

FOIA MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 2071				
Document ID: 9808087				
Stack: V	Row: 45	Section: 6	Shelf: 3	Position: 2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	For President Clinton From Samuel Berger. Subject: Meeting with Reverend Jesse Jackson. Record ID: 9808087. (3 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
002. talking points	Points to be Made in Meeting with Reverend Jesse Jackson. Record ID: 9808087. (2 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
003. draft	Draft of 001. [Spell Out Draft] (3 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
004. draft	Draft of 002. (2 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
005. draft	Draft of 001. [X out Draft] (3 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
006. draft	Draft of 002. [X out Draft] (2 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)
007. draft	Draft of 001. [Changes per Jim Draft] (5 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Jackson and Special Envoy]
OA/Box Number: 2071

FOLDER TITLE:

9808087

2014-0927-F

vz5312

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9808087
RECEIVED: 01 DEC 98 14

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 02 DEC 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA
SIERRA LEONE
AP

GUINEA
GHANA

PERSONS: JACKSON, JESSE

SUBJECT: POTUS MTG W/ JACKSON ON 3 DEC

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 07 DEC 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: RUGGLES

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BAKER
BARKS-RUGGLES
NSC CHRON
SMITH, G

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/16/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VR NARA, Date 1/8/2011
2014-0927-F

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

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DOC 3 OF 3

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICERCAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTIONDISPATCH FOR INFO

003	981202	VICE PRESIDENT
003	981202	WH CHIEF OF STAFF

National Security Council
The White House

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

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
<u>2</u> Cosgriff			
Rice	<u>1</u>	<u>(R) 12/2</u>	
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg	<u>2</u>		
Berger	<u>3</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>3</u>	<u>12/2 DMK</u>	<u>Pres</u>
Records Mgt.	<u>4</u>		

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

cc:

COMMENTS: POTUS Meeting with Rev. Jesse Jackson

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes _____

**National Security Council
The White House**

12/2/89

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 00027
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TMA
 Jacobson
 McGriff

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
	<u>1</u>	<u>D 12/1</u>	<u>AKA</u>
Rice	<u>2</u>	<u>(P) 12/1</u>	
Davies			
Kerrick		Deputy Natl Sec Advisor has seen	
Steinberg	<u>3</u>		
Berger	<u>4</u>		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>DK/12.2</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.			
Erica B-R	<u>6</u>		<u>A = JS Notes</u>

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cc:

COMMENTS: Pres mtg w/ Jackson
 3 Dec

98 DEC 1 PM 7:24

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council
The White House

12/2/89

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BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG PR A/O _____

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Rice	2	P 12/1	
Davies			
Kerrick			
Steinberg	3		Deputy Nat Sec Advisor has seen
Berger	4		
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	5	DK/12.2	D
Records Mgt.			
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SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

Nigeria

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

Sierra Leone/Liberia/Guinea

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

(IF ASKED - Rawlings State Visit)

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 12/1/08

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FINAL COMMUNIQUE

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

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

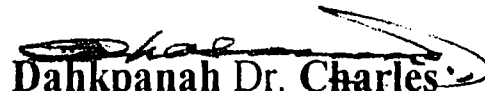
13. Their Excellencies the Presidents of the Republics of Sierra-Leone and Liberia as well as Reverend JESSIE JACKSON, Special Representative of the President of the United States of America expressed their profound gratitude to His Excellency General LANSANA CONTE, President of the Republic of Guinea,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

Done in Conakry this 12th Day of November, 1998

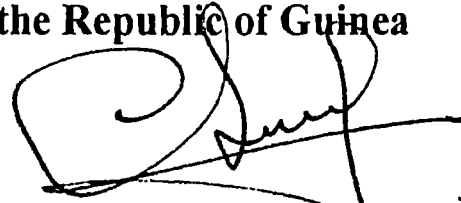
For the Republic of
Sierra-Leone


Elhadj Ahmad Tejan KABBAH

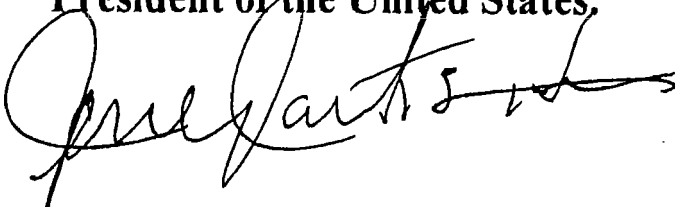
For the Republic of
Liberia


Dahkpanah Dr. Charles
Gankhay TAYLOR

For the Republic of Guinea


General Lansana CONTE

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





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

Departure Statement

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

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

November 11, 1998

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

8087 redo

December 2, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

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

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

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

Concurrence by: *JB* Jamie Baker

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachments

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

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526 5/10/2017
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *VR* NARA, Date *1/8/2014*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/1/08

*Can you sign
off on this?
(SRB not attending)*

clerk

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004. draft	Draft of 002. (2 pages)	12/02/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Jackson and Special Envoy]
OA/Box Number: 2071

FOLDER TITLE:

9808087

2014-0927-F

vz5312

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- 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]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
REVEREND JESSE JACKSON

Nigeria

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

Sierra Leone/Liberia/Guinea

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

(IF ASKED - Rawlings State Visit)

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

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By VC NARA, Date 1/8/2018

2014-0927-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 12/1/08

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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By 12 NARA, Date 1/8/2017
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