLE OF LIBERIA RE NATL CONF

ACTION: PRESIDENT SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 20 JUL 98 STATUS: C

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

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BARKS-RUGGLES

NSC CHRON

SMITH, G

COMMENTS: ORIGINAL TO AFRICA DIRECTORATE FOR JACKSON TO HAND CARRY

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTTS

CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9805054

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BERGER
002 PRESIDENT
003

Z 98071513 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR SIGNATURE
Z 98071513 FOR SIGNATURE
X 98071613 PRESIDENT SGD LTR

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 980715
002 980715
003 980716 PEOPLE OF LIBERIA

WH CHIEF OF STAFF
VICE PRESIDENT

UNCLASSIFIED

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 5054

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG TMA A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
<u>15</u> Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>@7/16</u>	
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg			
Berger			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>TMA 7/16</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.	<u>3</u>		<u>N</u>

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

cc: * dispatched to Africa Directorate from wwp.

COMMENTS: Date 7/16/98 ?

'98 JUL 16 PM 12:11

Exec Sec Office has diskette _____

**National Security Council
The White House**

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG # 5054

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRB NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG SMD NO

SRB
Cosgriff

SEQUENCE TO

INITIAL/DATE

DISPOSITION

Rice

1

② 7/15

Edits/Queue

Davies

2

② 7/15

Kerrick

Steinberg

Berger

Situation Room

West Wing Desk

Records Mgt.

3

TMA 7-15

D Caplan

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

*of SRB 3 TMA
LJS } 7-15*

COMMENTS:

'98 JUL 14 pm 9:31

Exec Sec Office has diskette

WFS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1998

Warm greetings to the people of Liberia as you convene your national conference to chart a new course for your nation. I am pleased that the United States will 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.

As you come together to shape Liberia's future, it is important to learn from the mistakes of the past and use them as valuable and hard-won lessons. I support your efforts at this conference to ensure that you, your children, and your children's children never again suffer the trials and tragedy of war.

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 build a new vision for Liberia's future at this conference, I extend best wishes for your success and reaffirm the American people's determination to work with all the people of Liberia as partners to achieve that vision.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized flourish at the end.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1998

ACTION

'98 JUL 15 PM1:02

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER

(K) FM

SUBJECT:

Letter to the People of Liberia

Purpose

To send a letter to the people of Liberia, to be delivered at the Liberian National Conference by Reverend Jesse Jackson.

Background

Jesse Jackson will be in Liberia July 17-19 representing the United States at a National Conference in Liberia. The Conference, delayed one year from the actual 150th anniversary of Liberia's founding due to last year's elections, is intended to bring together Liberians inside the country and those long exiled to forge a national consensus on a vision for Liberia's future, and an implementation plan.

It would be useful for you to send a letter to the people of Liberia which Reverend Jackson will read to the conference and pass to the government. The letter emphasizes the need to heal Liberia's war wounds, learn from the past and pull together to build a better future. It also reiterates our commitment to support Liberia's efforts in these areas.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to the people of Liberia.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to the Liberian people

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5054

July 14, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH:

GAYLE SMITH

FROM:

ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT:

Letter from the President to the People of
Liberia

Reverend Jackson departs for Nigeria and Liberia on July 16 in the afternoon. We and State would like him to hand carry a letter from the President to the people of Liberia which he will read at the Liberian National Conference.

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President recommending he sign the letter for the people of Liberia.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President.

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Letter to the People of Liberia

CORRESPONDENCE

WED 10:23 FAX

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P ① Warm greetings to the people of Liberia as you ~~get~~ convene your national conference to chart a new course for your nation.
~~To the People of Liberia.~~ I am pleased that

will 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.

P ③ As you come together to shape Liberia's future, 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.

P ④ 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.

P ⑤ As you ~~construct your vision~~ build a new 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.

that Sincerely,

extend best wishes for your success and reaffirm to the American people's

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

P① Warm greetings to the people of Liberia as you ~~get~~ convene your national conference to chart a new course for your nation.
~~To the People of Liberia.~~

I am pleased that

will

~~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.

P③ *As you come together to shape Liberia's future,*

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.

P④ 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.

P⑤

Build a new
 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.

that Sincerely,

extend best wishes for your success and reaffirm the American people's

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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.

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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,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Letter to the People of Liberia

Purpose

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Background

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It would be useful for you to send a letter
~~We propose that you send a signed message to the people of Liberia which Rev. Jackson will read to the conference and pass to the government. The proposed message at Tab A emphasizes the need to heal Liberia's war wounds, learn from the past and pull together to build a better future. It also reiterates our commitment to support Liberia's efforts in these areas.~~

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to the people of Liberia.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to the Liberian people

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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 mistakes of the past, and use them as valuable and hard lessons to inform and shape the contour of Liberia's future. I pledge at this Conference to ensure that you, you and your children's children never suffer the trauma again of war again.

Something
missing!
I your
pledge....
....

~~At~~ On 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 build that future.

achieve your vision

Sincerely,



JJ
Brail

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

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

July 17 1998

TO: Erica Barks-Ruggles
FAX: 456-9260
PHONE: _____

FROM: YVONNE J. JACKSON

SECRETARY FOR
NIGERIA, SIERRA-LEONE & THE GAMBIA DESK OFFICER

PHONE: 202 647-4567

FAX: 202 647-4855

COMMENTS: _____

For Your Clearance
ASAP



THIS IS PAGE ONE OF 8 PAGES.

BRIEFING MEMORANDUMUNCLASSIFIED

TO: Special Envoy Jackson
FROM: AF - Susan E. Rice
SUBJECT: Your Visit to Liberia

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Build upon the positive relationship you have established with President Taylor and demonstrate the USG's commitment to developing a productive relationship.
2. Focus President Taylor's attention on allegations of continued human rights abuses by his security apparatus.
3. Congratulate Taylor on the progress his economic team has made to date. Discuss issues of debt and next steps on economic reform.
4. Encourage President Taylor to play a positive role in the region, particularly on Sierra Leone.

II. BACKGROUND

The primary reason for your visit to Liberia will be to participate in the National Conference on the Future of Liberia. This conference, and the equally important informal gatherings that will be in progress at its margins, will provide you with a venue in which to engage the full range of Liberian civil society. Most notably, you will have an opportunity to emphasize to opposition political leaders that the United States is encouraged by their desire to play a positive and constructive role in the governance of Liberia.

The National Conference is not without its detractors. Some Liberians are boycotting the Conference to emphasize their argument that the money could have been better spent elsewhere. Nonetheless, the Conference and its emphasis on planning for the future offer a perfect opportunity to reinforce our message of the need for tolerance, healing and national reconciliation.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-2-

In addition to the conference, your visit will feature the following meetings and events:

1. A meeting with President Charles Taylor.
2. Meetings with journalists, human rights groups, women's groups, and other representatives of civil society.
3. A bilateral meeting with President Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone.
4. A joint meeting with Presidents Kabbah and Taylor.

Since your last visit to Monrovia over five months ago, some believe that political and economic conditions in Liberia have continued to stagnate, against the backdrop of significant changes in the sub-region. President Taylor still appears to be inclined to deal with his domestic woes by questioning the loyalty of his critics, rather than taking positive action on their concerns. In the sub-region, Taylor aspires to play a larger role than Liberia's current situation warrants, but he is probably reassessing his options following the sudden leadership change in Nigeria and as ECOMOG gets bogged down in Sierra Leone.

Conclusion of a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with Nigeria, and completion of six months on a cash based budget are among the most notable accomplishments of the Liberian Government since your last visit. On the negative side, the Government's failure to resolve the Sam Dokie murder case and persistent rumors of off-budget spending have damaged the credibility of the Taylor regime. There have also been constant, if unconfirmed, reports of Taylor granting rice import and timber monopolies to his associates in return for possible kickbacks. Whether true or not, these rumors point up the necessity of improved transparency in economic matters if this Government wishes to attract significant foreign investment.

Your stature as a prominent leader of the American civil rights movement and as a leading political figure continue to have special resonance across the political spectrum in Liberia. By emphasizing themes of human rights, national reconciliation, participatory democracy, and issue-oriented coalition building, you can further Liberia's progress toward national healing.

III. APPROACH

The Government of Liberia continues to hold you in high regard and has great confidence in your ability to serve as a catalyst for improved bilateral relations with the United States. You should capitalize on this positive perception to coax the Government of Liberia in the right direction on a variety of issues, including:

-- Increasing its respect for human rights and

involving civil society in all aspects of governance,

-- Playing a more positive role in the sub-region; and,

-- Exercising more effective control over the State Security Service (SSS).

Your bringing these items to President Taylor's attention is likely to have more impact than if they were broached by anyone else.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-3-

Human Rights

Taylor has been unable or unwilling to exercise control over ex-combatants who now serve in his security forces. Their heavy-handed tactics led to several potentially explosive confrontations in recent months.

The notorious Benjamin Yeaten was returned to the helm of the SSS after a perceived sham trial exonerated five of his men in the murder of opposition leader Sam Dokie and members of his family. We need to bring to President Taylor's attention the fact that, in the opinion of most observers, the Samuel Dokie murder case remains unresolved. You should ask Taylor what he plans to do to bring this case to closure.

In recent weeks the SSS has been implicated in the disappearances of at least seven people associated with Roosevelt Johnson's former faction, ULIMO-J.

Neither the Reconciliation Commission nor the Human Rights Commission is fully functional. The latter is awaiting Senate action on a revision of its enabling legislation, which the President has threatened to veto if it gives the Commission subpoena powers. The Reconciliation Commission is led by Victoria Refell, a Taylor loyalist and apologist for the Government. The Reconciliation Commission has accomplished very little so far.

If Taylor makes the right moves now, Liberia can become a model for the region in human rights; if not, Liberia will continue to be viewed with suspicion which will impede investment and hamper true national reconciliation.

Economy

The Liberian Government has taken some important first steps toward getting its economy back on track, including the implementation of a cash-based budget. However, international confidence in Liberia's economy has been undermined by persistent rumors of grants of rice import and timber monopolies and mismanagement of Liberia's resources. Conspicuous consumption by senior members of Taylor's inner circle is also very troubling. You must emphasize that this is another area where perceptions can hurt Taylor's standing.

Regional Relations

You should congratulate President Taylor on concluding a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with Nigeria. We hope that this agreement will improve the relationship between the two countries. Until the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) is restructured and retrained, ECOMOG will be vital to Liberia's security. (NOTE: The Department of Defense has agreed, in principle, to send an advisory team to Liberia to help the Government draw up a reorganization and restructuring plan for Liberia's armed forces.)

Also on the regional front, there have been repeated allegations that Liberia supports the RUF/AFRC rebels in Sierra Leone. Taylor has replied to these charges by saying there are obviously Liberians fighting on both sides of Sierra Leone's conflict, but they are not under the command or control of the Liberian Government.

UMCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-4-

When this issue was brought up by Ambassador Jeter in a meeting with President Taylor last month, the President became defensive and angry. Nevertheless, a series of constructive moves followed. For the first time, Taylor dispatched an emissary to Freetown with a message for President Kabbah; and in a few days Kabbah reciprocated. This exchange of envoys between Liberia and Sierra Leone was followed by a mini-summit in Abuja, attended by Presidents Taylor and Kabbah and Nigerian Head of State Abubakar, and organized by UN Secretary General Annan. As a result of this meeting, Presidents Taylor and Kabbah reached agreement on the following points:

- They strongly condemned the continued rebel activities in Sierra Leone as well as the horrendous atrocities being committed there;

- They expressed their determination to cooperate to promote an end to the fighting in Sierra Leone, and to foster security in the sub-region;

- They reaffirmed the 1986 non-aggression protocol of the Mano River Union Agreement;

- They agreed to exchange official visits;

- They both stated they would welcome and support the deployment of United Nations and ECOMOG observers along their border; and,

- They both called upon their citizens not to be involved in destabilizing activities against the other state, and that those caught committing such offenses should be arrested and prosecuted under the laws of the arresting state.

You should commend Taylor for taking these significant steps and urge him to continue to increase his level of cooperation with President Kabbah and others in the sub-region. Urge Taylor to do all in his power to assure there are no Liberian citizens fighting with the RUF.

UNCLASSIFIED

SALIENT QUESTIONS YOU MAY WISH TO RAISE WITH TAYLOR

- How does your Government intend to follow up on the recommendations of the National Conference?
- Are the Commissions on National Reconciliation and Human Rights established? Are they working? Are these Commissions useful instruments in the campaign for national reconciliation?
- What further steps do you intend to take to identify and prosecute the culprits in the Dokie murders?
- There have been reports of disappearances of five ULIMO-J followers. Have they disappeared? What do you think happened to them? Is the Government investigating?
- What steps are being taken to engender greater international confidence in the Liberian economy.
- What do you think of the new leadership in Nigeria?
- What impact will Abacha's death and Abubakar's assumption of power have on ECOMOG's presence in Liberia and ECOMOG's peacekeeping role in the region the region?
- What happened to the Committee of Five (C-5)? Does the C-5 still have a role in negotiating an end to the conflict in Sierra Leone?
- It is imperative that the military reflect Liberian society regionally and ethnically. Any force constructed otherwise could be viewed as a threat by other groups. What plans do you have for restructuring the Liberian military?

BRIEFING MEMORANDUMUNCLASSIFIED

TO: Special Envoy Jackson
FROM: AF - Susan E. Rice
SUBJECT: Your Visit to Liberia

3. Congratulate Taylor on progress his economic team has made to date. Discuss issues of debt & next steps on economic reform.

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Build upon the positive relationship you have established with President Taylor and demonstrate the USG's commitment to developing a productive relationship.
2. Focus President Taylor's attention on allegations of continued human rights abuses by his security apparatus.
4. Encourage President Taylor to play a positive role in the region, particularly on Sierra Leone.
4. Serve as a bridge between Presidents Taylor and Kabbah and help to find ways to stop rebel activity in Sierra Leone and alleged destabilizing activities emanating from Liberia.

This is well covered in SL focused memo

II. BACKGROUND

The primary reason for your visit to Liberia will be to participate in the National Conference on the Future of Liberia. This conference, and the equally important informal gatherings that will be in progress at its margins, will provide you with a venue in which to engage the full range of Liberian civil society. Most notably, you will have an opportunity to emphasize to opposition political leaders that the United States is cognizant of their desire to play a positive and constructive role in the governance of Liberia.

^{encouraged by}
The National Conference is not without its detractors. Some Liberians are boycotting the Conference to emphasize their argument that the money could have been better spent elsewhere. Nonetheless, the Conference and its emphasis on planning for the future offer a perfect opportunity to reinforce our message of the need for tolerance, healing and national reconciliation.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-2-

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Your stature as a prominent leader of the American civil rights movement and as a leading political figure continue to have special resonance across the political spectrum in Liberia. By emphasizing themes of human rights, national reconciliation, participatory democracy, and issue-oriented coalition building, you can further Liberia's progress toward national healing.

III. APPROACH

The Government of Liberia continues to hold you in high regard and has great confidence in your ability to serve as a catalyst for improved bilateral relations with the United States. You should capitalize on this positive perception to coax the Government of Liberia in the right direction on a variety of issues, including:

- Increasing its respect for human rights and involving civil society in all aspects of governance;
- Playing a more positive role in the sub-region; and,
- Exercising more effective control over the State Security Service (SSS).

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IN THIS
SECTION

NEED
TO
MENTION
POSITIVES
TOO

① SDPA
w/ ECOMOG

② IMF
standby
arrangement

③ 6 MONTH
mark on
cash based
budget

④ AND NEGATIVES

① Dilute
case

② off-budget
spending

③ need
to be
transparent
to attract
investment

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-3-

Human Rights

Taylor has been unable or unwilling to exercise control over ex-combatants who now serve in his security forces. Their heavy-handed tactics led to potentially explosive confrontations shortly after your departure in February, and again in mid-March and early May.

The notorious Benjamin Yeaten was returned to the helm of the SSS after a perceived sham trial exonerated five of his men in the murder of opposition leader Sam Dokie and members of his family. We need to bring to President Taylor's attention the fact that, in the opinion of most observers, the Samuel Dokie murder case remains unresolved. You should ask Taylor what he plans to do to bring this case to closure.

In recent weeks the SSS has been implicated in the disappearances of at least seven people associated with Roosevelt Johnson's former faction, ULIMO-J.

Neither the Reconciliation Commission nor the Human Rights Commission is fully functional. The latter is awaiting Senate action on a revision of its enabling legislation, which the President has threatened to veto if it gives the Commission subpoena powers. The Reconciliation Commission is led by Victoria Reffell, a Taylor loyalist and apologist for the Government. The Reconciliation Commission has accomplished very little so far.

If Taylor makes the right moves now, Liberia can become a model for the region in human rights; if not, Liberia ~~could become a pariah, something that none of us wants to occur.~~

Regional Relations

You should congratulate President Taylor on concluding a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with Nigeria. We hope that this agreement will improve the relationship between the two countries. Until the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) is restructured and retrained, ECOMOG will be vital to Liberia's security. (NOTE: We are holding discussions with our Department of Defense to determine whether we can send an advisory team to Liberia to help the Government draw up a reorganization and restructuring plan for Liberia's armed forces.)

Also on the regional front, there have been repeated allegations that Liberia supports the RUF/AFRC rebels in Sierra Leone. Taylor has replied to these charges by saying there are obviously Liberians fighting on both sides of Sierra Leone's conflict, but they are not under the command or control of the Liberian Government. The problem with this argument is the existence of first hand accounts of NPFL veterans fighting in Sierra Leone in such large formations that it is hard to believe they are not being directed through a central structure of command.

will continue to be viewed w/ suspicion and reconciliation, full participation in national life, and investment will continue to be hobbled.

is this appropriate in this memo?

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-4-

When this issue was brought up by Ambassador Jeter in a meeting with President Taylor last month, the President became defensive and angry. Nevertheless, a series of constructive moves followed. For the first time, Taylor dispatched an emissary to Freetown with a message for President Kabbah; and in a few days Kabbah reciprocated. This exchange of envoys between Liberia and Sierra Leone was followed by a mini-summit in Abuja, attended by Presidents Taylor and Kabbah and Nigerian Head of State Abubakar, and organized by UN Secretary General Annan. As a result of this meeting, Presidents Taylor and Kabbah reached agreement on the following points:

- They strongly condemned the continued rebel activities in Sierra Leone as well as the horrendous atrocities being committed there;

- They expressed their determination to cooperate to promote an end to the fighting in Sierra Leone, and to foster security in the sub-region;

- They reaffirmed the 1986 non-aggression protocol of the Mano River Union Agreement;

- They agreed to exchange official visits;

- They both stated they would welcome and support the deployment of United Nations and ECOMOG observers along their border; and,

- They both called upon their citizens not to be involved in destabilizing activities against the other state, and that those caught committing such offenses should be arrested and prosecuted under the laws of the arresting state.

You should commend Taylor for taking these significant steps and urge him to continue to increase his level of cooperation with President Kabbah and others in the sub-region. Urge Taylor to do all in his power to assure there are no Liberian citizens fighting with the RUF.

The RUF is committing horrendous atrocities in Sierra Leone against innocent and helpless civilians, including amputations and mutilation of small children. This terror campaign is strongly and universally condemned by the international community, and has pricked the conscience of the world. The U.S. is providing logistical support, including civilian helicopter lift, to ECOMOG to help ECOMOG defeat the rebels. Taylor's identification with the RUF, and the atrocities they are committing, will considerably diminish his stature in the region and the wider international community. It is in his interest, and in Liberia's national interest, to dissociate himself from RUF and their insurgency. Taylor must be seen to be doing something to stop the depredations of the rebels.

*Repetitions
we have
a whole
separate
memo on
this.*

IF WE WANT IS TO RAISE NIGERIA IN QUESTIONS,

UNCLASSIFIED

NEED SOME PROSE ON IT HERE. NEED ECONOMIC SECTION.

SALIENT QUESTIONS YOU MAY WISH TO RAISE WITH TAYLOR

⑥ -- What do you think of the new leadership in Nigeria?

⑦ -- What impact will Abacha's death and Abubakar's assumption of power have on ECOMOG's presence in Liberia and ECOMOG's peacekeeping role in the region the region?

~~⑧~~ -- How do you view the SOFA you have concluded with the Nigerians? Does the agreement meet all of Liberia's needs? Are you content with the agreement?

> why raise this?
it's done

③ -- What further steps do you intend to take to identify and prosecute the culprits in the Dokie murders?

② -- Are the Commissions on National Reconciliation and Human Rights established? Are they working? Are these Commissions useful instruments in the campaign for national reconciliation?

① -- How does your Government intend to follow up on the recommendations of the National Conference?

④ -- There have been reports of disappearances of five ULIMO-J followers. Have they disappeared? What do you think happened to them? Is the Government investigating?

⑧ -- What happened to the Committee of Five (C-5)? Does the C-5 still have a role in negotiating an end to the conflict in Sierra Leone?

⑨ -- It is imperative that the military reflect Liberian society regionally and ethnically. Any force constructed otherwise could be viewed as a threat by other groups. What plans do you have for restructuring the Liberian military?

⑩ INFO FROM DDD

⑤ -- Questions on Economy

Washfax Receipt

Department Of State

B

98 JUL 14 18:19

Message No. **011082**Classification **CONFIDENTIAL**No. Pages **3**From: **Peter Petrihos**
(Officer Name)S/S
(Office symbol)**647-6548**
(Extension)**14 JUL '98 20:20**
7224
(Room number)Message Description: Cable to **LAGOS: Proposed Travel of Special Envoy**
Jesse Jackson

To (Agency)	Delivery	Extension	Room No.
NSCS	Glyn T. Davies	456-9461	WHSITRM
	Executive Secretariat		
	SMITH		
	BARKS-RUGGLES		

OK w/ Ed Rice
clearance
8MUST GO ☒NON-MUST GO ☐Remarks: Please Clear by: July 14

MUST GO

Diplomatic Clearances for Jackson Mission to Africa;Demarche needed 7/15 for 7/16 Arrival. Tuck

NSC POC: _____

S/S Officer: Pet Petrihos

Peter Petrihos

CJS**CROSSHATCH**UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTSInitials: vr Date: 1/17/2018

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Cable re: Proposed Travel of Special Envoy Jesse Jackson. (3 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/Byrne, Cathy et al)
OA/Box Number: 2851

FOLDER TITLE:

Jesse Jackson 1998-Present [2000] [5]

2014-0927-F

vz5246

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]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF THE SPOKESMAN



For Immediate Release

July 17, 1998

STATEMENT BY JAMES RUBIN, SPOKESMAN

LIBERIA: TRAVEL BY SPECIAL ENVOY JACKSON

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson will depart for Liberia today in his capacity as the President's and Secretary of State's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa. While in Liberia, the Special Envoy will participate in "The National Conference on the Future of Liberia". He also plans to meet with President Charles Taylor and other Government officials, opposition leaders, and representatives of civil society to urge reconciliation and respect for human rights and the rule of law. ~~An important focus of the meetings will be~~ regional developments, including Sierra Leone.

also focus on

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9804982
RECEIVED: 11 JUL 98 16

TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY

DOC DATE: 11 JUL 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA

LIBERIA

JD

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR SPECIAL AIR MISSION AIRCRAFT FOR JACKSON TRAVEL TO
NIGERIA & MONROVIA

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE DATE: 17 JUL 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: NONE

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
BARKS-RUGGLES
EXECSEC

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSCLM

CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 1 OF 1

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UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9804982

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001

X 98071410 FOR RECORD PURPOSES

UNCLASSIFIED



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9804982

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

July 13, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GLYN DAVIES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

In furtherance of the President's foreign policy objectives, the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Special Envoy of the President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, will travel to Nigeria and Monrovia in mid-July.

The purpose of Reverend Jackson's trip to Nigeria will be to reinforce the U.S. Government's message to Nigerian leaders and discuss the Nigerian Government's transition to a stable civilian democratic government. Special Envoy Jackson's objectives in Monrovia are to engage President Charles 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; and to reinforce the importance of reconciliation with civil society and the opposition - a crucial element in internal and regional stability.

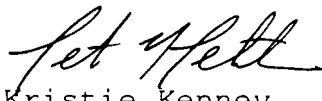
Reverend Jackson and his three-member delegation plan to depart Andrews AFB on July 15, travel to Nigeria July 16 - 19, Monrovia July 20 - 22, and return to Andrews AFB on July 23. The Department requests that this trip be declared a Presidential Mission and that an appropriate aircraft be made available on a non-reimbursable basis.

A military aircraft is necessary because of the need to have secure communication links with the White House and the National Security Council at all times. In addition, awkward, unreliable and time-consuming commercial air schedules to and within Africa make it impossible for the Special Envoy to visit the two countries within the five days Reverend Jackson is free to travel.

The only functioning Lagos-Monrovia connection (involving an overnight in Abidjan) requires a mid-day Monday arrival on July 20. In addition, Reverend Jackson would have to depart the morning of July 22 to make a connecting return flight to Europe, leaving no business time in Monrovia. There are no direct commercial flights between Lagos and Monrovia.

The point of contact in the Department is Joseph Huggins, Bureau of African Affairs Deputy Executive Director, (202) 647-4417.

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


a Kristie Kenney
Executive Secretary

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Wednesday, July 08, 1998 7:01 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Heads-Up - Jesse Jackson trip to Nigeria/Liberia [UNCLASSIFIED]

Rob/Ed:

Jesse Jackson might call SRB regarding his desire to travel next week to Nigeria and Liberia with a plane. He raised the issue earlier this week at State saying he was going in his private capacity as head of Rainbow/Push Coalition. He now wants to go in his official capacity. State lawyers have expressed concern that he is co-mingling objectives for the following reasons:

Liberia: He will be meeting up with a group of Americo-Liberians who will be traveling there as part of **Rainbow/Push Coalition**. (However, there are some official things that he could do there with President Taylor and attending the National Day Celebrations.)

Nigeria: He wants to do follow-up to the Pickering trip and meet with Abubakar and civil society leaders. State AF says Rice and Pickering have signed off on the Nigeria stop as a follow-up to their trip. We also believe in light of the events of the recent days an immediate follow-up visit would be useful.

State legal is still determining whether an official trip which might at some point have a Rainbow/Push Coalition is ok. Meanwhile State AF is preparing the justification/memo.

Plane: Jesse wants to have a plane. His current plans are to be in Nigeria on July 16-19 and then go on to Liberia. I have told State that getting a plane on short notice will be tough on top of the potential of a possible delegation going to Abiola's upcoming funeral.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Friday, July 03, 1998 1:24 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ travel - Heads up ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ed -

Susan called to say she received a phone call from Jackson yesterday that he would like to travel to Africa around July 15-19. He had originally thought he would go in his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition role to Liberia (for their national day) and South Africa (for Mandela's 80th birthday). He changed his mind on Thursday and now wants to go as Special Envoy to Liberia and then on to Nigeria. (State says they were aware of his plans to go privately, but had not raised it with us until JJ changed his mind).

I told State that getting a plane will likely be a problem given the short time frame, and I have told them to get moving on justification and a formal request. There is merit to the Liberia leg, and depending on how the Pickering visit goes and the status of Abiola's detention/release, the Nigeria piece might also be very worthwhile.

- Erica

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By 12 NARA, Date 1/8/2018
201-0927-F

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JS

MEMORANDUM

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES
NSC AFRICA DIV.
6-9260

TO: Woyneab Wondwossen
Presidential Letters and Messages
Voice 202/456-5492 Fax 202/456-5426

☒ Please see comments below ☐ Please advise on how to respond ☐ Please call me regarding the attached

☐ For your information ☐ For your approval ☒ Per your request

☐ No response necessary for attached letter, unless response otherwise recommended ☐ For your agency's response ☐ Please respond by:

Comments:

Woyneab - Attached are revisions. We need to be careful to protect the President and his policy team by not blowing Yuri's or Rev Jackson's role in overall Africa policy up in a personal letter like this. With the changes, we clear.

ERICA
x 69266

DRAFT OF BC LETTER

INITIALS: BC / wmw /

DOCUMENT TITLE: /slr/ms/temesgen.y.wmw

DRAFT DATE / LETTER DATE: May 20 1998 /

CORRESPONDENCE #: 3885834

CLEAR WITH:

WHCC:

CC: W. Wondwossen, 93

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO:

Ms. Yitayish Temesgen

Local 19

Azezo, Gondar,

APPROVAL/ENCLOSURES/SPECIAL INSTR:

Yf. Tadesse

Dear Ms. Temesgen:

I know your son, Yirgalem, and I want to let you know how very fond I am of him.

in helping
his capacity as my Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in
~~As the Reverend Jesse Jackson is chief advisor on international affairs,~~
Yuri ^{has} played a vital role in ~~my Administration's efforts to encourage~~
~~the development and democratization of~~ Africa. His guidance and ~~expert~~
insight have helped ^{to} further the cause for peace and prosperity ~~in Africa,~~
~~encouraging stable and reliable government, advancing human rights~~ and ~~to~~
building ~~stronger~~ bridges of friendship and cooperation with the region.
He has also done his part to better the lives of many Americans, as a
champion of issues ranging from civil rights to economic growth. ~~Yuri is~~
~~a true believer in democracy, and has dedicated much of his time and~~
~~talent to expanding voter registration and participation throughout the~~
~~United States.~~ *[too political]*

Yuri's
I'm sure you are proud of ~~his~~ professional achievements *and* ~~but you can also~~
~~take pride in his unique character and~~ *his* devotion to leadership. His
~~fervent desire to~~ *ing* enhance the *lives* conditions of people throughout the world. *and*
~~and in his native land of Ethiopia -- is a testament to his deep~~
~~compassion and willingness to serve a noble cause~~ Yuri is a fine young
man, brimming with ideas and energy, *I value his contribution to my*
a son of whom you must be very proud.

~~team, and look forward to working with him in the future.~~

Mrs. Clinton joins me in extending our very best wishes to you and your family for every future happiness.

Sincerely,

BC

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

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 regards 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,

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



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

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

Scandy
This is good. tell
them what we want. would be
good to have some
production in
he says
BC

Copied
Berger
COS
NSC WWD

SANDY
THIS IS GOOD

TELL JESSE
WHAT WILL BE
DONE - WOULD
BE GOOD TO
HAVE CONG.
RESOLUTION
AS HE SAYS
BC

JUN 17 14/15

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.

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9804460
RECEIVED: 18 JUN 98 17

TO: NSC STAFF

FROM: PRESIDENT

DOC DATE: 16 JUN 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA

PERSONS: JACKSON, JESSE

SUBJECT: POTUS REQUEST NSC RECOM RE 11 JUN JACKSON SPEECH ABOUT NIGERIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER

DUE DATE: 24 JUN 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
BUSBY
RUDMAN

FOR INFO
SCHWARTZ
WILSON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTSM

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

May 14, 1998

STATEMENT BY JAMES P. RUBIN, SPOKESMAN

REVEREND JESSE JACKSON'S THIRD TRIP TO AFRICA

On May 14, Reverend Jesse L. Jackson will be making his third trip to Africa as the President's and Secretary of State's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa. He will visit one country, Ethiopia, where he will give a speech on human rights and democracy to Parliament. He will also meet with Ethiopian leaders across the political spectrum, including the opposition and representatives of civil society and religious organizations, to encourage continued democratization.

Drawing from his own experience as a political and civil rights leader, Reverend Jackson will promote policies of inclusion, openness, dialogue, and non-violence. He will return to the U.S. on May 19.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

May 29, 1998

INFORMATIONMEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
LEON FEURTHTHROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON
FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES
SUBJECT: Nigeria Mission and Reverend Jackson

Reverend Jackson has asked why he was not included in the high-level mission we are planning to send to Nigeria. He will be seeing the VP today and may raise with the President. Following is background and talking points to use with Reverend Jackson.

Background

From the inception of Reverend Jackson's mandate, there was a specific and deliberate decision that Nigeria policy would not be in his portfolio. Given the sensitive and often-times controversial nature of our relationship with Nigeria, and due to Reverend Jackson's past history with several Nigerian governments (he was perceived as being very close to Babangida), and his relations with the current government (which have fluctuated between excellent and horrendous), it was decided that his talents would best be directed elsewhere.

In deciding the composition of the high-level team, the need for quiet diplomacy based on personal relationships and long-standing diplomatic expertise were seen as critical to any possible success for the mission. Jackson's considerable talents lie much more in the public diplomacy theater, and in using the media and public pressure to bring parties together. In the past Abacha has responded very negatively to such public pressure, hunkering down and increasing his recalcitrance.

Talking Points

- Fully aware of and appreciate your long-standing interest and personal investment in Nigeria.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

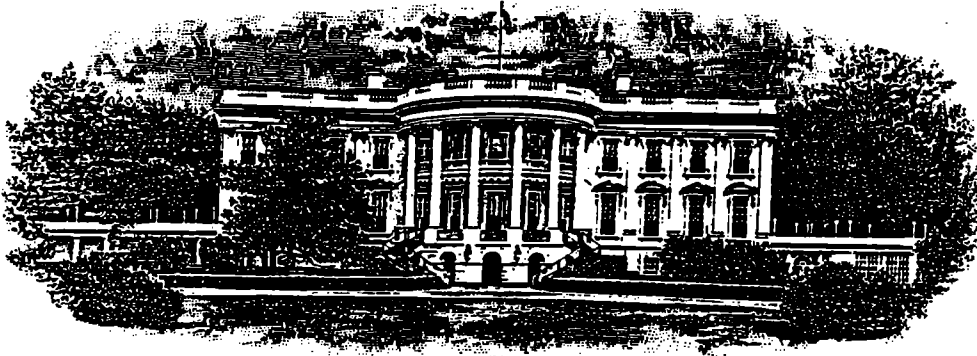
Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/29/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2007
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By 12 NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-f

-
- Nature of current mission is to give tough, quiet message to Abacha personally.
- In thinking about composition of the team we thought that Pickering's long knowledge of Nigeria, and his stature there as a career diplomat would set the correct tone for the meeting.
- We think it important for you and your position as Special Envoy to lead, rather than play a supporting role on your missions to Africa.
- There may well be a role for you in Nigeria at a later date depending on the outcome of this mission. We will keep your concerns and interest in mind as we plan any future trips.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE



FAX COVER SHEET

Date: 5/8/98
Pages to follow: 8

FROM: _____ Joseph Wilson phone: 202-456-9261
 Robin Sanders fax: 202-456-9260
 ☒ Erica Barks-Ruggles
 _____ John Prendergast
 _____ Lori Hendricks

TO:	<u>PHONE NUMBER</u>	<u>FAX NUMBER</u>
1. <u>JUNE</u>	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____

MESSAGE: JUNE - TOGO PAPERS w/ MY CHANGES. I HAVE GIVEN
ROBIN THE CAR PAPERS & JOHN THE ETHIOPIA PAPERS & ASKED
THEM TO SEND CHANGES BACK TO YOU BY NOON MONDAY.
YOU MAY WANT TO CALL THEM & REMIND THEM. -ERICA

UNCLASSIFIED



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

MEMORANDUM

TO: AF - June Carter Perry

FROM: AF/W - Howard F. Jeter *H.F.J.*

SUBJECT: Nigeria: Talking Points for Reverend Jackson's Meeting With Togolese President Eyadema

During Special Envoy Jackson's proposed meeting with Togolese President Eyadema, I am certain the subject of Nigeria will come up. This will be an excellent opportunity to thank President Eyadema for his assistance in asking President Abacha to commute the death sentences of six ~~person~~ *people* recently convicted of coup plotting. ✓

Background

Because of its strategic economic and political importance, Nigeria is one of our most pressing policy concerns in Africa. The current transition program in Nigeria represented an historic opportunity for that country and the whole of Africa. The character of the transition could define the Nigerian polity and also influence future prospects for democratization on the continent. ~~(So far, the GON's failure to take advantage of this opportunity is very disappointing.~~ ✓

Abacha's continued manipulation of the ^{five} transition process, particularly his nomination by all the ~~Government-sponsored~~ *approved* parties, coupled with fuel ~~and food~~ shortages, have ~~created a~~ *escalated* turbulent mix of economic and political discontent. These ~~escalating tensions have manifested themselves in the streets of Nigeria.~~ Showing popular dissatisfaction with the transition, the April 25 National Assembly elections produced an extremely low turnout of less than ten per cent by reputable accounts. Meanwhile, ~~thousands of~~ *thousands* Nigerians have ~~protested~~ *protested* ~~throughout the country~~ in recent weeks, with the May 1 demonstrations in Ibadan among the most strident in recent years. In this atmosphere, the execution of General Diya and the five other ethnic Yoruba senior military officers, could ~~contribute to further fragmentation in the military while~~ *begin to heighten frustrations by* ~~sparking~~ *(overstated)* ethnic unrest in Yoruba-dominated Western Nigeria, ~~and might lead to ethnic cleavages in the military.~~

Especially in Southern Nigeria.

These should
be 1 page only

Talking Points

-- I thank you personally and on behalf of my Government, for your willingness to intervene with General Abacha to commute the death sentences of General Diya and the other alleged coup plotters in Nigeria. Given the already tense atmosphere in Nigeria, their executions could lead to unrest.

-- The United States is a friend of Nigeria. We recognize ^{its} the vast human, material, and political potential, ~~of your country.~~ (This is TOGO)
We want Nigeria to play its rightful role in Africa and beyond. We would like nothing better than to see Nigeria take a leading role on the continent in the 21st century. ~~So that Africa can play its rightful role on the world stage.~~ ✓ a stable, democratic and prosperous

-- My Government hopes to be able to work with Nigeria ~~(to begin)~~ to address the many issues and challenges that face Africa.

-- Nigeria's future will be significantly determined by the quality of the transition to civilian rule. Only a fair, transparent, competitive process will accord Nigeria ^{Government} the international legitimacy and dignity it deserves.

-- Only a legitimate transition will begin to mend the troublesome political cleavages that, if left unattended, will continue to stifle Nigeria's potential.

-- We are concerned that the recent nomination of General Abacha by ^{the official} ~~all~~ the political parties diminishes the chances of a credible transition that reflects the will of the Nigerian people.

-- We know the Nigerian Government's concern for stability and order and acknowledge the importance of these goals. However, attempting to maintain stability through a process that does not have popular support will ultimately fail. The people of Nigeria must be allowed ^{to} ~~in the process of~~ choosing their leadership.

-- Because the transition has been so tightly controlled, there is widespread disillusionment with the process. The April 25 National Assembly elections elicited one of the weakest turn outs in Nigeria's history.

-- While the Nigerian people have shown great forbearance, anti-government demonstrations resulting from the volatile mix of political discontent and economic hardship have erupted recently.

-2-

-- General Abacha should act in the interests of Nigeria. ^{all} He ^{s, and} should refuse the party nominations so a genuine election can take place. ~~All of Nigeria's friends must encourage decisions that permit a democratic election through an open, competitive, and impartial process.~~

transition
to civilian
democratic
government

-- This entails ^{the} ~~permitting free political activity by all groups and individuals~~ release of political prisoners, freedom of the press, ~~equitable~~ access to ~~government~~ media by all candidates, and free and fair elections. The Government ~~must~~ ^{for} also desist from harassing human rights and pro-democracy groups.

respect for freedom of speech,
assembly and

allowing all those
who wish to run
to do so,



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

SENSITIVE BUT
UNCLASSIFIED

TO: Special Envoy Jackson
FROM: AF - Susan E. Rice
SUBJECT: The Election in Togo

I. BACKGROUND:

begin the process of rebuilding
Your visit to Togo will take place at a time of rising political tension. A Presidential election is scheduled for June 14, with legislative elections expected to take place later in the summer. This election won't be perfect, but if all players act sensibly it will advance Togo's democratic transition and ~~assure a better economic future for~~ this once-prosperous country. However, there is real potential for this contest to spark the same kind of violence, repression, and communal hatred that characterized Togo during the abortive ^{ed} democratic transition ~~period of~~ the early 90's.

U.S. - Togo Relations

U.S. - Togo relations are correct but not warm. The primary irritant is lack of progress on democratic reform. We would prefer a better relationship with the GOT, but are hampered by the Eyadema regime's attempts to restore a camouflaged one-party state.

now in it 32nd year in power,
Although a military dictatorship, relatively prosperous, Western-oriented Togo used to have a cordial, mutually-supportive relationship with the USG. President Eyadema made an official visit here in 1990. We had a sizeable bilateral AID program in Togo and a variety of modest military-to-military programs. That ended when Eyadema used his security forces to repress the pro-democracy movement that had begun to transform Togolese politics in the early 1990's.

The period between 1990 and 1994 was an extremely violent era in Togo. There were brutal massacres by security forces and a number of individual atrocities by opposition supporters against Eyadema loyalists. The USG suspended all security assistance programs in 1993, and our AID office was closed in 1994.

Under pressure from the international community, Togolese authorities have recently made some improvements in human rights practices. The level of security force violence towards the civil population has decreased sharply. Opposition parties and newspapers continue to function, although they suffer frequent harassment, particularly outside Lome. Eyadema loyalists control firmly the state security institutions and the election machinery, however, and the populace has little confidence in the impartiality of the Government.

Eyadema recently has sought vigorously to improve his image. The GOT resents its international isolation, and the cut-off of international assistance from donors. The Eyadema Government has been helpful to us from time to time on international and regional issues. We have made it clear to the Togolese that we would also like a closer relationship, but cannot do so in the absence of genuine democratic progress.

Togo and the International Community

Most of the donor community pulled out of Togo during the political crisis of the early 90's. The French alone retained strong ties to Eyadema, but the new French Administration has begun distancing itself from his regime. The donors would like to restore programs in Togo, but have been unable to do so because of Togo's lack of credible democracy.

Economic Consequences of Political Crisis

The political troubles of the early 1990's ruined ^{Togo's} ~~the~~ flourishing tourist industry and touched off a year-long general strike. Thousands of Togolese left the country, taking capital and skills with them. Togo's economy collapsed. ^A Historically, the Eyadema Government has used the country's parastatals as a cash-cow and source of ~~sinecures~~ ^{payments} for party loyalists.

→ Under pressure from the World Bank and the IMF, the Togolese Government is now trying to sell off parastatals and make economic reforms. The bitter medicine prescribed by the Bank and Fund has begun to show results: Togo's economic growth has gone from zero to 6 per cent in four years. The Togolese are desperate to attract international investment. However, the political instability of the last seven years and the corruption and impunity of Togo's security forces remain a powerful disincentive to investors.

- 3 -

II. THE 1998 ELECTIONS

To a large extent, Togolese politics are about regional and ethnic loyalties. Eyadema's supporters are, like him, from the impoverished ~~(and backwards)~~ north of the country. Their ~~base~~ ^{base} is in the Kabye ethnic group, although ethnicity is not the sole factor in defining Togo's political divide. The security forces are dominated by ~~(the)~~ northerners. Eyadema, ~~the~~ ^a former French army soldier, is their undisputed leader, and they have shown themselves capable of great brutality in maintaining Eyadema and his RPT party in power. (A)

Opposition parties have their base in the more populous, better-educated, commercially-oriented south. May -- though not all -- opposition leaders are from the Ewe ethnic group. Their leaders are mostly engaging, idealistic intellectuals. They have little in common politically except their opposition to Eyadema. The opposition has been hampered by its inability to overcome personal rivalries and work together on a common program. Their most effective tactic probably was the long general strike in 1992-93, but the resulting economic damage likely harmed them more than their rivals.

The Shadow of the Past

10
1998 B (?) The extreme violence and brutality of the transition period in the early 90's poisons the Togolese politics of today. Following a decade of widespread instability, Eyadema ~~the military ruler,~~ was forced to convene a National Conference. The Conference formed a Provisional Government, which included the opposition. However, the army intervened, at one point surrounding the Prime Minister's offices and taking him and his staff hostage. The result, after many angry street confrontations between the populace and security forces and much bloodshed, was a weak government firmly dominated by Eyadema hardliners, but with the outward trappings of democracy.

With the exception of a legislative election conducted in 1994 under intense international scrutiny, there have never been elections in Togo that could be considered free and fair.

Many of the Togolese political figures you will meet have suffered painful losses because of their engagement in politics. Eyadema's brother was killed, Yawovi Agboyigbo of the opposition CAR party had his house burned down, Gilchrist Olympio's father, the former President, was assassinated by Eyadema, and Olympio Junior was badly wounded in an assassination attempt linked to soldiers under the command of Eyadema's son. Other politicians have suffered similar losses.

not counting
his 26 years as military ruler
him
- 4 -

Eyadema the candidate

Togo's Constitution permits a President two terms. Eyadema ~~got~~ his first term in a 1993 election so blatantly rigged the opposition boycotted ~~it~~ and Jimmy Carter, there as an observer, walked out. He is ~~known to crave~~ legitimacy and has told acquaintances such as former Assistant Secretary Hank Cohen that he wants to win honorably and retire when his term expires in 2003. Eyadema engaged Cohen to develop a plan for a legitimate election. Eyadema adopted many of the forms of Cohen's proposals, but not necessarily their substance. For example, Cohen recommended the election be supervised by an independent, bi-partisan commission. The commission was installed, but the government imposed a voting chairman known to be loyal to Eyadema. Eyadema's tactics have been described as "Potemkin Democracy."

strongly disagree

Eyadema is ~~in many ways a good leader~~ a better man than some of the thugs who surround him. Although the power positions in his government rest with northerners, he has appointed many capable southerners to office and does not engage in ethnic or regional invective. Having survived a number of accidents (including a plane crash) and assassination attempts, he believes he is a man of destiny, spared by God for a purpose.

Given his strong following in the North, access to unlimited funds, and well-organized party machinery, Eyadema would quite likely win even a free election against his disunited and inept opponents.

The Opposition

Frustrated and intimidated, the opposition was expected to boycott this election as they have in the past. However, the Government's better profile on human rights and Eyadema's evident desire to improve his international reputation have encouraged most of the opposition leaders to contest the election. ✓

Two of the most able leaders are Yawovi Agboyigbo, a lawyer and fiery populist speaker, and Gilchrist Olympio, a successful international businessman and son of Togo's first President.

The USG and the international community have strongly encouraged the oppositionists to contest the race, even though they stand little chance of winning. We have urged them to look to the long term, as the Mexican opposition did, and build up a grassroots organization with a realistic program.

- 5 -

The opposition, weary of years of sterile boycotts and dangerous street confrontations with the Government, appears ready to "play the game" as long as they have a reasonable chance to contest the election, and are not merely being used as window-dressing for a "Potemkin Victory" by Eyadema. This could be the start of real democratic progress in Togo, especially if Eyadema leaves the political scene when his term expires.

The Security Forces

The long shadow of Togo's powerful, well-armed, brutal security forces looms over the election. Persuading them not to interfere as the oppositionists range through the country criticising them and their leader will be require firm discipline by Eyadema himself. Should Eyadema actually appear to be losing, the security forces might well intervene.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, May 12, 1998 10:00 AM
To: Rice, Edward A.; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: further updates on JJ [UNCLASSIFIED]

Ed -

JJ and his staff are indeed fully aware of the plane situation and are now flying commercial to Addis on FRIDAY (not Thurs or Sat as previously planned). He will arrive in Addis Saturday evening, give his speech on Monday, and fly back on Tuesday.

Have discussed the idea of longer-range planning with them. They are amenable. Trying now to work this with State.

- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Monday, May 11, 1998 9:03 PM
To: Elkon, Nicole L.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jackson in Birmingham [UNCLASSIFIED]

State reached Jackson who is in New Orleans this evening. He said he had not rpt had not heard of this event and was not planning to go to Birmingham. He has revised his departure plans and will leave Thursday for Addis, stay through the weekend, give speech on Monday and return to the States via a transit stop in Frankfurt. He said directly (no intermediary) that he was not going to Birmingham - rrs

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

From: Elkon, Nicole L.
Sent: Monday, May 11, 1998 8:42 PM
To: Sanders, Robin R.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: Jackson in Birmingham [UNCLASSIFIED]

thank you

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

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Monday, May 11, 1998 8:35 PM
To: Elkon, Nicole L.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: Jackson in Birmingham [UNCLASSIFIED]

Checking now. Jackson told us today that he was leaving from here to go directly to Addis Ababa Ethiopia on Saturday for a Sunday arrival. He will be giving a speech on Monday in Addis. He plans to depart Addis on Tuesday and transit Frankfurt on his way back to the US. Have a call into Jackson's office now

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

From: Elkon, Nicole L.
Sent: Monday, May 11, 1998 8:20 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: Jackson in Birmingham [UNCLASSIFIED]

@Africa please confirm ASAP-

Word is Jesse Jackson is planning on participating in a an event called the Jubilee 2000 in Birmingham. People are planning on creating a human ring around the city of Birmingham to protest to get more debt relief for developing countries.

Summit is Friday, Saturday , Sunday of this week. Please advise ASAP - (We leave tomorrow at 11:00 am)

thanks

May 11, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOESPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Report on Liberia Day Conference, Hosted by
Reverend Jesse Jackson

On April 17 and 18, Reverend Jesse Jackson, acting in his private capacity, and the Rainbow/Push Coalition hosted a national reconciliation conference for Liberia in Chicago.

Attached at Tab A is a report, prepared by participants from the U.S. State Department, on the conference and its outcomes.

In the report, it notes that Reverend Jackson may seek an appointment with you to discuss the results and offer his ideas on how the U.S. government might help advance some of the reconciliation ideas put forward at the conference. We would recommend such a meeting if he asks for it.

Jackson is likely to raise with you the possibility of U.S. assistance to reduce Liberia's debt, and intervention in President Taylor's outstanding arrest warrant in the State of Massachusetts.

Liberia's Debt

Liberia owes \$2.6 billion in external debt. We have worked with the IMF, the World Bank, other donors, and the Government of Liberia on how to address Liberia's crushing debt burden. At an April donors conference in Paris, it was agreed that the donors would look at creative ways to reduce Liberia's debt. The World Bank has indicated that they would like to be helpful to Liberia if the board supports it, and if it can generate liquidity beyond its obligations in the Asian economic crisis. The IMF has sent several technical teams to Liberia, and is currently assisting the GOL in constructing a staff monitored program - the first step to make Liberia eligible for a structural

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify: 5/8/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 1/8/2018
201-0927-F

adjustment facility. The GOL performance in its first six months was very good. They have put into place a cash-based balanced budget, paid off nearly one year of salary arrears to civil servants and introduced some fiscal discipline in ministries. The Minister of Finance, a Liberian with many years of experience at the World Bank, has been strongly praised for his efforts.

Arrest Warrant

We understand that dropping the outstanding jailbreak charge against Charles Taylor would be a matter for the District Attorney and Sheriff of Plymouth County, Massachusetts, where the incident took place. The Massachusetts Attorney General does not have the authority to drop the charges or require the local authorities to do so. The local authorities are apparently not prepared to act on their own initiative. The Criminal Division of the Justice Department has advised the State Department that there is no U.S. law enforcement interest in having the charges dropped. We understand, however, that the Criminal Division would be prepared to ask Attorney General Reno for approval to intercede with the Massachusetts authorities if State formally requests them to do so for foreign policy reasons. The State Department is not prepared, at this time, to make such a request, due to the extraordinary character of such an action and President Taylor's mixed record on human rights and democracy building since his inauguration in August.

In the meantime, however, the Plymouth, Massachusetts authorities have removed the arrest warrant from the nation-wide computer system. The State Department has informed President Taylor and the Government of Liberia that Taylor would be entitled as head of state to immunity from arrest and other legal process in the United States.

Concurrence by: Mary DeRosa 

Attachment

Tab A Report on Liberia Day Conference



S/S 9807618

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 6, 1998

3283

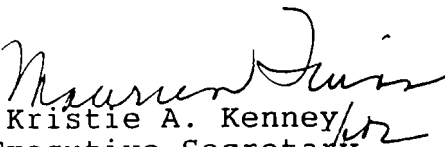
UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR GLYN T. DAVIES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Memo on the April 17-18 Liberia Day Conference
Hosted by the Reverend Jesse Jackson

Attached is a memo for National Security Advisor Berger concerning the Liberia Day Conference hosted by Reverend Jackson and the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition in Chicago on April 17-18. The conference brought together a senior level Government of Liberia delegation, headed by First Lady Jewel Howard-Taylor, and a representative cross-section of Liberians residing in the United States. The gathering helped advance national reconciliation and, as a result of the event, Jackson is organizing a July 1998 trip to Liberia for U.S. businesspersons and Liberian expatriates.

After the Conference, Jackson told Special Presidential Envoy for Liberia Howard F. Jeter that he would contact Secretary Albright and NSA Berger to discuss next steps the U.S. Government might take to keep the bilateral relationship on track.


Kristie A. Kenney
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
Memo on Liberia Day Conference

UNCLASSIFIED

MAY 7 8:21



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

REPORT ON APRIL 17-18 LIBERIA
DAY CONFERENCE
HOSTED BY THE REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

The April 17-18 Liberia Day Conference sponsored by the Reverend Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow/Push Coalition advanced national reconciliation and helped bridge the information gaps between the Liberian diaspora and the Government in Monrovia. Roughly 500-750 Liberians from across North America came to Chicago for the Conference. First Lady Jewel Howard-Taylor headed a delegation of 40 senior level Liberian Government officials and representatives from civil society. Numerous U.S. business representatives attended, including consultants in the energy (solar panels), construction and food processing sectors.

While most participants were sympathetic to the Government, overall attendance fairly represented the political spectrum. There were pointed questions asked about President Taylor's past, his human rights record, and policies of his new Government. To his credit, Reverend Jackson did not allow the Conference to mire in the past; he exhorted the group to reconcile past differences and work for a better future.

In her keynote address, First Lady Howard-Taylor ably presented the Government's positions and outlined Liberia's post-war social development challenges. Foreign Minister Captan reviewed the evolution of ECOMOG's role and talked about the need for an ECOWAS-GOL Status of Forces Agreement to allow for ECOMOG's continued presence in Liberia. The Finance, Agriculture and Planning Ministers spoke about their respective sectoral challenges.

Demonstrating the importance Liberia attached to the event, President Taylor spoke to the Conference and answered questions during two extended telephone hook-ups with the Statehouse in Monrovia. The first session gave Conference attendees the

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

- 2 -

opportunity to ask questions; the second was exclusively with the press. Major concerns and questions raised with President Taylor, and repeated throughout the Conference, focussed on human rights, the security situation, and the creation of private sector opportunities in Liberia's devastated economy. Taylor, by phone, and the First Lady and Government Ministers, in person, responded well to the participant's questions.

Special Envoy Jeter and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Susan Rice made brief remarks at the Conference. In addition to recounting the significant humanitarian and peacekeeping support the U.S. provided during the civil war, Jeter and Rice stated their desire for a good bilateral relationship with the newly elected government. They emphasized, however, the quality of that relationship ultimately would depend on GOL performance, particularly on human rights.

As a result of the Conference, Rev. Jackson will be organizing a "Reunion Trip" to Liberia in late July to coincide with a GOL-sponsored Conference on July 19 in Monrovia and with Liberia's July 26 Independence Day. Participants will include Liberian expatriates as well as U.S. businesspersons.

After the Conference, Rev. Jackson asked Special Presidential Envoy Jeter what the U.S. Government could do to dismiss the 1985 Massachusetts criminal charges against Taylor. Jackson also was interested in U.S. efforts to help Liberia resolve its \$2.6 billion external debt. Ambassador Jeter informed Jackson of the political complexities surrounding Taylor's request for our intervention with the State of Massachusetts. He also told Jackson that we have been consulting with key bilateral donors and the International Financial Institutions on Liberia's debt. However, a work-out would not be immediate and would depend on continued GOL reforms and performance.

Jackson said that he might be contacting National Security Advisor Berger about the Conference and his ideas for next steps to keep the relationship with Liberia on the right track.

UNCLASSIFIED

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Monday, May 11, 1998 10:22 AM
To: Sanders, Robin R.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jessie Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

Robin - Believe Jackson called SRB. . . trying to confirm now.

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

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Monday, May 11, 1998 10:20 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Jessie Jackson [UNCLASSIFIED]

Please advise whether Jackson called SRB in connection with his disappointment at not being able to travel milair to Africa this week. State explained to him that there were no planes available -- from Andrews or inter-theater from Europe -- for him to travel this week to the region. If he has not called yet, SRB can expect one. Jackson raised the issue with Rice in Atlanta over the weekend. robin

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Friday, May 08, 1998 9:23 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.; Rice, Edward A.; Cosgriff, Kevin J.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: Status of planned Jackson trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

Joe/Ed/Kevin -
Status report on JJ trip

The JJ trip continues to be a moving target. Originally planned for Togo, CAR and Ethiopia, leaving 5/13 and returning 5/19 using milair from Germany, it is now totally up in the air. JJ will definitely be going to Ethiopia to give a speech at a democracy NGO conference in Addis on the 18th. The other parts of his trip may be scrapped, however, because there are no planes -- either from the U.S. or Europe. If this ends up happening (as is likely) he will go commercial to Ethiopia, give the speech, and fly commercial back.

JJ was upset and spoke with Susan in Atlanta about this according to June and has also talked to Rob (and maybe with SRB by the time you get this). It does not look like it will happen. JJ cannot do the CAR and Togo stops after the Ethiopia speech due to commitments in the U.S. on the 20th.

The extra person, Marie, that JJ wanted to bring on the trip is not going in any case, because she still is in class. JJ apparently asked Susan about bringing Professor Ron Walters with him. This is another run at trying to bring delegations along with him, which we should resist.

I will be available until about 4:30 on Saturday for any questions/crisis management, then I leave for the airport to go to London. POC at the State Department in June Carter Perry -- she can be reached through their Ops Center.

- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Friday, May 08, 1998 12:11 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

Erica - Ed left the message below also by phone and added that they need more than a week's lead time to find an aircraft for JJ. That they are tight on aircraft because many of them are undergoing modifications, therefore there is no way JJ can go next week. As you can see from below he has already spoken to State execsec. June is going to call Susan in Atlanta to let her know, and of course we can expect a shot across the bow on this from JJ

EBR - Rob Malley returned your call

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

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Friday, May 08, 1998 12:00 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.; Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Davies, Glyn T.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

I have passed to State that there are no aircraft available out of either U.S. or Europe. They are regrouping.

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

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Wednesday, May 06, 1998 5:07 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Davies, Glyn T.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

No aircraft out of U.S. Can he leave from Europe?

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, May 06, 1998 4:55 PM
To: Rice, Edward A.; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Davies, Glyn T.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

Is this no aircraft out of U.S. or no aircraft out of Europe?

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

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Wednesday, May 06, 1998 4:54 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Davies, Glyn T.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

No aircraft available without bumping someone. Are there other dates he can go?

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, May 06, 1998 4:46 PM
To: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Davies, Glyn T.; Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, May 06, 1998 1:16 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: Battenfield, Pat A.; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

HEADS UP FOR GLYN AND ED

Jesse Jackson is planning to take his next trip to Africa mid-week next week. We, State and Reverend Jackson have agreed that we would like to have him go to Togo, Central African Republic (CAR), and Ethiopia (where he will speak at a conference).

State is preparing a request for military airlift FROM THE U.S., which should arrive this afternoon. In order to fit in the window of time in JJ's schedule and have him visit all three countries, the schedule will look something like the following:

3/13	midnight	depart U.S.
3/14	late afternoon	arrive Togo
3/16	late afternoon	depart Togo
3/16	early evening	arrive CAR
3/17	late afternoon	depart CAR
3/17	early evening	arrive Ethiopia
3/18		speech
3/19	morning	depart Ethiopia
3/20	morning	arrive U.S.

Obviously, as this is next week, we will be working on a short turn around. Could you check to see if a plane from the U.S. is available? Also could you start looking at crew rest times to see if the sketch schedule is workable? Thanks.

FYI - JJ has worked 55 days so far in his role as Special Envoy. This trip will put him at 62 days worked - 2 over his initial limit. He is, however, allowed to work up to 130 days in a calendar year with only slightly stricter restrictions. JJ has received a briefing on those restrictions from State L, and we will send to you, SRB and legal a copy of the L memo outlining all of JJ's restriction.

Intended For:
Author: June Carter Perry
Subject: Travel of S/E Jackson

This Item is In Progress

JJ

SER and NSC have agreed that S/E Jackson should travel to Togo, CAR and Ethiopia next week. We have requested milair but are still awaiting final app. from the NSC and anticipate commercial flights from Wash to Frankfurt and from return from Frankfurt. The itinerary and prog. anticipated are as follows:

Wed May 13 Wash, D.C. - Frankfurt (commercial)
Thurs May 14 Milair to Lome (prob. arr. eve.)
Fri May 15 Lome Program (poss late dep -2am for Bangui)
Sat May 16 Bangui Program (arr 8am, 9am--3pm sched, dep 4pm for Addis)
Sun May 17 Addis Program
Mon May 18 Addis Program (dep. milair 8/9 pm for Frankfurt)
Tues May 19 Dep Frankfurt for Wash, D.C. (commercial)

Program: Togo: Reinforce democratic principles, free and fair elections, non-violence, independent electoral process, meetings with opposition, NGO/ civil society leaders. Arrival statement/departure statement. USIS/Press event. Mtg w/Pres., PM, FM

CAR: Reinforce adherence to UN timetable and reform package, consult with UN-MINURCA Rep., civil society/opposition. Mtg. w/Pres., PM, FM. Mtg with the French Amb. Pub/press event, Emb. Cult. Cen. Arr/Dep statements.

Ethiopia: Reinforce adherence to human rights and democratic practices. Consultations with opp., civil society, religious leaders, etc. Mtg w/Meles/govt officials. Major speech at Parliament's International Human Rights conf. Arr/Dep statements.

Briefing Materials: Please provide background briefing materials by Fri., May 8 to include proposed scenario in the country, background and meeting papers, TPs, arr/dep. statements. I am trying to schedule oral briefing by offices for Tues or Wed, dep. on the S/E's schedule.

AF/RA: LSegesvary to handle pre-departure press briefing/teleconference and press release/announcement. Also to work with USIA and international wire services.

NOTE: We are still working on transportation with the NSC; no front channel message on this mission will go before we have NSC confirmation. Request desks work informally w/posts. Hope to send front channel soonest. Thanks.

The following options are available for commercial travel to and from Frankfurt:

Wednesday, May 13

6:00 p.m. Depart Wash/Dulles via United 978

Thursday, May 14

7:50 a.m. Arrive Frankfurt

Tuesday, May 19

Option 1:

10:00 a.m. Depart Frankfurt via United 3517

12:15 p.m. Arrive JFK

2:10 p.m. Depart JFK via United 6489

3:29 p.m. Arrive Wash/Dulles

Option 2:

12:25 p.m. Depart Frankfurt via United 917 (Reservation)

3:00 p.m. Arrive Wash/Dulles

Option 3:

1:25 p.m. Depart Frankfurt via United 3503

3:45 p.m. Arrive Wash/Dulles

Option 4:

5:50 p.m. Depart Frankfurt via United 977

8:25 p.m. Arrive Wash/Dulles

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, May 06, 1998 4:46 PM
To: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; Davies, Glyn T.; Rice, Edward A.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, May 06, 1998 1:16 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: Battenfield, Pat A.; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Jesse Jackson - next trip [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

HEADS UP FOR GLYN AND ED

Jesse Jackson is planning to take his next trip to Africa mid-week next week. We, State and Reverend Jackson have agreed that we would like to have him go to Togo, Central African Republic (CAR), and Ethiopia (where he will speak at a conference).

State is preparing a request for military airlift FROM THE U.S., which should arrive this afternoon. In order to fit in the window of time in JJ's schedule and have him visit all three countries, the schedule will look something like the following:

3/13	midnight	depart U.S.
3/14	late afternoon	arrive Togo
3/16	late afternoon	depart Togo
3/16	early evening	arrive CAR
3/17	late afternoon	depart CAR
3/17	early evening	arrive Ethiopia
3/18	speech	
3/19	morning	depart Ethiopia
3/20	morning	arrive U.S.

Obviously, as this is next week, we will be working on a short turn around. Could you check to see if a plane from the U.S. is available? Also could you start looking at crew rest times to see if the sketch schedule is workable? Thanks.

FYI - JJ has worked 55 days so far in his role as Special Envoy. This trip will put him at 62 days worked - 2 over his initial limit. He is, however, allowed to work up to 130 days in a calendar year with only slightly stricter restrictions. JJ has received a briefing on those restrictions from State L, and we will send to you, SRB and legal a copy of the L memo outlining all of JJ's restriction.

JS

BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

Date: ~~April~~ May 6

To: Africa B.R.

Fax:

Phone:

456-9260

456-9261

From: JCP

Fax: (202) 647-6301

Phone:

7-1818

Number of pages:

4

Subject:

Spec. Enway/Sec. Ad.

Enway-Pass 1 and 2 contain
the info you need for your memo.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 26, 1997

To: C - Wendy Sherman

From: L - James H. Theiss *J. T.*

Subject: Ethics Considerations for appointment of Reverend
Jesse Jackson as Special Adviser to the President and
the Secretary of State for Democracy in Africa

This memorandum sets forth guidelines for Reverend Jackson's tenure as Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa. These recommendations are designed to allow Rev. Jackson to continue his on-going outside activities consistent with government-wide ethics rules and regulations as well as with Department policies; in certain cases the criminal laws give us no flexibility on their scope.

In addition to writing a column for the Los Angeles Times and appearing on a CNN public affairs program, Rev. Jackson gives several speeches each year and is the Executive Director of Operation Push/Rainbow Coalition. To minimize the restrictions on his outside activities resulting from his government work, Rev. Jackson should be appointed as a Special Government Employee and should have his work scheduled so that he does not work more than 60 days in any calendar year. He would face more restrictive rules if his service as a Special Government Employee extended beyond 60 days during a 365-day period. These greater restrictions, which are elaborated upon below, could make it difficult in practice to continue some of his outside activities.

As a Special Government Employee:

1) Rev. Jackson may not represent any outside person or organization -- such as the Rainbow Coalition or a private individual -- before the United States on matters he actually works on as a government employee. After 60 days, in addition to the foregoing restriction, he also may not represent another on any matter pending before the department or agency in which he is serving. Because Rev. Jackson would receive administrative and

staff support, office space and foreign policy guidance from the Department of State, he would be considered to be serving in the State Department. (Regular full-time employees are barred from representing another before any department or agency.) (18 U.S.C. §203 and §205)

2) Rev. Jackson may not receive income (other than from the U.S. Government) for teaching, speaking or writing, for example for his CNN appearances or outside speeches, a) if the activity is undertaken as part of his official duties; b) he was invited primarily because of his official position rather than his expertise on the subject; c) the invitation was extended by a person who has interests that may be affected substantially by performance or nonperformance of his official duties; d) the information conveyed would draw substantially on ideas or official data that are non-public information; or e) the subject deals in significant part with matters in which he is participating or has participated personally and substantially. If he works more than 60 days, he in addition may not receive compensation for activities involving matters to which he is or has been assigned during the previous one-year period. (Regular full-time employees are barred from speaking for compensation on any ongoing or announced policy, program or operation of the Department.) (5 CFR 2635.807)

as in his current appointment

3) Rev. Jackson may not receive any income from a foreign government or a foreign political party, either directly or through a general partnership, while serving in this government position. The Justice Department has expressed the view that income from a foreign corporation owned or controlled by a foreign government should also be considered subject to this ban. The Emoluments Clause of the Constitution (Art. 1, Sec. 9, Cl. 8) bars a person holding any office of profit or trust under the Constitution from accepting any emolument from a foreign state without the consent of Congress. With certain exceptions, a similar ban exists on retaining foreign gifts. In addition, Rev. Jackson may not serve as an agent of a foreign principal unless the Secretary of State certifies that such employment is required in the national interest. (18 U.S.C. §219)

4) Rev. Jackson may not engage in political activity while on duty, in government buildings or using any vehicle owned or leased by the United States Government. In addition, on days when he actually works for the government, he may not (1) solicit or receive a political contribution from any person

(except in limited cases involving labor unions), (2) run for the nomination or as a candidate for election to a partisan political office or (3) solicit or discourage the participation in political activities of any person who has business before the Department. (The Hatch Act Reform Amendments of 1993)

Although the legal requirements concerning political activity apply to a Special Government Employee only when he is on duty, we recommend that Rev. Jackson be circumspect in undertaking partisan political activity even on days when he does not work. As a matter of long-standing policy, the Department has encouraged its non-career employees to maintain a low profile in partisan campaigns. During the last election, for example, the Secretary barred full-time non-career employees from engaging in any campaign role that involved direct contact with the electorate.

5) Rev. Jackson should be aware that after leaving the Special Adviser position he would be subject to certain restrictions on post-government activities. He would, for example, be permanently barred from representing another person before the United States in connection with certain matters in which he participated personally and substantially as a government employee and in which the U.S. either is a party or has a direct and substantial interest. He would also face a one-year ban on representing, aiding or advising another on the basis of non-public information concerning an ongoing trade or treaty negotiation in which he participated personally and substantially during his last year in government. (18 U.S.C. §207)

Specific activities may of course require the application of additional laws and regulations. For example, Rev. Jackson would need to be careful to avoid engaging in any government activities that create a real or apparent conflict of interest with his financial interests or his outside activities. (18 U.S.C. §208). He will also need to be aware of certain restrictions on the acceptance of gifts given because of his official position. We would be pleased to work with Rev. Jackson on any such questions that arise. We stand ready to respond to any questions that you may have.

Drafted:L:JHThessin:MKleinSolomon

8/6/97 647-6668

word/doc. 11140/jackson sge

Cleared:OGE:MGlynn

AF/EX:NSerpa

**BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520**

Fax Transmittal Form

Date:

May 6, 1998

To:

Lrica B-L

Fax:

456-9260

Phone:

456-9261

From:

Jap

Fax: (202) 647-6301

Phone:

7-1818

Number of pages:

1 + Cover

Subject:

Draft Kenney/Dennis re

Mission Request

MEMORANDUM FOR GLYN T. DAVIES
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Request for Air Mission Support for Special Envoy
Reverend Jesse Jackson

In furtherance of the President's foreign policy initiatives, Reverend Jesse Jackson, Special Envoy of the President and the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, will travel to Togo, Central African Republic, and Ethiopia during the period of May 13 through 19, 1998. Reverend Jackson will visit Lome, Togo in a run-up to elections, and will encourage President Eyadema to ensure that the electoral process is as free and fair as possible. He will also meet with members of civil society. In Central African Republic, we want him to deliver a tough message about adhering to peacekeeping time frames to President Patasse, now that an international mechanism is in place in that country. In Ethiopia, Jackson will deliver a speech on human rights and democracy, and will hold meetings with leaders across the political spectrum.

Because of the importance of this visit in advancing US foreign policy objectives, and because there are no scheduled commercial flights within Africa that meet our mission's needs), the Department requests that a special air missions aircraft for the Special Envoy and a party of three be provided from Washington on a non-reimbursable basis.

The point of contact in the Department is Nancy Serpa,
202-647-4417.

The Office of the Legal Adviser has cleared this request.

Kristie A. Kenney
Executive Secretary

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, May 05, 1998 12:57 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Next JJ trip to Africa [UNCLASSIFIED]

Colleagues -

Next JJ trip to Africa (tentatively late May) is being put together.

Susan is thinking about Asmara, Addis and CAR. She asked if we had any opinions.

For my part of the world I have no additions, but offer the following:

Cote d'Ivoire had been mentioned earlier, but given the number of Cabinet members running out there, I would recommend against. Likewise, I think we need to hold off on Liberia to see what role CT is playing in continuing instability in Sierra Leone (see Conakry cable today on this issue).

Robin/John - Please give any additions, subtractions you would like to see and a sentence or two on why, and I will pass on to Joe for him to hash out with Susan. Thanks

- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Tuesday, May 05, 1998 11:01 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Consolidated JJ's next trip suggestions [UNCLASSIFIED]

Joe - for your meeting w/JJ and Susan, here are consolidated directorate opinions:

State's suggestions: Eritrea, Ethiopia, and CAR.

John asks why ER and ETH, Robin agrees with CAR

Additional suggestions:

John: Kenya, he should stay on that, the ethnic violence continues.

Robin: Mozambique would be good. (*Note on several Secretary's travel lists)

He should not do DROC.

Erica: He should not do Cote d'Ivoire (on too many Cabinet travel lists).

He should not do Liberia until we see what role CT is/will play in continuing instability in Sierra Leone.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Tuesday, May 05, 1998 8:20 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Next JJ trip to Africa [UNCLASSIFIED]

should add kenya as long as he's in the neighborhood

I don't see the reason for Ethiopia and Eritrea

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

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Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Tuesday, May 05, 1998 8:21 PM
To: Sanders, Robin R.; Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Next JJ trip to Africa [UNCLASSIFIED]

yes, Kenya, he should stay on that, the ethnic violence continues

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

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Tuesday, May 05, 1998 2:57 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Next JJ trip to Africa [UNCLASSIFIED]

no problem with CAR - I think it is a good choice. Mozambique also would be good . Should not/not do DROC.
Kenya might be good (JP??)

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

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Sent: Tuesday, May 05, 1998 12:57 PM
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Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
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- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Friday, April 24, 1998 8:55 PM
To: Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.; Sanders, Robin R.; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ - Possible testimony before HIRC [UNCLASSIFIED]

Gina - I am the one who has been talking to JJ's office. I will call them back, but they think the message has been unambiguous (obviously not), and were reluctant to do so. I will let you know the result, but if they are unwilling to make the call, somebody will have to from the Administration side because Sandy has already strongly agreed that JJ should not testify and has backed JJ down. - Erica

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

From: Abercrombie-Winstanley, Gina K.
Sent: Friday, April 24, 1998 6:33 PM
To: Sanders, Robin R.; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Cc: @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs
Subject: FW: JJ - Possible testimony before HIRC [UNCLASSIFIED]

Robin, Mara vetoed me contacting Les on this issue. She stresses that we should not get into the middle of this with HIRC. If Jackson (and/or someone in his office) gave the wrong message to HIRC about his ability to testify, they need to send the corrected message, not us or State. Call if you want to talk. I will be **right here** reading your documents.

gina

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

From: Storey, Sharon V.
Sent: Monday, April 20, 1998 9:57 PM
To: Sanders, Robin R.; @COMM - WHSR Comm Officers; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; Helweg, M. Diana
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ - Possible testimony before HIRC [UNCLASSIFIED]

SRB has read and responds: Robin, spoke to Jesse. Told him I didn't think he should testify. He accepted this view. Thanks

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

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Thursday, April 16, 1998 9:31 PM
To: @COMM - WHSR Comm Officers; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; Helweg, M. Diana
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs
Subject: JJ - Possible testimony before HIRC [UNCLASSIFIED]

PLEASE PASS TO SRB IN TIME FOR HIM TO CALL REV. JACKSON BEFORE THE WEEKEND (CONGRESS RETURNS MONDAY)

State Department has informed us that Jesse Jackson has, apparently, accepted Rep. Gilman's invitation to testify before the HIRC on May 14. He did not ask for approval from the State Department, and has not contacted us here. Susan says that she had discussed this issue with you and was under the impression that you were going to call Jackson to turn this off. We are very concerned that we not set the precedent of Jackson being the Administration's single voice on Africa, especially before the full HIRC and particularly since no other senior official working on Africa has spoken before the full HIRC this year on overall Africa policy. We agree that this could be a recipe for disaster. We do not know if you spoke to Jackson on this issue before your departure. If not, we strongly urge you to do so to:

- 1) ascertain if he has accepted the invitation to testify; and
- 2) regardless of whether he has accepted or not, get him to agree not to testify (emphasizing he cannot undermine State Department and endanger his own position on boards and with other activities).

Talking points

- Understand invited by Gilman to testify on Africa before HIRC.
- Pleased Gilman is interested.
- Want to ensure the Hill is fully informed on your efforts and continue to be supportive of the delicate missions you are handling.
- At same time, it is important to ensure that Secretary Albright and Assistant Secretary Rice, who have primary responsibility for Africa policy, remain primary points of contact for Congress.

- Unclear to me what subject HIRC is interested in.
- If it is specifics on your last trip, it might be more appropriate to speak to Africa subcommittee.
- If it is overall Africa policy, the POTUS trip, and/or other issues (Trade Bill, etc) it would appear that Secretary Albright or her designee should be the person to testify.
- Very important that you not be dragged into larger Africa policy issues as this will endanger your status with many of the boards and outside activities that you currently are remunerated for.
- As we discussed when you were appointed it is important for your protection on this issue to err on the side of caution, and I strongly urge you not to accept this invitation.
- It is also important for you to consult with State Department and us before accepting any invitation related to your position.
- As we discussed, we should look at possible trips to DROC, Liberia, Central African Republic, and/or Gabon. DROC, particularly given the recent Kabila actions on banning human rights organization, UN team pulling out. Would like to look at when you would be available.

(IF ACCEPTED INVITE ALREADY)

- Appreciate this puts you in difficult position of turning down an invitation you have accepted. I had hoped to consult with you first on this issue, and would have expected you would have consulted with us or with State before going ahead.
- Perhaps you could suggest a substitute witness in your stead -- to be designated by Sec. Albright.

FYI: Royce has attempted to be helpful on this. He went to Gilman to try and turn it off and suggested a hearing before the Africa subcommittee with State witnesses. Gilman said no. Royce may be willing to take another run at this. - Robin

Battenfield, Pat A.

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Sent: Monday, April 20, 1998 9:57 PM
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 22, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH:

ROBIN R. SANDERS *RRS*

FROM:

ERICA J. BARKS-RUGGLES *ER*

SUBJECT:

Reply to a Letter from Rev. Jesse Jackson

Rev. Jackson wrote to you on March 19, just before we left for Africa, with suggestion about how we might help solve the power supply shortage in Ghana. He urged formation of a joint committee with Ghana to discuss and develop a long-term solution to the problem. During the President's visit to Ghana he announced a \$67 million loan guarantee for the purchase of two power barges to help solve the immediate crisis, and he raised the idea of ongoing discussions on the issue.

An interagency group has been formed to look at the long-term power supply problems throughout Ghana, Togo and Benin, and possible ways that we can be of assistance. Ghana's Ambassador Koby Koomson has been in touch with us and the group to discuss continued coordination and cooperation on this issue.

Attached at Tab I is a response to Rev. Jackson's letter outlining these efforts and noting the importance of follow-up to the trip, especially close coordination on efforts to ensure rapid passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

Concurrence by:

Mara *M* Rudman

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Rev. Jackson.

Attachment

Tab I Letter to Rev. Jackson

Tab II Letter from Rev. Jackson

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Dear Jesse:

Thank you for your March 19 letter on the power supply difficulties in Ghana. Unfortunately, the letter arrived after we had departed on the trip, so I am glad you shared your thoughts with me by phone before we left.

I am pleased that the President was able to announce the \$67 million loan guarantee for the purchase of two power barges to help ease Ghana's current power supply crisis. We share however, your concern about the long-term electrical supply problems not only in Ghana, but also in its neighbors Togo and Benin. An interagency group has begun to take a comprehensive look at how we can help these countries address their long-term energy needs. Ambassador Koomson of Ghana has been in touch with us about continuing the dialogue on this important issue as well.

I also wanted to take this opportunity to thank you again for your immense contributions to the President's historic trip. I know that we were able to reach a large audience here in the United States and abroad, and to show them the new opportunities and optimism in Africa.

I hope that as we follow up the trip and implement the initiatives the President announced, that you will continue to share your thoughts and concerns with me. This will be especially important, given the short congressional session, as we work in concert to ensure rapid passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

I understand that planning has begun for your next trip in May.
I look forward to discussing this with you soon.

Sincerely,

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.
Rainbow/Push Coalition
1002 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20007



rcvd 3/24/98

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

2159

March 19, 1998

3/24/98
AFRICAN
AFFAIRS

The Honorable Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20504

Dear Sandy:

With regard to our trip to Ghana, I have met with and been briefed by a number of Ghanaian and American officials and business persons who are extremely concerned about the energy crisis in that country.

The severe electricity shortage is not only causing domestic hardships but threatens the future economic development of the country and is jeopardizing existing and possible future American investments there. The largest American investment in Ghana, the Volta Aluminum Company (Valco), normally provides about \$350 million per year in foreign exchange for Ghana, but has been forced to reduce its operations by 60 percent due to electricity curtailments. If the situation does not improve, not only will that American investment be harmed, but Ghana will have great difficulty in attracting other American investments.

I believe the Administration could be as instrumental in working with Ghana to solve its current energy problem as the Kennedy Administration was in bringing electrification to the newly independent Republic of Ghana. If President Clinton and President Rawlings agreed during the visit next Monday that the two countries would work together with the private sector to find mutually beneficial solutions to Ghana's current electricity shortages, it would be as important to both countries today as the agreement reached by President Kennedy and Head of State Kwame Nkrumah in 1961 that facilitated the constructions of both the Akosombo Dam and Valco.

I recommend that President Clinton propose to President Rawlings that the two Presidents announce an Agreement to create a high level, joint U.S./Ghana Committee including officials of both countries and representatives of the private sectors to develop and implement a long-term and mutually beneficial solution to Ghana's power problem. During the President's visit, the Co-Chairs of the Committee and a deadline for action that reflects the extraordinary importance and urgency of this task should be announced. I believe that Ghana's Vice President Mills would be the most appropriate and effective Ghanaian Co-Chair. The American Co-Chair could be a senior official from the Energy

MAR 24 1998

Executive Committee

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Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr., *Founder & President* • Nancy M. Ware, *Executive Director*

The Honorable Samuel R. Berger

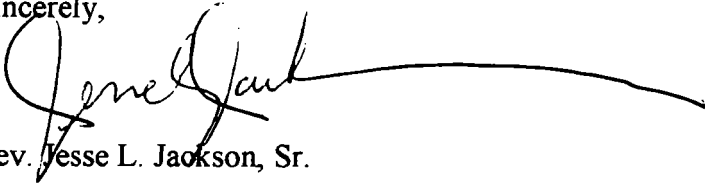
March 19, 1998

Page Two

or Commerce Departments. The President could announce that implementation of a solution to Ghana's electricity shortages will be one of the highest priorities for the Administration in implementing the new Africa Initiative, the Partnership for Growth and Opportunity in Africa.

Sandy, I am convinced that this proposal presents a unique opportunity to begin the Africa trip with a historically and economically important initiative benefiting both Ghana and the United States.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

JLJ:lw

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Broadwick, Bonnie .
Sent: Thursday, April 16, 1998 9:59 PM
To: Sanders, Robin R.; @COMM - WHSR Comm Officers; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; Helweg, M. Diana
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ - Possible testimony before HIRC [UNCLASSIFIED]

Has been delivered to Santiago trip site.....

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

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Thursday, April 16, 1998 9:31 PM
To: @COMM - WHSR Comm Officers; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; Helweg, M. Diana
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs
Subject: JJ - Possible testimony before HIRC [UNCLASSIFIED]

PLEASE PASS TO SRB IN TIME FOR HIM TO CALL REV. JACKSON BEFORE THE WEEKEND (CONGRESS RETURNS MONDAY)

State Department has informed us that Jesse Jackson has, apparently, accepted Rep. Gilman's invitation to testify before the HIRC on May 14. He did not ask for approval from the State Department, and has not contacted us here. Susan says that she had discussed this issue with you and was under the impression that you were going to call Jackson to turn this off. We are very concerned that we not set the precedent of Jackson being the Administration's single voice on Africa, especially before the full HIRC and particularly since no other senior official working on Africa has spoken before the full HIRC this year on overall Africa policy. We agree that this could be a recipe for disaster. We do not know if you spoke to Jackson on this issue before your departure. If not, we strongly urge you to do so to:

- 1) ascertain if he has accepted the invitation to testify; and
- 2) regardless of whether he has accepted or not, get him to agree not to testify (emphasizing he cannot undermine State Department and endanger his own position on boards and with other activities).

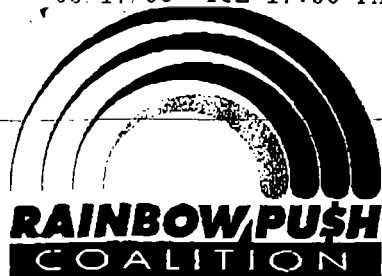
Talking points

- Understand invited by Gilman to testify on Africa before HIRC.
- Pleased Gilman is interested.
- Want to ensure the Hill is fully informed on your efforts and continue to be supportive of the delicate missions you are handling.
- At same time, it is important to ensure that Secretary Albright and Assistant Secretary Rice, who have primary responsibility for Africa policy, remain primary points of contact for Congress.
- Unclear to me what subject HIRC is interested in.
- If it is specifics on your last trip, it might be more appropriate to speak to Africa subcommittee.
- If it is overall Africa policy, the POTUS trip, and/or other issues (Trade Bill, etc) it would appear that Secretary Albright or her designee should be the person to testify.
- Very important that you not be dragged into larger Africa policy issues as this will endanger your status with many of the boards and outside activities that you currently are remunerated for.
- As we discussed when you were appointed it is important for your protection on this issue to err on the side of caution, and I strongly urge you not to accept this invitation.
- It is also important for you to consult with State Department and us before accepting any invitation related to your position.
- As we discussed, we should look at possible trips to DROC, Liberia, Central African Republic, and/or Gabon. DROC, particularly given the recent Kabila actions on banning human rights organization, UN team pulling out. Would like to look at when you would be available.

(IF ACCEPTED INVITE ALREADY)

- Appreciate this puts you in difficult position of turning down an invitation you have accepted. I had hoped to consult with you first on this issue, and would have expected you would have consulted with us or with State before going ahead.
- Perhaps you could suggest a substitute witness in your stead -- to be designated by Sec. Albright.

FYI: Royce has attempted to be helpful on this. He went to Gilman to try and turn it off and suggested a hearing before the Africa subcommittee with State witnesses. Gilman said no. Royce may be willing to take another run at this. - Robin



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

2005

FAX MEMORANDUM

PLEASE STAFF

DATE:

March 17, 1998

TO:

Ms. Betty Currie
202-456-1210

VOICE:

SUBJECT:

Letter for the President

FROM:

Lorraine Westbrook
Special Assistant & Deputy Director
Fund Development

TELEPHONE:

(202) 333-5270 X18

RETURN FAX:

(202) 785-2391

NO.OF PAGES:

5

NOTES:

Rev. Jackson asked me to get the attached to you -- the original will be forwarded by mail.

My direct line is (202) 728-1165.

Joe -
Sylvia passed
this to me.Please draft
responseReply
needed
before
pres departs
for africa.

MAR 18 11:27

Executive Committee

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 22, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ROBIN R. SANDERS *RS*
FROM: ERICA J. BARKS-RUGGLES *ER*
SUBJECT: Reply to a Letter from Rev. Jesse Jackson

Rev. Jackson wrote to you on March 19, just before we left for Africa, with a suggestion about how we might help solve the power supply shortage in Ghana. He urged formation of a joint committee with Ghana to discuss and develop a long-term solution to the problem. During the President's visit to Ghana he announced a \$67 million loan guarantee for the purchase of two power barges to help solve the immediate crisis, and he raised the idea of ongoing discussions on the issue.

An interagency group has been formed to look at the long-term power supply problems throughout Ghana, Togo and Benin, and possible ways that we can be of assistance. Ghana's Ambassador Koby Koomson has been in touch with us and the group to discuss continued coordination and cooperation on this issue.

Attached at Tab I is a response to Rev. Jackson's letter outlining these efforts and noting the importance of follow-up to the trip, especially close coordination on efforts to ensure rapid passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

Concurrence by: Mara *RF* Rudman

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter to Rev. Jackson.

Attachment

Tab I Letter to Rev. Jackson
Tab II Letter from Rev. Jackson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1998

Dear Jesse:

Thank you for your letter on the power supply difficulties in Ghana. I am pleased that during his visit to Ghana the President was able to announce the \$67 million loan guarantee for the purchase of two power barges to help ease Ghana's current power supply crisis.

We share, however, your concern about the long-term electrical supply problems not only in Ghana, but also in its neighbors Togo and Benin. An interagency group is taking a comprehensive look at how we can help these countries address their long-term energy needs. Ambassador Koomson of Ghana has been in touch with us about continuing the dialogue on this important issue as well.

I also wanted to take this opportunity to thank you again for your immense contributions to the President's historic trip. We were able to reach a large audience here in the United States and abroad, and to show them the new opportunities and optimism in Africa.

As we follow up the trip and implement the initiatives the President announced, I hope you will continue to share your thoughts and concerns with me. This will be especially important, given the short congressional session, as we work to ensure rapid passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

I understand that planning has begun for your next trip in May. I look forward to discussing this with you soon.

Sincerely,



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

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



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March 19, 1998

The Honorable Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20504

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3/24/98

AFRICAN
AFFAIRS

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MAR 24 19:03

The Honorable Samuel R. Berger

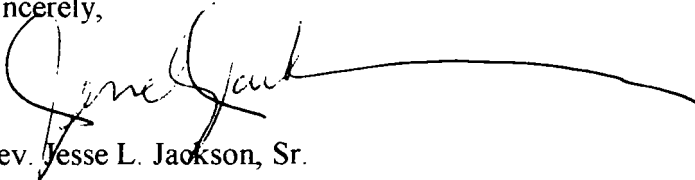
March 19, 1998

Page Two

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Samuel Berger", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

JLJ:lw

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

WtH

may fit on
1 pg. —

Yes

Dear Jesse:

Thank you for your ~~March 19~~ letter on the power supply difficulties in Ghana. ~~Unfortunately, the letter arrived after we had departed on the trip, so I am glad you shared your thoughts with me by phone before we left.~~

during his visit to Ghana

I am pleased that the President was able to announce the \$67 million loan guarantee for the purchase of two power barges to help ease Ghana's current power supply crisis. ¹⁷ We share however, ~~your~~ ^{your} concern about the long-term electrical supply problems not only in Ghana, but also in its neighbors Togo and Benin. An interagency group ~~has begun to take~~ ^{is taking} a comprehensive look at how we can help these countries address their long-term energy needs. Ambassador Koomson of Ghana has been in touch with us about continuing the dialogue on this important issue as well.

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Except 1st para
Every para
begins with
I

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A. PN SA

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.
Rainbow/Push Coalition
1002 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20007

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9802199

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 BARKS-RUGGLES
002 BERGER
003

Z 98002509 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER
Z 98042316 FOR SIGNATURE
X 98042714 BERGER SGD LTR

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003 980427 JACKSON, JESSE

UNCLASSIFIED