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Briefing for Special Envoy Jesse Jackson
Bureau of African Affairs
Room 6234A
Wednesday, February 4, 1998

J. Jackson
J.R.

S C H E D U L E

10:30-11:15	Kenya Presentation
11:30-12:15	Meeting with AF Assistant Secretary Susan Rice and Amb. Joseph Wilson (NSC)
12:30- 1:15	Liberia Briefing (Working Lunch)
1:30- 2:15	Democratic Republic of Congo (DROC) Presentation

Participants:

AF Front Office:	Assistant Secretary Susan E. Rice Principal DAS Johnnie Carson Senior Adviser June Carter Perry
East African Affairs Office:	Director David Dunn Kenya Desk Officer Theodore (Ted) Craig NSC Director John Prendergast
West African Affairs Office:	Director and Special Envoy for Liberia Howard Jeter Liberia Desk Officer Brian Browne NSC Director Erica Barks-Ruggles
Central African Affairs Office:	Director Marc Baas DROC Desk Officer James Swan AF/C Desk Officer Don Koran NSC Director Robin Sanders

Mr. Yuri Tadesse, Special Assistant to the Special Envoy

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**Notional Schedule for Visit to Kenya by
Special Envoy Jesse Jackson**

February 7-9, 1998

Saturday, February 7

(p.m.) Arrive Nairobi Jomo Kenyatta International
Airport (JKIA), board Defense Attache C-12 for 45
minute flight to Nakuru (must arrive before dark
at 1830)

(p.m.) Arrive Nakuru, transfer to Lodge in Nakuru
National Park (a scenic part surrounding Lake
Nakuru, famous for its large flamingo population
and rich variety of other wildlife)

(p.m.) Dinner at Lodge with Ambassador and selected
Embassy staff

RON Lodge

Sunday, February 8

0830-1000 Game drive in Nakuru National Park

1000 Depart Nakuru for drive to Catholic Church in
Njoro, an area of recent tribal clashes, where
displaced persons are sheltering. Njoro is
approximately 20 kilometers from Nakuru Town via
paved road.

1100 Address displaced persons, local residents, and
media at Njoro Church

1200 Return to Nakuru

1300 Lunch in Nakuru with grass roots civil society
participants and local religious leaders.
Catholic Archbishop Ndingi, originally from
Nakuru, will attend.

1600 Proceed to Nakuru Airstrip, board C-12

1630 Wheels Up for Nairobi

1715 Arrive at Nairobi JKIA, transfer to Ambassador's
Residence

Sunday, February 7 (continued)

1830 Informal dinner at Residence. Possible tea with
 members of the American community

RON Ambassador's Residence

Monday, February 9

0800 Meeting with President Moi in Nairobi.

1000 Meeting with women leaders at U.S. Information
 Service (USIS) Resource Center. Prominent
 Presidential candidate Charity Ngilu, MPs from
 government and opposition, a representative of
 the Kenya branch of FIDA (women lawyers), and
 leading businesswomen.

1100-1130 Inauguration of USIS Resource Center. S/E
 Jackson would speak to a group of civic society
 and opinion leaders, including the principal
 opposition leaders.

1130-1200 Press Conference

1200 Depart for Airport

1230 Wheels Up

Notes:

Political Officer Christopher Berlew will be Control Officer.
He can be reached at:

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KENYA

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Demonstrate U.S. Government concern over the recent outbreak of ethnic violence in Kenya, including our insistence that the Government of Kenya act energetically and responsibly to protect all citizens.
2. Underscore our belief that all levels of Kenyan civil society should play an integral part in establishing Kenya's new political framework through a constitutional review process.
3. Reiterate your message to President Moi that radically improved economic governance, including anti-corruption efforts, is a condition for economic growth and opportunity in Kenya.

II. APPROACH

Your two day visit to Kenya could feature the following meetings or events.

1. The centerpiece of the trip will be a high profile visit to the Njoro area of Molo Constituency near Nakuru. This is a site of the recent ethnic clashes, and one of the areas hardest hit by the bloody clashes of 1991-1993, from which there are still displaced persons.
2. A meeting with President Daniel T. arap Moi.
3. A meeting with major opposition leaders.
4. A meeting with Kenyan religious leaders.
5. An exchange with national and local civic society leaders.
6. A meeting with women NGO leaders and major women politicians, including Kenya's major woman presidential candidate, Charity Ngilu.

You are uniquely capable of delivering an urgent message to Kenyans on the need to set aside ethnic grievances in favor of a process of reconciliation and healing. The message should be a strong one for President Moi, local government officials, and members of the ruling-party; the Government's failure to provide equal protection to opposition-leaning ethnic groups is intolerable. You should note to President Moi that his Government's actions and inaction are tarnishing what international legitimacy he might have gained for his final

term in office by holding multi-party elections. With the victims of violence, you should urge a peaceful response to the wrongs they have endured.

In your meetings with civil society and women's leaders, you should underline our firm support for their struggle to expand democratic and human rights in Kenya. Our principal goal in dealing with the Moi government is to use our leverage for constructive change. At the same time, you should expand on the message you delivered in early December on the importance of political participation, even when conditions are not entirely fair (this message will be important with the opposition political leaders as well). Kenyans should seek to exploit and expand on the opportunity created by the planned constitutional review process. The suspicions created by the recent wave of ethnic violence should not be allowed to produce a permanent state of hostility between the government and those who wish it to change.

Expanding on the resonant anti-corruption message you delivered during your last visit and in your January phone call to President Moi, you should also emphasize how critical it is that Kenya get "back to business." Economic growth is desperately needed, and the Government needs to make much greater efforts to become a facilitator rather than a barrier to growth. Your message should be the same whether in public with civil society or in private with President Moi: the United States believes Kenya must empower its citizens to help themselves. Real reform is required before the United States and other donors will be able to justify more extensive assistance.

III. BACKGROUND

Recent Political Developments: In the run-up to the national elections December 29, the Government of Kenya acted on a number of the issues you raised with President Moi in early December. Implementation of the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) package of reforms was mixed, and the election playing field remained tilted in favor of the Government. Presidential and parliamentary candidates were allowed virtually unhindered access to the electorate, and election-related violence was minimal. The government-controlled electronic media, however, remained decidedly pro-government throughout the campaign. Your message to all Kenyans on the importance of participation may also have had an impact - turnout among registered voters was slightly higher than in 1992, despite the calls of one major politician for a boycott.

The election, which President Moi won with 40 percent of the vote, was characterized by significant organizational flaws. Voting was delayed in many constituencies for over 24 hours due to misdirected voting materials. Thousands of registered voters did not have the opportunity to vote. Despite the flaws, domestic and international observers concluded that the results appeared broadly to reflect the wishes of the Kenyan voters. Disorganization appeared to affect both pro-government and pro-opposition areas equally. Nonetheless, the Democratic Party's Mwai Kibaki, who finished second with 31 percent of the vote, has legally challenged the results. All other major opposition candidates have accepted the outcome.

KANU, the ruling party, saw its majority in parliament shrink to a margin of four (107 out of 210 elected seats, plus one half of the 12 appointed seats, with the other half going to opposition parties). Although domestic and international observers identified potentially determinative fraud in only a handful of constituencies, KANU's narrow margin will raise the stakes of the ongoing legal challenges. There has been no evident progress in the legal appeals of the disputed results, and executive branch influence over the judiciary has raised concerns about a fair hearing. Such cases in the past have been delayed for months or years.

Moi sent mixed signals in the selection of his new cabinet. Most significantly, his failure to name a Vice President yet appears to reflect either his reluctance or his inability to make a move in the looming succession battle within KANU. His appointment of Dr. Bonaya Godana as Foreign Minister is welcome. The replacement of dependable Finance Minister Musalia Mudavadi with Simeon Nyachae is probably the most significant move, and it is a mixed bag: Nyachae is opposed to the "hardline" anti-reform camp led by Minister Nicholas Biwott and former Vice President George Saitoti, but he is not free from allegations of corruption. A good politician and a potential successor to Moi, he may find it politic to challenge the IMF and oppose the tough medicine Kenya needs to take.

Economic Situation: Kenya's economic situation is precarious -- tourism, already off due to political and ethnic violence in 1997, is now being hit by the international coverage of flooding, a new wave of ethnic violence in the Rift Valley, and flooding-related diseases. The rains are damaging both cash and subsistence crops. Much needed international development lending to Kenya from the IMF and World Bank remains on hold due to the Government's lack of action on key reforms. During the campaign, the Government agreed wage increases for civil servants which it cannot afford.

The IMF and World Bank are to send an assessment team to Kenya on February 9, the day you are scheduled to depart. We have made it clear to the Government of Kenya (and to the IMF and World Bank) that we believe concrete actions to improve economic governance in Kenya are essential if new lending is to be justified. While President Moi made fighting corruption a key theme in his inaugural remarks, his statements have not yet been followed by discernible action. Moreover, in his February 3 meeting with Amb. Richardson in Nairobi, Moi proclaimed that government actions on corruption were already sufficient.

Ethnic Violence: The past two weeks have brought an outbreak of ethnic violence in the Rift Valley, where such clashes from 1991 to 1993 cost thousands of lives and displaced thousands more. The recent incidents have followed a familiar pattern, with seemingly well-organized bands from among tribes linked to the ruling-party attacking ethnic Kikuyu areas. The Kikuyu, Kenya's largest tribe, voted overwhelmingly against President Moi in the election. Church leaders, the press, and western diplomats reported that police were responding indifferently to the attacks for most of this period. Although by late last week over thirty arrests of alleged perpetrators had been made, most of those arrested were Kikuyu. The attacks have left over 100 dead and thousands homeless. In public statements about the violence and in his meeting with Amb. Richardson, Moi has blamed opposition politicians for the clashes, a charge that few would accept.

On January 28, the U.S. Embassy joined 20 other donors in expressing public concern about the attacks and the ineffective and insufficient government response. The prominent National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and the Democratic Party have said they will not participate in the constitutional review process while such violence continues.

Kenya -- Meeting with President Moi

Talking Points

- This is my second visit to Kenya in my capacity as Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa. It underscores both my deep hope for your country and my concern about its future.
- Despite the flaws in the process, your elections gave me hope.
- The high voter turn-out among your citizens demonstrated a real commitment to peaceful, democratic decision-making. That many of these voters endured delays and hardships to vote makes the numbers even more impressive.
- I also believe that the cooperative parliamentary dialogue that produced the IPPG reforms in November can be repeated, this time with much wider participation.
- The IPPG reforms did not fully level the electoral playing field but resulted in better elections. Your constitutional review and reform process can make the 2002 elections truly free and fair.
- To be effective, this review process must give voice to Kenya's many constituencies, from civil society and NGOs to the business community, and it must include legitimate representatives of Kenya's many ethnic groups.
- This process can succeed. We expect more from Kenya, particularly in light of its progressive and well-organized civil society. Kenya can be a leader in establishing effective multi-party democracy in a multi-ethnic African context.
- It is because my government believes that a successful outcome here will have a great impact across the continent that President Clinton and Secretary Albright asked me to visit Kenya on both of my first two visits to the continent as Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy.
- Recent events have also caused me grave concern about Kenya's future.
- The outbreak of violence in the Rift Valley is disturbing. The attackers and the victims are consistently from different ethnic groups, and the vicious, terrorizing attacks seem designed to cause whole communities to flee.
- More disturbing still are credible reports that Kenyan security forces did not respond rapidly or effectively to the violence when it first emerged.

- The reappearance of tribal violence is a disaster for Kenya. You yourself have spoken with obvious sincerity about the dangers of tribalism. To mitigate those dangers, however, it is critical that the government be seen as even-handed in its treatment of different groups. Right now, that is not the case.
- Whatever the challenges and provocations of different parties to this conflict, the Government bears a unique and profound responsibility to provide protection to all its citizens. The Government should distinguish itself by not pointing fingers and instead acting to maintain peace.
- Mr. President, my government is watching this outbreak of violence intently. We rely upon you to provide the leadership to end the violence.
- Finally, I want to say again that I was impressed by the strong statement you made in your inaugural address on the need to combat corruption.
- Comprehensive steps to implement your words are necessary to restore the confidence of both donors and private investors.
- We wish to reinvigorate our development partnership with your Government and the Kenyan people. It should reflect the always friendly and always supportive relationship we have sustained on matters of regional peace and security. But it hinges on your own Government's commitment to reform.
- If Asked (Presidential Visit): The President will be able to visit only a handful of countries and will not be able to add Kenya to his itinerary. Many friends of the United States will be missed.

(Note: New Foreign Minister Godana recently wrote to Secretary Albright requesting that President Clinton visit Kenya during his upcoming Africa trip.)

Arrival Statement

- It is a pleasure for me to be in Kenya again.
- This is my second mission as the Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, a job entrusted to me by President Clinton and Secretary of State Albright.
- The fact that I have visited Kenya during both of my missions reflects the importance the United States attaches to the continued development of democracy in Kenya.
- The United States is deeply concerned by the outbreaks of ethnically-based violence in recent weeks. In addition to the deplorable human suffering caused by these incidents, we are concerned about the damage this violence may be doing to the process of democratization in Kenya.
- A successful democratic system requires that groups and individuals approach each other with a spirit of respect and understanding. It also requires that the Government live up to its roll as protector and representative of all its citizens, whatever their political orientation.
- In this respect, the United States has been disturbed by the insufficient response by security forces to the violence. I hope that this situation is well on its way to be remedied.
- While I am here I also hope to learn from Kenyans in all walks of life about their expectations for the constitutional review process soon to be undertaken.
- The United States feels strongly that the review and reform process must be as inclusive as possible for a healthy democratic system to result.
- I am hopeful that Kenyans, working together, can discover means of overcoming divisions and the challenges ahead. I hope that during my visit I contribute to making it happen.
- I am here, finally, to meet and show support for women leaders and with religious and civil society participants. My government strongly believes that these individuals represent key voices in Kenya, and that they must be included in the critical decisions that now confront the country.

Kenya: Departure Statement

- This has been a productive and moving visit.
- I was disturbed by the evidence I saw in the Rift Valley of ethnic violence and intolerance. The victims of this violence have my sympathy. They should have the sympathy of all Kenyans, regardless of tribe or political party.
- The world's attention has been focused again on Kenya due to this violence. It is not the sort of attention that Kenya should be attracting. The tourists, investors and donors that Kenya needs to attract will be looking elsewhere.
- This is unfortunate, because there is much that is encouraging to see in Kenya.
- I was impressed during my meetings by the commitment to improving democracy shown by members of civil society and by adherents to a wide variety of political parties.
- Kenya's many voices of reason and reform need to work together. The promise given by the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) needs to be fulfilled, this time by the widest possible array of civil society, political, religious and business leaders working together on constitutional reform.
- My meetings with businesspeople, women's and religious leaders, and important civil society activists made a strong impression. Kenya has in these people a resource and a hope, and the Government should consult with them closely.
- Finally, just as you are working to do business differently between tribes and in the political arena, Kenya must redouble its efforts to create a more hospitable environment for private enterprise. Specifically, this means much stronger action to confront the problem of public sector corruption.

Notional Kinshasa Schedule

Feb. 9 - 11 Visit of Special Envoy Jackson

Monday Feb. 9

Evening	Arrive Kinshasa. Protocol reception at airport. Arrival statement and photo op.
plus 30 minutes	Depart for Ambassador's resident by motorcade (40-minute drive).
plus 90	Country team briefing (possibly late dinner depending on arrival time) at residence.

Tuesday Feb. 10

0830	(to request) meeting with Foreign Minister Karaha
0915	(to request) meeting with President Kabila
1100	(tentative) meet with civil society (prominent NGO, church, human rights, leaders, as well as GDROC officials involved in national reconstruction) at residence.
1300	Lunch at residence (possibly with opposition figures)
1400	(to request) meeting with ADFL Secretary General Deogratias Bugera at residence
1530	(to request) meeting with UDPS President Etienne Tshisekedi at residence
1700	(to request) meeting with PALU President Antoine Gizenga at residence.
1800	(to request) meeting with religious leaders.
Evening	Dinner at residence with government, military, regional officials.

Wednesday Feb. 11

Morning	Depart for Monrovia
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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

MEMORANDUM

Sensitive But Unclassified

Date: February 4, 1998
TO: Special Envoy Jackson
Through: Assistant Secretary Rice
From: AF/C - Marc Baas
Subject: Your Feb 9-11 Visit to Kinshasa

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

The Context in the Congo

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

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

Sensitive But Unclassified

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

The Context in Washington

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

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

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

Message to Kabila: Get Serious about Human Rights and Reform

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

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

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

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

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

Message to the Opposition: Play a Constructive Role

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

Visit of Rev. Jesse Jackson
Event List

As of 2/3/98

Meeting with Civil Society, February 10, 11:00-12:30

USG

PolOff Lisa Peterson

AIDDIR Kate Farnsworth

OTI Dir Willet Weeks

PAO Judith Trunzo

Guests

CNONDG - Baudoin HAMULI

FEC - Jose Endundo

Bar Association - Maitre Mbu Ne Letang

Coordinator, National Reconstruction Conference - Muteba Tshitenge

Coordinator, Kivu Reconciliation Commission - Collette Madishi-Rama

League des Electeurs - Paul Nsapu

AZADHO - Pascal Kambale

FCCD - Annie Kalonji

UNTC - Secretary General

PDSC - Andre Boboliko

BERCI - Francesca Bomboko

Meeting with Religious Leaders, February 10, 18:00-19:00

Catholic Church - Cardinal Etsou

Kimbanguist Church - Secretary General

Protestant Churches -

Muslim Faith -

Dinner, February 10, 20:00-22:30

Ambassador

Rev. Jackson and Staff Assistant

AF/C Director Mark Baas

DCM Roger Meece

Minister of Justice Mwenze Kongolo

Minister of Planning Etienne Richard Mbaya

President of Constitutional Commission Kashamura

National Security Council Director Kazadi

Chief of Staff a.i. of the Congolese Armed Forces James Kabare

Two Governors (one from Kivus and one from elsewhere)

Alternate: Presidential Chief of Staff Yerodia

Kabila

Talking Points

1. U.S. Engagement - Political Risk

- U.S. at forefront of international engagement with Congo and have leveraged other donors through the Friends of Congo; U.S. has also, provided major political support, e.g., through Secretary's visit.
- But political risks are high for us; much public and congressional opposition to aid to Congo; we need clear progress on Congolese side to justify these risks. He must help us to help him. Strident statements such as those he made during Secretary's visit undercut his support in U.S.

2. UN Human Rights Team

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

3. Internal Human Rights Issues

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

4. Relations with Opposition Parties and Civil Society

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

5. Constitutional Reform Process

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

Opposition

Talking Points

1. Role of Opposition

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

2. Ban on Party Activities

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

3. Need Constructive, 'Loyal' Opposition

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

4. (For Tshisekedi) Look to the Future

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

Civil Society

Talking Points

1. Acknowledge Role

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

2. U.S. Commitment

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

3. New Environment

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

4. Must be Constructive

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

Jackson Arrival Statement

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

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

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

Departure Statement

I had an excellent series of meetings in Kinshasa, including sessions with President Kabila, Foreign Minister Karaha, UDPS leader Tshisekedi, PALU leader Gizenga, other political figures and members of the civil society. It is important for us to acknowledge the role that the ADFL, the Kinshasa based opposition, and the civil society all played in bringing about the end of the Mobutu era. With the departure of Mobutu, these sectors have an opportunity to move beyond the zero-sum politics of the past and work constructively for the future.

I encouraged opposition and civil society leaders to play an active and constructive role, and not compromise their principles or identity. I hope they will offer creative yet realistic policy proposals, particularly as part of the constitutional reform process. It is not enough merely to criticize the actions of the central Government at a time when it is faced with the daunting challenge of political and economic reconstruction in the Congo. They must also help.

In my meeting with President Kabila, I urged him to ensure that the constitutional reform and electoral process is broad-based and inclusive. I again urged him to end the ban on political party activities and to cease harassment of political opponents as has occurred, for example, through their detention by security forces and trial by military courts. I stressed that our patience has worn thin with continued delays in the UN human rights investigation, and urged him to take personal charge of unblocking the inquiry. While the United States is pursuing a policy of engagement with the government and people of the Congo, we must see progress in democratic reforms and respect for human rights if our bilateral relations are to deepen and improve.

NOTIONAL SCHEDULE
SPECIAL ENVOY JACKSON
MONROVIA LIBERIA
FEBRUARY 11-12

Below is a notional schedule for Special Envoy Jackson's February 11-12 visit to Liberia. Note that February 11 is Armed Forces Day, a Liberian holiday customarily replete with parades, speeches, and other government sponsored events. This February 11 will probably be very busy. It may be difficult to arrange meeting with President Taylor and other senior officials on that day. This schedule also assumes that Special Envoy Jackson will depart Monrovia the morning of February 13.

February 11

0900-1030	Meeting with President Taylor at the Executive Mansion.
1045-1145	Meeting with Speaker of the House, Senate President Pro Tempore and other key legislators at Capitol Hill.
1200-1300	Meeting with Chief Justice Gloria Scott and members of the Judiciary, Temple of Justice.
1330-1500	Lunch with Journalists, Newspaper Editors/Publishers at the Residence.
1500-1600	At the Residence.
1600-1730	Meeting with Human rights Groups, Bar Association Representatives at USIS or the Renovated Law Library.
1900	Government of Liberia hosted event or Dinner with Opposition Politicians (Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, G Baccus Matthews, Morris Dukuly, Togba Na Tipoteh, Cletus Wortorson, etc.) at the Residence.

February 12

0800-0900	Breakfast with Archbishop Michael Francis at the Residence.
0915-1045	Meeting with Interfaith Mediation Committee and other Civil Society Groups or Visit to USAID-funded LOIC (Rev. Sullivan) Program for ex-Combatants.

1100-1300 Possible Special Service with Address by S/E Jackson focussing on national reconciliation, democracy and human rights.

1315-1445 Lunch with Finance Minister Saleeby and prominent business Persons.

1500-1600 Interfaith Mediation Committee or visit to LOIC.

1630-1800 Hold for possible Government of Liberia Event or Down Time.

1900 Dinner with Opposition Politicians or Government of Liberian Officials.

February 13

0800 Airport Press Conference Prior to Departure.

0830 Depart Monrovia



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

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

I. OBJECTIVES

1. Demonstrate the U.S. Government's commitment to developing a productive bilateral relationship with the newly elected Taylor government.

2. Underscore that the tenor of the bilateral relationship will depend on the Government of Liberia's performance, particularly on human rights, democratization, and the rule of law.

3. Encourage the Taylor Government to play a positive role in sub-regional security by allowing an ECOMOG peacekeeping presence beyond February and by using its influence to persuade the junta in Sierra Leone to implement the Conarky Peace framework.

4. Urge the government and opposition toward a meaningful dialogue on national reconciliation, economic development, and good governance.

II. APPROACH

Your two day visit will feature the following meetings and events:

1. A session with President Charles Taylor.
2. Meetings with Key legislators, the Supreme Court and other senior officials.

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3. A meeting with major opposition leaders.
4. Meeting with Catholic Archbishop Francis and the Interfaith Mediation Committee
5. A Special Service where you will address leading members of civil society and government on national reconciliation, human rights, and democracy.
6. Meetings with journalists, human rights groups, women's groups and other civic organizations.
- 7 Visit to LOIC project (Rev. Leon Sullivan) for ex-combatants.

Your stature as a pre-eminent leader in the civil rights movement and as a leading political figure will have special resonance across the political spectrum in Liberia. Liberia needs to heal the chronic social, ethnic, and religious wounds laid bare by the civil war. By emphasizing themes of human rights, national reconciliation, participatory democracy, and issue-oriented coalition building, your visit can further Liberia's progress toward national healing.

Your visit comes at a crucial juncture. The optimism resulting from the successful elections last July has dissipated significantly. The brutal execution of opposition leader Sam Dokie in November and repeated incidents of press harassment have cast a cloud over the Government. Many fear the Dokie murders may signal a political crackdown. Taylor needs to work out an agreement with the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) over the continued presence of the West African Peacekeeping Force (ECOMOG) in Liberia; however, Taylor and ECOWAS may be at loggerheads over the languid peace process in neighboring Sierra Leone. Taylor appears to be establishing a new army and security force predominated by his former factional partisans which has put erstwhile factional rivals on edge. Meanwhile, Taylor erroneously perceives that the U.S. Government seeks to undermine his government.

The next few months may well determine whether recent incidents were rough spots on the long road toward democracy or whether they presage an ominous turn toward authoritarian government. The next few months will determine whether Taylor will be the President of a unified democratic country or the latest in a line of strongmen.

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President Taylor is an astute, charismatic politician with considerable leadership skills. However, after seven years of civil war, almost all Liberian political leaders find it psychologically difficult to eschew the rhetoric of the past and embrace the art of politics in a participatory democracy. Underscoring to Taylor and others the need for compromise and coalition-building by sharing your experiences as a politician in a democracy will be important. A winner-take-all style has gotten Taylor to where he is, detractors say. A change in leadership style is important to ensuring democracy, to making Liberia stable and carving out a respectable place for himself in the history of his country. Taylor has a momentous opportunity to rebuild Liberia, and the U.S. Government wants to be a partner in this effort. While we have not set conditionalities on our assistance to Liberia, the extent of U.S. and other international help will depend to a large degree on the government's performance, particularly on human rights.

Opposition leaders should be assured that we have not turned our attention away from Liberia after the election; we want to work with them and the government to ensure a successful transition to democracy. They need to hear that we will not sacrifice our stance on human rights for the sake of a good bilateral relationship. However, they must also be encouraged to work with the government. Both the government and the opposition must break the mold of viewing each other as war time "enemies" and transform themselves into government and loyal opposition. The opposition must explore ways to expand dialogue with the government and offer solutions to Liberia's pressing development problems. Again, your experience in forging working relationships with politicians across the aisle will bring home this message of pragmatic reconciliation.

Your meetings with Archbishop Francis and other prominent clerics in the Interfaith Mediation Committee are important. The well-respected Francis has been an outspoken critic of President Taylor, and the Catholic Church's Justice and Peace Commission is the perhaps the foremost human rights group in Liberia. The Interfaith Committee, comprised of leading Muslim and Christian clerics, played an important role urging the Liberian factions toward peace during the civil war. The Committee wields influence and is one of the most respected institutions in Liberia. You should urge the Committee to press the Government to respect human rights and promote national reconciliation. The religious leaders should also encourage the opposition toward constructive dialogue with the government.

Moslems represent a significant portion of the population. Yet, there is a perception among Moslems of religious discrimination. During your discussions with the clerics you should highlight religious tolerance and seek their views on how we can help achieve this goal.

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You should underscore to the press, human rights groups and civic organizations their important function in laying the foundation for a durable democracy. However, the media should also be urged to avoid sensationalism and to be responsible in their reporting. Civic leaders should be urged to use their organizations to advance the public welfare and not promote narrow political, ethnic and other interests. The human rights groups especially should seek ways to improve the government's human rights performance.

Your speech at the special religious service should center on the same themes: reconciliation, human rights, ethnic and religious tolerance, and justice. The address should stress that escaping the nation's economic doldrums will require that Liberians put aside their differences to embrace a common vision of economic revitalization and opportunity.

III. BACKGROUND

Genesis of the Civil War

The causes of the Liberian civil war are rooted in the ethnic dichotomy established at the very founding of the Republic of Liberia. The Republic was founded by former slaves from the United States. Although a small minority, these "Americo-Liberians" dominated the country economically, politically, and socially, sometimes using repressive means to perpetuate their rule over the fifteen major indigenous ethnic groups. Ending 147 years of Americo rule in 1980, Sergeant Doe toppled the government of President Tolbert in a violent coup. Initially, Doe's takeover was welcomed by a large portion of the indigenous population. As Doe attempted to install his own ethnic group, the Krahn, as the new ruling elite, his regime became increasingly more brutal and unpopular.

In December 1989, Charles Taylor, an Americo-Liberian, lead a small band of insurgents across the border from Cote d'Ivoire into Nimba County, Liberia. Due to the repressive reaction of the Doe Government, Taylor quickly won widespread support in Nimba County and other areas. Within months, Taylor's forces were challenging Doe's in Monrovia. However, the war to oust Doe had degenerated into fierce ethnic score-settling. Human rights abuses and massacres of civilians multiplied. Nationals of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) were targetted. Massive refugee outflows began. Monrovia descended into chaos. Some ECOWAS states were sympathetic to Taylor, while others were to Doe.

In August 1990, Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) troops deployed into Monrovia, pushing Taylor's NPFL forces out. President Doe's execution in November 1990, did not abate the conflict. Nevertheless, ECOMOG was able to secure Monrovia as a safe-haven and the ECOWAS-backed Interim Government of National Unity was established in Monrovia in late 1990. Taylor established Gbarnga as the capital of the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government. During the course of the conflict, several other ethnically-based factions arose to contest Taylor's group. All factions received support from external sources and all factions were guilty of widespread human rights abuses.

In September 1992, Taylor's forces unsuccessfully attacked Monrovia but was repelled by ECOMOG and the anti-Taylor factions. Major factional fighting, again instigated by Taylor, erupted again in April 1996 but ended in military stalemate a month later.

April 1996 - July 1997: The Peace Process Finally Succeeds

There were 13 peace agreements signed during the war. Prior to the Abuja II Accord of 1996, implementation was marred by factional footdragging, lack of peacekeeping capability, and insufficient regional and international diplomatic pressure.

The April 1996 Battle for Monrovia galvanized both ECOWAS and the international community to intensify efforts to end the conflict. The Abuja II Accord was adopted at the Extraordinary ECOWAS Committee of Nine Summit in Nigeria in August 1996. The Accord affirmed the need for a cease-fire, disarmament and demobilization.

The August 1996 selection of Nigerian Head of State Abacha as ECOWAS Chairman also accelerated progress. With Abacha as ECOWAS Chairman, Nigeria staked its national prestige on ending the war. The ECOWAS leadership devised an active diplomacy to implement the peace accord. But perhaps the most important single element to progress of the peace process during the 1996-97 period was that factional leaders were compelled to reassess the chances of military victory in light of the stalemated "battle of Monrovia". Factional leaders began to explore political avenues to power, seeing that forcible accession was improbable.

The July 1996 appointment of Nigerian General Victor Malu as ECOMOG Force Commander was also a critical move. General Malu brought to the equation proven experience, having served previously and ably as ECOMOG Chief of Staff in 1992.

Meanwhile ECOMOG troop strength increased from less than 7000 to approximately 11,000. Additionally, the U.S. Government provided nearly \$40 million in non-lethal equipment assistance to enhance ECOMOG peacekeeping and logistical capabilities. The Dutch, Danish, Belgian, British and German governments provided important non-lethal support as well.

The peace process finally "turned the corner" during the period November 1996 to February 1997. As ECOMOG became stronger, disarmament concomitantly weakened factional strength. Compliance with the Abuja Accord, albeit imperfect, had become the rule not the exception. By the end of February 1997, more than 23,000 factional fighters (out of an estimated 30-35,000 combatants) had disarmed. While not perfect, substantial disarmament was achieved and factional command structures were weakened. This created a conducive environment for the holding of successful national elections in July.

The July 19 Election

Despite a very tight election schedule (from the February completion of disarmament) and the daunting logistical challenges of holding elections after a protracted civil conflict, the July 19 presidential and national legislative elections were successful. International observers, including President Carter, representatives from the NDI, IRI, the European Union and UN, judged the election free and transparent.

The presidential race featured thirteen candidates. Major candidates were former factional leaders Charles Taylor, Alhaji Kromah, and George Boley. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, former UNDP Africa Director, was the sole female candidate. Baccus Matthews, Togba Na Tipoteh, Cletus Wortorson were other prominent candidates.

Taylor won in a landslide, gaining over 75 percent of the vote, easily outdistancing the runner-up, Johnson Sirleaf, by 65 percent. The sweeping victory put Taylor's National Patriotic Party in control 49 of 64 seats in the House and 21 of the 26 Senate seats.

While Taylor supporters claim the election was a referendum on Taylor's popularity, the truth is more complicated. Taylor ran as a quasi-incumbent, and the election results reflect the systemic advantages he gained through years of controlling large swaths of Liberia's territory and much of its natural resources. Taylor's charisma, oratorical pyrotechnics, and his image as a strong leader -- a modern paramount chief -- melded with the national political culture. Taylor used his ample political war chest to conduct a sophisticated campaign. His several newspapers and radio station gave him significant media advantage.

Perhaps most importantly, the desire for peace and (its flip side, the anathema of war) weighed heavily on many voters. If anything, the election was a referendum for peace. Many voters decided that Taylor represented the best prospect for peace in the short run. Conversely, they feared renewed fighting should he have lost. While Taylor was a compelling candidate genuinely popular among segments of the population, his popularity does not account for the landslide victory. Many people voted for Taylor in hope of being left in peace.

The Challenge of Post War Liberia

The costs of the civil war were immense. Of the pre-war population of 2.8 million, there were over 150,000 war-related deaths, and equal number wounded, 1.2 million persons displaced internally, and approximately 750,000 refugees in neighboring countries.

The war devastated the national economy. The administration inherits an external debt estimated at over \$2 billion -- with close to \$350 million owed to the United States. Eighty-five percent unemployment and the absence of infrastructure throughout the country continued to depress productive capacity, despite the country's rich natural resources and potential self-sufficiency in food. During the war, the United States provided nearly \$500 million in humanitarian aid, mostly food and medicine, to avert humanitarian disaster. U.S. humanitarian assistance, mostly channelled through nongovernmental organizations and UN, will continue in FY 98.

U.S.-Liberia Bilateral Relations

Due to our historic ties and active involvement in the peace process, we can influence events in Liberia. Our policy is to engage actively but prudently the new government on the full range of bilateral issues. We want Taylor, as a democratically elected President, to succeed in rebuilding Liberia. However, the depth of that relationship will ultimately depend on Taylor's performance on human rights, economic reform, and good governance. We will also seek cohesion within the international community on assistance to Liberia by continuing to collaborate with ECOWAS, the UN and the EU.

The bilateral relationship is currently strained. Hardliners in Taylor's administration believe the U.S. Government wants to undermine him. Taylor sees the continued existence of Massachusetts criminal charges for escaping jail in 1985 -- although a state crime -- as an attempt by the federal government to hold a sword over his head and to prevent him from visiting the U.S. (Taylor was arrested in 1985 based on an extradition request from the Government of Liberia

charging him with embezzlement of public funds.) While this is a very important issue to Taylor, it is an extremely delicate convergence of policy, law enforcement and federalism in the United States. Discussions between the Departments of State and Justice have been ongoing for months and are continuing.

The level of USG post-war assistance and that the assistance to Liberia is being channelled through NGOs and the UN is also perceived by Taylor officials as a vote of non-confidence in their Government. Taylor is also pressing the UN Security Council to lift the arms embargo against Liberia which was enacted in 1992. We agree in principle that the embargo should be lifted. However, we think the impact on Liberia's and Sierra Leone's security needs to be studied further before the embargo is eliminated.

To put the bilateral relationship on an even keel, a senior-level inter-agency team, led by Special Envoy for Liberia Howard Jeter, will visit Liberia in late February/early March to discuss key bilateral issues with senior Liberian counterparts.

Taylor as President

Democracy and Human Rights

President Taylor's August 2 inaugural address set out a blueprint for a new Liberia and was an encouraging statement to his countrymen and the international community. Taylor emphasized respect for human rights as the bedrock of his administration. He also stressed the need for national reconciliation, underscored the benefits of free-market economic and governmental reform, and asserted that Liberia would be a constructive player in the region and beyond.

The Administration got off to a decent start, but recent events are worrisome. In September, he reappointed his cousin Joe Tate as police chief although Tate had been clearly implicated in looting and human rights abuses during the April 1996 fighting. Because of Tate's return, we had to discontinue a U.S. Government-funded police training program. There have been reports of police brutality and the killing of criminal suspects in mysterious circumstances since Tate's reappearance.

The brutal murders of opposition leader Sam Dokie and family members last November is the Government's first major human rights test. Dokie was last seen alive after being detained by government security agents. Taylor has disavowed any involvement in the murders. Five suspects have been arrested (three are government agents) and may go to trial this

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month. The Ministry of Justice purportedly has made the investigation its top priority. The status of Director of Special Security Services Ben Yeaten, who ordered Dokie's arrest but claimed no knowledge of the murders, is unclear.

Incidents of press harassment have increased in recent weeks. Many journalists have been detained temporarily, a few have been roughed up. The Information Minister regularly issues harsh warnings to the press about articles critical of the government. The "Heritage" newspaper was closed for publishing an article critical of the government's relationship with the West African peacekeepers. Heritage was allowed to open after publishing an apology. Two independent radio stations, Radio Monrovia and Star Radio, were closed ostensibly for the unauthorized sharing of radio frequencies. Radio Monrovia reopened after paying a fine and publishing an apology. The Ministry of Communications has pledged its cooperation to see that Star is registered and has said that the USAID-funded Star can reopen once it registers. Star Radio's attorney is now registering the station with the Ministry.

There have been several unresolved murders but it is impossible to determine whether these crimes were politically, ethnically or criminally motivated. Meanwhile, many political opponents complain of harassment, detentions and surveillance.

In October, Taylor signed into law a bill creating a National Commission on Human Rights. Although a laudable idea, the bill attracted criticism from the local human rights community, which believed they were not sufficiently consulted. They complained that the Commission was limited to investigating prospective abuses, lacked authority to compel testimony or evidence, and had no identified source of funding. While members of the Commission have been named, the Commission has not become active.

Taylor believes his human rights record is good, given that Liberia is emerging from a long civil war. Consequently criticism is seen as a politically-oriented ploy by Taylor detractors. The local human rights community is seen as political opponents using the facade of human rights to undermine Taylor politically. Opponents claim that Taylor neither views democratization nor human rights as intrinsically important. Human rights are just another factor in his political calculations. He knows the necessity of paying lip service and making some concessions to human rights to garner international assistance and avoid opprobrium. They claim that he will try to put up a facade of respecting human rights to appease the international community while using subtle methods to muzzle the press and political opposition.

National Reconciliation

In his inaugural speech, President Taylor mentioned that national reconciliation would be an important goal of his administration. An important aspect of national reconciliation is an inclusive government. Taylor has made strides in this direction. He has appointed leaders of rival factions such as Roosevelt Johnson (Minister of Transportation) to his cabinet. The widely respected Minister of Finance Elie Saleeby supported Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in the election. Opposition political candidate Baccus Matthews has been appointed chairman of the National Port Authority. There are several persons from the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups, Taylor's primary ethnic foes during the war, appointed to high-level positions.

Conversely, critics state Taylor has not been inclusive enough. They claim the Americo-Liberian minority is over-represented in Taylor's formal and "kitchen" cabinets. Critics also state that Taylor did not reach out sufficiently to the opposition parties in filling government positions but simply tried to co-opt old factional rivals who could possibly challenge him militarily.

In December, Taylor appointed former factional rival Alhaji Kromah to head the Commission on National Reconciliation. Kromah, who has been living in Guinea since the election, accepted the position but the Commission has not yet been constituted.

Security and ECOMOG

ECOMOG wants to remain in Liberia to provide security and help restructure the Liberian army. Taylor thinks ECOMOG should be under his direct control or should leave Liberia. This gap between ECOMOG and Taylor can be destabilizing. Objectively, Taylor should favor ECOMOG remaining in Liberia as long as possible. However, he perceives an independent ECOMOG as undermining presidential authority.

Taylor's alternative to ECOMOG -- signing bilateral agreements with individual ECOWAS states to provide training and security assistance -- may be unrealistic. Taylor says he has entered into agreements with Niger and Burkina Faso for several hundred troops. (Because of Taylor's long standing relationship with Burkina Faso, the presence of additional Burkinabe troops in Liberia will worry Taylor's political rivals.) We do not know the reaction of the others; but few countries will likely place their troops under the direct command of another Head of State.

A security vacuum will emerge if ECOMOG departs in February without an alternative security mechanism in place. The Liberian Government might fill that vacuum with mostly

untrained Taylor partisans. Rapid deployment of an NPFL-dominated security network would frighten the political opposition and might prompt former factional rivals to reconstitute their protective networks.

Foreign Policy

Taylor sees himself as an important international figure despite Liberia's internal fragility and his government's newness. The Sierra Leone peace process is Taylor's first foreign policy test.

Initially, Liberia seemed to be a voice of reason and pragmatism after it joined the ECOWAS Committee of Five (C-5), the regional steering group shepherding the Sierra Leonean process; however, some observers believe Taylor may be implicitly encouraging the Freetown junta's hardline position. While evidence is sketchy, there is concern about possible covert assistance to the putschists.

Taylor has threatened to withdraw from the C-5 due to differences with Nigeria over Revolutionary United Front leader Foday Sankoh's role and the perception that Nigeria is eager to use military force against the junta instead of working for a negotiated political settlement. (Sankoh is under house arrest in Nigeria and is not taking part in the peace talks.) Taylor also accuses ECOMOG of suborning the paramilitary group, the Kamajors, in Sierra Leone and of launching operations in Sierra Leone from Liberian soil without consulting him.

Economic and Financial Reform

Thus far, the brightest spot for the Taylor administration has been the Finance Ministry's work with the International Financial Institutions on debt arrears and rationalizing government budgetary practices. (Liberia has external debt arrears estimated at 2 billion dollars and has a bilateral debt of 350 million to the U.S.)

While a few businesses have been revitalized, the overall economy is stagnant and unemployment remains pervasive.

To coordinate donor assistance, the UN has called a donors conference for April 6.

Humanitarian (Repatriation, Reintegration, Demobilization)

Liberia faces the mammoth task of repatriating nearly 500,000 refugees, relocating over 1 million internally displaced (IDPs) and rehabilitating thousands of former combatants. The international community can help significantly. However, we must also press the new government

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to make these concerns, and not big-ticket "prestige" projects, its top development priority. Refugee repatriation and resettlement of displaced persons is proceeding slowly due to lack of infrastructure in rural areas and renewed apprehension about future security conditions.

AID assistance for FY-98, mostly food aid, is approximately \$40 million. We are also funding rehabilitation and training programs for ex-combatants. Through U.S. NGOs, we will fund democracy and governance programs to enhance the work of local human rights groups, promote civic education, and work with the legislature and local governments. The Department of Justice is looking into the possibility of a judicial training project.

UNHCR has appealed for over \$52 million for refugee repatriation and is planning to commence some organized repatriation as early as October. The entire repatriation process may take 18 months to two years. Overall, we hope to fund 20-25 percent of the appeal.

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Talking Points
- Tab 2 - Arrival Statement
- Tab 3 - Departure Statement

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SPECIAL ENVOY JACKSON

TALKING POINTS: LIBERIA

The points below are for all of your meetings in Liberia. Section A is keyed to meetings with President Taylor and other Government officials. However, these points are likewise appropriate for your other sessions. Additional points for the other meeting follow in section B.

A. MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT TAYLOR AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Desire for Good Relations

--President Taylor and his Administration have an historic opportunity to establish democracy in Liberia. The President can stake out a respected place in history by leading Liberia out of war and toward this goal.

--My Government wants to see the Administration, as the democratically elected Government, succeed in this mission.

--We want a productive bilateral relationship in which we help Liberia rebuild. We have resources available to assist Liberia's reconstruction and will work to encourage others in the international community to assist as well.

--From time to time, there will be differences between our governments. We should not allow these differences to overshadow the predominant commonality of interests and the long history we share.

--I have come here to listen and learn. I would like to hear from you the challenges that you face in building democracy and to share some of my personal experiences with you.

--(For President Taylor only) I would like to extend my congratulations on your electoral victory, and I also extend regards from President Clinton and Secretary Albright.

National Reconciliation and Dialogue

--National reconciliation is key to a stable society and reconciliation can only come through dialogue. It is hard but necessary to set aside the memories and feelings generated from seven years of war.

--Your Government has made strides in bringing in members of former rival armed factions and members of other political parties. Government and opposition should explore ways to expand the process of inclusion.

--I also urge that other informal and formal ways be found to improve the dialogue between Government and the opposition. Sustained dialogue will build confidence and lessen suspicion between the Government and opposition as well as in the general public.

--I hope that the rhetoric of the past can be set aside. I ask that those in and out of Government stop viewing each other as "enemies" but as government and loyal opposition that must collaborate to rid the country of the residue of war.

Human Rights and Rule of Law

--In his inaugural address, President Taylor said that human rights would be the bedrock of his Administration. We must all work to make that promise come true.

--We are saddened by the murder of Samuel Dokie and family members. The killings raised tension in Liberia and concern throughout the international community. I understand that the case is under investigation. Can you tell me the status of the investigation?

--I urge that the investigation be given top priority and be conducted as thoroughly and transparently as possible. All suspects must be tried in open court. For Dokie's death to have any meaning, the message must clear that no one is above law, and that human life is sacred.

--Without assigning responsibility for the killings, I hope this tragedy can also be used as an opportunity to scrutinize and perhaps reform the operations of security agencies. A tangible message that President Taylor is concerned how the security force is perceived can be important to building trust.

--Another such tragedy must be avoided. While we desire a close relationship with Liberia, that cannot be achieved where the human rights situation is precarious. Human rights will be the bellwether on which we must base the relationship.

--(For President Taylor) I need not tell you the awesome responsibility of leadership. There may be things done by Government personnel of which you are unaware. However, as President, you bear ultimate responsibility for these acts and must take action to remedy any wrongs committed.

--A free, responsible media is also essential to a functioning democracy. There have been several recent events regarding the media that reveal tension between the Government and the fourth estate. That tension is inherent in any democracy and must be permitted.

--I urge the Government to err on the side of greater freedom when dealing with the press. However, I also underscore that the press has a tremendous duty and responsibility. It must avoid sensationalism and purposefully inaccurate reporting. Again, the press and government must enter into a dialogue to ensure a better understanding and relationship.

--I plan to talk with the media representatives here about their role in a democratic society.

Security and ECOMOG

--Democracy flourishes best in a secure environment. I note that ECOMOG may be scheduled to depart Liberia in February. An imminent departure would be premature and could create a security vacuum that only increases uncertainty. I hope the government will allow a residual ECOMOG force to remain to assist with security and rebuilding the Liberian army.

--What is the status of discussions regarding ECOMOG?

Foreign Policy:

--Liberia should be a stabilizing force in the region.

--President Taylor can be a peace-maker by using his influence to urge the junta in Freetown to implement the Conakry Accord.

Financial and Economic Reform

--The progress the government has made in working with the International Financial Institutions and in addressing issues such as Government spending and tax reform to promote private enterprise and investment is encouraging. Private enterprise and a free market are the economic equivalents to political democracy.

-- I hear that the Government recently passed a budget and there was some concern expressed about the level of expenditures for security. What was that about?

--I would like to know how you think the international community can continue to help economic reform in Liberia?

B. OTHER MEETINGS

Human Rights

-- The United States will condemn all human rights abuses and not sacrifice our principles for the sake of establishing good relations with the Government. However, we also believe that this Government must be given the time and opportunity to prove itself to the Liberian people and the world community. We will speak out forcefully that wrongs are being committed.

National Reconciliation and Dialogue

--I urge you to not wait for the Government to reach out but for you to take the initiative in talking to the Government. Avoid personal attacks and vituperation. Focus instead on issues and offer practical solutions to the nation's pressing problems.

Religious Tolerance

--(For the Interfaith Mediation Committee) I know that Liberia has significant Christian and Moslem populations; however, many Moslems feel victimized by religious discrimination. How is Liberia dealing with this problem and is there anything we can do to help?

--You must reach out to Taylor and the Government. You should use your moral authority to bring former enemies together in national reconciliation.

LIBERIA: ARRIVAL STATEMENT

-- It is a great pleasure for me to visit Liberia.

-- The relationship between our two countries is deep and long-standing. The Government and people of the United States wish the Government and people of Liberia well in your quest to rebuild and establish true democracy here. I hope my visit, although brief, can in some way enhance the affinity between our people and the relationship between our Governments.

-- I have wanted to visit Liberia for some time and am here as the Special Envoy for the promotion of Democracy in Africa, a position entrusted to me by President Clinton and Secretary of State Albright.

-- I believe my presence highlights the importance the United States attaches to establishing a productive relationship with the people of Liberia.

-- I am here to learn first hand about your efforts to establish democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Liberia after seven long years of war.

-- The war caused a great deal of suffering and all sides were to some extent guilty of wrongdoing. It is now incumbent on all to work together to ensure that the past is not repeated. This is a tremendous challenge but also a historic opportunity that must not be missed.

-- I hope to meet with President Taylor, senior government officials and a wide cross-section of Liberian civil society to hear your experiences and to share my own experiences as a political activist.

-- I am excited to be here at this important juncture in Liberia's history and look forward to learning a lot from you on this trip.

LIBERIA: DEPARTURE STATEMENT

- My visit to Liberia has been productive and eventful.
- Meeting with President Taylor, government officials, opposition leaders, the media and representatives of Liberian civil society have deepened my understanding of the challenges facing Liberia at this stage.
- The United States shares in the hope that Liberia can be an example of a country that has transcended the past tragedies of war to embrace national reconciliation and establish a durable, prosperous democracy. To achieve this goal, all Liberians must work together and put aside narrow, parochial differences.
- In all of my meetings, I stressed this point. I tried to emphasize that the country can only move forward in an atmosphere of dialogue, understanding and compromise. I asked people to bury the past and work toward the future.
- Liberia has the capacity and resources to develop into a stable democracy where human rights, human dignity and the rule of law are indeed the cornerstones of society. Liberia's successful establishment of democracy will not only help Liberians, it will encourage the advance of democracy elsewhere in Africa.
- I want to thank the citizens of Liberia for the hospitality shown during my visit. I leave with profound memories of this country and its potential.
- I hope to return in the future and to see that further progress has been made toward achieving the stable democracy we all hope to be established in this fine country.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Friday, February 06, 1998 10:15 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @NESASIA - NE/South Asia; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson (Info - Not Urgent) [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

Sandy -

Good news. Jesse Jackson will now lay over in Ireland. Our Embassy is aware and will take care of him during his 15 hours on the ground.

Ed

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

From: Rice, Edward A.
Sent: Thursday, February 05, 1998 6:29 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @NESASIA - NE/South Asia
Subject: Jesse Jackson (Info - Not Urgent) [UNCLASSIFIED]

Sandy -

- Jesse Jackson will now depart for his Africa trip via military aircraft from Andrews AFB.
- Aircraft no longer available in Europe due to priority requirement from the CINC. Jackson happy to have mil air for entire trip.
- Potential downside is that he will have to lay over in Cairo for 15 hours for aircrew rest. When Jackson heard this he made a comment about possibly meeting with Mubarak, which State quickly said could not happen. State will have someone with Jackson on the trip, but 15 hours can be a long time with someone as active as Rev Jackson.

Ed

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, February 04, 1998 1:55 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: call to Susan on JJ [UNCLASSIFIED]

Done. JJ's son cannot go as his relative unless there is "a specific diplomatic reason" for him to do so. (e.g. spouse going for State Dinner). Not the case with Yusuf.

- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Battenfield, Pat A.
Sent: Wednesday, February 04, 1998 2:10 PM
To: @CROSS - Cross Hatches
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Crosshatch 006244 [UNCLASSIFIED]

Joe Wilson clears above crosshatch re travel of Special Envoy Jesse Jackson.

Washfax Receipt

Department Of State

B*2**oh*

Message No. **006244** Classification UNCLASSIFIED No. Pages 4

From: Alex Wolff 8/8 647-8448 7224

(Officer Name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

Message Description: Cable to NAIROBI: Travel of Special Envoy Jesse Jackson

Id (Agency)	Deliver To:	Extension	Room No.
NSCS	Glyn T. Davies	456-9461	WHSITRM
	Executive Secretariat		
	<i>Wilson</i>		
	<i>RENDERGAST</i>		

MUST GO ☒NON-MUST GO ☐

Remarks: Please clear by: COB 2/3 Guidance for posts to

begin preparations for Rev. Jackson's visit to Africa

NBC POC: _____

8/8 Officer: _____

*Alex Wolff***CROSSHATCH**

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ORIGINAL

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AF:JCPERRY:JMG
02/02/98 7-1818 SEFOA 4037
AF:SERICE

AF/C:MBAAS
AF/E:DDUNN
NSC:EBARKS-RUGGLES
S/S:

AF/W:HJETER
AF/EX:NSERPA
S/S-O:

IMMEDIATE NAIROBI, KINSHASA IMMEDIATE, FRANKFURT IMMEDIATE,
MONROVIA IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY LONDON, PARIS PRIORITY, BRUSSELS PRIORITY, KIGALI
PRIORITY, ABIDJAN PRIORITY

SENSITIVE

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: OTRA, PREL, KY, CG, LI, GE, KDEM, PHUM

SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF SPECIAL ENVOY JESSE JACKSON

PARIS FOR MORAN, LONDON FOR PFLAUMER, BRUSSELS FOR
HINSON-JONES

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED, PROTECT ACCORDINGLY.

1. SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA
JESSE JACKSON WILL TRAVEL FEBRUARY 6 - 13 TO NAIROBI,
KINSHASA AND MONROVIA TO REINFORCE THE MESSAGE OF
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS IN EACH CAPITAL. DESK OFFICER DON KORAN AND
JACKSON AIDE YURI TADESSE WILL ACCOMPANY THE SPECIAL
ENVOY. AMBASSADOR MARC BAAS WILL MEET JACKSON IN KINSHASA
FOR CONGO MEETINGS AND AMBASSADOR HOWARD JETER WILL JOIN
HIM IN MONROVIA FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH LIBERIAN OFFICIALS.

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2. S/E JACKSON, KORAN AND TADESSE WILL DEPART WASHINGTON DULLES AIRPORT ON FEBRUARY 6 VIA UNITED FLIGHT NUMBER 3502 AT 1750 ARRIVING FRANKFURT FEBRUARY 7 AT 0735. REQUEST CG FRANKFURT ASSIST WITH AIRPORT FORMALITIES AND TRANSFER TO MILAIR. PARTY WILL DEPART FRANKFURT FOR NAIROBI ARRIVING O/A 1845 FEBRUARY 7. KENYA PROGRAM FEBRUARY 7-9: PARTY WILL DEPART NAIROBI VIA MILAIR FEBRUARY 9 O/A 1200 FOR KINSHASA (REFUELING IN KIGALI) ARRIVING KINSHASA FEBRUARY 9 O/A 2000. DROC PROGRAM FEBRUARY 10-11: WITH DEPARTURE O/A 1200 FOR MONROVIA FEBRUARY 11 VIA MILAIR. LIBERIA PROGRAM FEBRUARY 11-12: PARTY WILL DEPART MONROVIA O/A 1600 FEBRUARY 12 ARRIVING FRANKFURT O/A 0800 FEBRUARY 13. THEY WILL DEPART FRANKFURT AT 1300 VIA UNITED 3503 ARRIVING WASHINGTON DULLES AT 1550.

PURPOSE AND PROGRAM

3. NAIROBI, KENYA-FEBRUARY 7-9:

COMING DURING WHAT EMBASSY NAIROBI HAS IDENTIFIED AS THE CRITICAL POST-ELECTION PERIOD THAT MAY DETERMINE THE COURSE OF PRESIDENT MOI'S LAST GOVERNMENT, THE S/E'S FEBRUARY 7-9 VISIT WILL AFFORD HIM THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS UPON PRESIDENT MOI AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS THE NEED FOR A GENUINE AND INCLUSIVE PROCESS OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, CONCRETE MEASURES TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE, AND IMMEDIATE ACTION TO PROVIDE PROTECTION FOR ALL KENYANS IN THE FACE OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE. PER EMBASSY'S SUGGESTIONS, REV. JACKSON WOULD VISIT AREAS AFFLICTED BY ETHNIC VIOLENCE TO EXPRESS USG CONCERN AND SYMPATHY FOR THE VICTIMS. ANOTHER KEY PRIORITY FOR THE VISIT WILL BE TO REACH OUT TO AND ENCOURAGE KENYA'S VIBRANT CIVIL SOCIETY, UNDERLINING OUR VIEW THAT THE KENYAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES MUST HAVE A STRONG VOICE IN ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES CONFRONTING THE COUNTRY. IN ALL HIS DISCUSSIONS, KENYA INCLUDED, JACKSON SHOULD SAY THAT NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE ABOUT PARTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP.

KINSHASA, DROC-FEBRUARY 9-11:

THE KINSHASA STOP (FEB. 9 - 11) WILL INCLUDE MEETINGS WITH SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (INCLUDING, WE HOPE, THE PRESIDENT) AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AND THE CIVIL SOCIETY. REV. JACKSON'S DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT WILL FOCUS ON THE NEED TO

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MOVE FORWARD ON UN HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATIONS, ENSURE THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PROCESS IS POLITICALLY INCLUSIVE, TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE CIVIL SOCIETY AND OPPOSITION (IN PART THROUGH AN EARLY END TO THE BAN ON POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITIES), AND TO ESTABLISH AND RESPECT THE RULE OF LAW. HE WILL ENCOURAGE THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL SECTOR TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE POLITICAL REFORM PROCESS AND TO ACTIVELY SEEK AREAS IN WHICH THE CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT CAN COOPERATE.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA - FEBRUARY 11-12:

JACKSON'S VISIT COMES AT A CRUCIAL TIME IN THE EARLY EVOLUTION OF THE TAYLOR GOVERNMENT. AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF RECENT HUMAN RIGHTS INCIDENTS AND THE UNCERTAINTY OF ECOMOG'S CONTINUED PRESENCE IN LIBERIA, JACKSON'S VISIT WILL HAVE SPECIAL RESONANCE ACROSS THE BOARD IN LIBERIA. THE VISIT SHOULD DEMONSTRATE USG COMMITMENT TO DEVELOPING A PRODUCTIVE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WHILE UNDERSCORING THAT A GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WILL DEPEND ON GOL PERFORMANCE, PARTICULARLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE S/E WILL ENCOURAGE LIBERIA TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN THE SUB-REGION BY ALLOWING AN ECOMOG PEACEKEEPING PRESENCE IN LIBERIA AND BY WORKING WITH ECOWAS TO PERSUADE THE FREETOWN JUNTA TO IMPLEMENT THE CONAKRY PEACE FRAMEWORK. HE IS TO URGE THE GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION TOWARD A MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND GOOD GOVERNANCE.

REVEREND JACKSON WILL MEET WITH CIVIL SOCIETY AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS, KEY OPPOSITION LEADERS, THE INTER-FAITH MEDIATION COMMITTEE AND LEADING HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, INCLUDING THE MEDIA AND BAR ASSOCIATION REPS ARE REQUESTED. HE SHOULD VISIT A USAID-FUNDED PROJECT LIKE LOIC. WE SHOULD ALSO THINK ABOUT JACKSON DELIVERING A BRIEF ADDRESS ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND DEMOCRACY. THE GOL SHOULD BE PROVIDED TIME TO HOST AN EVENT FOR JACKSON.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

4. PUBLIC AFFAIRS HEADS UP FROM AF/PAO: PLEASE BEGIN YOUR PREPARATIONS FOR MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE S/E'S TRIP NOW BY ENSURING FULL COVERAGE OF HIS ARRIVAL STATEMENT AT EACH POST. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE REASONS FOR HIS STOPPING IN YOUR COUNTRY BE CONVEYED ACCURATELY TO A WIDE AUDIENCE. IT WOULD ALSO BE DESIRABLE TO ARRANGE FOR A

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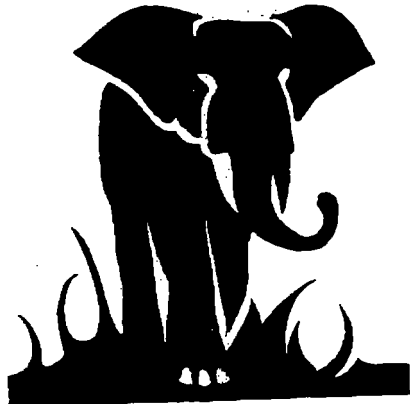
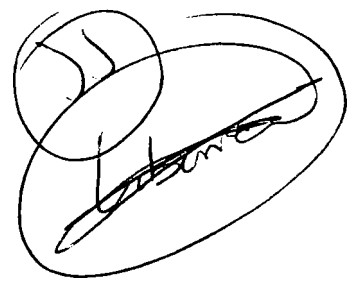
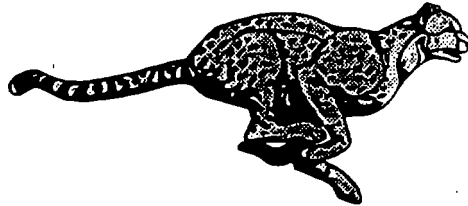
PRESS CONFERENCE AS HIS TRIP CONCLUDES AT WHICH TIME HE WOULD READ A DEPARTURE STATEMENT AND FIELD QUESTIONS FROM JOURNALISTS. DURING HIS STAY, REQUEST POSTS SECURE ONE-ON-ONES WITH AMERICAN AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA TO ENSURE COVERAGE OF HIS VISIT IN THE U.S. PRESS. FINALLY, PLEASE REMEMBER TO CABLE BACK LOCAL MEDIA REACTIONS TO HIS VISIT WHICH ARE VERY USEFUL TO US IN GAUGING ITS IMPACT.

5. ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICE AND NSC SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA JOSEPH WILSON WILL MEET WITH REVEREND JACKSON AND AF/C, AF/W AND AF/E WILL PROVIDE PRE-DEPARTURE BRIEFINGS. POSTS' EFFORTS IN MAKING THIS MISSION A MEANINGFUL ONE ARE APPRECIATED.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

OFFICE OF WEST AFRICAN AFFAIRS
AF/W

Fax Number (202) 647-4855

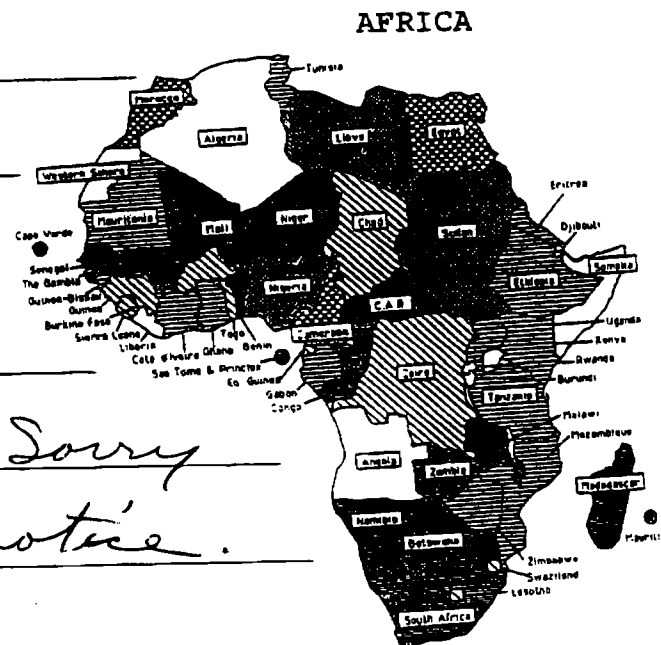
Date: 2/3/98Number of Pages
(including cover) 5TO: NSC - Erica Barks - RugglesFAX Number: 456-9260

Phone Number: _____

From: Brian BrownePhone Number: 647-2865Comments: Need Clearance

As Soon As Possible. Sorry
again for the short notice.

Brian



SPECIAL ENVOY JACKSONTALKING POINTS: LIBERIA

The points below are for all of your meetings in Liberia. Section A is keyed to meetings with President Taylor and other Government officials. However, these points are likewise appropriate for your other sessions. Additional points for the other meeting follow in section B.

A. MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT TAYLOR AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALSDesire for Good Relations

--President Taylor and his Administration have an historic opportunity to establish democracy in Liberia. The President can stake out a respected place in history by leading Liberia out of war and toward this goal.

--My Government wants to see the Administration, as the democratically elected Government, succeed in this mission.

--We want a productive bilateral relationship in which we help Liberia rebuild. We have resources available to assist Liberia's reconstruction and will work to encourage others in the international community to assist as well.

--From time to time, there will be differences between our governments. We should not allow these differences to overshadow the predominant commonality of interests and the long history we share.

--I have come here to listen and learn. I would like to hear from you the challenges that you face in building democracy and to share some of my personal experiences with you.

--(For President Taylor only) I would like to extend my congratulations on your electoral victory, and I also extend regards from President Clinton and Secretary Albright.

National Reconciliation and Dialogue

--National reconciliation is key to a stable society and reconciliation can only come through dialogue. It is hard but necessary to set aside the memories and feelings generated from seven years of war.

--Your Government has made strides in bringing in members of former rival armed factions and members of other political parties. Government and opposition should explore ways to expand the process of inclusion.

- 2 -

--I also urge that other informal and formal ways be found to improve the dialogue between Government and the opposition. Sustained dialogue will build confidence and lessen suspicion between the Government and opposition as well as in the general public.

--I hope that the rhetoric of the past can be set aside. I ask that those in and out of Government stop viewing each other as "enemies" but as government and loyal opposition that must collaborate to rid the country of the residue of war.

Human Rights and Rule of Law

--In ~~his~~ inaugural address, President Taylor ^{Lyons} said that human rights would be the bedrock of his Administration. We must all work to make that promise come true.

--We are saddened by the murder of Samuel Dokie and family members. The killings raised tension in Liberia and concern throughout the international community. I understand that the case is under investigation. Can you tell me the status of the investigation?

--I urge that the investigation be given top priority and be conducted as thoroughly and transparently as possible. All suspects must be tried in open court. ^{clear unambiguous} For Dokie's death to have any meaning, ~~the message must be affirmed~~ that no one is above law, and that human life is sacred.

--Without assigning responsibility for the killings, I hope this tragedy can also be used as an opportunity to scrutinize and perhaps reform the operations of security agencies. A tangible message that President Taylor ^{is} concerned how the security force is perceived can be important to building trust.

--Another such tragedy must be avoided. ^{you are} While we desire a close relationship with Liberia, that cannot be achieved where the human rights situation is precarious. Human rights will be the bellwether on which we must base the relationship.

--(For President Taylor) I need not tell you the awesome responsibility of leadership. There may be things done by Government personnel of which you are unaware. However, as President, you bear ultimate responsibility for these acts and must take action to remedy any wrongs committed.

--A free, responsible media is also essential to a functioning democracy. There have been several recent events regarding the media that reveal tension between the Government and the fourth estate. That tension is inherent in any democracy and must be permitted.

- 3 -

--I urge the Government to err on the side of greater freedom when dealing with the press. However, I also underscore that the press has a tremendous duty and responsibility. It must avoid sensationalism and purposefully inaccurate reporting. Again, the press and government must enter into a dialogue to ensure a better understanding and relationship.

--I plan to talk with the media representatives here about their role in a democratic society.

Security and ECOMOG

-- Democracy flourishes best in a secure environment. I note that ECOMOG may be scheduled to depart Liberia in February. An imminent departure would be premature and could create a security vacuum that only increases uncertainty. I hope the government will allow a residual ECOMOG force to remain to assist with security and rebuilding the Liberian army.

*figure about status of
- talks w/ ECOMOG
- bilateral agreement not
enough*

Foreign Policy:

--Liberia should be a stabilizing force in the region.

--President Taylor can be a peace-maker by using his influence to urge the junta in Freetown to implement the Conakry Accord.

Financial and Economic Reform

--The progress the government has made in working with the International Financial Institutions and in addressing issues such as Government spending and tax reform to promote private enterprise and investment is encouraging. Private enterprise and a free market are the economic equivalents to political democracy.

-- I hear that the Government recently passed a budget and there was some concern expressed about the level of expenditures for security. What was that about?

--I would like to know how you think the international community can continue to help economic reform in Liberia?

B. OTHER MEETINGS

Human Rights

-- The United States will not ignore human rights abuses for the sake of establishing good relations with the Government. However, we also believe that this Government must be given the time and opportunity to prove itself to the Liberian people and the world community. Nonetheless, we will speak out forcefully that wrongs are being committed.

-4-

National Reconciliation and Dialogue

--I urge you to not wait for the Government to reach out but for you to take the initiative in talking to the Government. Avoid personal attacks and vituperation. Focus instead on issues and offer practical solutions to the nation's pressing problems.

Religious Tolerance

--(For the Interfaith Mediation Committee) I know that Liberia has significant Christian and Moslem populations; however, many Moslems feel victimized by religious discrimination. How is Liberia dealing with this problem and is there anything we can do to help?

--You must reach out to Taylor and the Government. You should use your moral authority to bring former enemies together in national reconciliation.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, January 28, 1998 5:57 PM
To: Metz, Jamie F.; Prendergast, John P.; Ragan, Richard F.; @AFRICA - African Affairs; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs
Subject: RE: Liberia ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

Jesse Jackson is going to Liberia in early February as part of his second trip as the President and SecState's Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa. He will be talking to him about the general human rights, rule of law and governance situations -- including this incident and the Sam Dokie killings. He will also be talking to him about getting back on the right path -- concrete suggestions like replacing the head of the police force, disarming police and the SSS and negotiating in earnest with ECOMOG for follow on force (security and training for army) for Liberia. - Erica

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

From: Metz, Jamie F.
Sent: Wednesday, January 28, 1998 2:58 PM
To: Prendergast, John P.; Ragan, Richard F.; @AFRICA - African Affairs; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs
Subject: RE: Liberia ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

2d step? Any ideas?

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

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Tuesday, January 27, 1998 7:50 PM
To: Ragan, Richard F.; Metz, Jamie F.; @AFRICA - African Affairs; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs
Subject: RE: Liberia ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

THAT should scare the hell out of Charlie Taylor!!!

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

From: Ragan, Richard F.
Sent: Tuesday, January 27, 1998 6:50 PM
To: Metz, Jamie F.; @AFRICA - African Affairs; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs
Subject: RE: Liberia ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

FYI: 1st step is that the Star Radio incident will be reflected in State's annual human rights report, due on the Hill this Thursday.

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

From: Metz, Jamie F.
Sent: Tuesday, January 27, 1998 6:00 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs
Cc: @GLOBAL - Global Affairs
Subject: Liberia ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

I received a call and a fax today from Search for Common Ground, an NGO concerned about the recent closing of USAID funded Star Radio, an independent *newspaper* *The Heritage*, and an independent radio station, Radio Monrovia, in Liberia. According to this source, government officials are harassing radio and print journalists and have physically beaten editors. Search for Common Ground sees this as "a clear pattern indicating political motivation to control the media and to suppress free flow of information." I have seen State's press guidance on this, which asks Star Radio to apply for a new license (the old one was revoked on apparent technicalities). Is anything more being done about this. It seems from the outside as if a more robust U.S. response might be appropriate. Any comments? I have attached below a Reuters article for your reference.
Jamie

FM: Reuters

a1387

^BC-LIBERIA-MEDIA

^Liberia shuts down U.S.-funded radio station

By Jackson Kanneh

MONROVIA, Liberia (Reuters) - Liberian authorities Wednesday ordered the closure of a radio station funded by the United States as a neutral voice for the country's political groups.

Communications Minister Maxwell Kabbah told the station's managers that Star Radio had violated the law by broadcasting on a frequency allocated to another company, Radio Monrovia.

"They have said we are not properly constituted, so they

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E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 8, 2006
By VJ NARA, Date 1/8/14
2014-0927-K
5/16/2017

ordered us closed down," station manager George Bennett told Reuters.

Star Radio was established in the prelude to Liberia's July 19 elections marking the end of a seven-year civil war to counter-balance Kiss FM, the highly effective radio of former warlord Charles Taylor, who went on to win the presidential poll.

Star broadcasts in 14 Liberian languages as well as in English and French, on FM and short-wave frequencies.

Taylor unexpectedly shut down Kiss FM radio and television company Tuesday grounds of inefficiency.

Star is funded by the United States Agency for International Development through the Washington-based International Foundations for Elections Systems, which played a key monitoring and logistics role in the Liberian polls.

Just before the closure order, the government had accused Star Radio of placing Liberian newspaper articles on the Internet, a charge Bennett denied.

"We don't put newspaper articles on the Internet. We fax out transcripts of our news bulletins to our partners in Holland who then put them on the Internet, mainly for Liberians living abroad," he said.

He said the minister had raised the question of the Internet articles at a recent meeting.

The closure of Star Radio appeared to be part of an ongoing government crackdown on the Liberian media which has drawn strong condemnation from human rights groups, diplomats and the church.

Authorities Tuesday banned the independent Heritage daily for an indefinite period without offering any reason. Heritage last week published an article critical of the government for its strained relations with the ECOMOG West African peacekeeping force that has been policing Liberia since shortly after the start of the war in December 1989.

"The diplomatic corps is concerned about recent violations of human rights such as freedom of speech and movements," Sierra Leone's ambassador, Wilfred Kanu, said on behalf of foreign diplomats at an official reception last Friday.

"The international community is ready to give full support to the reconstruction of this nation provided that there is a genuine commitment by the government to uphold the rule of law, such as freedom of the press, unrestricted movement of persons and respect for human rights," he added.

Ambassadors present included those from the United States, Germany, Spain, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Egypt and Taiwan.

Human rights and religious groups have denounced abuses. Journalists publishing articles critical of the government have been detained and their offices raided.

The information ministry has dismissed the criticism as unjustified, saying that journalists and publishers who had fallen foul of the law had been properly charged in court.

^REUTERS

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9800637
RECEIVED: 27 JAN 98 21

TO: DAVIES

FROM: BURNS, W

EBM

DOC DATE: 28 JAN 98
SOURCE REF: 9801425

KEYWORDS: AIRCRAFT REQUEST
CONGO D R

KENYA
LIBERIA

W

PERSONS: JACKSON, JESSE

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR SPECIAL AIR MISSIONS AIRCRAFT FOR JACKSON ON 6 FEB

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 03 FEB 98 STATUS: X

STAFF OFFICER: DAVIES

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION
DAVIES

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
MCCARTHY
MILLISON
SCHWARTZ
WILSON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTSM

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 28, 1998

UNCLASSIFIEDMEMORANDUM FOR GLYN T. 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 Representative of the President and of the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, will travel to Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Liberia in early February. The purpose of Rev. Jackson's trip will be to encourage democratic reforms and the inclusion of opposition politicians in government, and to urge adherence to principles of human rights and good governance. Rev. Jackson and his five-member delegation will depart the United States on February 6, travel to Kenya February 7 - 9, Congo February 9 - 11, Liberia February 11 - 12, and return to the U.S. on February 13. Because of the importance of this visit in advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives in Africa, and because commercial flights (which would allow him to complete his mission in one week) are not available among these three African countries, the Department requests that a special air mission aircraft be provided for this trip on a non-reimbursable basis.

The Department requests special air missions aircraft for Reverend Jackson from Frankfurt, Germany on February 7 to Nairobi, Kenya; Kinshasa, Congo; and Monrovia, Liberia and return to Frankfurt. Awkward, unreliable and time-consuming commercial air schedules to and within Africa make it impossible for the Special Envoy to visit the three countries we want him to visit within the one week Rev. Jackson is free to travel. If he leaves the U.S. commercially February 6, he will not arrive in Nairobi until Saturday night February 7. The only functioning Nairobi-Kinshasa connection (involving an overnight in Johannesburg) requires an early Monday departure from Nairobi, leaving no business time in Kenya. The only direct Nairobi-Kinshasa route is flown by Cameroon Airways, currently on strike. Connections from Kinshasa to Monrovia, which is accessible only by charter aircraft from Abidjan, are even more cumbersome.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-2-

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

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


h William J. Burns
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Wilson, Joseph C.
Sent: Saturday, January 24, 1998 11:26 AM
To: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: JJ memo ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~
Importance: High

EXECSEC for GLYN DAVIES.

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 1998 3:51 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ memo ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~
Importance: High

Joe - June called to ask if you had comments on the revised version of the JJ memo faxed over on Tuesday. I gave copies to everyone. Since you and Susan are meeting with him tomorrow, she would like to have that ready to go for him. They especially want to ensure that SRB is on board with the DROC concept. MKA's folks (David Hale) have indicated that she is on board with being out front and proactive. Our revised memo from SRB to Erskine is attached. Please note that JJ cannot do Kenya, DROC and Liberia w/o milair support to get across the continent. The memo now reflects this, and recommends giving him a plane for the whole trip, recognizing the bad precedent. Is this OK?



8573erskredo.doc



8573srbredo.doc

- Erica

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By 17 NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0827-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8573 redo 2

January 22, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Memo to Erskine Bowles on Jesse Jackson's Trip to Africa

Attached is an information memorandum for Erskine Bowles describing Reverend Jackson's first trip to Africa as Special Envoy. Jackson traveled to Kenya and Zambia from November 29-December 4. The memo also describes Jackson's proposed future travel.

Concurrences by: Newell Highsmith, Pete Jordan, Richard Ragan

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Erskine Bowles

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By b2 NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 1/14/08

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission and
Planning for Upcoming Missions

Reverend Jackson's first trip as Special Envoy, to Kenya and Zambia on November 29-December 4, went very well. A summary of highlights and the proposed next trip is below. There remain support issues for upcoming trip

Administrative Problems/Air Transportation Support:

On his next trip, Jackson could fly commercial carriers to Kenya, DROC and then to Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. However, he would only have 16 hours overnight in Nairobi due to infrequent flights; likely not enough time to accomplish his mission. He would also require military flight support from Abidjan for the Liberia stop, due to infrequent and unsafe commercial flights. Because Jackson cannot go to all of the stops anticipated in the one week time frame without military air support to transport him from Kenya across the continent, we recommend that we request the use of a small military plane from Germany to Kenya, DROC, Liberia and back to Germany be authorized and requested.

It is important to ensure that Jackson -- like all other Special Envoys -- takes maximum advantage of available commercial air service and uses Government aircraft only in exceptional cases, as defined in the applicable directives. For this trip, however, we will likely need to request military air support, setting a two-trip precedent that will lead to heightened expectations of this continuing.

Trip Results

Kenya: Leading up to the recent presidential elections, Jackson met with representatives from both the government and opposition, where he stressed the need for full and rapid

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 1/22/08

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

5/16/07

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By VZ NARA, Date 1/8/08

2014-0927-F

implementation of electoral reforms and free and fair legislative and presidential elections. On December 29, 1997, President Moi was re-elected in a highly criticized and poorly organized election. The real test of Moi's commitment to political reforms will be whether a fundamental constitutional reform process involving a wide cross-section of Kenyan society will now be allowed to unfold. The implementation of further anti-corruption and constitutional reforms will be critical to Kenya's ability to move its democracy agenda forward, attract foreign investment and get its structural adjustment program on track.

Zambia: Jackson's message focused on democratization, emphasizing the need for the serious dialogue between President Chiluba and the opposition -- especially former President Kaunda. Jackson stressed to Chiluba the importance of respecting human rights. Unfortunately, Kaunda was arrested on December 25 and has been accused of involvement in the attempted coup in October. Phone calls from Jackson and a visit from former president of Tanzania Nyerere succeeded in pressuring the government to allow Kaunda to be released from prison to house arrest where he remains today. Dialogue is at a standstill. It would be unwise for Jackson to visit again until we have a clearer picture of how Kaunda's arrest and detention will be handled by the government.

Next Trip: Jackson's next trip is tentatively scheduled for February 6-13, 1998, to Kenya and Liberia, and possibly DROC.

Kenya: to follow-up to press for further constitutional reforms. **Liberia** to discuss reforms to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law, and to work with regional peacekeepers (ECOMOG) to ensure a sensible drawdown of troops while providing adequate security against renewed factional fighting. **DROC** to press Kabila on transition to elections and more inclusive process and constitutional commission. Also to reinforce the importance of GDROC cooperation with UN human rights investigation team We support.

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 Representative of the President and of the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa, will travel to Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Liberia in early February. The purpose of Rev. Jackson's trip will be to encourage democratic reforms and the inclusion of opposition politicians in government, and to urge adherence to principles of human rights and good governance. Rev. Jackson and his delegation will depart the United States on February 6, and return February 13, 1998.

Because of the importance of this visit in advancing US foreign policy objectives in Africa, and because of the ~~impossibility of visiting three African countries, in one week using commercial airlines~~, the Department requests that ~~this be designated a Presidential Mission and that~~ a special air mission aircraft be provided for ~~it~~ ^{this trip} on a non-reimbursable basis.

The Department requests special air missions aircraft ⁱⁿ for Reverend Jackson from ~~Washington DC or~~ Frankfurt, Germany ^{to Nairobi, Kenya, Kinshasa, Congo and Monrovia, Liberia, and returning to Frankfurt.} Awkward, unreliable and time-consuming commercial air schedules to and within Africa make it impossible for the Special Envoy to visit the three countries we want him to visit within the one week Rev. Jackson is free to travel. If he leaves the US commercially February 6, he ^{will not} ~~cannot~~ arrive Nairobi until very late Saturday night February 7. The only functioning Nairobi-Kinshasa connection (involving an overnight in Johannesburg) requires an early Monday departure from Nairobi, leaving no business time in Kenya. The only direct Nairobi-Kinshasa route is flown by Cameroon Airways, which is currently on strike. Connections from Kinshasa to Monrovia, which is accessible only by charter aircraft from Abidjan, are even more cumbersome.

This request has been cleared by the State Department's Office of the Legal Adviser. The point of contact in the Department is Nancy Serpa, 202-647-4417.

William J. Burns
Executive Secretary

To complete his mission in one week that will allow him

are not available between these

on February 7

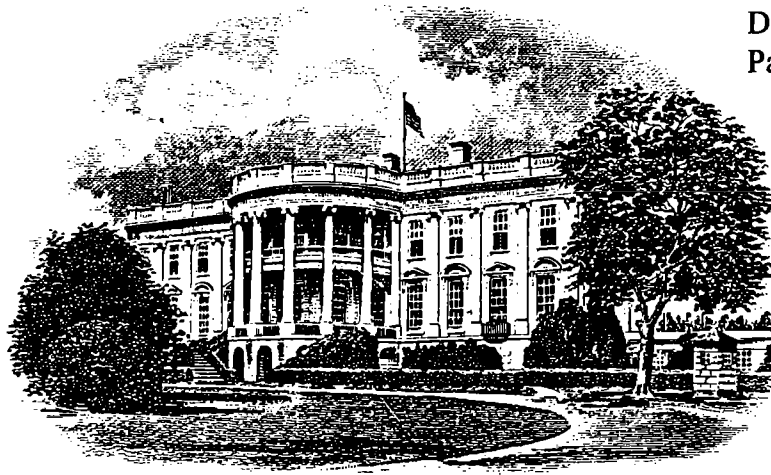
UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

AFRICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE

FAX COVER SHEET

Date 1/27/98
Pages to Follow 1



FROM: ☐ Joseph C. Wilson, IV

☐ Robin Sanders

☒ Erica Barks-Ruggles

phone: 202-456-9261

fax: 202-456-9260

☐ John Prendergast

TO:

PHONE NUMBER

FAX NUMBER

1. JUNE
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Message:

June - Edits per request. - Erica

UNCLASSIFIED

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

Date: 1/27/98
To: Joe Wilson
Erica Barks Ruggs

Fax: 456-9760
Phone: 456 9261

From: Tune Carter Perry

Fax: (202) 647-6301

Phone: Ext 7-1818

Number of Pages: 1 + Cover

Subject:

7-2403

(1) Draft Burns/Davies
re S/E Pres. Mission
Air Craft

(2) P/s. let me know if
this suffices - Call me
w/ changes - will get this
done. Journal System a Sep

NAIROBI DATT C-12 DATA

Erica:

NAIROBI - KINSHASA (REFUEL IN KIGALI, 1 HR) 7.5 HOURS

NAIROBI -ABIDJAN ROUTE: NAIROBI-KIGALI (REFUEL)-KINSHASA 7.5
(REFUEL KINSHASA, 1 HR) - ABIDJAN 4-5HR

TOTAL FLYING TIME: circa 13/14 HOURS WITH REFUELING STOPS

June
1/23/98

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

8573 redo 2

January 23, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Memo to Erskine Bowles on Jesse Jackson's Trip to Africa

Attached is an information memorandum for Erskine Bowles describing Reverend Jackson's first trip to Africa as Special Envoy to Kenya and Zambia November 29-December 4. The memo also describes Jackson's proposed future travel and recommends limited military air support for his next trip, February 6-13.

Concurrences by: Newell Highsmith, Richard Ragan

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Erskine Bowles

cc: Pete Jordan

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2012-0927-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 1/14/08

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission and
Planning for Upcoming Missions

Reverend Jackson's first trip as Special Envoy, to Kenya and Zambia on November 29-December 4, went very well. Following is a summary of the highlights and a look ahead at upcoming trips.

Trip Results

Kenya: Leading up to the recent presidential elections, Jackson met with representatives from both the government and opposition, where he stressed the need for full and rapid implementation of electoral reforms and free and fair legislative and presidential elections. On December 29, 1997, President Moi was re-elected in a highly criticized and poorly organized election. The real test of Moi's commitment to political reforms will be whether a fundamental constitutional reform process involving a wide cross-section of Kenyan society will now be allowed to unfold. The implementation of further anti-corruption and constitutional reforms will be critical to Kenya's ability to move its democracy agenda forward, attract foreign investment and get its structural adjustment program on track.

Zambia: Jackson's message focused on democratization, emphasizing the need for the serious dialogue between President Chiluba and the opposition -- especially former President Kaunda. Jackson stressed to Chiluba the importance of respecting human rights. Unfortunately, Kaunda was arrested on December 25 and has been accused of involvement in the attempted coup in October. Phone calls from Jackson and a visit from former president of Tanzania Nyerere succeeded in pressuring the government to allow Kaunda to be released from prison to house arrest where he remains today. Dialogue is at a standstill. It would be unwise for Jackson to visit again until we have a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 1/22/08

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 6/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By 17 NARA, Date 1/8/2018
2014-0927-f

clearer picture of how Kaunda's arrest and detention will be handled by the government.

Next Trip: Jackson's next trip is tentatively scheduled for February 6-13, 1998, to Kenya and Liberia, and possibly DROC. Both Jackson and our Ambassador in **Kenya** have indicated it would be useful to do a follow-up visit to Kenya to press for further constitutional reforms. In **Liberia**, he will discuss the need for Taylor to implement reforms to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law, and to work with regional peacekeepers (ECOMOG) to ensure a sensible drawdown of troops while providing adequate security against renewed factional fighting. In **DROC**, Jackson could press Kabila to move forward aggressively on the transition to elections and urge a more inclusive process and constitutional commission. Jackson could also reinforce the importance of the GDROC cooperating with the UN human rights investigation team to allow an impartial investigation and begin to address DROC's pressing social and economic problems. We support Jackson's visit to these countries.

Jackson will likely want to travel with the President to Africa in March. We would support such a request. Jackson is also scheduled to give a speech on democracy to the Council on Foreign Relations on Friday, January 23. We have asked for a copy to review.

We also think it important that Jackson not try to mix his democracy mandate with trade and investment development. If Jackson were to do trade promotion, he would risk conflict of interest issues with his public affairs activities and corporate board memberships.

Administrative Problems/Air Transportation Support: It is important to ensure that Jackson -- like all other Special Envoys -- takes maximum advantage of available commercial air service and uses Government aircraft only in exceptional cases, as defined in the applicable directives. We anticipate that he will continue to press for air support for all of his missions, necessitating senior-level involvement to underscore the need for him to adhere to Administration policy on the use of Government aircraft. For this trip, however, we will likely need to request military air support, setting a two-trip precedent that will lead to heightened expectations of this continuing.

On his next trip, Jackson could fly commercial carriers to Kenya, DROC and then to Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. However, due to the infrequent flights between Nairobi and DROC, he would either have to leave Nairobi only 16 hours after his arrival, or wait three days for the next flight, which would not give him enough time to complete his mission to Liberia in the week he has available. Even if commercial flight schedules allowed travel from Nairobi to Kinshasa to Abidjan, Jackson would also require military flight support from Abidjan for the Liberia stop, due to infrequent and unsafe commercial flights. Jackson should, however, travel to Nairobi and from Abidjan on easily available commercial carriers. Because without military air support to transport him from Kenya across the continent Jackson cannot go to all of the stops anticipated in the one week time frame that his domestic schedule allows, we recommend requesting authorization to use the DATT plane in Nairobi to fly to DROC, Liberia and Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire.

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

JS

Date: 1/23

To: Erica Banks-Ruggles

Fax:

Phone:

From: June Carter Perry

Fax: (202) 647-6301

Phone:

Number of Pages:

Subject:

Erica - See several options
+ flts
Cecily

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE OPTIONS FOR COMMERCIAL AIR TRAVEL TO AFRICA:

Option 1: NAIROBI/KINSHASA/ABIDJAN

Friday, Feb 6

18:35 Depart Wash/Dulles via Northwest Air 36

Saturday, Feb 7

07:55 Arrive Amsterdam

10:25 Depart Amsterdam via Northwest 8565

19:05 Arrive Nairobi

Sunday, Feb 8

12:00 Depart Nairobi via CamAir 803 (check if CamAir flies)

14:30 Arrive Kinshasa

Wednesday, Feb 11

17:50 Depart Kinshasa via Ethiopian Air 931

20:20 Arrive Abidjan

Friday, 13 Feb

12:45 Depart Abidjan

Saturday, 14 Feb

06:00 Arrive Paris/DeGaulle

12:45 Depart Paris via United 915

15:20 Arrive Wash/Dulles

Option 2: NAIROBI/ADDIS/LAGOS/ABIDJAN

Feb. 6

17:50 Depart Dulles via United 916

Feb. 7

07:35 Arrive Frankfurt

10:45 Depart Frankfurt via United 3776

20:45 Arrive Nairobi

- 2 -

Feb 10

08:30 Depart Nairobi via Kenya Air 402
10:30 Arrive Addis Ababa
12:45 Depart Addis via Ethiopia Air 921
16:05 Arrive Lagos
21:25 Depart Lagos via Air Afrique 102
21:55 Arrive Abidjan

Feb 13

23:59 Depart Abidjan via Sabena 514

Feb 14

07:30 Arrive Brussels
12:10 Depart Brussels via United 951
15:05 Arrive Wash/Dulles

Option 3:Friday, Feb 6

18:35 Depart Wash/Dulles via Northwest Air 36

Saturday, Feb 7

07:55 Arrive Amsterdam
10:25 Depart Amsterdam via Northwest 8565
19:05 Arrive Nairobi

Tues., Feb 10

09:30 Depart Nairobi via Kenyan Air
12:35 Arrive Johannesburg

OR

Wed., Feb 11

15:00 Depart Nairobi on South African Air
19:00 Arrive Johannesburg

Thurs., Feb 12

09:00 Depart Jo'burg
13:30 Arrive Abidjan

- 3 -

OR

Thurs., Feb 12

Noon Depart Jo'burg via Air Afrique
16:30 Arrive Abidjan

Fri., Feb 13

23:59 Depart Abidjan via Sabena 514

Sat., Feb 14

07:30 Arrive Brussels
12:15 Depart Brussels via United 951
15:05 Arrive Wash/Dulles



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 13, 1998

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIEDMEMORANDUM

TO: Special Envoy - Reverend Jesse Jackson

FROM: AF - Dr. Susan E. Rice
NSC - Amb. Joseph Wilson

SUBJECT: Second Mission to Africa

Thank you for your excellent briefing on December 18 regarding your mission to Kenya and Zambia. You made significant inroads in conveying a strong message on democracy, the importance of representative elections and inclusion of the opposition in free societies.

During our meeting, we discussed several possible venues where you could be helpful in the coming months. Within your timeframe (early February), there are several countries which could benefit from your interventions with political and civil society leaders. A potential itinerary could begin in Nairobi with Central Africa (Liberia/Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo) and West Africa to follow. We will need to discuss further what we need to accomplish in each country. This memorandum is a basis for discussion on how best we can structure your next mission to help support steps toward democracy and human rights in four conflicted African nations.

STRONGLY RECOMMENDED

KENYA:

Your prospective visit would come with Kenya again at a cross-roads. Moi has prevailed in flawed elections. He will either open space for the political reforms demanded by civil society or, as he did following elections in 1992, shut the door tight. The latter course could propel Kenya towards a violent transition out of the Moi era. Our Embassy believes that the coming months will be determinative of the direction -- reformist or confrontational -- that Moi takes in his five-year term.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 2 -

Amb. Bushnell has access to Moi, but key hardline advisors incessantly whisper that she overstates the Administration's interest in political reform. Your stature and Moi's obvious respect for you give you the influence to correct that impression at this critical juncture. Many in civil society, including church leaders, human rights workers, legal reformers, and students, feel that the international community and main opposition parties abandoned them and their reformist cause through acquiescence in IPPG reforms and the elections. A public and supportive dialogue with this community would revitalize its political engagement and indicate to KANU hardliners that we view civil society as an essential part of the political process. And, your dialogue with Moi would make it clear that the election has not resolved our concerns about how Kenya is governed. Your remarks would underline our belief that the process to include civil society reformers should begin immediately.

LIBERIA:

A visit by you could help persuade President Taylor -- whose record is discouraging thus far -- to move toward democratization and national reconciliation. We would like to emphasize the need to promote human rights and the rule of law and our desire to assist Liberia in rebuilding. Taylor might benefit from hearing this message from a person of your stature in addition to through normal diplomatic conduits. Recent human rights incidents raise serious concerns about the direction President Taylor is taking the country. Does he want to be the President of a unified country or an elected faction leader? The next several months and how he handles the human rights issues, his relations with ECOWAS/ECOMOG, and his role in the Sierra Leonean peace process will be crucial. You may be able to influence Taylor to moderate his policies and actions. Moreover, your visit, a visible symbol that the U.S. wants a positive relationship, would allay suspicions that we are inherently opposed to Taylor.

While congratulating his electoral victory which was the symbolic ending of the civil war, you could underscore that he has the historic opportunity to usher in economic and political reform rather than allow a return to chaos. Taylor needs to hear directly and powerfully our concerns about the murder of opposition leader Sam Dokie and recent instances of press harassment. These abuses tarnish Liberia's image and raise suspicions of a political crackdown. Taylor must be urged to take corrective action; Dokie's murder must be investigated thoroughly and security forces restrained.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 3 -

Taylor should also forge a dialogue and working relationship with the press. You could raise these same points with the Foreign and Justice Ministers and meet leading members of civil society, human rights groups and the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee to signal our commitment to human rights in Liberia. Taylor has formally established near-moribund national commissions on reconciliation and human rights. You should ask Taylor, other GOL officials, and civil society how the international community can help make these commissions functional. Finally, you should use this visit to urge Taylor to allow ECOMOG to remain and to use his influence in Sierra Leone constructively.

FOR DISCUSSION

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO:

As you are aware, Secretary Albright met with DROC President Kabila during her December visit to Africa. Much work remains to establish good governance and democratic rule in the DROC. The Secretary and Sandy Berger must ultimately decide which steps we are to take now in an unpredictable environment, including whether a trip by you is desirable at this time.

President Kabila faces internal opposition and ethnic tensions which are difficult for his fragile government to handle in a productive manner. Kabila has just reshuffled his cabinet, bringing to the fore some new effective senior government leaders. As this new team moves into place, you could use the opportunity to reiterate the Secretary's strong message to Kabila on inclusivity, respect for human rights, rule of law and democratic governance. Anti-corruption and fiscal responsibility themes coming from you would also reinforce our regular, bilateral dialogue with Kabila on these matters.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

POINTS FOR JESSE JACKSON

- The Ethiopian Parliament is holding a high profile symposium on the establishment of a Human Rights Commission and Human Rights Ombudsman. This symposium will attract the participation of some 700 Ethiopians (MP's, judges, regional officials, civil society advocates) and 100 international participants with distinguished backgrounds in human rights issues.
- Speaker of Parliament Dawit Yohannes said Ethiopia would greatly welcome the presence/participation of Reverend Jesse Jackson. Dawit expressed great admiration for Reverend Jackson's long advocacy in the area of civil rights and noted that as the President's Special Envoy for Democracy and Human Rights in Africa, the Reverend's presence would lend a special poignancy to the symposium. He asked the embassy to explore the possibility of arranging the Reverend's participation.
- The symposium is scheduled for May 18-22. If Reverend Jackson were able to attend, we would expect he would address the plenary session the morning of May 18 and perhaps participate in a session or two of the six working groups established for international participants and Ethiopian participants who are not members of Parliament.
- Reverend Jackson could then call on the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, conduct media interviews and perhaps meet with a gathering of indigenous Ethiopians NGO's active in the development of civic society. There are many programming possibilities that would advance U.S. interests in Ethiopia and, hopefully, prove interesting for the Reverend as well.
- The Ethiopian Parliament has already extended invitations to President Carter and Ambassador Harry Barnes of the Carter Center, Assistant Secretary John Shattuck, Suliman Baldo of Human Rights Watch, Michael Posner and Emma Nawston of the Lawyers Committee on Human Rights, Richard Salomon of the U.S. Institute for Peace, Tanja Karanasios of the Parliamentarians for Global Action, Mary Frances Barry of the Commission on Civil Rights, Craig Etcheson of Yale University, Madeline Mauris of Duke University, Cherif Bassiouni of Depaul College of Law, John Murphy of Vallanova University and Awetu Simesso of Stanford University. We have no indication that President Carter will attend, but expect that the Carter Center will be represented. We doubt that all of the U.S. invitees will be able to participate.

Bureau of African Affairs
 United States Department of State
 Washington, DC 20520
 Fax Transmittal Form

Date: 1/21/98

To: Erica Barks-Ruggles

Fax: 456-9260
 Phone:

From: J C - Perry

Fax: (202) 647-6301
 Phone:

Number of Pages:

Subject: J. Jackson Schedule

Pat -

I do not trust State Dept. Competence

on this flight schedule as they have JJ in Nairobi for less than 12 hours!

Re: of pky attached
 last of Emma
 memo of dependences
 in this
 info. -
 Shunk

Can you ask travel if it is possible to back on itinerary
 depart D.C./Dulles 2/6 through to Nairobi (arrived early evening of 2/7)
 needs all day 2/8 on ground depart v. late night 2/8 or
 early 2/9 for Kinshasa, overnight 2/9 & 2/10 in Kinshasa
 depart early 2/11 for Abidjan. (mid air plan to Liberia) (back)
 Depart Abidjan for Europe v. late night 2/12 arriving
 back in DC afternoon of 2/13. Thanks. - Jc

SENT BY:

1-21-98 ; 9:40AM ;

AF/FO→

2023955673;# 2/ 3

SALES PERSON: 31275
CUSTOMER NBR: 025000001
INVOICE: ITIN.

DATE: JAN 14 1998
PAGE: 01
RECORD: NGW2QC

MAINSTATE

FOR: JACKSON/JESSIE
~~HOODLESTON/VICKI~~
TEDESSI/Y

06 FEB 98 - FRIDAY
NORTHWEST AIR 36 COACH CLASS
LV: WASH/DULLES 635P
AR: AMSTERDAM 755A
DINNER-SNACK
DC-10 JET

NONSTOP
ARRIVAL DATE-07 FEB
SEAT-37B37C37D
CONFIRMED

07 FEB 98 - SATURDAY
NORTHWEST 8565 COACH CLASS
LV: AMSTERDAM 1025A
AR: NAIROBI 905P

OPERATED BY-KLM ROYAL DUTCH AI
NONSTOP
SEAT-27H27J27K
CONFIRMED

MD-11 JET

08 FEB 98 - SUNDAY
CAMEROONAIWAYS 803 COACH CLASS
LV: NAIROBI 1200N
AR: KINSHASA 230P
DINNER-SNACK
BOEING 737 JET

ONE STOP
CONFIRMED

11 FEB 98 - WEDNESDAY
ETHIOPIAN 931 COACH CLASS
LV: KINSHASA 550P
AR: ABIDJAN 820P
BOEING 767 JET

ONE STOP

SENT BY:

1-21-98 ; 9:41AM ;

AF/FO-

2023955673;# 3/ 3

SALES PERSON: 31275
CUSTOMER NBR: 025000001
INVOICE: ITIN-

DATE: JAN 14 1998
PAGE: 02
RECORD: NGU2QC

MAINSTATE

FOR: JACKSON/JESSIE
HUDDLESTON/VICKI
TEDESS/Y

13 FEB 98 - FRIDAY

AIR AFRIQUE 102 COACH CLASS
LV: ABIDJAN 1045P
AR: PARIS/DEGAULLE 600A
DINNER
AB6

NONSTOP
ARRIVAL DATE-14 FEB

CONFIRMED

14 FEB 98 - SATURDAY

UNITED 915 COACH CLASS
LV: PARIS/DEGAULLE 1245P
AR: WASH/DULLES 320P
LUNCH-SNACK-MOVIE
BOEING 777 JET

NONSTOP
SEAT-38G38H38J

CONFIRMED

FOR RESERVATIONS 7A TO 7P EST CALL 703-812-8331
WITHIN WASHINGTON OR 800-752-2320 OUTSIDE WASHINGTON
FOR AFTER HOUR EMERGENCIES
CALL 800-847-0242/YOUR HOTLINE CODE IS A-1RW
YOUR TRAVEL COUNSELOR IS: MARQUE
THIS IS A REMINDER THAT ALL FREQUENT FLYER BENEFITS
EARNED WHILE ON OFFICIAL TRAVEL ARE THE SOLE PROPERTY
OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT.

ALL UNUSED TICKETS ARE TO BE RETURNED TO AMERICAN EXPRESS
OR YOUR TRAVEL COORDINATOR IMMEDIATELY UPON RETURN
FROM TRAVEL OR WHEN TRIP HAS BEEN CANCELED.

PLEASE RECONFIRM ALL FLIGHTS 72 HOURS IN ADVANCE.
INTL FLIGHTS REQUIRE AT LEAST 2 HR ADVANCE CHECK IN.
THANK YOU FOR TRAVELING WITH AMERICAN EXPRESS.

Erica

Aprils 1 Wednesday January 21, 1978 09:46 AM

NO NAMES

1	UA	0160	06FEB	IADFRA	SS1	500P	710A	FR/SA
2	UAC	7760	07FEB	FRANBO	SS1	1045A	045P	SA
OPERATED BY LUFTHANSA AIRLINES								
3	MC	102Y	10FEB	NECADD	SS1	000A	1000A	TU
4	ET	021Y	10FEB	ADDLOS	NN1	1245P	405P	TU
5	RM	102Y	10FEB	LOSABJ	SS1	025P	055P	TU
6	ON	0140	10FEB	ABJBRU	SS1	1159P	730A	FR/SA
7	UA	0510	14FEB	BRUIAD	SS1	1210P	005P	SA
8	ARNK							
9	RK	1020	10FEB	ABJCDS	SS1	1045P	000A	FR/SA
10	UA	0150	14FEB	CDGIAD	SS1	1245P	020P	SA

Only other option is thru
Lagos.
Problem is going from West of
to East Africa

Cecily

February 6

lv Dulles via United

February 7

ar Frankfurt 7:35 a.m.

lv Frankfurt 10:45 a.m.

February 7

ar Nairobi 8:45 p.m.

February 8 - noon flight to Kinshasa

February 9 - no flights to Kinshasa

February 10 - no flights to Kinshasa

February 11 - 11 a.m. or 3:35 p.m.

February 11 lv Kinshasa for Abidjan 5:35 p.m. ar 9 p.m. on 2/11

February 12 nothing

February 13 2:30 p.m. ar 6 p.m. Abidjan

February 12 lv Abidjan Air Afrique 10:45pm

February 13 ar Paris 6am, lv 12:45 via United; ar Dulles 3:20pm



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 13, 1998

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIEDMEMORANDUM

TO: Special Envoy - Reverend Jesse Jackson

FROM: AF - Dr. Susan E. Rice
NSC - Amb. Joseph Wilson

SUBJECT: Second Mission to Africa

Thank you for your excellent briefing on December 18 regarding your mission to Kenya and Zambia. You made significant inroads in conveying a strong message on democracy, the importance of representative elections and inclusion of the opposition in free societies.

During our meeting, we discussed several possible venues where you could be helpful in the coming months. Within your timeframe (early February), there are several countries which could benefit from your interventions with political and civil society leaders. A potential itinerary could begin in Nairobi with Central Africa (Liberia/Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo) and West Africa to follow. We will need to discuss further what we need to accomplish in each country. This memorandum is a basis for discussion on how best we can structure your next mission to help support steps toward democracy and human rights in four conflicted African nations.

STRONGLY RECOMMENDED**KENYA:**

Your prospective visit would come with Kenya again at a cross-roads. Moi has prevailed in flawed elections. He will either open space for the political reforms demanded by civil society or, as he did following elections in 1992, shut the door tight. The latter course could propel Kenya towards a violent transition out of the Moi era. Our Embassy believes that the coming months will be determinative of the direction -- reformist or confrontational -- that Moi takes in his five-year term.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 2 -

Amb. Bushnell has access to Moi, but key hardline advisors incessantly whisper that she overstates the Administration's interest in political reform. Your stature and Moi's obvious respect for you give you the influence to correct that impression at this critical juncture. Many in civil society, including church leaders, human rights workers, legal reformers, and students, feel that the international community and main opposition parties abandoned them and their reformist cause through acquiescence in IPPG reforms and the elections. A public and supportive dialogue with this community would revitalize its political engagement and indicate to KANU hardliners that we view civil society as an essential part of the political process. And, your dialogue with Moi would make it clear that the election has not resolved our concerns about how Kenya is governed. Your remarks would underline our belief that the process to include civil society reformers should begin immediately.

LIBERIA:

A visit by you could help persuade President Taylor -- whose record is discouraging thus far -- to move toward democratization and national reconciliation. We would like to emphasize the need to promote human rights and the rule of law and our desire to assist Liberia in rebuilding. Taylor might benefit from hearing this message from a person of your stature in addition to through normal diplomatic conduits. Recent human rights incidents raise serious concerns about the direction President Taylor is taking the country. Does he want to be the President of a unified country or an elected faction leader? The next several months and how he handles the human rights issues, his relations with ECOWAS/ECOMOG, and his role in the Sierra Leonean peace process will be crucial. You may be able to influence Taylor to moderate his policies and actions. Moreover, your visit, a visible symbol that the U.S. wants a positive relationship, would allay suspicions that we are inherently opposed to Taylor.

While congratulating his electoral victory which was the symbolic ending of the civil war, you could underscore that he has the historic opportunity to usher in economic and political reform rather than allow a return to chaos. Taylor needs to hear directly and powerfully our concerns about the murder of opposition leader Sam Dokie and recent instances of press harassment. These abuses tarnish Liberia's image and raise suspicions of a political crackdown. Taylor must be urged to take corrective action; Dokie's murder must be investigated thoroughly and security forces restrained.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 3 -

Taylor should also forge a dialogue and working relationship with the press. You could raise these same points with the Foreign and Justice Ministers and meet leading members of civil society, human rights groups and the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee to signal our commitment to human rights in Liberia. Taylor has formally established near-moribund national commissions on reconciliation and human rights. You should ask Taylor, other GOL officials, and civil society how the international community can help make these commissions functional. Finally, you should use this visit to urge Taylor to allow ECOMOG to remain and to use his influence in Sierra Leone constructively.

FOR DISCUSSION

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO:

As you are aware, Secretary Albright met with DROC President Kabila during her December visit to Africa. Much work remains to establish good governance and democratic rule in the DROC. The Secretary and Sandy Berger must ultimately decide which steps we are to take now in an unpredictable environment, including whether a trip by you is desirable at this time.

President Kabila faces internal opposition and ethnic tensions which are difficult for his fragile government to handle in a productive manner. Kabila has just reshuffled his cabinet, bringing to the fore some new effective senior government leaders. As this new team moves into place, you could use the opportunity to reiterate the Secretary's strong message to Kabila on inclusivity, respect for human rights, rule of law and democratic governance. Anti-corruption and fiscal responsibility themes coming from you would also reinforce our regular, bilateral dialogue with Kabila on these matters.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

POINTS FOR JESSE JACKSON

- The Ethiopian Parliament is holding a high profile symposium on the establishment of a Human Rights Commission and Human Rights Ombudsman. This symposium will attract the participation of some 700 Ethiopians (MP's, judges, regional officials, civil society advocates) and 100 international participants with distinguished backgrounds in human rights issues.
- Speaker of Parliament Dawit Yohannes said Ethiopia would greatly welcome the presence/participation of Reverend Jesse Jackson. Dawit expressed great admiration for Reverend Jackson's long advocacy in the area of civil rights and noted that as the President's Special Envoy for Democracy and Human Rights in Africa, the Reverend's presence would lend a special poignancy to the symposium. He asked the embassy to explore the possibility of arranging the Reverend's participation.
- The symposium is scheduled for May 18-22. If Reverend Jackson were able to attend, we would expect he would address the plenary session the morning of May 18 and perhaps participate in a session or two of the six working groups established for international participants and Ethiopian participants who are not members of Parliament.
- Reverend Jackson could then call on the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, conduct media interviews and perhaps meet with a gathering of indigenous Ethiopians NGO's active in the development of civic society. There are many programming possibilities that would advance U.S. interests in Ethiopia and, hopefully, prove interesting for the Reverend as well.
- The Ethiopian Parliament has already extended invitations to President Carter and Ambassador Harry Barnes of the Carter Center, Assistant Secretary John Shattuck, Suliman Baldo of Human Rights Watch, Michael Posner and Emma Nawston of the Lawyers Committee on Human Rights, Richard Salomon of the U.S. Institute for Peace, Tanja Karanasios of the Parliamentarians for Global Action, Mary Frances Barry of the Commission on Civil Rights, Craig Etcheson of Yale University, Madeline Mauris of Duke University, Cherif Bassiouni of Depaul College of Law, John Murphy of Vallanova University and Awetu Simesso of Stanford University. We have no indication that President Carter will attend, but expect that the Carter Center will be represented. We doubt that all of the U.S. invitees will be able to participate.

Barks-Ruggles, Erica

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Thursday, January 15, 1998 3:39 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ and planes [UNCLASSIFIED]

A handwritten circled 'JJ' in the top right corner of the email header area.

Kenya: Susan said that David Dunn and Pru were supportive, but she has her doubts. I think if we structure it right and he stays on message it could be positive. But he shouldn't go alone, of course. Educating him along the way is critical.

DROC: Again, an appropriately structured format could be beneficial. I'd like to see him meet with civil society reps both in DROC and Kenya. Mix it up a bit, stir up the dust, challenge these guys in Kinshasa and Nairobi.

And next time there is a briefing for him on countries of interest to us, can we all know about it so we can ask to participate. I haven't even shaken the guy's hand in his new capacity, yet Kenya has been a major focus of his work. I'd love to be a part of at least one session with him.

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Thursday, January 15, 1998 3:28 PM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ and planes [UNCLASSIFIED]

Joe -

Robin, John and I were talking before Susan came over about JJ's upcoming trip and logistical problems. The trip is tentatively planned (as stated in the memo) for Kenya, DROC, Liberia and Sierra Leone/Guinea (to do SL). He apparently only has the window of Feb. 6-13 to do this (dates have shifted again). It is impossible to get him from Nairobi to Kinshasha and on to Abidjan (to pick up the DATT plane) in this time frame. According to June and Susan -- who got in on the last 2 minutes of our conversation -- AF is not fully convinced that Kenya is worthwhile at this point. Susan has asked AF/E for further justification. If either Kenya or DROC is dropped it would help get rid of the logistical problem.

John and Robin please chime in with your thoughts (which I will not try to duplicate from our conversation) on DROC and Kenya if you want to.

No matter what, JJ is going to ask for a plane from Europe for the whole trip (he has already queried State). If he does all five countries, it is probably justified. The precedent, however, of two trips in a row with mil. aircraft will be nearly impossible to overcome in the future. You may want to begin now talking with SRB/Kerrick/Glyn about this train coming down the tracks as well as Leon. You can remind them they have a memo in front of them as well.

- Erica

Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

11

Date:

1/14/98

To:

Erica Jenkins-Vergles

Fax:

456-9260

Phone:

456-9261

From:

Jan Carter Perry

Fax:

(202) 647-6301

Phone:

EXT 7-1818

Number of Pages:

1 + Cover

Subject:

More on S/E Jackson's

FYI

Possible Itinerary.

Erica - he has to be

back in the U.S. on Feb. 13; I'm
having someone check to see
if an earlier departure from
Kinshasa is possible.

Travel Itinerary for Rev. Jessie Jackson

Friday, Feb. 6

6:35 pm Dpt Dulles

Saturday, Feb. 7

7:55 a.m. Arr Amsterdam

10:25 am Dpt Amsterdam

9:05 pm Arr Nairobi
RON NAIROBISunday, Feb. 8

12:00 n Dpt Nairobi

2:30 pm Arr Kinshasa
RON KINSHASAMonday, Feb. 9

RON KINSHASA

Tuesday, Feb. 10

RON KINSHASA

Wednesday, Feb. 11

5:35 pm Dpt Kinshasa

9:00 pm Arr Abidjan

ABIDJAN-MONROVIA-ABIDJAN

Friday, Feb. 13

10:45 pm Dpt Abidjan

Saturday, Feb. 14

6:00 am Arr Paris

12:45 n Dpt Paris

3:20 pm Arr Dulles

*Abidjan
to make/buy*

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Thursday, January 15, 1998 3:39 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica; Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ and planes [UNCLASSIFIED]

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- Erica

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Sanders, Robin R.
Sent: Thursday, January 15, 1998 3:45 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: JJ and planes [UNCLASSIFIED]

I do think the timing is good on DROC particularly as regards to the human rights investigation. I believe JJ will stay on message. The logistics and overall question of milair however is important. However, as far timing for DROC it would be a good time to send him out

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

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Sent: Thursday, January 15, 1998 3:28 PM
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Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ and planes [UNCLASSIFIED]

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- Erica

Joe -

Incorporates changes
from Robin & Me.
Gave a copy to JP, do
not get have anything
from him.

On S.L., I am really
clueless this will fly,
we need to talk to
Brits (who are running new
SL Envoy in next day or so)
BEFORE we can do this
to ensure we don't stamp any
initiative they may be
gaining up. Perhaps a mt. meeting?
If so, I will raise w/ Phillip.
A 'yes - No. - SR

Joseph C. Wilson IV

EBR -

Before calling Phillip

Coordinate with Vicki

JP.

DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT DRAFT

January 6, 1998

TO: Special Envoy - Reverend Jesse Jackson

FROM: AF - Dr. Susan E. Rice
NSC - Amb. Joseph Wilson

SUBJECT: Second Mission to Africa

Thank you for your excellent briefing on December 18 regarding your mission to Kenya and Zambia. You made significant inroads in conveying a strong message on democracy, the importance of representative elections and inclusion of the opposition in free societies.

During our meeting, we discussed several possible venues where you could be helpful in the coming months. Within your timeframe (late January or early February), there are several countries which could benefit from your interventions with political and civil society leaders. A potential itinerary could begin in Nairobi with West and Central Africa (Liberia/Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo and possibly Cameroon) to follow. We recognize that there are parts of southern Africa that could benefit from a dialogue with you but which may be difficult to cover at present.

ESSENTIAL

KENYA: Your previous visit to Nairobi continues to resonate with the Kenyan people during this difficult post-election phase. The results of the election demonstrate both the strength of political opposition and the fragility of the electoral process. During a visit in the near future, you could congratulate the Kenyan people on their commitment to democracy, in spite of adversity. Furthermore, you could urge them to avert the potentially disastrous ethnic divisiveness which is already manifest. Finally, there would be the opportunity for you to establish relationships with key political figures.

LIBERIA: We believe a visit to Monrovia at this time could be instrumental in persuading Charles Taylor to move away from violence and intimidation. We would emphasize to him the need to focus on the rule of law and human rights. Taylor needs to hear admonishments from a person of your stature as well as from the international community through its normal diplomatic conduits.

*American
contract*

SIERRA LEONE: There is a rare opportunity to send an unambiguous message to the junta in Freetown that we support deposed, democratically-elected President Kabbah. Such a visit to Kabbah in Lungi (north of Freetown) to meet with Kabbah would be of symbolic value and could provide a boost to the Sierra Leone peace process. A convocation of the C-5 coalition which has been instrumental in the peace process could occur at the same time. Because of its location across an inlet, Lungi is accessible via military helicopter (PAE) ~~which could be flown from Liberia~~; flying time is less than two hours. This visit would be dramatic and of international significance. *even wing*

fragile

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: As you are aware, Secretary Albright met with DROC President Kabila during her December visit to Africa. It was ~~apparent~~ *apparent* during the Secretary's bilaterals there that much work remains to establish good governance and full democratic rule in the DROC. President Kabila faces internal opposition and ethnic tensions which are difficult for his government to handle in a productive manner. Kabila has just shuffled his cabinet, bringing to the fore new and, hopefully, more effective senior government leaders. *use* As this new team moves into place, you could ~~take~~ the opportunity to reiterate the Secretary's strong message to Kabila on human rights, rule of law and democratic governance. The anti-corruption and fiscal responsibility themes coming from you would reinforce our regular, bilateral dialogue with Kabila on these matters.

DESIRABLE IF TIME ALLOWS

CAMEROON: President Biya was reelected in October. However, Cameroon's main opposition parties, representing primarily the Anglophone population, boycotted the election. Corruption and despair over the state of Cameroon's democracy are pushing the country toward political and possible civil strife. Your intervention and dialogue could help avert a major crisis over the next twelve to eighteen months. ✓

FUTURE SOUTHERN AFRICA STOPS

ZAMBIA: President Chiluba maintains an untenable position vis-a-vis former President Kaunda. Ambassador Render considers the situation fluid and would not recommend that you return to Lusaka at this time. The Embassy will continue to evaluate the situation and recommend an optimal time for a follow-up visit. ✓

LESOTHO/MALAWI: The Government of Lesotho is very interested in having you visit, particularly in light of elections scheduled for late April or May. At present, the stops in Kenya, Liberia/Sierra Leone and Congo are more pressing. However, a visit to Lesotho as part of a southern Africa leg in the spring would be valuable. Such a visit could take place in conjunction with a Malawi stop to reinforce the democratic process there.

John/Joel
NEED YOUR
COMMENTS
ON
THIS
NEW
PG 3
TO
JJ
MEMO
JR

Looking ahead, we should also consider future visits to southern and east African countries. These would likely occur in the April/May timeframe.

FUTURE SOUTHERN AFRICA STOPS

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FUTURE EAST AFRICAN STOPS

UGANDA: President Yoweri Museveni is rightly credited with leading one of Africa's most effective governments. His pragmatic focus on economic reform, social development and trade has facilitated an impressive national recovery. Museveni continues to govern through his "Movement" system, which severely limits political party activities. A visit would allow you to press for movement towards greater pluralism, for enhanced checks and balances through the development of parliament, and reconciliation with the Acholi people in the war-ravaged north, while crediting Uganda for its many real achievements.

MADAGASCAR: Madagascar has the potential to emerge as a success story in Africa and is deserving of a high level visit and increased attention from the USG. The current government of President Ratsiraka has demonstrated a continuing commitment to human rights, despite fears that he might revert to authoritarian tendencies displayed during a long reign as president from the mid-1970's to early 1990's. The country has great natural resources that are increasingly threatened by commercial and population pressures. The government avidly seeks U.S. involvement and investment. A high level visit could emphasize the importance of a continued commitment to democratic principles and that more economic reform is needed to achieve Madagascar's potential for growth and development.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, January 14, 1998 12:28 PM
To: Battenfield, Pat A.
Subject: FW: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission [UNCLASSIFIED]

Pat - good. Please put his sentence (with appropriate capitalization in) into the memo. Thanks- ejbr

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

From: Highsmith, Newell L.
Sent: Wednesday, January 14, 1998 11:54 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission [UNCLASSIFIED]

Sounds good (or bad, I suppose). In the memo, after "Jackson will likely need flight support . . .," it would be useful to add a sentence saying in substance "this is necessitated by the infrequency and unsafe conditions of commercial flights to Monrovia and the absence of any commercial flights to SL."

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Wednesday, January 14, 1998 11:08 AM
To: Highsmith, Newell L.
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission [UNCLASSIFIED]

Only two commercial flights a week to Monrovia and one from Monrovia to Guinea, none to SL (ongoing military attempt to takeover). All flights on bad, old russian planes - 2 crashes (destroyed aircraft, but no one killed) in last year. JJ needs a plane for this.

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

From: Highsmith, Newell L.
Sent: Wednesday, January 14, 1998 9:06 AM
To: Battenfield, Pat A.; Ragan, Richard F.; Jordan, Donald L.
Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission [UNCLASSIFIED]

Legal agrees with the need to move toward commercial aircraft whenever possible. The memo should briefly set forth the rationale for using military aircraft for the Sierra Leone and Liberia legs of the trip. Are there no commercial flights? Or is there another reason to switch to military aircraft for those legs?

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

From: Battenfield, Pat A.
Sent: Tuesday, January 13, 1998 6:02 PM
To: Highsmith, Newell L.; Ragan, Richard F.; Jordan, Donald L.
Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission [UNCLASSIFIED]

<< File: 8573srbredo_.doc >>

your concurrence is requested on the attached redo of "Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission and Planning for Upcoming Missions"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

8573 redo

January 14, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Memo to Erskine Bowles on Jesse Jackson's Trip to Africa

Attached is an information memorandum for Erskine Bowles describing Reverend Jackson's first trip to Africa as Special Envoy. Jackson traveled to Kenya and Zambia from November 29-December 4. The trip also describes Jackson's proposed future travel.

Concurrences by: Newell Highsmith, Richard Ragan

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Erskine Bowles

cc: Pete Jordan

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 1/8/2018
7014-0927-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 1/14/08

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission and
Planning for Upcoming Missions

Reverend Jackson's first trip as Special Envoy, to Kenya and Zambia on November 29-December 4, went very well. Following is a summary of the highlights and a look ahead at upcoming trips.

Trip Results

Kenya: Leading up to the recent presidential elections, Jackson met with representatives from both the government and opposition, where he stressed the need for full and rapid implementation of electoral reforms and free and fair legislative and presidential elections. On December 29, 1997, President Moi was re-elected in a highly criticized and poorly organized election. The real test of Moi's commitment to political reforms will be whether a fundamental constitutional reform process involving a wide cross-section of Kenyan society will now be allowed to unfold. The implementation of further anti-corruption and constitutional reforms will be critical to Kenya's ability to move its democracy agenda forward, attract foreign investment and get its structural adjustment program on track.

Zambia: Jackson's message focused on democratization, emphasizing the need for the serious dialogue between President Chiluba and the opposition - especially former President Kaunda. Jackson stressed to Chiluba the importance of respecting human rights. Unfortunately, Kaunda was arrested on December 25 and has been accused of involvement in the attempted coup in October. Phone calls from Jackson and a visit from former president of Tanzania Nyrere succeeded in pressuring the government to allow Kaunda to be released from prison to house arrest where he remains today. Dialogue is at a standstill. It would be unwise for Jackson to visit again until we have a

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By 17 NARA, Date 1/8/2008
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clearer picture of how Kaunda's arrest and detention will be handled by the government.

Next Trip: Jackson's next trip is tentatively scheduled for January 29-February 6, 1998, to Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone and possibly DROC. Both Jackson and our Ambassador in **Kenya** have indicated it would be useful to do a follow-up visit to Kenya to press for further constitutional reforms. In **Liberia**, he will discuss the need for Taylor to implement reforms to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law, and to work with regional peacekeepers (ECOMOG) to ensure a sensible drawdown of troops while providing adequate security against renewed factional fighting. State may also ask Jackson to travel to **Sierra Leone** to try to jump start the stalled regional negotiations for the return of the democratically elected government. In **DROC**, Jackson could press Kabila to move forward aggressively on the transition to elections and urge a more inclusive process and constitutional commission. Jackson could stress the importance of democratic values: freedom of speech, assembly, association and an inclusive political process. DROC has made little progress on these issues and there have been troubling incidents of harassment and imprisonment of opponents. Jackson could also reinforce the importance of the GDROC cooperating with the UN human rights investigation team to allow an impartial investigation and begin to address DROC's pressing social and economic problems. We support Jackson's visit to these countries.

Jackson will likely want to travel with the President to Africa in March. We would support such a request.

Ensuring Mandate Remains Clear: Jackson will likely continue to push to go to Ghana and/or Nigeria to discuss bilateral relations with Nigeria. State and we strongly oppose this idea, as our policy review is ongoing. There is no strong message for Jackson to carry on Nigeria.

We also think it important that Jackson not try to mix his democracy mandate with trade and investment development. If Jackson were to do trade promotion, he would risk conflict of interest issues with his public affairs activities and corporate board memberships.

Administrative Problems/Air Transportation Support: It is important to ensure that Jackson -- like all other Special Envoys -- takes maximum advantage of available commercial air

service and uses Government aircraft only in exceptional cases, as defined in the applicable directives. We anticipate that he will continue to press for air support for all of his missions, necessitating senior-level involvement to underscore the need for him to adhere to Administration policy on the use of Government aircraft.

On his next trip Jackson could fly commercial carriers to Kenya, on to DROC and then to Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. Jackson will likely require flight support from Abidjan to Monrovia to Freetown and returning to Conakry (nearest city to Freetown, Sierra Leone) or Abidjan to catch an international flight. This is necessitated by the infrequency and unsafe conditions of commercial flights to Monrovia and the absence of any commercial flights to Sierra Leone. The entire trip to Kenya, DROC, Liberia and Sierra Leone can be accomplished in ten days. We recommend that he travel commercial for all except the Liberia and Sierra Leone stops. We should offer to request that the Defense Attache C-12 based in Abidjan transport him on this portion of the trip.

Battenfield, Pat A.

From: Prendergast, John P.
Sent: Monday, January 12, 1998 11:42 PM
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: My views on Jackson in DROC [UNCLASSIFIED]

I wanted to articulate my opinion about how we ought to view a potential visit by Jackson to DROC. I don't know if this view is appropriate for the memo to Bowles, so I offer it separately.

The first step in the whole electoral process is the constitutional commission. It is not inclusive at this time. We need to get the first step right if the rest of the process is to go well. We also need to advocate "values" over "process" at this early stage. By values I mean freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. Jackson should strongly protest the harrassment, imprisonment and other indignities to which the GDROC is subjecting its opponents. This does not necessarily mean advocacy of multipartyism per se at this early stage.

INCLUSIVITY as well as CHECKS and BALANCES should be what Jackson stresses.

The election timetable is a recipe for disaster. It is too fast and will further divide the opposition from the government at a time when bridge-building at the base of society is key. Jackson could advocate support for elections at the local level, and focus on the GDROC's RESPONSIVENESS to social and economic needs. Get the political game moved OUT of Kinshasa.



Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Fax Transmittal Form

Date:

1/13/98

To:

Erica B-R

Fax:

456-9260

Phone:

456-9261

From:

Tune C Perry

Fax:

(202) 647-6301

Phone:

Number of Pages:

1 + cover

Subject:

Rev. Jackson's Travel

Erica - here's some
info re flights. However -
I just had a call from
B/E's office - he
wants to travel 2/6 - 2/13
with return to Wash. DC

VS OFFICE

Tuesday 01/13/98 12:30 pm Page:

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Intended For:

Author: June Carter Perry
Subject: Your Request

This Item is In Progress

To: June Carter Perry
Subject: Your RequestFrom: Boni L. Bender-Klosson
Date Sent: 01/13/98

June, if I understood you right, you asked about a
Nairobi-Kinshasa-Abidjan-Monrovia schedule for Rev. Jackson.

There are only two flights into Kinshasa from Nairobi and only two flights out
of Kinshasa to Abidjan:

Dpt Kenya	Wednesday's at 1535	Arr Kinshasa 1650	or
Dpt Kenya	Friday's at 1230	Arr Kinshasa 1345	
Dpt Kinshasa	Wednesday's at 1735	Arr Abidjan 2100	or
Dpt Kinshasa	Friday's at 1430	Arr Abidjan 1800	

His schedule, using the Jan 29 - Feb. 6 time table, follows:

Thursday 29 - Dpt Chicago
Friday 30 - Arr Nairobi
Saturday 31 - Nairobi
Sunday 1 - Nairobi
Monday 2 - Nairobi
Tuesday 3 - Nairobi
Wednesday 4 - Kinshasa
Thursday 5 - Kinshasa
Friday 6 - Abidjan

Boni

----- Reply -----

Boni--thanks much. I now have a msg from the S/E's office that he wants to
travel Feb. 6-11. Pinning this down is difficult; would appreciate your
seeing if you can have Amex work with the revised dates. In the meantime,
I'll see how proposed program can be adjusted, if need be. Thanks again.
cc:Vicki, Johnnie

Dear Reverend Jackson

When you spoke with him at the weekend, you were assured by President Charles Taylor that we would be released by Monday or Tuesday. It is now Wednesday and we remain detained at Monrovia prison. We have been refused bail.

You spoke to my fellow journalist Serious Samoura on Sunday night. That conversation will have given you a false idea of what is going on here. When you were speaking Serious was accompanied by the Minister of Justice on one side and the Director of Police on the other.

We are now imploring you to come here to Monrovia and secure our release, and not to leave until you are able to do so with the four of us under your personal protection.

We have been subjected to both physical and mental torture and beatings by what I can only describe as some psychopathic people.

Tim Lambon
on behalf of himself and David Harris, Serious Samoura and Gugu Radehe

dictated to Chris Freen by Tim Lambon in the Central Prison courtyard, 1430 approx, 23 August 2000. The original was then taken by the Director of the Prison. Ron McCullagh, Insight and Brian Brewer, Honorary Consul, have both verified that this is an accurate record of the letter

FAX TO:
MARIE NELSON
728-1192
FAX: JIM OLSON
728-1192

File
Rev Jackson

→ NSIC/Boyle
+ P for
Picking
orig →
SR