

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Edward Rice to M. Kay Joshi. Subject: [Chief of Staff] Update. (3 pages)	12/31/1997	P1/b(1)
002. email	Jennifer Poole to Nicole Elkon, Marc Hurwitz, Donald Kerrick, and Mary Quinn. Subject: Revised Foreign Policy Wrap-up: DK Info Copy. (4 pages)	12/31/1997	P1/b(1)
003. email	Robin Sanders to Glyn Davies, Mary Friedrich, Diana Helweg et al. Subject: Weekly Africa Report, 1/5-9. (5 pages)	01/09/1998	P1/b(1)
004. email	Robin Sanders to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Pat Battenfield, John Prendergast, Robin Sanders and Joseph Wilson. Subject: FW: Weekly Africa Report, 1/5-9. (6 pages)	01/19/1998	P1/b(1)
005. email	Erica Barks-Ruggles to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Pat Battenfield, John Prendergast, Robin Sanders and Joseph Wilson. Subject: FW: Weekly Africa Report, 1/5-9. (6 pages)	01/20/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Special Envoy])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[12/22/1997-01/29/1998]

2014-0927-F

vz5274

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/22/97 1:12:59 PM
FROM Sanders, Robin R.
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(d)
DATECLASSIFIEDON 12/22/1997
DECLASSIFYON 12/22/2007
SUBJECT FW: JJ follow-up DRAFT ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Wilson, Joseph C.

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

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

Erica you make a reference to Ghana and Nigeria as not being places we want JJ to go. You explain why on Nigeria, but not why on Ghana - unless you didn't mean to include Ghana in that para

-----Original

Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Monday, December 22, 1997 10:28 AM
To: Wilson, Joseph C.
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: JJ
follow-up DRAFT ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Importance: High

Joe/Robin/John

-

Attached is a follow-up memo for SRB on Jackson's first trip to Africa. I want to run it past everyone here before sending it out for concurrence. John/Robin, please note especially those areas that deal with your countries. I have tried to hit the highlights, but feel free to hack if I have the message wrong. Page restriction of 3 pages. Please pass back to me by 2:00 so I can get out to Legal and final passed to front office before I go out of town. Thanks

Pat - Please get a log number for this and file in. Thanks

- Erica

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT jj1297.doc

December 22, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
ERSKINE BOWLES

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

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

Rev. Jackson's first trip as the Special Envoy, to Kenya and Zambia
on November
29-December 4 went very well.

Trip Results

Kenya: In Kenya, Jackson stressed the need for full and rapid
implementation of
the electoral reforms passed by the legislature in November, and for
the holding
of free, fair, and transparent legislative and presidential elections on
December
29. Jackson urged opposition leaders to continue to press for reforms.
Jackson
underscored to Moi the importance of a long-term reform process. The
implementation of anti-corruption and constitutional reform
legislation after the
elections will be critical to Kenya's ability to attract foreign
investment and
to get its structural adjustment program on track.

Despite Embassy Nairobi's positive impression of Jackson's visit, the
electoral

process remains deeply flawed. Minimal reforms negotiated by moderates within Parliament provide some encouragement, but too little time between their passage and the elections (six weeks) means that most of the reforms will not be fully implemented or understood by the public. President Moi will be re-elected and his party will retain a majority in Parliament. The real test will be whether a fundamental constitutional reform process involving a wider cross-section of Kenyan society will be allowed to unfold after the election. Jackson might help promote this process during his next visit.

Zambia: In Zambia, Jackson focused on democratization issues. He emphasized the need for the opposition to engage in serious dialogue with President Chiluba's MMD party and noted the importance of opposition participation in elections, rather than remaining without a voice, outside the process. With President Chiluba, Jackson stressed the importance of building democratic institutions, respecting human rights, and ensuring dialogue with the opposition. He urged President Chiluba to investigate fully allegations of torture of suspects in the October 29 coup attempt. Jackson also spoke with religious leaders about the dangers of declaring a state religion, urging them to maintain appropriate separation between church and state.

Jackson's visit may have sparked renewed dialogue between the ruling party and the opposition, including Kaunda's UNIP party. It is, however, too early to call this a breakthrough; Kaunda is outside Zambia and dialogue is only tentative and nascent.

Looking Ahead

Future Trips: Jackson's next planned trip is tentatively scheduled for January 29-February 6, 1998, to Liberia and possibly Kenya and Cameroon. In Liberia he

will discuss the need to repair ethnic and economic cleavages in Liberian society, and ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law. Both Jackson and our Ambassador in Kenya have indicated it would be useful to do a follow-up visit to Kenya either on this trip or in late February. State may also ask Jackson to travel to Cameroon to discuss the importance of transparent election processes and leveling the playing field for the opposition. We support this concept.

In late March or early April Jackson will be asked to travel to again to Zambia and possibly one other stop. He will discuss with President Chiluba the importance of leveling the playing field for the opposition. We support this concept.

In May, Jackson is tentatively scheduled to visit Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland to assess each country's varying degree of progress with democratization and institution building.

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 it would serve neither our Nigeria policy nor Jackson and his mandate well. Our new Ambassador arrived only last week and a long-planned policy review is again stalled. There is no strong message for Jackson to carry to Nigeria and we risk undermining our new Ambassador by sending an envoy now.

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 boards memberships. Also, the inherent policy tension between trade interests

and human rights interests calls for Jackson to maintain his clear mandate on democracy promotion only.

Administrative Problems/Air Transportation Support: It will be important, both from a precedent standpoint and to protect the Administration and Rev. Jackson from criticism, to ensure that Jackson - like all other Special Envoys - takes maximum advantage of available commercial air service and uses U.S. Government transportation only when commercial service is not available. We anticipate that Jackson will continue to press for air support for all of his missions, and that it will be necessary to underscore to him at the highest levels the need to adhere to restrictions.

January/February: For Jackson's next trip, it is possible for him to fly commercial carriers to Kenya, and directly onward to Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire.

Commercial service to Monrovia, Liberia from Abidjan was recently restarted, with two round trip flights per day on Monday, Wednesday and Friday and one on Sunday.

There are direct flights from Abidjan to Cameroon and from Cameroon to Paris.

The entire trip to Kenya, Liberia and Cameroon can be accomplished in one week.

A draft flight itinerary prepared by the State Department is attached at Tab A.

If Jackson requires flight support it will likely be for the Abidjan to Monrovia and return leg. We recommend that he travel commercial for all legs except the

Abidjan-Monrovia-Abidjan portion and that we offer to request that the DATT C-12

based in Abidjan to transport him on this leg of the trip.

March/April: Jackson should be advised that there are regular commercial flights from Europe to Zambia.

May: Most major European carriers fly into South Africa direct from Europe and South African Airways offers direct flights to South Africa from New York and Miami. From South Africa, there are regular flights to Malawi,

Lesotho and
Swaziland from South Africa. Jackson should be advised to take
advantage of
these commercial services.

Concurrences by: Jamie Baker, Pete Jordan (OVP)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ????

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/22/07

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/22/97 4:40:39 PM
FROM Highsmith, Newell L.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Jesse Jackson travel--for concurrence [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Battenfield, Pat A.

CARBON_COPY Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Wilson, Joseph C.
Jordan, Donald L.
Baker, James E.
DeRosa, Mary B.
Highsmith, Newell L.
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Sparks, John E.

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

TEXT_BODY Attached are some minor comments on the section concerning use of govt aircraft. Let me know if you have any questions.

-----Original

Message-----

From: Battenfield, Pat A.

Sent: Monday, December
22, 1997 11:07 AM

To: Jordan, Donald L.; Baker, James E.

Cc: @LEGAL

- Legal Advisor; @AFRICA - African Affairs

Subject: Jesse Jackson

travel--for concurrence [UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

your

concurrence on the attached memo is requested no later than COB
today

I will fax you a copy of the itinerary of Jackson's next planned mission..

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT

jj1297_.doc

December 22, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
ERSKINE BOWLES

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Jesse Jackson: Results of First Mission and Planning for
Upcoming
MissionsRev. Jackson's first trip as the Special Envoy, to Kenya and Zambia
on November
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Trip Results

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Despite Embassy Nairobi's positive impression of Jackson's visit, the electoral process remains deeply flawed. Minimal reforms negotiated by moderates within Parliament provide some encouragement, but too little time between their passage and the elections (six weeks) means that most of the reforms will not be fully implemented or understood by the public. President Moi will be re-

elected and his party will retain a majority in Parliament. The real test will be whether a fundamental constitutional reform process involving a wider cross-section of Kenyan society will be allowed to unfold after the election. Jackson might help promote this process during his next visit.

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Rev. Jackson
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maximum advantage of available commercial air service and uses
Government
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directives. We
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Concurrences by: Jamie Baker, Pete Jordan (OVP)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/22/07

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/22/97 4:53:53 PM
FROM Barks-Ruggles, Erica
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Jesse Jackson travel--for concurrence [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Battenfield, Pat A.

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

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

Pat - changes OK, please input, add John's name to the "FROM" line and print in final for Joe to sign TOMORROW (change date). Thanks
- erica

-----Original Message-----
From: Highsmith, Newell L.

Sent: Monday, December 22, 1997 4:41 PM
To: Battenfield, Pat A.
Cc: @AFRICA
- African Affairs; Jordan, Donald L.; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Subject: FW:
Jesse Jackson travel--for concurrence [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

Attached
are some minor comments on the section concerning use of govt aircraft.
Let me know if you have any questions.

-----Original Message-----
From: Battenfield,
Pat A.
Sent: Monday, December 22, 1997 11:07 AM
To: Jordan, Donald
L.; Baker, James E.
Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor; @AFRICA - African
Affairs
Subject: Jesse Jackson travel--for concurrence [UNCLASSIFIED]
Importance: High

your concurrence on the attached memo is requested no later than
COB today

I will fax you a copy of the itinerary of Jackson's next planned mission..

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT jj1297_.doc

December 22, 1997

INFORMATION

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ERSKINE BOWLES

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

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Concurrences by: Jamie Baker, Pete Jordan (OVP)

3

4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ????

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/22/07

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/23/97 5:13:35 PM
FROM Barks-Ruggles, Erica
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: Jesse Jackson travel--for concurrence [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Saunders, Richard M.

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

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

Rick - Here is the JJ memo, with changes (now incorporated) from our legal folks. Sorry I missed with Pete. Will add Leon on the Through line or concurrence line, wherever you all want. - Erica

-----Original

Message-----

From: Highsmith, Newell L.

Sent: Monday, December
22, 1997 4:41 PM

To: Battenfield, Pat A.

Cc: @AFRICA - African

Affairs; Jordan, Donald L.; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor

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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 boards memberships. Also, the inherent policy tension between trade interests and human rights interests calls for Jackson to maintain his clear mandate on

democracy promotion only.

Administrative Problems/Air Transportation Support: It will be important, both from a precedent standpoint and to protect the Administration and Rev. Jackson from criticism, 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 Jackson will continue to press for air support for all of his missions, and that it will be necessary to underscore to him at the highest levels the need to adhere to Administration policy on the use of Government aircraft .

January/February: For Jackson's next trip, it is possible for him to fly commercial carriers to Kenya, and directly onward to Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire.

Commercial service to Monrovia, Liberia from Abidjan was recently restarted, with two round trip flights per day on Monday, Wednesday and Friday and one on Sunday.

There are direct flights from Abidjan to Cameroon and from Cameroon to Paris.

The entire trip to Kenya, Liberia and Cameroon can be accomplished in one week.

A draft flight itinerary prepared by the State Department is attached at Tab A.

If Jackson requires flight support it will likely be for the Abidjan to Monrovia and return leg. We recommend that he travel commercial for all legs except the

Abidjan-Monrovia-Abidjan portion and that we offer to request that the DATT C-12

based in Abidjan to transport him on this leg of the trip.

March/April: Jackson should be advised that there are regular commercial flights from Europe to Zambia.

May: Most major European carriers fly into South Africa direct from Europe and South African Airways offers direct flights to South Africa from New York and Miami. From South Africa, there are regular flights to Malawi,

Lesotho and
Swaziland from South Africa. Jackson should be advised to take
advantage of
these commercial services.

Concurrences by: Jamie Baker, Pete Jordan (OVP)

3

4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ????

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/22/07

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/23/97 5:24:22 PM
FROM Mitsler, Elaine M.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: concurrence requested [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica

CARBON_COPY Abdulmalik, April B.
Antholis, William J.
Boone, Sherman G.
Kyle, Robert D.
Lee, Malcolm R.
Mitsler, Elaine M.
Panerali, Kristen E.

TEXT_BODY Relaying to Lael now. Thanks. Happy Holidays, Erica!

-----Original

Message-----

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica

Sent: Tuesday, December

23, 1997 5:23 PM

To: @INTECON - Economic Affairs

Cc: @AFRICA -

African Affairs

Subject: FW: concurrence requested by COB Tuesday
[UNCLASSIFIED]

Importance: High

Lael - could you please concur
on this letter? Thanks - Erica

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

From: Rudman,

Mara E.

Sent: Tuesday, December 23, 1997 12:54 PM

To: Barks-Ruggles,

Erica

Cc: @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs; @INTECON - Economic
Affairs

Subject: FW:

concurrence requested by COB Tuesday [UNCLASSIFIED]

Erica-- I'm fine w/ the changes as noted. I've included economic affairs on the email because I'm assuming they need to clear as well given the previous back and forth on the Africa Trade Report. I just want to make sure we're all on the same page -- here, literally -- on how we're referencing Administration position on the Africa trade bill.

Thanks.

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

From: Barks-Ruggles,

Erica

Sent: Tuesday, December 23, 1997 8:55 AM

To: @LEGISLAT -

Legislative Affairs

Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs

Subject: concurrence

requested by COB Tuesday [UNCLASSIFIED]

Mara - Attached is a package responding to a letter from Rep. Rothman to POTUS for your concurrence.

Original of package with incoming letter will be coming to you shortly,

but wanted you to have this as soon as possible this morning. We'd like to move this today so POTUS can sign over the holiday. Thanks

- Erica

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 7944ltr.doc

Dear Representative Rothman:

Your recent letter concerning our Africa policy comes at an opportune time as I

am planning my trip to Africa. I believe we have made great strides in the last

year on formulating and implementing a comprehensive policy to promote economic

growth and opportunity in Africa, and I appreciate your words of support.

We are attacking this issue from all sides - from debt relief to technical assistance to transform financial bureaucracies, from increased market access to better accountability and governance. We strongly support the The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, and look forward to working with you to ensure its rapid enactment next session.

As you noted, economic reform cannot alone make the difference between lives of poverty, instability and fear and lives of prosperity, peace and hope for Africa's people. They must also have accountable, democratic government, and peace. That is why Secretary Albright during her recent visit to Africa unveiled our plans for a new comprehensive, regional initiative to strengthen judicial and democratic institutions and civil society, and break the cycle of impunity in the Great Lakes region.

I have also named Reverend Jesse Jackson as my Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa. On his first mission he visited Kenya and Zambia to urge greater dialogue between those governments and opposition leaders, tougher anti-corruption efforts, and further reforms to afford the opposition greater freedom and space. Building democratic institutions has been and will remain one of our top priorities in Africa.

In support of peace and stability my Administration has been working for the last two years on the Africa Crisis Response Initiative. This initiative, coordinated with the British, French and Africans, seeks to train a fully interoperable, multi-nation African peacekeeping and crisis-response force. We have conducted training in three countries, and one more will start in January.

This broad outline demonstrates the comprehensive policies my

Administration is committed to putting into place to build a strong, peaceful, prosperous and democratic Africa for the next century. We cannot, however, accomplish our goals alone. That is why we are reaching out to form partnerships with African countries from South Africa to Senegal, from Ethiopia to Mali, to work with them to better address their problems. We are also working with our Denver Summit partners to formulate aggressive, forward-leaning policies to embrace the opportunities in Africa.

I welcome your continuing interest in Africa and look forward to working together to help Africa's people build a better future for themselves and their children.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Steven R. Rothman
Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515
2

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 7944prs.doc

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT: Response to a Letter from Representative Steven Rothman

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Representative Rothman on our Africa policy.

Background

On November 10, Representative Rothman wrote to you welcoming your economic initiatives in Africa, but urging more focus on broad, participatory economic policies and government in Africa.

Attached at Tab A is a proposed response to Representative Rothman that notes our support for the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act and outlines our efforts to support democracy and the rule of law. These efforts include Secretary Albright's recent announcement of planning for a Great Lakes Justice Initiative for Central Africa and Rev. Jackson's efforts as your Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached response to Representative Rothman.

Attachment

Tab A Reply to Representative Rothman

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

1

1

7944

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

December 23, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Reply to a Letter to the President from Representative Steven Rothman

Representative Rothman wrote to the President urging expanded U.S. leadership in supporting broad-based, inclusive economic policies and governance in Africa.

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President recommending he sign the proposed response to Representative Rothman.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman, Lael Brainard

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Reply to Representative Rothman
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

1

7944

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 12/23/97 5:57:12 PM
FROM Barks-Ruggles, Erica
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT FW: concurrence requested by COB Tuesday [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Bendick, Gordon L.
Burrell, Christina L.
Davis, William K.
Rudman, Mara E.

CARBON_COPY Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Wilson, Joseph C.
Abdulmalik, April B.
Antholis, William J.
Boone, Sherman G.
Kyle, Robert D.
Lee, Malcolm R.
Mitsler, Elaine M.
Panerali, Kristen E.

TEXT_BODY I have gone back again to the trade report on the language in para 2. Below is word for word compromise language from the report and the modification in the letter to make it one sentence. I wish we could say it the way you have it written, Mara, I like it better, but Tarullo will choke as he did on the trade report and nobody has gotten the backbone to tell Barshefsky to get with the program. Please let me know if this is OK with you. I have sent on to Lael in intecon for concurrence. Thanks - Erica

REPORT LANGUAGE

The

President strongly supports the bipartisan Congressional initiative to pass "The African Growth and Opportunity Act." The Administration will work actively with Congress through the legislative process to enact legislation this year.

Revised package

-----Original

Message-----

From: Rudman, Mara E.

Sent: Tuesday, December 23,
1997 12:54 PM

To: Barks-Ruggles, Erica

Cc: @LEGISLAT - Legislative
Affairs; @INTECON - Economic Affairs

Subject: FW: concurrence requested
by COB Tuesday [UNCLASSIFIED]

Erica-- I'm fine w/ the changes
as noted. I've included economic affairs on the email because I'm
assuming they need to clear as well given the previous back and forth
on the Africa Trade Report. I just want to make sure we're all on
the same page -- here, literally -- on how we're referencing
Administration
position on the Africa trade bill.

Thanks.

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

From: Barks-Ruggles,

Erica

Sent: Tuesday, December 23, 1997 8:55 AM

To: @LEGISLAT -

Legislative Affairs

Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs

Subject: concurrence
requested by COB Tuesday [UNCLASSIFIED]

Mara - Attached is a package
responding to a letter from Rep. Rothman to POTUS for your
concurrence.
Original of package with incoming letter will be coming to you
shortly,
but wanted you to have this as soon as possible this morning. We'd
like to move this today so POTUS can sign over the holiday. Thanks

- Erica

Dear Representative Rothman:

Your recent letter concerning our Africa policy comes at an opportune time as I am planning my trip to Africa. I believe we have made great strides in the last year on formulating and implementing a comprehensive policy to promote economic growth and opportunity in Africa, and I appreciate your words of support.

We are attacking this issue from all sides - from debt relief to technical assistance to transform bureaucracies to better accountability and governance. We strongly support the bipartisan Congressional initiative to pass "The African Growth and Opportunity Act," and will work actively with Congress through the legislative process to enact legislation this year.

As you noted, economic reform cannot alone make the difference between lives of poverty, instability and fear and lives of prosperity, peace and hope for Africa's people; they also need accountable, democratic government and peace. That is why Secretary Albright during her recent visit to Africa unveiled our plans for a new comprehensive regional initiative to strengthen judicial and democratic institutions and civil society and break the cycle of impunity in the Great Lakes region.

I have also named Reverend Jesse Jackson as my Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa. On his first mission, he visited Kenya and Zambia to urge greater dialogue between those governments and opposition leaders, tougher anti-corruption efforts, and further reforms to afford the opposition greater freedom and space. Building democratic institutions has been and will remain one of our top priorities in Africa.

In support of peace and stability, my Administration has been working for the last two years on the Africa Crisis Response Initiative. This initiative, coordinated with the British, French and Africans, seeks to train a fully interoperable, multi-nation African peacekeeping and crisis-response force. We have conducted training in three countries, and one more will start in January.

These are some of the comprehensive policies my Administration is committed to putting into place to build a strong, peaceful, prosperous and democratic Africa for the next century. We cannot, however, accomplish our goals alone. That is why we are reaching out to form partnerships with African countries from South Africa to Senegal, from Ethiopia to Mali, to work with them to better address their problems. We are also working with our Denver Summit partners to formulate aggressive, forward-leaning policies to embrace the opportunities in Africa.

I welcome your continuing interest in Africa and look forward to working together to help Africa's people build a better future for themselves and their children.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Steven R. Rothman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

2

2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT: Response to a Letter from Representative Steven Rothman

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Representative Rothman on our Africa policy.

Background

Representative Rothman wrote to you welcoming your economic initiatives in Africa, but urging more focus on broad, participatory economic policies and government in Africa.

Attached at Tab A is a proposed response to Representative Rothman that notes our support for the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act and outlines our efforts to support democracy and the rule of law. These efforts include Secretary Albright's recent announcement of a Great Lakes Justice Initiative for Central Africa and Reverend Jackson's efforts as your Special Envoy for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached response to Representative Rothman.

Attachments

Tab A Reply to Representative Rothman
Tab B Letter from Representative Rothman

1

7944

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 7944srb.doc

December 23, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ROBIN R. SANDERS

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

**SUBJECT: Reply to a Letter to the President from Representative
Steven Rothman**

Representative Rothman wrote to the President urging expanded U.S. leadership in supporting broad-based, inclusive economic policies and governance in Africa.

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President recommending he sign the proposed response to Representative Rothman.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman, Lael Brainard

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Reply to Representative Rothman

Tab B Letter from Representative Rothman

1

7944

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 7944ltr.doc

Dear Representative Rothman:

Your recent letter concerning our Africa policy comes at an opportune time as I am planning my trip to Africa. I believe we have made great strides in the last year on formulating and implementing a comprehensive policy to promote economic growth and opportunity in Africa, and I appreciate your words of support.

We are attacking this issue from all sides - from debt relief to technical assistance to transform financial bureaucracies, from increased market access to better accountability and governance. We strongly support the The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, and look forward to working with you to ensure its rapid enactment next session.

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This broad outline demonstrates the comprehensive policies my Administration is committed to putting into place to build a strong, peaceful, prosperous and democratic Africa for the next century. We cannot, however, accomplish our goals alone. That is why we are reaching out to form partnerships with African countries from South Africa to Senegal, from Ethiopia to Mali, to work with them to better address their problems. We are also working with our Denver Summit partners to formulate aggressive, forward-leaning policies to embrace the opportunities in Africa.

I welcome your continuing interest in Africa and look forward to working together to help Africa's people build a better future for themselves and their children.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Steven R. Rothman
Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

2

2

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 7944prs.doc

ACTION

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JOHN HILLEY

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Promotion of Democracy in Africa.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached response to Representative Rothman.

Attachment

Tab A Reply to Representative Rothman

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

1

1

7944

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 7944srb.doc

December 23, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JOSEPH C. WILSON

FROM: ERICA BARKS-RUGGLES

SUBJECT: Reply to a Letter to the President from Representative
Steven Rothman

Representative Rothman wrote to the President urging expanded U.S.
leadership in
supporting broad-based, inclusive economic policies and governance
in Africa.

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President
recommending he sign
the proposed response to Representative Rothman.

Concurrence by: Mara Rudman

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Reply to Representative Rothman

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

1

7944

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Edward Rice to M. Kay Joshi. Subject: [Chief of Staff] Update. (3 pages)	12/31/1997	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Special Envoy])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[12/22/1997-01/29/1998]

2014-0927-F
vz5274

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Jennifer Poole to Nicole Elkon, Marc Hurwitz, Donald Kerrick, and Mary Quinn. Subject: Revised Foreign Policy Wrap-up: DK Info Copy. (4 pages)	12/31/1997	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Special Envoy])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[12/22/1997-01/29/1998]

2014-0927-F

vz5274

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	Robin Sanders to Glyn Davies, Mary Friedrich, Diana Helweg et al. Subject: Weekly Africa Report, 1/5-9. (5 pages)	01/09/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Special Envoy])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[12/22/1997-01/29/1998]

2014-0927-F

vz5274

RESTRICTION CODES

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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/15/98 10:33:00 AM
FROM Barks-Ruggles, Erica
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(d)
DATECLASSIFIEDON 01/13/1998
DECLASSIFYON 01/13/2008
SUBJECT FW: Jackson memo [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO Battenfield, Pat A.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 1/8/2008
2014-0927-F

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

Pat - did this go forward yesterday?

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

From: Wilson,
Joseph C.
Sent: Thursday, January 15, 1998 10:12 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles,
Erica
Subject: FW: Jackson memo [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

Where do we stand
on this? I thought I had signed it out but then I saw a further
Email exchange on it. Has it gone?

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

From: Wilson,
Joseph C.
Sent: Tuesday, January 13, 1998 1:52 PM
To: Barks-Ruggles,
Erica
Cc: @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: FW: Jackson memo [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

my
changes in Lilac.

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

From: Prendergast,
John P.
Sent: Tuesday, January 13, 1998 1:44 PM

To: @AFRICA -
African Affairs
Subject: Jackson memo ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

I have made
changes to both the Kenya and DROC sections.

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 8573srbredo_.doc

January 13, 1998

INFORMATION

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 the 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: In his December meetings with the government and
opposition, Jackson
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 to 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. 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 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 working constructively with the UN human rights investigation team and the GDROC to conduct 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 probably 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. 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.
The entire
trip to Kenya, DROC, Liberia and Sierra Leone can be accomplished
in one week.
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.

Concurrences by: Newell Highsmith, Pete Jordan (OVP)

3

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 8573 redo

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/22/07

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Robin Sanders to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Pat Battenfield, John Prendergast, Robin Sanders and Joseph Wilson. Subject: FW: Weekly Africa Report, 1/5-9. (6 pages)	01/19/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Special Envoy])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[12/22/1997-01/29/1998]

2014-0927-F

vz5274

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. email	Erica Barks-Ruggles to Erica Barks-Ruggles, Pat Battenfield, John Prendergast, Robin Sanders and Joseph Wilson. Subject: FW: Weekly Africa Report, 1/5-9. (6 pages)	01/20/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
Exchange-Record (Sept 97-Jan 01) ([Special Envoy])
OA/Box Number: 620000

FOLDER TITLE:

[12/22/1997-01/29/1998]

2014-0927-F
vz5274

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/22/98 2:13:56 PM
FROM Widmer, Edward L.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT SRB speech [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Sanders, Robin R.
Blinken, Antony J.

CARBON_COPY Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Wilson, Joseph C.
Benjamin, Daniel
Blinken, Antony J.
Gray, Wendy E.
LaFleur, Vinca S.
Leavy, David C.
Naplan, Steven J.
Widmer, Edward L.
Gray, Wendy E.

TEXT_BODY Here is a first draft of Sandy's speech next Wed. I'm hoping to get a revised version of this draft in to Rob Malley tomorrow afternoon,
so please call me with suggestions.

Tx,
Ted
6-9375

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT srbafrica.doc
1/22/98 2 pm

SAMUEL R. BERGER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS
REMARKS TO MAYORS' SUMMIT ON AFRICA
[PANEL ON "THE ROAD TO STRONGER U.S.-AFRICAN TIES"]
JANUARY 28, 1998

[acknowledgments: Secretary Daley, Secretary Slater, Dr. Rice, Mr. Green]

[When I accepted this invitation to speak before you, no one told me I would be the man to follow Jesse Jackson at this podium. But I still would have come, because I feel strongly that Africa is a vital continent that should be at the center of the long-term strategy of the United States.]

The road to stronger ties between Africa and the United States has never been clearer or more inviting than at this very moment. This is a historic time for Africa. After decades of struggle, democracy is taking root. The old cycles of colonialism and despotism are giving way to a new era of representative government, with elections, healthy opposition parties and independent media. There is growing cooperation not only within Africa, as countries share the burden of regional stability, but between Africa and the outside world. Despite a number of setbacks over the last few years, Africa is moving inexorably toward a strong position in the world community, and a significantly higher profile here in the U.S.

We all know there have been real problems along the way. Internal strife has undermined stability in Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone and both Congos; there is no effective democracy in Africa's most populous country, Nigeria; and we remain very concerned about countries that export militarism and terrorism, like Libya, Sudan and Angola [TK]. Elsewhere, AIDS, overpopulation, and environmental decay urgently need to be addressed. There is also an image problem; too many Americans still associate Africa with TV pictures of refugees, or think back to our difficulties in Somalia not too long ago.

But you here in this room are in the forefront of what I believe will

soon be a majority belief in this country: that Africa matters intensely to the rest of the world, and particularly to the United States. That is certainly the belief of this administration. And now we all face a common challenge: to get the message out that an African Renaissance is underway and Americans will be a big part of it. And we need to emphasize just how much progress there has been in Africa over the last decade.

Ten years ago, Nelson Mandela was in jail, and there seemed to be little hope of removing apartheid. Military dictators predominated across the continent, Marxist leaders held sway in a few lonely outposts of the Cold War, and terrible epidemics periodically ravaged the African peoples.

Today, the situation is significantly better. Half of Africa's countries are burgeoning democracies. Since 1990, the number of sub-Saharan democracies has quadrupled. A new generation of leaders is taking command, promoting the rule of law and the rights we take for granted. Trade is rising significantly year by year, and a miniature boom is happening in a few regions. Countries like Uganda, Mali, Mozambique, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Ethiopia are making rapid progress, and some have seen double-digit growth in the last few years. In 1996, over 30 sub-Saharan nations had positive growth rates, and our exports to Africa grew by 20%. [TK update for 97?] They are now 25% more than our exports to the former Soviet Union. Recently, there was an outcry in Cameroon when a journalist was arrested; such an outcry would have been unthinkable in the old days.

Best of all, South Africa has overcome its troubled history and emerged as a vital regional leader. Today, it is a model for Africa and the world. Under the leadership of President Mandela, it has surged forward, opening its society while maintaining economic vitality; reconciling its past to its future;

supporting
international peacekeeping efforts, and promoting the welfare of
neighboring
countries. South Africa embodies the best of the New Africa.

For many reasons, the United States is uniquely poised to take a
leadership role
regarding these historic developments. Our ties to Africa are wide and
deep.

Our greatest asset in approaching Africa is the African-American
community.

Today's event is just a single example of the enormous constellation
of business
ventures and other initiatives linking black American leaders to
Africa. There
will only be more in the future. And Americans from all backgrounds
have been

building good will in Africa for decades. Since the creation of the
Peace Corps,

57,000 Americans have gone to Africa, spreading friendship and
bringing back

useful knowledge of countries from Angola to Zambia. As we speak,
more and more

American corporations and agencies are on the ground in Africa,
providing goods

and services, and integrating Africa's enormous resources into the
global
economy.

But this is not to detract from the most important aspect of the African

Renaissance, which is that it is an African phenomenon, and not
simply a new

initiative conducted by a foreign power thousands of miles away. The
United

States has never wanted to replace the British and French empires
with one of our

own. It is in everyone's interest to work toward an Africa that is
self-sustaining. I think everyone in this room agrees that this is a high
priority.

So how do we do it? How do we simultaneously promote African
stability and

advance American interests in Africa? Let me paint our strategy
toward Africa in

broad brushstrokes.

There are three major tiers to our present strategy: 1) an expansive
political

and economic relationship between the U.S. and the New Africa; 2)
the

President's specific initiatives to promote partnership and trade; and 3) his upcoming visit to Africa in March.

First, we want the foundation of this new Africa to be its relationship with the United States. It is essential that we exert our influence to promote the transition to democracy, not only by extending aid to friendly countries, but by working hard to create a sustainable infrastructure that will withstand leadership changes. This not only means economic investment, but close consultation on matters ranging from the environment to law enforcement to education to health care to human rights, particularly women's rights. Countries that adopt sound financial and political programs should benefit from their relationship with us, receiving not just aid, but funding for growth-oriented programs that will increase their participation in the global economy. Countries like Sudan that undermine the stability of neighbors will be denied access to these benefits.

We have already committed ourselves to this process, and President Clinton could not have named a more inspiring or committed special envoy than Jesse Jackson. It is important that Africans realize we will stand by them, and Reverend Jackson has been delivering that message in no uncertain terms. Secretary Albright's visit in December sent a strong signal of our involvement, and the Great Lakes Justice Initiative she announced represents our best hope for ending the cycles of tribal violence in central Africa. Before that, the First Lady's visit in March received international headlines. Secretary Slater has been to Africa, and as you all know, Secretary Ron Brown was a tireless promoter of Africa, visiting the continent four times on behalf of the Administration.

But our support for Africa goes beyond high-level visits. An important effort underway is the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI). We have

pledged our support to this program, but its most attractive element is that creates a framework for Africa to solve its problems internally. With assistance from a wide variety of sources, from our allies to the State Department and the Department of Defense, this initiative will provides training and equipment for Africans from all countries to tackle problems from peacekeeping to refugee crises to humanitarian aid.

The second tier of our strategy is the President's Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa. This partnership outlines a sweeping plan for enhancing trade and business cooperation, offering debt relief, technical support, and well-targeted assistance. It also aims to invest in human resources by increasing spending on health and education, and improving the efficiency and responsibility of the governments we are working with. The President strongly supports the bipartisan Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, and will work with Congress to get it passed this year. The benefits of these programs should be obvious. If we double our exports, which now stand at about four and a half billion dollars, we can create 100,000 new jobs in the United States. And there is no reason for this commerce not to happen in the other direction. [Africa has so much to give the world, from oil and uranium to vanilla, coffee, cocoa and thousands of other products.]

Secretary Daley will give you more details about the details of these programs, but we cannot stress enough the importance of a sound economic relationship, with benefits flowing both ways. [TK more details of programs? Other speakers will probably discuss] Common sense tells us the spread of commerce will facilitate every other aspect of the relationship. There is too much unemployment in Africa, and political stability will inevitably follow the panoramic

economic relationship we envision. The 700 million people in Africa are too important to be ignored. They not only constitute a huge market for American products, but they are far and away the most valuable resource for Africa's renewal. A healthy, literate, educated population will create its own opportunities.

More than anything, we want the private sector to get involved, both in Africa and the United States. A thriving African economy is the best cure for the old sickness of government corruption that has kept Africa from operating at full capacity. In many countries, tough financial reforms are creating exciting investment opportunities. We want to do all we can to support this. You heard from George Munoz [lunchtime speaker] about the efforts of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation [OPIC] to encourage greater investment and provide equity guarantee funds. Through our partners in the G-7, and working through the World Bank, the Africa Development Bank and the IMF, we would like to leverage increased assistance for countries actively pursuing growth and reform. Ron Brown always believed in the business opportunities in Africa, and it is imperative to get Wall Street behind some of these efforts.

Finally, the culmination of our Africa strategy will be the President's historic visit to five countries in March [OK to announce?]. He will be the first sitting President to visit Ghana, South Africa, Botswana, Uganda and Senegal. No President has been to Africa since Carter. On the continent, it will be our best chance to send the message that Americans care deeply about Africa's hopes for the future. And here at home, it will remind Americans that no President has ever worked as hard as this one to bridge the gaps of race and class and ethnicity that have separated us for too long.

The theme of this trip is "a new partnership with a new Africa." It will

underscore every one of the points I just made, and demonstrate broad American support for the sweeping reforms that are already underway. There has never been a better opportunity to promote Africa, both at home and abroad, and the President will do all he can to maximize this opportunity. Since the Denver summit, he has been thinking hard about Africa, and this trip provides a bully pulpit to express some of the ideas I have sketched for you.

To some extent, we are pursuing this strategy because it is right. But there are obviously incentives of self-interest. A strong Africa helps the United States in more ways than we can imagine. Stable economies mean better markets for our goods. Stable regimes mean less crime and terrorism, both here and there.

To step back from Africa for a moment, it's important to remember how much the world has changed in the last few years. The Cold War is over. The world is rapidly reconnecting and interconnecting. It is no exaggeration to call it a new world, a global community with new international relationships, relatively little conflict, and unprecedented business opportunities. Fortunately, the United States is at the center of it all. Of course, no country can enact change in Africa single-handedly. But the cooperation of our allies in the G-7, along with the strong support of the U.N. and institutions like the World Bank and the IMF, can make a big difference in the way Africa enters the 21st century.

There is every reason to believe this is the appropriate time to take action. The moment is right, and this President is right. I will not lie to you and tell you to expect instantaneous change. But change is coming. History doesn't offer many moments as dramatic as the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990. But let's not focus on the big news-making breakthroughs and

overlook the
painstaking progress Africa has made, often in small increments, over
the last
ten years. This slower progress is every bit as important, and we will
continue
to do all we can to nurture it. It takes time for the seeds of democracy
to
grow, as we relearn over and over again, from Bosnia to China to
Latin America.
In Africa, it may take even longer. But the seeds are being planted as
we speak,
and there has never been a better moment for their cultivation.

That is the long-term view of this administration. I hope the message
is loud
and clear: Africa matters. And it will matter even more in the near
future
because of all the hard work we are all doing together. Never again
will Africa
be an exotic, distant land; from now on it will be as familiar and
irritating as
all of our most important partners.

To finish, let me return to the road metaphor used by this panel. It is
true
that we have built a road to better ties. It is already in place. And it is
only going to become a bigger and better road, probably sooner rather
than later.
We have never had a President who devoted as much personal
attention to Africa,
and the pieces of his strategy are slowly falling into place. This trip
will
serve as a capstone to years of efforts by many people in and out of
the
administration to cement a permanent relationship with this enormous,
vibrant and
dynamic part of the world. And now that the road is in place, an
unlimited
horizon lies before us.
#

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/22/98 3:58:56 PM

FROM Battenfield, Pat A.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(d)

DATECLASSIFIEDON 01/22/1998

DECLASSIFYON 01/22/2008

SUBJECT Memo to Bowles re Jesse Jackson travel ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Highsmith, Newell L.

CARBON_COPY Baker, James E.
DeRosa, Mary B.
Highsmith, Newell L.
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Sparks, John E.
Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Wilson, Joseph C.

TEXT_BODY your concurrence is requested on the attached REVISED memo to
Erskine
Bowles regarding Jesse Jackson's travel to Africa

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 8573srbredo.doc

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

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

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

1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 8573 redo 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 1/14/08

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 8573erskredo.doc

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 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.

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. 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, 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.

3

3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 8573 redo

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 1/22/08

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/22/98 6:07:41 PM
FROM Highsmith, Newell L.
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(d)
DATECLASSIFIEDON 01/22/1998
DECLASSIFYON 01/22/2008
SUBJECT FW: Memo to Bowles re Jesse Jackson travel [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica

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

CARBON_COPY Baker, James E.
DeRosa, Mary B.
Highsmith, Newell L.
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Sparks, John E.
Battenfield, Pat A.

TEXT_BODY

I see that the proposal is now for Jackson to use military aircraft from Germany to Africa, throughout Africa, and on the return to Germany.

Previously, we were suggesting milair only for a few legs in W. Africa where there were either no commercial flights or unsafe commercial flights. Why the change? You need to explain fully the statement that "he would have only 16 hours overnight in Nairobi due to infrequent flights; likely not enough time to accomplish his mission." How long would he have to be in Nairobi awaiting the next commercial flight to Abidjan (or whatever his next destination is)? Why does he need milair from Germany to Nairobi and from W. Africa to Germany?

All of this would have to be justified.

The guidelines for use of military aircraft provide that approval for using milair on a nonreimbursable basis shall be provided to sub-Cabinet officials only under extenuating circumstances. The White House has closely scrutinized requests for travel by sub-Cabinet officials to determine if such "extenuating circumstances" exist.

On a separate matter,

go ahead with the Fuerth mtg with DOJ and others. Someone from our office should be there (me if I'm available).

-----Original

Message-----

From: Battenfield, Pat A.

Sent: Thursday, January
22, 1998 3:59 PM

To: Highsmith, Newell L.

Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor;

@AFRICA - African Affairs

Subject: Memo to Bowles re Jesse Jackson
travel ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

Importance: High

your concurrence is requested
on the attached REVISED memo to Erskine Bowles regarding Jesse
Jackson's
travel to Africa

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 8573srbredo.doc

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

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Attachments

Tab I Memo to Erskine Bowles

1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 8573 redo 2~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 1/14/08

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 8573erskredo.doc

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER

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

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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. 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.

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. 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, 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.

3

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 8573 redo

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 1/22/08

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/23/98 10:04:24 AM

FROM Highsmith, Newell L.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(d)

DATECLASSIFIEDON 01/22/1998

DECLASSIFYON 01/22/2008

SUBJECT FW: JJ memo revised again [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica

CARBON_COPY Baker, James E.
DeRosa, Mary B.
Highsmith, Newell L.
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Sparks, John E.
Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Battenfield, Pat A.
Prendergast, John P.
Sanders, Robin R.
Wilson, Joseph C.

TEXT_BODY

I have made two additions that I think will clarify the arguments for milair and thereby improve your chances for White House approval.

My comment about "if DROC is part of the itinerary" is in brackets: would Jackson be able to complete the trip in one week if the DROC were not part of the itinerary? The memo suggests that this leg may not be firm. My addition about not completing Liberia mission and meeting one-week window is also in brackets because I'm not 100%

sure it's what you're arguing. Let me know if it's not.

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica

Sent: Thursday, January
22, 1998 11:07 PM

To: @AFRICA - African Affairs; Highsmith, Newell
L.

Cc: @LEGAL - Legal Advisor

Subject: JJ memo revised again [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

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

Importance: High

Newell

- This incorporates your suggestions in the last para. Please let me know if this passes muster. We need to move forward before NOON

ON FRIDAY as we anticipate JJ may call the WW in the afternoon as he will be in town. Please give clearance/changes by 10:00 Friday. Thanks.

Colleagues - Last chance.

Pat - Please package in final as soon as we have Newell's OK/changes. Thanks

- Erica

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 8573erskredo.doc

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 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.

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. For this trip, however, [if the DROC is part of the itinerary,] 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 permit him to complete his mission to Liberia because [of the limited time Jackson has available to undertake this trip]. Clearly, neither of these options is acceptable from a policy perspective. 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. 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 a request to the White House to authorize the use of a small military plane from Germany to Kenya, DROC, Liberia and back to Germany. (Military air support is requested for Germany-to-Africa and back because there are no aircraft based in Africa that could undertake the cross-continent flights within Africa.)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 1/22/08

TRANSLATED_ATTACHMENT 8573srbredo.doc

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

1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 8573 redo 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 1/14/08

Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/29/98 8:32:02 PM
FROM Prendergast, John P.
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(d)
DATECLASSIFIEDON 01/27/1998
DECLASSIFYON 01/27/2008
SUBJECT RE: Liberia [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO Barks-Ruggles, Erica

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

CARBON_COPY

TEXT_BODY

whew! Jamie sits right by me. Do you want me to hit him over the head?

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

From: Barks-Ruggles, Erica
Sent: Thursday,
January 29, 1998 10:23 AM
To: Metzl, Jamie F.; Prendergast, John
P.; Ragan, Richard F.; @AFRICA - African Affairs; @DEMOCRACY -
Dem/Human
Affairs
Subject: RE: Liberia [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

Jamie - What do you
mean by "more formal protest"? Our embassy has already demarched
the Liberian MFA about Star Radio and has been helping them reapply
for licensing, etc.

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

From: Metzl,
Jamie F.
Sent: Thursday, January 29, 1998 10:03 AM
To: Barks-Ruggles,
Erica; Prendergast, John P.; Ragan, Richard F.; @AFRICA - African
Affairs; @DEMOCRACY - Dem/Human Affairs
Subject: RE: Liberia [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

Might
it be appropriate to make a more formal protest? This approach seems
to leave too much to chance.

Jamie

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

From: Barks-Ruggles,
Erica

Sent: Wednesday, January 28, 1998 5:57 PM

To: Metzl, 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: Metzl, 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.; Metzl, 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: Metzl,

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: Metzl,

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 ordered us closed down," station manager George Barnett 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 Barnett 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