

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
William R. Tolbert, President of Liberia
C. Cecil Dennis, Jr., Minister of Foreign Affairs
James T. Phillips, Jr., Finance Minister
Amb. Francis A. W. Dennis, Amb. to the U.S.
Charles W. Robinson, Acting Secretary of State
Amb. W. Beverly Carter, Jr., U.S. Amb. to
Liberia
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Tuesday - September 21, 1976
11:00 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

President: Mr. President, as I indicated, we are delighted to have you here. We feel it is a special opportunity to greet you and your people. We derive a special strength from your support. Your prayers for Secretary Kissinger's mission are very meaningful and we will convey them to him.

I want to express my appreciation to your role in Colombo (at the non-aligned conference). Your help on Korea and Puerto Rico were indispensable and I express the gratitude of the American people.

Tolbert: I want to express my gratitude at the opportunity to visit on such a special occasion. It is an indication of our special relationship and also of the significance of Africa to you. It is an honor to my people and to Africa.

With respect to Colombo, if you review our record, it is consistent. We believe moderation is best and achieves the best results.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/13/04
BY sk NARA DATE 7/22/04

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Our relationship is one we appreciate. It is a matter of history which we more than anyone else can change. But we can build on it and we are committed to that the principles on which it rests -- justice, liberty, free enterprise and human dignity. These are principles which should rule the world and we stand on them.

President: Your example is one for all the world, and we hope they will benefit by your example and these principles.

Tolbert: It is our intention to do what we can.

President: We hope to continue our bilateral programs. There is about \$15 million in the present program and we hope to about double it this year.

(Describes the projects and the ADB)

I was pleased to note that one of our largest Peace Corps contingents is in Liberia. I hope they are doing a good job.

Tolbert: They are. They're working in teaching, agriculture and administration. We sincerely thank you for the aid program and for what you propose. As they say, the past does not suffice. (Laughter) We have been working very closely with your people in drawing up a program. (He hands the President a program.) These are the areas of greatest need.

President: I will review it carefully. When I was in Congress I was in the Foreign Aid Subcommittee. I believe deeply in the program and its objectives.

Tolbert: In all sincerity I think whatever aid is forthcoming will not only help the economy but will help the image of your country. I am speaking frankly, but sometimes the spotlight is on the Soviets and I want to be able to tell them what a meaningful relationship can be.

Our whole program is geared to reaching out to benefit our people. It affects health, communication, education, and transportation. We seek those in real need -- in agriculture, those on subsistence must be brought into the money economy. Our four-year program is based on socio-economic improvement.

President: What are your principal agricultural products?

Tolbert: Coffee, rice, coconut, rubber, iron, cocoa. We want to diversify and go into industrial estates, especially agricultural industry. For this we need funding. It is vitally important.

Phillips: Our agro-industry is based on two aspects. One is the larger industrial estates and a separate one for smaller agro enterprises and cooperatives. They are whole centers which will include schools, hospitals, roads, etc., so that you fund the enterprise they bringing all these things together. Only one such enterprise has yet been funded.

President: Are these for single or multiple crops?

Phillips: They are oriented to single-crops.

President: You have crops which have a good world market today.

You might like a quick rundown on what Secretary Kissinger is doing and where we think we are. After Secretary Kissinger came back from his spring trip, it became obvious to us that if nothing was done the situation would deteriorate rapidly. We decided to help as best we could the forces of moderation. So we sounded out all the parties and then decided that Secretary Kissinger should go on this trip. The risks were very great. If nothing had happened, we would have gotten much blame for it. But we decided it had to be tried.

We are encouraged by the progress but many pitfalls remain. We see hope on the Namibia and we will know better on Rhodesia after Smith goes to his Parliament. But success also depends not only on Smith and us but what the black leaders can do to contribute. We seek a system of majority control with minority rights and an opportunity for economic progress. I wish I could say the process is completed, but decisions still have to be made by Smith and the black leaders. The dangers of a failure are drastic and would be dreadful for Africa.

Tolbert: I recall our conversation last time we met. I spoke of the need for America to identify with African aspirations. You have taken the bold decision for Africa to identify with our aspirations. Your risk was a timely one. To speak frankly, America's presence should never be absent in Africa. But others are pressing to emphasize their presence and to minimize the U. S. role.

I have put my whole life into achieving independence for Africa. I took the risk of meeting with Vorster for that end. He did not follow my advice, unfortunately. The sooner he gets into compliance with the UN the better the chance to resolve the situation calmly. I am afraid of a breakdown of peace and the involvement of other powers. It happened in Angola and it could happen again.

My African colleagues sometimes doubt the United States. I am telling them they must have faith. You have started now, and if you continue, I think this psychological attitude of doubt will evaporate. I am hopeful that something positive will come from this. We must have majority rule, but minority rights must be protected. These are the basic truths which must be followed.

Anything I can do, I will do willingly. It is a question now of proceeding with speed. I appreciate what you're doing.

President: We will continue our efforts. They are sincere. I feel from the messages we get that all of them realize that time is of the essence and we must move quickly.

Tolbert: That is true. Vorster has indicated he has the key. If he will just release his control over Namibia. SWAPO must be involved; nothing can be done without SWAPO. South Africa must be represented as well, since it has de facto control. He also has influence over Smith to bring him to reason. We have to stop to talk sometime and why not now, before all the bloodshed. It is best for all humanity.

President: We will do our best. A few extra prayers might be helpful.

Tolbert: We will seek help from wherever it lies. (Laughter) People say the freedom fighters are Communists. Maybe some of them are, but I think the only way to resolve the problems is present. Don't rule out Mozambique and Angola. They maybe eventually can be brought in with the front line states.

President: You think there is hope with regard to Machel and Neto to remove outside pressure?

Tolbert: I remember when Guinea became independent. The U.S. was slow -- probably of its relation with France - and Guinea had no choice except turning to the Communists for help.

My wish is that American presence will everywhere be dominant in Africa.



President: We think we could be constructive.

Tolbert: That is why I want you there.

President: We feel strongly about our system -- you have the same and we hope to spread this system.

Tolbert: I have declared war on disease, ignorance and poverty. It is important we fight them today so we aren't overwhelmed tomorrow. I am very distressed when I see the poverty, ignorance in some areas. I want to fight it and I would like your help. I want to fight them not only for their own sake but to keep these people from being radicalized.

President: We want to help. We must be realistic, though, about the limits under which we operate. If Secretary Kissinger's trip fails, it will be difficult to get more out of Congress. So this effort is broader than that area itself.

Tolbert: We are optimistic.

PT Tolbert

21 Sept 76



P The P, as I indicated, we delighted to know you had, we feel spec. opportunity to your people. we desire a special strength from your support. your proposal to mission also very encouraging & we will carry it thru.

I want to express my appreciation to you all in Columbia. your help on Kasa & PR were indispensable & I express gratitude of our people.

T I want to express my appreciation to you all on such a special occasion. It is an indication of your own special relationship & also of a sign of Africa to you. It is a honor to my people & to Africa.

W/ respect to Columbia, if you remain firm stand, it is consistent. We believe unambitious is best & achieves best results. Our relationship is one we agree it is a matter of history which we are aware also can change. But we can build on it & we are united to that - a principle of justice, liberty, & human dignity. These are principles which should rule the world & we stand with them.

P Your example is one for all the world & we hope they will benefit by your example & that principle.

T It is our intention to do what we can.

P we hope to continue our bilateral prog. There is about 15 mil in a present prog & we hope to about double it this

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES *State Dep. 10/13/04*

BY *WA* NARA DATE *7/29/04*

eyes.

(Describes a project + a ADB)

I was pleased to write one of our longest
Plan type contracts is in history. They
they doing a good job.

T They are - in teaching, agris + admin.
We sincerely thank you for aid prog
+ for about your people. As they say, a part
does not suffice (hanging). We have been
working very closely w/ your people in
draming a prog (handed a prog). These
are areas of greatest need.

P I will under it carefully. We have no
in our 2 we are foreign aid submitt.
I believe deeply in a prog + its objectives.

T You are sincerely I think whatever aid
provisioning will not only help econ. but
will help - enrich your country. I
speaking frankly, but sometimes a light
light is on a door + I want to be able to
tell them what a meaningful relationship
can be.

O on what prog is geared to reaching out
to benefit our people. It offers health,
communication, education, transportation. We
seek those in real need - in agris, those
on subsist must be bought with a
wise economy. Our 4 yr prog is based
on socio-econ development.

P What are your primary goals agris ^{prod.} projects

T Coffee, rice, coconut, rubber, iron,
cocoa. We want to diversify + go into

industrial estates, esp. agro industry.
For this we need funding. It is vitally
important

Phillip: Our agro-industry is based on 2 ^{aspects} subjects
One is a larger industrial estate & a separate
one for smaller agro enterprises & co-operatives.
They are whole centres which will include
schools, bus, roads, etc, so that you find
a enterprise there bringing all these things
together. Only one such enterprise has yet
been founded.

P Are there for single or multiple crops

Phillip: They are single crop oriented.

P You have crops which have a good world
market today.

You might like a quick recollection on what
K doing & when we think we are.

After K came back from his spring trip, it
became obvious to us if anything was done it
would detract rapidly. We decided to help
as best we could & focus of investment. So
we rounded out all parties & I attended
K should go on this trip. The risks were very
great. If nothing had happened we would
have gotten much blame for ~~starting~~ it.
But we decided it had to be tried. We are
discouraged, but many projects remain.
We are hopeful however & we will
know better on Rhodesia after Smith
goes to his Parliament. But success also
depends entirely on Smith & we do
not think black leaders can do the contribution.
We need a system of majority ~~control~~

w/ minority rights & a oppo for econ prog.
Which I could say process is completed, but
decisions still have to be made by ~~US~~ with
& - black leaders. The danger of a failure
of draft & would be awful for Africa.

T. I recall our conversation last time we
met. I spoke of the need to identify w/
African aspirations. You have taken a
bold decision for Africa & a kind of our
operations. Your risk was a truth.
To speak frankly, US presence should never
be absent in Africa. But others are
trying to emphasize their presence & to
minimize US role.

I have put my whole life into making for
Africa. I took the risk of entry w/ V. for
that end. He did not follow my advice,
unfortunately. There comes she gets into
sympathy w/ V. - better - I have to search
- not entirely. I afraid of breakdown &
involvement of other forces. It happened
in Angola & it could happen. Try African
colleagues something about US. I telling
them they must have faith. You have
started now & if you continue, I think
this way attitude of doubt will evaporate.
Hopeful that something positive will come
from this. We must have integrity
we but minority rights must be
protected. These are basic ~~two~~ truths
which must be followed.

Anything I can do I will do willingly.

It a question now of proceeding w/ appeal.
~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~matter~~ ~~of~~ ~~appeal~~. What you're doing
P We will continue our efforts. There are ^{all ways} ~~ways~~
since. I feel from message get that time
is of essence + we must move forward
T That is true. Koster has indicated he has a
key. If he will just allow his control over
Uganda. ~~but~~ Swaps must be worked.
Nothing can be done w/ swaps. S.A. must
be represented as well, since it has
de facto control. He also has influence over
Smith & bring him to reason. We have
to stop to talk sometimes & why not now,
before all is bloodshed. It is best for all
humanity.

P ~~we hope to~~ ~~see~~ We will do our best. A
few extra fingers might be helpful.
T We will seek help from wherever it
lets ~~be~~ ~~helped~~.

People say - freedom fighters are crucial.
Maybe some of them are, but I think
only way to resolve a prob is present.
~~to~~ ~~the~~ Deit embassy Mogadishu &
Angola. They might eventually can be
brought in w/ a front line state.

P You think there is hope w/ regard to
Uganda & veto to remove outside pressure.

T Remember when ^{Guinea} ~~the~~ became help.
The US was slow - prob because of relation w/
France - & Guinea had no choice w/
them & credits for help.

My wish is that American presence will
eventually be dominant in Africa.

P We think we could be constructive

T That's why I want your there

P We ~~feel~~ feel strongly about our system - you have some + we hope to spread those ideas.

T I have declared war on disease, ignorance + poverty. If my attempt we fight them today so we aren't overwhelmed tomorrow. I very distressed when I see the poverty, ignorance in some areas. I want to prevent it + I would like your help. I want to fight them not only for their own sake but to help those people from being indoctrinated.

P We want to help. We must be realistic the obvious limits under which we operate. If things parts, it will be diff. to get more out of copy. So this ~~copy~~ effect is broader than that currently.

T We are optimistic.