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The White House
Washington

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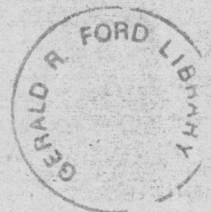
MONROVIA JULY 20 1975

THE PRESIDENT

WHITE HOUSE

MY GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND CMA WE IN LIBERIA HAVE
RECEIVED WITH DEEP SATISFACTION AND PROFOUND
GRATIFICATION THE JOYOUS NEWS OF THE SUCCESSFUL
EVENT OF A LINK-UP IN SPACE BETWEEN THE
AMERICAN APOLLO AND THE RUSSIAN SOYUZ 19
SPACECRAFTS FORMING A SPACETRAIN WHICH PERMITTED
EXCHANGE OF VISITS IN SPACE BY THE RUSSIAN

COSMONAUTS AND THE AMERICA ASTRONAUTS WHO WARMLY
GREETED EACH OTHER AS FRIENDS AND ENABLED THEM
TO PERFORM JOINT EXPERIMENTS OF GREAT SCIENTIFIC
VALUE TO MANKIND STOP THIS REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT
IS NO DOUBT AN AFFIRMATION OF THE CORRECTNESS
OF A POLICY OF OBJECTIVE COOPERATION BY
AMERICAN AND SOVIET SCIENTISTS CMA DESIGNERS CMA



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6 ENGINEERS AND SPACEMEN WHICH NOW OPENS VAST NEW
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8 POSSIBILITIES IN THE PURSUIT OF SCIENTIFIC
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10 KNOWLEDGE FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES STOP IT IS OUR
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12 FERVENT HOPE THAT THIS TYPE OF INTERNATIONAL
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14 COOPERATION IN SPACE TECHNOLOGY WILL REFLECT
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16 ITSELF IN ALL AREAS OF HUMAN ENDEAVOURS BRINGING
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6 TOGETHER ALL MEN TO GOODWILL EVERYWHERE SO THAT
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8 THE RESOURCES OF THIS PLANET WILL BE UTILIZED
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10 FOR THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING
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12 AND THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF PEACE
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14 AND SECURITY THROUGHOUT OUR ONE WORLD STOP ON
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16 BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF LIBERIA
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6 EYE EXTEND HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS TO YOUR
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8 EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE
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10 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THROUGH YOU TO
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12 THE DAUNTLESS AND GALLANT ASTRONAUTS FOR THEIR
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14 INDEFATIGABLE AND DEDICATED SERVICES TO HUMANITY
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16 STOP IN COMMEMORATION OF THIS OUTSTANDING FEAT
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6 OF ACHIEVEMENT IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY THE
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8 GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA HAS COMMISSIONED THE
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10 STRIKING OF POSTAGE STAMPS WHICH WILL BE USED
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12 FOR MAIL DISTRIBUTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD
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14 EVIDENCING OUR BELIEF IN THE NEED OF COMMUNICATION
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16 AS A PREREQUISITE TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR
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HUMAN PROGRESS CMA ADVANCEMENT AND WORLD PEACE
STOP WITH RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST
CONSIDERATION AND PERSONAL ESTEEM SIMCERELY
WR TOLBERT JR

FORM 0605 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U.S.A.



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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NODIS

EO 11652; XGDS
TAGS: PFOR, AQ, LI
SUBJ: PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD ON ANGOLA

REF: MONROVIA 0107

1. FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS GAVE ME PHOTOCOPY OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD HANDED BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT TO SPECIAL AMBASSADOR SPAULDING, HEAD OF USDEL TO TOLBERT'S INAUGURATION. FOLLOWING TEXT:

2. QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE YOUR TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGE INFORMING ME OF YOUR VIEWS ON THE UNFORTUNATE AND DISTRESSING SITUATION IN ANGOLA AND ALSO TO LEARN FIRST HAND OF THE OBJECTIVE OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IN THAT COUNTRY. AS I HAVE ALWAYS ENDEAVOURED TO ADVOCATE THAT ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN WITH FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE PEACE AND PROGRESS OF AFRICA AND THE WORLD, THE LINE OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN INTERESTED WORLD LEADERS PARTICULARLY YOU AND ME SHOULD BE COMPLETELY OPEN, I WISH TO STATE BY OWN THINKING ON THIS FRATRICIDAL CONFLICT.

MY GOVERNMENT IS DEEPLY CONCERNED AND DISTURBED THAT AFTER SOME 500 YEARS OF COLONIALISM, THE ANGOLOAN PEOPLE, IN SPITE OF THEIR RECENTLY WON INDEPENDENCE AFTER A PROTRACTED PERIOD OF STRUGGLE, ARE STILL DENIED THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE AND UNITY AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF PROGRESS. WHILE THIS SITUATION IS IN PART A RESULT OF THE FAILURE OF THE THREE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines state review 9/16/03

By lh, NARA, Date 3/6/04



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 MONROV 00130 081654Z

TO UNITE AND CONSOLIDATE THEIR EFFORTS, IT HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY THE UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE OF FORCES EXTERNAL TO THAT COUNTRY. THIS FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT ON THE PART OF MAJOR AND OTHER POWERS CONSTITUTES A THREAT NOT ONLY TO ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE AND AFRICAN UNITY BUT ALSO TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. IT WAS IN FULL REALIZATION OF THIS FACT THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN CALLING UPON ALL OF THE COUNTRIES PROVIDING MILITARY AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO THE FACTIONS TO DESIST THEREFROM SINCE SUCH ASSISTANCE WOULD ONLY CONTRIBUTE FURTHER TO THE PROLONGATION OF THE SUFFERING OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE.

FURTHERMORE, THIS IS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL REASONS WHY LIBERIA HAS NOT RECOGNIZED ANY OF THE FACTIONS WHICH CLAIM TO BE REPRESENTING THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA. FOR WE REMAIN PERSUADED THAT ONLY A GOVERNMENT OF A NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, A GOVERNMENT WHICH EMBODIES ALL OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE IN THEIR UNITY AND SINGLENESS OF PURPOSE CAN BE THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF ANOLA. TO THIS CONVICTION WE REMAIN COMMITTED, AND THIS IS WHY WE HAVE BEEN HEARTENED TO LEARN THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT SHARES A SIMILAR VIEW ON THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION.

AS YOU HAVE NOTED, WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE FORTHCOMING SUMMIT OF THE OAU WHICH WILL CONVENE NEXT WEEK IN ETHIOPIA IN ORDER TO ENDEAVOUR TO EVOLVE A FORMULA THAT WILL END THE CONFLICT AND BRING PEACE TO ANGOLA. ALTHOUGH I WILL NOT ATTEND THE SUMMIT IN PERSON DUE TO URGENT MATTERS ASSOCIATED WITH MY INAUGURATION AND THE FORMATION OF MY NEW GOVERNMENT, I WILL, NONETHELESS, BE REPRESENTED BY A HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION HEADED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, THE HONOURABLE JAMES E. GREENE.

BASICALLY, WE CONSIDER A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN ANGOLA TO BE BASED ON PROPOSALS THAT WILL LEAD TO A NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SOLUTION. AND WE SHALL CLEARLY ADVOCATE THIS APPROACH AT THE FORTHCOMING OAU MEETING: A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD SEEK TO ACHIEVE, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND AN END TO ALL HOSTILITIES BY ALL PARTIES CONCERNED IN THE CONFLICT; A COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, MILITARY AND PARA-MILITARY, INCLUDING THE MASSIVE SUPPLY OF ARMS; THE COMING TOGETHER OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE MOVEMENTS

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PAGE 03 MONROV 02130 081654z

FOR ANGOLA; AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. WE ARE HAPPY TO NOTE THAT THIS APPROACH APPEARS TO BE IN CONSONANCE WITH YOUR OWN THINKING ON THIS GRAVE AND SERIOUS MATTER. WE ALSO COMMEND YOU IN YOUR EFFORTS THAT SEEK TO OBTAIN A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET AND ALL FOREIGN FORCES, INCLUDING THOSE OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH HAVE INTERVENED IN THE FRATRICIDAL CONFLICT IN ANGOLA. WE WISH FOR YOU SUCCESS IN THESE INITIATIVES.

I FULLY WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR THE EXCHANGE OF VIEW WITH YOU ON THIS URGENT MATTER AS I ENTERTAIN THE HOPE THAT BEFORE LONG A JUST AND ENDURING SOLUTION TO THIS VEXING PROBLEM CAN BE FORTHCOMING.

IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT IN THE NEW YEAR AT HAND, THE ENLIVENING JOYS OF THE PAST YULETIDE WILL GENERATE AN INSATIABLE AWARENESS OF THE URGENT NEED FOR CLOSER HUMAN CONTACT SO THAT EARNEST COMMUNICATION CAN ENSUE, AND THESE JOYS WILL ENGENDER FOR MANKIND EVERYWHERE GENUINE UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION FOR OUR ONE WORLD'S PROBLEMS IN THE INTEREST OF LASTING PEACE AND PROGRESS HERE ON EARTH.

WITH SENTIMENTS OF HIGHEST ESTEEM AND BEST WISHES FOR YOUR PERSONAL WELL-BEING AND FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. SINCERELY, W.R. TOLBERT, JR.
END QUOTE.
BEAN

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EXDIS
E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, AO, LI, US
SUBJECT: SOVIET-CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA
REF: MONROVIA 1293

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT TO PRESIDENT FORD WHICH WAS HANDED TO ME BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT THIS MORNING IN A MEETING CALLED AT HIS REQUEST. IT IS THE TEXT OF THE LETTER REFERRED TO IN PARA 6 OF REFTEL. MY COMMENTS FOLLOW SEPTEL. ORIGINAL TEXT OF LETTER WILL BE POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT.

2. QTE: MR. PRESIDENT: THANK YOU FOR THE KIND SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED IN YOUR MESSAGE OF EARLY FEBRUARY, REGARDING THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON THE UNFORTUNATE ANGOLAN SITUATION. I WELCOME ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY VIEWS ON THIS PROBLEM, AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES, INDEED ALL PEACE-LOVING NATIONS, WILL CONTINUE TO DO THE UTMOST IN ENDEAVOURING TO ENSURE THAT THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE, SELF-DETERMINATION AND PROSPERITY WILL BE ENJOYED NOT ONLY BY ALL AFRICANS, BUT BY MANKIND EVERYWHERE.

LIBERIA'S POSITION HAS LONG REMAINED CONSISTENT WITH THAT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY: THAT A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THE ANGOLAN TRAGEDY LIES IN THE IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND THE INITIATION OF CONSULTATIONS AMONG AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. AND I HAVE THEREFORE PERSONALLY SEIZED EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO URGE THE LEADERS OF THE THREE CONTENDING FACTIONS TO CLOSE RANKS, FORM A UNITED FRONT, AND NOT ALLOW EXTERNAL DETRACTORS TO DETER THEM FROM THIS COURSE.

AS YOU ALREADY KNOW, IN LATE JANUARY I WAS THE GUEST OF PRESIDENT IDI AMIN DADA OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA WHERE I PARTICIPATED IN THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF HIS COMING TO POWER. THE OCCA-

*****HHSR COMMENT*****

SCOWCROFT, HYLAND, LL

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines State Rev. no 9/16/03
By lhd, NARA, Date 3/6/04

SION WHICH WAS ALSO GRACED BY THE PRESENCE OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU SESE SEKO OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE AND PRESIDENT JEAN BEDEL BOKASSA OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AFFORDED A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY BOTH TO REAFFIRM OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO THE OBJECTIVE OF UPHOLDING ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE AND TO DISCUSS THE IMMINENT THREAT TO AFRICAN SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY.

AS I INDICATED IN MY MORE RECENT LETTER, WITH WHICH I FORWARDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION, COPY OF A STATEMENT ON ANGOLA MADE BY THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE 13TH INSTANT, NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ANGOLAN SITUATION HAVE ONLY BUTTRESSED THE CONSISTENCY OF LIBERIA'S VIEWS WITH THOSE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, DIRECTED CONTINUINGLY TOWARDS PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE. THIS IS WHY, FOLLOWING MAJORITY DECISION OF THE OAU TO RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA AND TO ADMIT IT TO FULL MEMBERSHIP, LIBERIA DECIDED TO EXTEND RECOGNITION TO THAT GOVERNMENT, AND SHE DID SO WITH THE FERVENT HOPE AND TRUST THAT THAT ACT WOULD ASSIST IN OCCASIONING AN EARLY TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES, IN BRINGING GENUINE CONCILIATION, AND IN SECURING AN ENDURING AND JUST SOLUTION TO THE DISTRESSFUL CONFLICT.

WHILE WE SHALL NOT FAIL TO URGE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA TO BE AS MAGNANIMOUS IN VICTORY AS SHE WAS DECISIVE IN THE STRUGGLE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE POST-ANGOLAN ERA OF SOUTHERN AFRICA OFFERS SUCH CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES AS MAY REQUIRE THE URGENT AND VIGOROUS DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES OF COUNTRIES SUCH AS YOUR OWN, SINCE A PEACEFUL CHANGE AND A STABLE WORLD ORDER ARE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES WHICH I AM CERTAIN WE SHARE IN COMMON.

IT CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED REALISTIC FOR ONE TO PERCEIVE THAT WITH THE LEGALIZATION AND LEGITIMIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, BY THE ACTS OF RECOGNITION BY THE OAU MEMBERSHIP, THE CUBAN FORCES AND THE SOVIET INTERVENTION WHICH WERE DECISIVE FACTORS IN THIS MPLA VICTORY ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA IMMEDIATELY. IT WOULD ONLY BE REASONABLE FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY WILL REMAIN TO HELP CONSOLIDATE THE MPLA IN POWER. MORE THAN THAT, IT IS REASONABLE TO BELIEVE THAT THE CUBANS AND RUSSIANS COULD CHOOSE TO REMAIN IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ACTIVELY AID THE ON-GOING STRUGGLE TO LIBERATE NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE, AND PERHAPS EVEN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. AND THEY MAY NO DOUBT BE ENCOURAGED BY A UNITED AFRICA WHICH IS NOW DETERMINED AND WHOLLY COMMITTED TO LIBERATE ITS CONTINENTAL HOMELAND.

AS SUCH, A NEW FEVER OF INCANDESCENCE MAY RISE HIGH IN THE AFRICAN THEATER.

I NEED NOT MENTION THE CLEAR THREAT SUCH A LIKELY PROSPECT HOLDS NOT ONLY FOR AFRICAN PEACE AND PROGRESS BUT ALSO FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. FOR AFRICA WOULD THEN FIND HERSELF, WITH THE SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT FROM CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, IN A HEAD-ON COLLISION WITH THE REMNANTS OF COLONIALISM IN THE SUB-REGION, ESPECIALLY THE APARTHEID REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA.

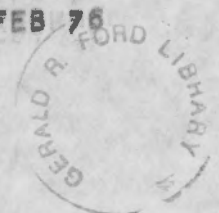
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I WOULD WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT THESE THOUGHTS ARE COMING FROM ONE WHO PREFERS TO FACE REALITIES CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND WITH CONSISTENCY. AS I AM COMMITTED AND UNDER OBLIGATION TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN MY POWER TO ASSIST IN BRINGING PEACE AND SECURITY TO OUR ONE WORLD, MANKIND BEING MY CHALLENGE, I DO NOT HESITATE TO COMMUNICATE MY CONCERN TO THOSE WHO ARE POSSESSED WITH GOOD-WILL AND WHO IN SOME MANNER HAVE THE POWER TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.

IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN YOUR GOVERNMENT AND THAT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA HAVE FORTUNATELY REMAINED OPEN, I WISH TO SUGGEST, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT THE CRITICAL SCENARIO WHICH I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DESCRIBE HEREIN COULD BE SEEN AS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR COUNTRIES SUCH AS YOUR OWN TO URGENTLY UNDERTAKE DIPLOMATIC MEASURES DESIGNED TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO GRANT IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA, AND PERSUASIVELY URGE MR. SMITH TO MAKE POSSIBLE MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

SUCH TIMELY POSITIVE ACTIONS BY MR. VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND MR. SMITH OF ZIMBABWE WOULD CONSIDERABLY STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THOSE AFRICAN LEADERS WHO SHARE VIEWS SIMILAR TO MINE AND AID IN BRINGING SUCCESS TO APPROPRIATE INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WITHOUT CONTINUING BLOODSHED. THEY WOULD FURTHER, IN MY OPINION, CONTRIBUTE IMMEASURABLY TO PEACEFUL CHANGE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, AND COULD SURELY REMOVE THE SERIOUS THREAT WHICH PROSPECTIVE CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA POSE TO WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY.

WITH SENTIMENTS OF HIGHEST ESTEEM AND CONSIDERATION,
SINCERELY, W.R. TOLBERT, JR. UNQTE.

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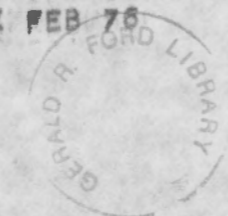
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President did not see.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1598

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

ACTION
April 10, 1976

JBI

Wm 3/6/04

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Brent Scowcroft *BS*
SUBJECT: Suggested Reply to a Letter from William R. Tolbert, Jr., President of Liberia

Recently President Tolbert wrote to you concerning Liberia's recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola (MPLA) and urging you to use your good offices to attempt to avert potential violence in southern Africa (Tab B).

I recommend that you acknowledge President Tolbert's letter and have attached a suggested text (Tab A). In addition to thanking President Tolbert for his views, in your reply you assure him that the United States desires a negotiated settlement to the problems confronting southern Africa, that you strongly support majority rule in Rhodesia, independence for Namibia and an end to apartheid in South Africa. You express your hope that these goals can be achieved by the process of peaceful change and that the United States will do what it can to encourage that process. You also express your concern over the threat posed to Africa by the Soviet and Cuban intervention there and your feeling that the problems of southern Africa should be resolved by the Africansthemselfes.

Doug Smith of Robert Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the proposed reply.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter to President Tolbert at Tab A.



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Tab I sub 67 4-10
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CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)

ACTION

March 31, 1976

W 3/6/04

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: Hal Horan *HH*

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence: Suggested Reply
to a Letter from William R. Tolbert, Jr.,
President of Liberia.

President Tolbert wrote the President on February 26 giving the reasons for Liberia's recognition of the Government of People's Republic of Angola (MPLA), and expressing his concern over the problems confronting southern Africa.

I recommend that the President acknowledge this correspondence and have attached a draft reply. Doug Smith of Robert Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the proposed letter (Tab A).

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to the President the memorandum at Tab I.



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

February 26, 1976

Mr. President:

Thank you for the kind sentiments expressed in your message of early February, regarding the Liberian Government's views on the unfortunate Angolan situation. I welcome another opportunity to continue to share with you my views on this problem, and express the hope that our two countries, indeed all peace-loving nations, will continue to do the utmost in endeavouring to ensure that the blessings of peace, self-determination and prosperity will be enjoyed not only by all Africans, but by mankind everywhere.

Liberia's position has long remained consistent with that of the Organization of African Unity: That a just and lasting solution to the Angolan tragedy lies in the immediate cessation of hostilities and the initiation of consultations among authentic representatives of the people leading to the formation of a Government of National Unity. And I have therefore personally seized every opportunity to urge the leaders of the three contending factions to close ranks, form a united front, and not allow external detractors to deter them from this course.

As you already know, in late January I was the guest of President Idi Amin Dada of the Republic of Uganda where I participated in the Fifth Anniversary Celebrations of his

His Excellency Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States of America
The White House, Washington D.C.,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines *State review 9/16/03*
By *tda*, NARA, Date *3/6/04*

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

- 2 -

coming to power. The occasion which was also graced by the presence of President Mobutu Sese Seko of the Republic of Zaire and President Jean Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic afforded a unique opportunity both to reaffirm our common commitment to the objective of upholding Angolan independence and to discuss the imminent threat to African solidarity and security.

As I indicated in my more recent letter, with which I forwarded for your information copy of a statement on Angola made by the Liberian Government on the 13th instant, new development in the Angolan situation have only buttressed the consistency of Liberia's views with those of the Organization of African Unity, directed continually towards peace, reconciliation and the consolidation of Angolan independence. This is why, following majority decision of the OAU to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and to admit it to full membership, Liberia decided to extend recognition to that Government. And she did so with the fervent hope and trust that that act would assist in occasioning an early termination of hostilities, in bringing genuine conciliation, and in securing an enduring and just solution to the distressful conflict.



While we shall not fail to urge the Government of the People's Republic of Angola to be as magnanimous in victory as she was decisive in the struggle, we believe that the post-Angola era of Southern Africa offers such challenges and opportunities as may require the urgent and vigorous diplomatic initiatives of countries such as your own, since a peaceful change and a stable world order are important objectives which I am certain we share in common.

It can only be considered realistic for one to perceive that with the legalization and legitimization of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, by the acts of recognition by the OAU Membership, the Cuban forces and the Soviet intervention which were decisive factors in this MPLA victory are not likely to be withdrawn from Angola immediately. It would only be reasonable for us to recognize that they will remain to help consolidate the MPLA in power. More than that, it is reasonable to believe that the Cubans and Russians could choose to remain in Southern Africa and actively aid the on-going struggle to liberate Namibia, Zimbabwe, and perhaps even apartheid South Africa. And they may no doubt be encouraged by a united Africa which is now determined and wholly committed to liberate its continental homeland.



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As such, a new fever of incandescence may rise high in the African theater.

I need not mention the clear threat such a likely prospect holds not only for African peace and progress but also for international peace and security. For Africa would then find herself, with the substantial support from Cuba and the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, in a head-on collision with the remnants of colonialism in the sub-region, especially the apartheid regime of South Africa.

I would want you to understand that these thoughts are coming from one who prefers to face realities conscientiously and with consistency. As I am committed and under obligation to do everything within my power to assist in bringing peace and security to our one world, mankind being my challenge, I do not hesitate to communicate my concern to those who are possessed with good-will and who in some manner have the power to influence the course of international events.

In view of the fact that the channels of communication between your Government and that of the Republic of South Africa have fortunately remained open, I wish to suggest, Mr. President, that the critical scenario which I have attempted to describe herein could be seen as unique opportunity for countries such as your own to urgently undertake



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

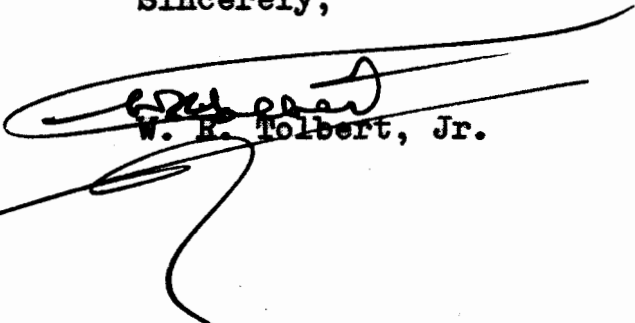
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diplomatic measures designed to persuade South Africa to grant immediate independence to Namibia, and persuasively urge Mr. Smith to make possible majority rule in Zimbabwe without further delay.

Such timely positive actions by Mr. Vorster of South Africa and Mr. Smith of Zimbabwe would considerably strengthen the hands of those African leaders who share views similar to mine and aid in bringing success to appropriate initiatives designed to resolve the crisis in Southern Africa without continuing bloodshed. They would further, in my opinion, contribute immeasurably to peaceful change on the African continent, and could surely remove the serious threat which prospective conditions in Southern Africa pose to world peace and security.

With sentiments of highest esteem and consideration,

Sincerely,


W. R. Tolbert, Jr.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Smith:

I am returning the original copy you sent me on the Presidential reply to Liberia's President Tolbert.

Attached is a copy of the remarks with my editing.

MJ
3/25/76



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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3/23/76

TO: Doug Smith
Mr. Hartmann's Office

FROM: Hal Horan, ^{HA}Rm 301, OEOB x5022

SUBJECT: Presidential Reply to Liberia's
President Tolbert

For your clearance.

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RECEIVED
MAR 23 1976
NSA

DRAFT
3/23/76

Dear Mr. President:

I am most grateful to you for the frank expression of your views on the issues of majority rule and racial justice in southern Africa expressed in your letter of February 26 and in your comments to our Charge in Monrovia.

The United States ^{and Liberia} share ~~with Liberia~~ ^{many of} the same goals in southern Africa. We strongly support majority rule in Rhodesia, independence for Namibia, and an end to apartheid in South Africa. We remain hopeful that these goals can be achieved by the process of peaceful change, and we will continue to do what we can to encourage that process. Our determination to be helpful is reflected in recent public statements that both I and Secretary Kissinger have made concerning ^{US} our support for majority rule ~~and minority rights~~ in southern Africa. We will give no encouragement to ~~illegal~~ ^{minority} regimes. ~~and~~ We will continue to express the view that rapid change is required and that the opportunity for negotiated solutions must be seized.

At the same time, we remain deeply concerned over the threat posed to Africa and to the world by the large number of Cuban troops, supported by Soviet arms and advisers, in Angola. We believe the problems of Angola and of southern Africa should be settled by the Africans themselves, and we have made known our willingness to accept whatever agreements the Africans reach. We have nothing



against the MPLA per se in Angola and, in fact, we quickly moved to establish relations with another government of similar ideology -- the People's Republic of Mozambique -- after it achieved independence.

Events in Angola as common factor
From the experience of Angola we are concerned that the Soviets and Cubans may be misled to believe they have the right to impose *can, with impunity* ~~themselves~~ *they will* ~~with~~ *in* governments in Africa or elsewhere in the world. It is our common interest to demonstrate clearly that we will not allow them to decide who will govern independent and sovereign countries.

I hope that we shall continue to keep in close touch on these matters of mutual concern so that I may have the benefit of your insight and advice.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert
President of Liberia
Monrovia

*OK on amended
3/26/76
J. Smith*

*OK
for Smith
3/29/2:30*



DR. H. T.
3/23/76

49

no fed
[Signature]

Dear Mr. President:

I am most grateful to you for the frank expression of your views on the issues of majority rule and racial justice in southern Africa expressed in your letter of February 26 and in your comments to our Charge in Monrovia.

The United States ^{and Liberia} share ~~with Liberia~~ the same goals in southern Africa. We strongly support majority rule in Rhodesia, independence for Namibia, and an end to apartheid ~~in South Africa~~. We remain hopeful that these goals can be achieved ⁱⁿ ~~by the process of peace~~ ~~change~~ and we will continue to do what we can ~~to encourage that~~ ^{toward that end?} ~~process~~. Our ^{desire} ~~determination~~ to be helpful is reflected in recent public statements that both I and Secretary Kissinger have made ^{US} concerning our support for majority rule ~~and minority rights~~ in southern Africa. We will ^{offer} ~~give~~ no encouragement to ~~racial~~ ^{transitory} regimes.

~~and~~ we will continue to express the view that rapid change is required and that the opportunity for negotiated solutions must be seized.

At the same time, we remain deeply concerned over the threat posed to Africa and to the world by the large number of Cuban troops, supported by Soviet arms and advisers, in Angola. We believe the problems of Angola and of southern Africa should be settled by the Africans themselves, and we have made known our willingness to accept whatever agreements the Africans reach. We have nothing

against the MPLA per se in Angola and, in fact we quickly moved to establish relations with another government of similar ideology -- the People's Republic of Mozambique -- after it achieved independence.

From the experience of Angola we are concerned that the Soviets and Cubans may be misled to believe they have the right to impose *their* will on governments in Africa or elsewhere in the world. It is our common interest to demonstrate clearly that we will not allow them to decide who will govern independent and sovereign countries.

I hope that we shall continue to keep in close touch on these matters of mutual concern so that I may have the benefit of your insight and advice.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert
President of Liberia
Monrovia



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3/23/76

TO: Doug Smith
Mr. Hartmann's Office

FROM: Hal Horan, ^{HA}Rm 301, OEOB x5022

SUBJECT: Presidential Reply to Liberia's -
President Tolbert

For your clearance.





DRAFT
3/23/76

Dear Mr. President:

I am most grateful to you for the frank expression of your views on the issues of majority rule and racial justice in southern Africa expressed in your letter of February 26 and in your comments to our Charge in Monrovia.

The United States shares with Liberia the same goals in southern Africa. We strongly support majority rule in Rhodesia, independence for Namibia, and an end to apartheid in South Africa. We remain hopeful that these goals can be achieved by the process of peaceful change, and we will continue to do what we can to encourage that process. Our determination to be helpful is reflected in recent public statements that both I and Secretary Kissinger have made concerning ^{US} our support for majority rule ~~and minority rights~~ ^{minority} in southern Africa. We will give no encouragement to ~~illegal~~ regimes,

and we will continue to express the view that rapid change is required and that the opportunity for negotiated solutions must be seized.

At the same time, we remain deeply concerned over the threat posed to Africa and to the world by the large numbers of Cuban troops, supported by Soviet arms and advisers, in Angola. We believe the problems of Angola and of southern Africa should be settled by the Africans themselves, and we have made known our willingness to accept whatever agreements the Africans reach. We have nothing



against the MPLA per se in Angola and in fact we quickly moved to establish relations with another government of similar ideology -- the People's Republic of Mozambique -- after it achieved independence.

From the experience of Angola we are concerned that the Soviets and Cubans may be misled to believe they have the right to impose governments in Africa or elsewhere in the world. It is our common interest to demonstrate clearly that we will not allow them to decide who will govern independent and sovereign countries.

I hope that we shall continue to keep in close touch on these matters of mutual concern so that I may have the benefit of your insight and advice.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert
President of Liberia
Monrovia





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

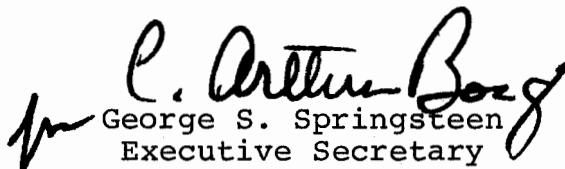
Washington, D.C. 20520

March 18, 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Suggested Presidential Response to
President Tolbert of Liberia

The attached letter is a suggested Presidential response to President Tolbert's February 26 letter to President Ford (also attached) in which Tolbert discussed Liberia's recognition of the MPLA, and urged President Ford to use his good office to attempt to avert potential violence in southern Africa.

In addition to thanking Tolbert for his views, President Ford's letter assures him that the United States still desires a negotiated settlement to the problems confronting southern Africa and will consider peaceful means of increasing pressure on Rhodesia and South Africa in order to bring this settlement about.


George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

As stated

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GDS

Wn 3/6/76



SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Mr. President:

I am most grateful to you for the frank expression of your views in your letter of February 26th and in your comments and those of your Foreign Minister to our Charge in Monrovia. Coming at a time when the burning issues of majority rule and racial justice in southern Africa have become a focus of worldwide attention, your views have been of particular value to me.

~~As I am sure you are aware, I fully share your apprehension over the increasing prospects for a violent solution to these problems. Let me also reassure you that the United States continues to support majority rule in Rhodesia, independence in Namibia and an end to apartheid in South Africa.~~

As for Namibia, we supported the United Nations Security Council resolution withdrawing South Africa's mandate in that territory, and we accepted the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice upholding the Security Council decision. We view South Africa's occupation as illegal and have urged them to withdraw and permit the exercise of self-determination under UN auspices by the people of Namibia.

His Excellency,
William R. Tolbert, Jr.,
President of the Republic of Liberia,
Monrovia.

Department of State



independence for Namibia and an end
to apartheid in South Africa.

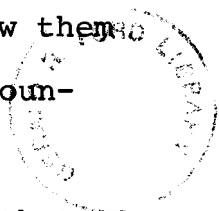
We strongly support majority rule for Rhodesia.

~~I think therefore that the United States and Liberia~~
~~continue to seek the same goals in southern Africa.~~ We
continue to believe that these goals should be achieved by
peaceful negotiations and non-violent change rather than
violent confrontation.

Shares
with

We also remain deeply concerned, as we were in Angola,
over the threat posed to Africa and to the world by the
presence of large numbers of Cuban troops supported by
Soviet arms and advisors in Africa. We believe ~~that all~~ the
problems of southern Africa should be settled by the Africans
themselves and we have made known our willingness to accept
whatever agreements the Africans reach. We have nothing
against the MPLA per se in Angola and in fact we quickly
moved to establish relations with another government of
similar ideology - The Peoples Republic of Mozambique - soon
after it achieved independence.

The ~~our~~ concern ^{for us stemming from the Angolan situation} ~~(over Soviet and Cuban involvement of the~~
~~type witnessed in Angola is that~~ ^(the Soviets and Cubans may) ~~they should not be allowed~~
~~to be misled~~
~~aged~~ to believe they have the right to impose governments in
Africa or elsewhere in the world. It is in our common
interest to demonstrate clearly that we will not allow them
to decide who will govern independent and sovereign coun-
tries.



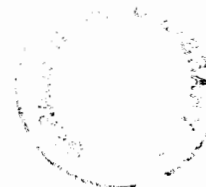
~~we~~, ^{we} ~~for our part,~~ are prepared to consider ways that we
might give suitable support to the achievement of the goals
we share for ~~majority rule in Rhodesia, UN supervised~~
~~southern Africa~~

~~independence in Namibia, and an end to apartheid in South Africa.~~

I wish to assure you that I view the present situation with deep concern. In Rhodesia, which is the area of greatest current interest, the white minority regime perhaps faces its last opportunity to negotiate the transition to majority rule. ⁴I hope that we shall continue to keep in close touch as the situation develops so that I may have the benefit of your insights and your advice.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford



41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I am most grateful to you for the frank expression of your views on the issues of majority rule and racial justice in southern Africa expressed in your letter of February 26 and in your comments to our Chargé in Monrovia.

The United States and Liberia share many of the same goals in southern Africa. We strongly support majority rule in Rhodesia, independence for Namibia, and an end to apartheid in South Africa. We remain hopeful that these goals can be achieved by the process of peaceful change, and we will continue to do what we can to encourage that process. Our determination to be helpful is reflected in recent public statements that both I and Secretary Kissinger have made concerning United States support for majority rule in southern Africa. We will give no encouragement to minority regimes. We will continue to express the view that rapid change is required and that the opportunity for negotiated solutions must be seized.

At the same time, we remain deeply concerned over the threat posed to Africa and to the world by the large number of Cuban troops, supported by Soviet arms and advisers, in Angola. We believe the problems of Angola and of southern Africa should be settled by the Africans themselves, and we have made known our willingness to accept whatever agreements the Africans reach. We have nothing against the MPLA per se in Angola and, in fact, we quickly moved to establish



relations with another government of similar ideology -- the People's Republic of Mozambique -- after it achieved independence.

Events in Angola give us concern lest the Soviets and Cubans be misled to believe they can, with impunity, impose their will in Africa or elsewhere. It is our common interest to demonstrate clearly that we will not allow them to decide who will govern independent and sovereign countries.

I hope that we shall continue to keep in close touch on these matters of mutual concern so that I may have the benefit of your insight and advice.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.
President of Liberia
Monrovia



4m

DOC		RECD			LOG NUMBER
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR	7601653
3	18	3	18	17	

INITIAL ACTION 0

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES FROM: SECSTATE _____ S/S 7605663 UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT

SCOWCROFT _____ SECDEF _____ LOU NO FORN MODIS

HYLAND _____ DCI _____ X REF EYES ONLY EXDIS

DAVIS _____ STATE EXSEC S CODEWORD

OTHER _____ TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: Ack LTR to Pres from Tolbert Re Recognition of MPLA/Southern Africa/Angola & Cuban Intervention

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION				REC CY FOR
	ACTION	CONCURRENCE	COORDINATE	INFO
ADV CYS SCROFT/WGM				
STAFF SECRETARY				
CONGRESSIONAL				
ECONOMIC				
EUR/CANADA/OCEANS			X	X
FAR EAST/PRC				
INTELLIGENCE			X	X
LATIN AMERICA				
MID EAST/NO. AFRICA				
NSC PLANNING				
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				
SCIENTIFIC				
SUB-SAH/AFRICA/UN	X			X

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT _____

MEMO FOR PRES _____

REPLY FOR _____

APPROPRIATE ACTION _____

MEMO _____ TO _____

RECOMMENDATIONS _____

JOINT MEMO _____

REFER TO _____ FOR _____

ANY ACTION NECESSARY: _____

CONCURRENCE _____

DUE DATE: 3/22

COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	STATUS	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN)	DUE	CY TO
3/31		Staff	X	Pres for decision	4/1	
5-4		Notes				
4-10		Pres		Smith & Tolbert		
5-21		Notes		OBE		

NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH _____ NOTIFY _____

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____

SPECIAL INDEXING: _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED

MICROFILM & FILE ROOMS

M/F/D _____ BY _____

MAY 25 1976

CRT ID: _____

OPEN _____ WH SA FP

CLOSE _____ PA

1714



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 21, 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: State Visit Invitation from President
Gerald R. Ford to President William R. Tolbert, Jr.,
of Liberia (Ref NSC-1714, April 13, 1976)

The President has approved an invitation for President William R. Tolbert, Jr., of Liberia to make a State Visit to the United States at a mutually convenient time during the latter half of 1976. Attached is a suggested personal invitation from President Ford to President Tolbert.

Secretary Kissinger departs April 23 on a tour of Africa which includes a visit to Liberia on April 30. He would like to deliver the invitation personally to President Tolbert.

George S. Springsteen
George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Suggested letter from President Ford to
President Tolbert

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GDS

Wa 3/6/04



58

. SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Mr. President:

The celebration of the United States' bicentennial anniversary is an occasion to give particular attention to the relationships which have special historic importance for the American people. Over 20 million Americans trace their origin to the African continent, and our relations with Liberia date back over 150 years. I have, therefore, asked Secretary Kissinger to convey to you my invitation to participate in our bicentennial celebrations by making a state visit to this country at a mutually convenient date during the latter half of the year.

I hope you will be able to accept this invitation, for I believe your visit would permit us to demonstrate the importance Americans attach to Africa as well as the special place Liberia occupies in our affections. It also would allow you and me to discuss personally those issues affecting Africa and the United States which have been the subject of our correspondence since your last visit to Washington. I look forward to seeing you once again.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.,
President of the Republic of Liberia,
Monrovia.

Department of State



5c

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX
NSC-1714

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GDS

April 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

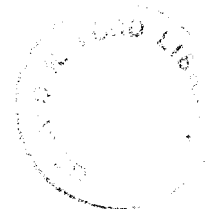
SUBJECT: State Visit for Liberian President Tolbert
(S/S 7605235)

The President has approved an invitation for President Tolbert to make a State Visit at a mutually convenient time to be determined. The Secretary may wish to convey the President's invitation to Tolbert during his forthcoming visit to Liberia. It will not be possible to provide a specific time frame for the visit because of the growing travel and schedule commitments for the President during the second half of the year. (For your planning, we would not expect that the visit could take place in August, but more likely to be considered in September or October, and would include an arrival ceremony, office meeting and dinner.) It should be understood that the invitation should not commit the President to a specific period other than at a mutually convenient time during the second half of the year.


Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GDS

wa 3/6/04



THE WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

TIME SENT:		RECEIVED:	
76 APR 13		PM 5:13	
LON NR: 434		DEPARTMENT OF STATE <i>WJ</i>	
PAGES: 1		SITUATION ROOM	
CIA _____	DIA/G _____	DESCRIPTION/COMMENT	
STATE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> _____	DIA/H _____		
NSCC _____	TREAS _____		
ANNCC _____	NPIC _____		
NSA _____	ERDA _____		
FROM: JEANNE DAVIS			
TO: GEORGE SPRINGSTEEN			
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY			
STATE DEPT.			

JNSC/S



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

DATE: March 31, 1976

FROM: Brent Scowcroft

with for

VIA: William Nicholson

MEETING: State visit by William R. Tolbert, Jr.,
President of Liberia

DATE: At a mutually convenient time in August or
September 1976

PURPOSE: To receive in the United States, during our
bicentennial year, the President of an African
nation with which we have special and long-
enduring ties.

FORMAT: - Arrival ceremony, Oval Office meeting
and black tie dinner

- Oval Office participants - President Tolbert,
Secretary Kissinger, Brent Scowcroft and
appropriate Liberian officials

- Expected length of Oval Office meeting -
60 minutes

CABINET
PARTICIPATION: Secretary Kissinger

SPEECH
MATERIAL: Arrival ceremony remarks, talking points, and
toast to be provided.

PRESS
COVERAGE: Full press coverage. Meeting to be announced.

STAFF: Brent Scowcroft

RECOMMEND: Brent Scowcroft

OPPOSED: None



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

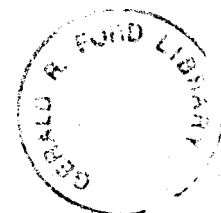
W 3/6/04

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: President Tolbert paid you an office call on November 5, 1974.

BACKGROUND: President Tolbert is the only African Head of State to be proposed for a state visit during the bicentennial year. He is recommended because of the unique historic relationship between our two countries as well as for his personal qualities as a moderate African leader. Because our special relationship with Liberia is widely recognized, this invitation would not need to be balanced or offset by invitations to other African heads of state. President Tolbert is a frequent visitor to the United States but is most anxious that his next visit here be a state visit.

I believe it is important for our overall relations with Africa that this invitation be extended. It would be welcomed by the Africans, as well as by important segments of the American public and Congress, as a sign of United States interest in Africa. The visit would also be beneficial to the maintenance of our close ties with Liberia where we have important political, economic and strategic interests.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____



MEMORANDUM

1714

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Sf
MH
AH
ST/12
L

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

Wa 3/6/04

ACTION

March 24, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: Hal Horan *HH*

SUBJECT: Request for State Visit for William R. Tolbert, Jr., President of Liberia

Subsequent to discussions I have had over the past couple of months with the African Bureau, the Department of State is now recommending that President Tolbert of Liberia be invited to pay a state visit to the United States during the bicentennial year (Tab B). For what reasons I am not sure, no African heads of state have been included on the global recommendation for 1976 state and official visits submitted by the Department. The Department of State believes, and I concur, that it is important in our bicentennial year that at least one African head of state be invited here for a state visit. President Tolbert is a highly recommended candidate. We have longstanding and special ties with Liberia, and a state visit by him will be recognized by the Africans as an appropriate symbol of U.S./African relations. In addition, a visit would be in keeping with President Tolbert's expressed desire that his next visit to the United States (he frequently comes here) be by formal invitation. A state visit would also be beneficial to the maintenance of our close ties with Liberia where we have important political, economic and strategic interests.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to the President the Schedule Proposal at Tab A recommending a state visit for President Tolbert.





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 22, 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: State Visit for President William R.
Tolbert Jr. - Liberia

The Department of State suggests that President Tolbert of Liberia be invited to pay a state visit to the United States during the bicentennial year. President Tolbert is the only African Head of State the Department will propose for a state visit during the bicentennial year. He has been selected because of the unique historic relationship between this country and Liberia, as well as for his personal qualities as a moderate African leader. Because our special relationship with Liberia is widely recognized, this invitation will not need to be balanced or offset by an invitation to any other African head of state.

Liberia was established as a haven for freed American slaves with the financial and material support of the United States Government. Throughout Liberia's early history the United States Government exercised its good offices to protect Liberia against encroachment by foreign powers. American private investment in Liberia has been substantial and now totals almost half a billion dollars. On a per capita basis our public assistance to Liberia has been the greatest on the African continent.

Liberian institutions are copied from American models. Liberians seeking education abroad usually attend American schools. The American dollar is

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GDS

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines, State Review 9/16/03

By hbk, NARA, Date 3/6/04



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

Liberia's currency. As their contribution to our special relationship, the Liberians have permitted us to site three strategic communications facilities in their country and they consistently have given us their diplomatic support on issues important to us, e.g. Korea, Zionism and Angola. A confidential agreement gives us military access to the country's principal airport and harbor in the event of national emergency.

A Baptist minister, President Tolbert has been a vigorous proponent of peaceful change in Africa. At some political risk he has endorsed publicly the concept of dialogue with South Africa. On repeated occasions he has helped negotiate disputes between African governments. He condemned Soviet and Cuban intervention in Angola. He corresponds frequently with President Ford and met with the President in November 1974 while in the United States to receive the Family of Man Award for his humanitarian activities.

A skilled statesman, Tolbert has been able to both retain a close association with the United States and maintain his credentials within the Third World community. A state visit to the United States would enhance his status in Africa and reassure him of American interest in Liberia at a moment when African moderates are worried by the MPLA's apparent victory in Angola.

The Department recommends that President Tolbert be invited to the United States on a state visit and suggests that this visit take place sometime in August.


George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



sh

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			LOG NUMBER
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR	
3	22	3	22	18	7601714

INITIAL ACTION 0

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: SECSTATE _____ S/S 7665235
 SCOWCROFT X SECDEF _____ 7609651
 HYLAND _____ DCI _____ X REF _____
 DAVIS _____ STATE EXEC X _____
 OTHER _____

UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT
 LOU NO FORM NODIS
 C EYES ONLY EXDIS
 S CODEWORD
 TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: *State proposed invitation to Pres Tolbert of Liberia to pay a state visit to US during Bicentennial year*

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION					REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
ADV CYS S'CROFT/WGH	ACTION	CONCURRENCE	COORDINATE	INFO		
<i>James</i>				<u>X</u>		MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT
CONGRESSIONAL						MEMO FOR PRES <u>X</u>
ECONOMIC						REPLY FOR _____
EUR/CANADA/OCEANS						APPROPRIATE ACTION _____
FAR EAST/PRC						MEMO _____ TO _____
INTELLIGENCE						RECOMMENDATIONS _____
LATIN AMERICA						JOINT MEMO _____
MID EAST/NO. AFRICA						REFER TO _____ FOR: _____
NSC PLANNING						ANY ACTION NECESSARY? _____
PROGRAM ANALYSIS						CONCURRENCE _____
SCIENTIFIC						DUE DATE: <u>3/20</u>
SUB-SAH/AFRICA/UN	<u>X</u>					COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	STATUS	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	DUE	CY TO
3-31		NSC/S				
3-24		S'croft		38 n SP to Nicholson		
3-31		NSC/S	<u>✓</u>	Scowcroft 580 SP to Nicholson <i>4/23 James</i>		
4/13				Davis 2nd memo to Spruill		
4/21				lead state 7607815 <i>James</i>		
4/22		James		5 Mem for Pres <i>4/23</i>		
4/22			<u>C</u>	see 7602313 for final action <i>4/23</i>		

NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH 10 10 up 3-31 NOTIFY _____

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____

SPECIAL INDEXING: 7602313

MICROFILM & FILE ROOMS

M/F/D _____ BY _____

CRT ID: 520 IF _____
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 CLOSE _____ WH SA FP _____
 PA _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

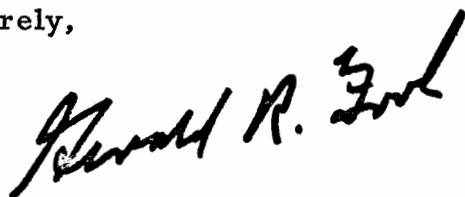
April 22, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

The celebration of the United States Bicentennial Anniversary this year will focus attention on relationships which have special historic importance for the American people. More than 20 million Americans trace their origin to the African continent, and our relations with Liberia date back to the early years of our Republic.

I have asked Secretary Kissinger to convey to you personally my invitation to pay a State visit to this country at a mutually convenient date during the latter half of our Bicentennial. I hope you will be able to accept this invitation, for I believe your visit would permit us to demonstrate the importance Americans attach to Africa and the special place Liberia occupies in our relations with other nations. It would also enable us to discuss personally those issues affecting Africa and the United States which have been the subject of our correspondence since your last visit to Washington.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
William R. Tolbert
President of Liberia
Monrovia



§ 4/22/76

b13

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)ACTION

wh 3/6/04

April 22, 1976

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*
SUBJECT: State Visit of Liberia's President Tolbert

You have approved a state visit for President Tolbert during our bicentennial celebrations at a mutually convenient date in the latter half of 1976. The Liberian Government has not been informed of this invitation, and in view of his pending visit to Liberia during his African trip, it would be appropriate for Secretary Kissinger to extend this invitation on your behalf. The Department of State has recommended that the Secretary deliver to President Tolbert a personal letter from you formally extending that invitation.

I concur in this recommendation and have attached an appropriate suggested letter. Doug Smith in Robert Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A to President Tolbert.



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

2313

AH
bc

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

wa 3/6/04

ACTION

April 20, 1976

*Relayed
JFK*

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: Hal Horan *HH*

SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence: Invitation to Liberia's President Tolbert to Make a State Visit in 1976.

Attached is a self-explanatory memo to the President forwarding for his signature an invitation to Liberian President Tolbert to make a state visit to the United States during the latter part of 1976. If signed, Secretary Kissinger plans to deliver this letter to President Tolbert personally when he visits Liberia during his trip to Africa.

I believe it is appropriate for the President to extend this invitation and for Secretary Kissinger to deliver it. A suggested letter of invitation is attached at Tab A. Doug Smith in Robert Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to the President the memorandum at Tab I.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

ACTION

W 3/6/04

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: State Visit of Liberia's President Tolbert

You have approved a state visit for President Tolbert during our bicentennial celebrations at a mutually convenient date in the latter half of 1976. The Liberian Government has not been informed of this invitation, and in view of his pending visit to Liberia during his African trip, it would be appropriate for Secretary Kissinger to extend this invitation on your behalf. The Department of State has recommended that the Secretary deliver to President Tolbert a personal letter from you formally extending that invitation.

I concur in this recommendation and have attached an appropriate suggested letter. Doug Smith in Robert Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A to President Tolbert.



6E

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2313

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

ACTION

lba 3/6/04

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Brent Scowcroft
SUBJECT: State Visit of Liberia's President Tolbert

You have approved a state visit for President Tolbert during our bicentennial celebrations at a mutually convenient date in the latter half of 1976. The Liberian Government has not been informed of this invitation, and in view of his pending visit to Liberia during his African trip, it would be appropriate for Secretary Kissinger to extend this invitation on your behalf. The Department of State has recommended that the Secretary deliver to President Tolbert a personal letter from you, ~~reiterating~~ that invitation.

personally extending

I concur in this recommendation and have attached an appropriate suggested letter. Doug Smith in Robert Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A to President Tolbert.



69

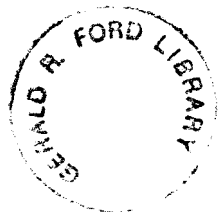
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4/20/76

TO: Doug Smith
FROM: Hal Horan, ^Wx 5022, OEOB 301
SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to President
of Liberia

For your clearance. URGENT

*Another letter Secretary K
wants to take to Africa w/
him.*



4/20/76
1:40 p.m.
g.

bb

SUGGESTED LETTER TO

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert
President of Liberia
Monrovia

Dear Mr. President:

The celebration of the United States Bicentennial Anniversary ^{this year will focus} ~~is an occasion to give particular~~ attention ^{ON} to relationships which have special historic importance for the American people. ^{More than} ~~Over~~ 20 million Americans trace their origin to the African continent and our relations with Liberia date back to the early years of ^{our} ~~the American~~ republic.

I have asked Secretary Kissinger to convey to you ^{personally} my invitation to participate in our Bicentennial celebrations ^{pay} ~~by making a~~ State visit to this country at a mutually convenient date during the latter half ^{our Bicentennial} of the year. I hope you will be able to accept this invitation, for I believe your visit would permit us to demonstrate the importance Americans attach to Africa ^{and} ~~as well as~~ the special place Liberia occupies in our ^{relations with Africa other nations.} ~~affections.~~ It would also ^{enable me} ~~allow me~~ to discuss personally those issues affecting Africa and the United States which have been the subject of our correspondence since your last visit to Washington.

Sincerely,

(GRF)

OK modified
[Signature]
4/21/76



Jeanne Davis 641

for clearance

(Return to H.H. ...)

SUGGESTED LETTER TO

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert
President of Liberia
Monrovia

CF
any problems?
JM

Dear Mr. President:

The celebration of the United States Bicentennial Anniversary is an occasion to give particular attention to relationships which have special historic importance for the American people. Over 20 million Americans trace their origin to the African continent and our relations with Liberia date back to the early years of the American republic.

I have asked Secretary Kissinger to convey to you ^{personally} my invitation to participate in our Bicentennial celebrations by ~~making~~ ^{making} a State visit

to this country at a mutually convenient date during the latter half of ~~the~~ ^{our Bicentennial} year. I hope you will be able to accept this invitation, for I believe your visit would permit us to demonstrate the importance Americans attach to Africa as well as the special place Liberia occupies in our ~~affections~~ ^{relations with Africa}. It would also allow you and me to discuss personally those issues affecting Africa and the United States which have been the subject of our correspondence since your last visit to Washington.

Sincerely,

(GRF)



61

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			LOG NUMBER
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR	
4	20	4	21	16	7602313

INITIAL ACTION 0

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: SECSTATE _____ S/S _____ UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT _____
 SCOWCROFT + SECDEF _____ LOU NO FORM NODIS _____
 HYLAND _____ DCI _____ X REF _____ C EYES ONLY EXDIS _____
 DAVIS _____ STATE EXEC _____ S CODEWORD _____
 OTHER Horan _____ TS SENSITIVE _____

SUBJECT: Pres Correspondence: Invitation to Liberia Pres Talbert to make a State Visit in 1976

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION					REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
ACTION	CONCURRENCE	COORDINATE	INFO			
ADV CYS S'CROFT/WGH						MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT. ()
STAFF SECRETARY				<u>+</u>		MEMO FOR PRES ()
CONGRESSIONAL						REPLY FOR _____ ()
ECONOMIC						APPROPRIATE ACTION ()
EUR/CANADA/OCEANS						MEMO _____ TO _____ ()
FAR EAST/PRC						RECOMMENDATIONS ()
INTELLIGENCE						JOINT MEMO ()
LATIN AMERICA						REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ ()
MID EAST/NO. AFRICA						ANY ACTION NECESSARY? ()
NSC PLANNING						CONCURRENCE ()
PROGRAM ANALYSIS						DUE DATE: _____
SCIENTIFIC						COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
SUB-SAH/AFRICA/UN						

Leonard, m

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	STATUS	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	DUE	CY TO
4/20	Staff		X	Pres for decision	4/27	BYPASS
4-21	Pres		P	Sign EX to Talbert		
4-22	NSC/S		C	Pres sig. EX to Talbert		

NSC/S INSTR

DISPATCH Hand carried by Horan NOTIFY 4/22

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____

SPECIAL INDEXING: _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED +

MICROFILM & FILE ROOMS

M/F/D _____

APR 26 1976

CR _____ NS DY _____

OPEN B WH SA FP _____

CLOSE _____ PA _____

EXDIS
EXDIS
EXDIS
EXDIS
EXDIS



Department of State

TELEGRAM

WTT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 9874

PAGE 01 MONROV 29947 281640Z

47
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W

039131

O 281608Z APR 76
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9981
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MONROVIA 29947

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY

F.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: -OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, US
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

REF: MONROVIA 2853, STATE 97581

1. I HAVE JUST RECEIVED FROM F. REGINALD TOWNSEND, GOLI'S MINISTER OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS, THE FOLLOWING:

QTF

DEAR AMBASSADOR CARTER:

BECAUSE OF THE URGENCY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ATTACHED MESSAGE WHICH PRESIDENT TOLBERT IS SENDING TO PRESIDENT FORD, I SHALL BE MOST GRATEFUL WERE YOU TO BE KIND ENOUGH TO COOPERATE WITH US BY HAVING IT CABLED OFF THROUGH YOUR MISSION'S FACILITIES TO ENSURE THAT IT REACHES ITS HIGH DESTINATION. UNQTE.

2. PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S MESSAGE FOLLOWS:

QTF

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
THE WHITE HOUSE



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

late 3/6/04/09



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 MONROV 29947 281640Z

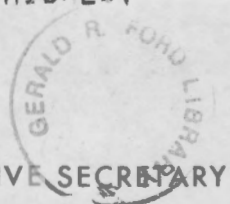
WASHINGTON DC

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I ACKNOWLEDGE WITH APPRECIATION YOUR VERY KIND MESSAGE IN WHICH YOU INDICATED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH YOU ATTACH TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT TO LIBERIA AND TO AFRICA. NOT ONLY DO I WELCOME THIS MOST TIMELY VISIT WHICH OFFERS YOUR GOVERNMENT A FRESH OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS AT A HIGH LEVEL THE UNFOLDING CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT I AM LOOKING FORWARD WITH SOME ANTICIPATION FOR THE POSSIBILITIES IT WILL AFFORD OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO ADD NEWER DIMENSIONS TO A RELATIONSHIP UNIQUE IN THE ANNALS OF AMERICAN AFRICAN COLLABORATION. I AM IMMENSELY HEARTENED TO LEARN OF THE RENEWED DISPOSITION OF YOUR COUNTRY TO STRENGTHEN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH AFRICA AT THIS CRUCIAL STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, RACIALISM AND OTHER FORMS OF INJUSTICES AND INDIGNITIES FROM THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. FOR I HAVE REMAINED CONVINCED THAT IN A CRISIS SITUATION OF GLOBAL PROPORTIONS SUCH AS WE NOW HAVE EVOLVING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THERE IS A ROLE THAT CAN CONSTRUCTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO AN ENDURING SOLUTION WHICH HISTORY HAS IMPOSED ON THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS WHY FOLLOWING THE RECENT EVENTS IN ANGOLA, I WROTE TO YOU IN A SIMILAR VEIN AND ALSO CALLED UPON OTHER WESTERN DEMOCRACIES TO ACT DECISIVELY TO AVERT A CRISIS SO THAT MAJORITY RULE AND RACIAL JUSTICE MAY COME TO THE REGION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT CAN ALSO SERVE AS AN OPPORTUNITY OF FURTHERING THE EXCHANGES WHICH WE INITIATED IN WASHINGTON ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, I FULLY WELCOME. AND I DO SO THE MORE AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA CELEBRATES TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF EXEMPLARY DEMOCRACY AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY AND PROGRESS, AND LIBERIA, WHICH SHARES HISTORICAL AFFINITY WITH AMERICA, IS PRE-OCCUPIED WITH A SUSTAINED AND DEDICATED EFFORT TO BRING SPEEDY AND MEANINGFUL DEVELOPMENT TO ALL OF ITS CITIZENS. THE INGREDIENTS SEEM TRULY ASSEMBLED FOR ADDING NEWER DIMENSIONS TO OUR HISTORIC SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP. I FULLY SHARE YOUR HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP WILL GENERATE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES AT THIS MOMENT WHEN AFRICAN NATIONS ARE MOVING COMMITTEDLY TO ACHIEVE FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT THAT POLITICAL LIBERTY AND ECONOMIC WELLBEING WITH WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOW SO FAMILIAR. WITH SENTIMENTS OF HIGHEST

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



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EXDIS



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 MONROV 29947 281640Z

CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM
SINCERELY,

W. R. TOLBERT, JR. UNOTE.

3. EMBASSY IS TRANSMITTING BY POUCH ABOVE DOCUMENTS IN THE
ORIGINAL.
CARTER



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

8A

028 *****CONFIDENTIAL***** COPY

OP IMMED
LFI868
DE RUEHLP #3706 1200240
O 290240Z APR 76 ZFF-4
FM USEL SECRETARY IN KINSHASA

TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1710
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTO 11150

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, LI
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE
REF: MONROVIA 2946; MONROVIA 2947
NO OBJECTION IF WHITE HOUSE CONCURS.
KISSINGER
BT

*State
Advised
via McJunkies
4-29-76*

OK B



PSN:019346 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:120/04:09Z DTG:290240Z APR 76

*****CONFIDENTIAL***** COPY
Wk 3/6/04

813

030

~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

OP: IMMED
MAA099
DE RUEHAM #2948 1191650
O 281645Z APR 76
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9982

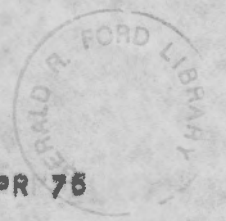
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 762

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MONROVIA 2948

EXDIS
FOR SECRETARY
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, US
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE
REF: MONROVIA 2947

FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS HAS JUST PHONED ME TO INQUIRE IF THE USG
WOULD HAVE ANY OBJECTION TO THE PUBLIC RELEASE OF PRESIDENT
TOLBERT'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD (REFTEL). HE ASKED TO BE
ADVISED IF AT ALL POSSIBLE ON THURSDAY, 29 APRIL.

CARTER
BT



PSN:019090 RECALLED PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:119/23:53Z DTG:281645Z APR 76

~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

Ma 3/6/04

025

~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

OP IMMED
CRL098
DE RUEHAM #2947 1190620
O 281608Z APR 76
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9981

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 761

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MONROVIA 29947

EXDIS
FOR SECRETARY
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, US
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE
REF: MONROVIA 2853, STATE 97581

1. I HAVE JUST RECEIVED FROM E. REGINALD TOWNSEND, GOLI'S MINISTER OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS, THE FOLLOWING:

QTE
DEAR AMBASSADOR CARTER:
BECAUSE OF THE URGENCY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ATTACHED MESSAGE WHICH PRESIDENT TOLBERT IS SENDING TO PRESIDENT FORD, I SHALL BE MOST GRATEFUL WERE YOU TO BE KIND ENOUGH TO COOPERATE WITH US BY HAVING IT CABLED OFF THROUGH YOUR MISSION'S FACILITIES TO ENSURE THAT IT REACHES ITS HIGH DESTINATION. UNQTE.

2. PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S MESSAGE FOLLOWS:

QTE
PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
I ACKNOWLEDGE WITH APPRECIATION YOUR VERY KIND MESSAGE IN WHICH YOU INDICATED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH YOU ATTACH TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT TO LIBERIA AND TO AFRICA. NOT ONLY DO I WELCOME THIS MOST TIMELY VISIT WHICH OFFERS YOUR GOVERNMENT A FRESH OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS AT A HIGH LEVEL THE UNFOLDING CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT I AM LOOKING FORWARD WITH SOME ANTICIPATION FOR THE POSSIBILITIES IT WILL AFFORD OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO ADD NEWER DIMENSIONS TO A RELATIONSHIP UNIQUE IN THE ANNALS OF AMERICAN AFRICAN COLLABORATION. I AM IMMENSELY HEARTENED TO LEARN OF THE

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

SCOW, HY, BUD, HORAN

RECALLED
PSN:019153 PAGE 01 TOR:120/00:30Z DTG:281608Z APR 76

~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

Ma 3/6/04



~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

RENEWED DISPOSITION OF YOUR COUNTRY TO STRENGTHEN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH AFRICA AT THIS CRUCIAL STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, RACIALISM AND OTHER FORMS OF INJUSTICES AND INDIGNITIES FROM THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. FOR I HAVE REMAINED CONVINCED THAT IN A CRISIS SITUATION OF GLOBAL PROPORTIONS SUCH AS WE NOW HAVE EVOLVING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THERE IS A ROLE THAT CAN CONSTRUCTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO AN ENDURING SOLUTION WHICH HISTORY HAS IMPOSED ON THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS WHY FOLLOWING THE RECENT EVENTS IN ANGOLA, I WROTE TO YOU IN A SIMILAR VEIN AND ALSO CALLED UPON OTHER WESTERN DEMOCRACIES TO ACT DECISIVELY TO AVERT A CRISIS SO THAT MAJORITY RULE AND RACIAL JUSTICE MAY COME TO THE REGION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT CAN ALSO SERVE AS AN OPPORTUNITY OF FURTHERING THE EXCHANGES WHICH WE INITIATED IN WASHINGTON ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, I FULLY WELCOME. AND I DO SO THE MORE AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA CELEBRATES TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF EXEMPLARY DEMOCRACY AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY AND PROGRESS, AND LIBERIA, WHICH SHARES HISTORICAL AFFINITY WITH AMERICA, IS PRE-OCCUPIED WITH A SUSTAINED AND DEDICATED EFFORT TO BRING SPEEDY AND MEANINGFUL DEVELOPMENT TO ALL OF ITS CITIZENS. THE INGREDIENTS SEEM TRULY ASSEMBLED FOR ADDING NEWER DIMENSIONS TO OUR HISTORIC SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP. I FULLY SHARE YOUR HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP WILL GENERATE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES AT THIS MOMENT WHEN AFRICAN NATIONS ARE MOVING COMMITTEDLY TO ACHIEVE FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT THAT POLITICAL LIBERTY AND ECONOMIC WELLBEING WITH WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOW SO FAMILIAR. WITH SENTIMENTS OF HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM
SINCERELY,

W. R. TOLBERT, JR. UNGTE.

3. EMBASSY IS TRANSMITTING BY POUCH ABOVE DOCUMENTS IN THE ORIGINAL.
CARTER
BT



RECALLED
PAGE 02

OF 02

TOR:120/00:30Z

DTG:281608Z APR 76

PSN:019153

~~*****CONFIDENTIAL*****~~ COPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
REFERRAL

Date: June 11, 1976
NSC log # 7602960

MEMORANDUM FOR:

George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: Pres Tolbert

From: Pres

Date: June 11, 1976

Subject: Response to Pres Tolbert's ltrs

ACTION REQUESTED:

_____ Draft reply for: _____ President's Signature
_____ White House Staff
_____ Other _____

_____ Direct reply _____ Furnish info copy

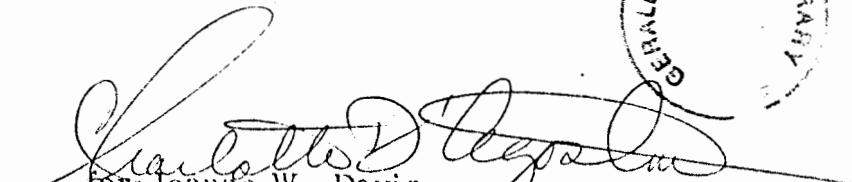
xxx _____ Dispatch _____ Translation

_____ Recommendations/Comments _____ Appropriate Handling

_____ Other _____ Information

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:


for Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary



913

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

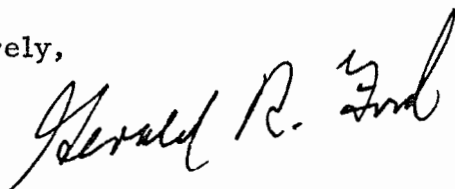
June 11, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

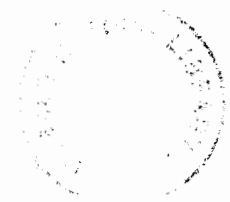
Thank you for your letters of April 28, on the eve of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Liberia, and of May 12 discussing the outcome of his visit. The Secretary's statements at Lusaka, Dakar, Nairobi during the UNCTAD meeting, and of course in Monrovia all reflect the importance we attach to events in Africa and to our relations with Africa. Your views expressed in previous letters on issues affecting Africa, particularly southern Africa, have been most useful in shaping our approach to these problems, and I want to thank you for sharing them with me.

Upon Secretary Kissinger's return to the United States I reviewed with him the results of his trip, including his meetings with you and Foreign Minister Dennis. I am delighted that you have accepted my invitation to visit the United States and look forward to welcoming you here again, when we can continue our useful exchange on issues of importance to our two governments.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.
President of the Republic of Liberia
Monrovia



6/10/76

92

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.....

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2960
ACTION

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)

June 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

SUBJECT: Suggested Response to Letters from
President Tolbert of Liberia

President Tolbert wrote to you on April 28 (Tab B) welcoming Secretary Kissinger's then prospective April 30 visit to Liberia, and again on May 12 (Tab C) to express his pleasure at that visit and his hope that the Secretary's pronouncements will result in concrete action by the United States Government. In his second letter President Tolbert also informs you of the positive reactions of Liberia's neighbors-- Guinea's President Toure and Sierra Leone's President Stevens -- to these pronouncements. Lastly, he expresses appreciation for your invitation to visit the United States later this year.

I believe it would be appropriate for you briefly to acknowledge this correspondence from President Tolbert. Your proposed response indicates that the Secretary's statements in Africa reflect the increased importance we attach to our relations with that continent and that Tolbert's own views on these issues have been most useful to us. The letter also expresses your pleasure that President Tolbert has accepted your invitation to visit the United States. Doug Smith in Bob Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the proposed letter.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward to President Tolbert the letter at Tab A.

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)

WA 3/6/04



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

2960

Tab I Audit to T
6-9-915

9D AH
for

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

ACTION

June 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: Hal Horan *HH*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence: Suggested
Response to President Tolbert of Liberia

Attached is a self-explanatory memorandum to the President recommending he send a letter to President Tolbert acknowledging recent correspondence from him on the Secretary's trip to Africa and the President's invitation to Tolbert to visit the United States this year.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to the President the memorandum at Tab I.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

Wa 3/6/04



95

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
CLASSIFICATION

s/s# 7611549

Date June 4, 1976

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

for: Mr. Brent Scowcroft
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: The President FROM: President William R. Tolbert

DATE: May 12, 1976 SUBJECT: Secretary Kissinger's
trip to Liberia

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATE: _____ NSC# 2960 ADD on
(if any)

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE from the Embassy, Monrovia

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- Other

REMARKS:

A response was prepared by the Department and forwarded to the White House on May 20 under a Memorandum for Mr. Brent Scowcroft numbered 7610329. Its corresponding NSC number is 2960.

George S. Springsteen
George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary





7610329

2960

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520


May 20, 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (EXDIS ATTACHMENT)MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Suggested Presidential Response to President
Tolbert of Liberia

The attached letter is a suggested response by President Ford to President Tolbert's letters of April 28 and May 12. The original of the April 28 letter and a copy of the May 12 letter are attached.

In his first letter President Tolbert welcomes the prospective April 30 arrival of Secretary Kissinger in Liberia and the opportunity thus afforded for a continuing exchange of ideas on issues affecting Africa and the world. The second letter records President Tolbert's pleasure in the Secretary's visit and his hope that the Secretary's pronouncements will result in concrete action by the U.S. Government. It also reports the positive reactions of Liberia's neighbors--Guinea President Ahmed Sekou Toure and Sierra Leone President Siaka P. Stevens--to these pronouncements and expresses President Tolbert's appreciation for the invitation from President Ford to visit the United States.

In addition to thanking President Tolbert for his views on African questions, the attached draft expresses President Ford's interest in continuing their exchange during Tolbert's visit to the United States later this year.


George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

As stated

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GDS
bba 3/6/04



Dear Mr. President:

Thank you very much for your letters of April 28, on the eve of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Liberia, and of May 12 discussing the outcome. The Secretary's pronouncements at Lusaka, ^{John,} Nairobi during the UNCTAD meeting, and of course in Monrovia all reflect the increased importance we attach to events in Africa, ^{and to our relations with Africa,} Your views expressed in previous letters on issues affecting Africa, particularly southern Africa, have been most useful in shaping our approach to these problems, and I want to thank you for sharing them with me.

Secretary Kissinger has returned to the United States, and I have reviewed with him the results of his trip to ~~Africa~~, including his meetings with you and Foreign Minister Dennis. I am delighted that you have accepted my invitation to visit the United States and look forward to welcoming you here again later this year, when we can continue our useful exchange on issues of importance to our two governments.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
 William R. Tolbert, Jr.,
 President of the Republic of Liberia,
 Monrovia.

Department of State



94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: DOUG SMITH

FROM: HAL HORAN ^{HAA} OEB 301, x 5022

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Liberia's
President Tolbert

For your clearance.



5/21/76 41
3:35 p.m.
9.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you ~~very much~~ for your letters of April 28, on the eve of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Liberia, and of May 12 discussing the outcome. The Secretary's pronouncements at Lusaka, ^{Dakar,} Nairobi during the UNCTAD meeting, and of course in Monrovia all reflect the increased importance we attach to events in Africa. ^{and to our relations with Africa,} Your views expressed in previous letters on issues affecting Africa, particularly southern Africa, have been most useful in shaping our approach to these problems, and I want to thank you for sharing them with me.

^{Upon} Secretary Kissinger's ~~has~~ returned to the United States, ~~and~~ I ~~have~~ reviewed with him the results of his trip to ~~Africa~~, including his meetings with you and Foreign Minister Dennis. I am delighted that you have accepted my invitation to visit the United States and look forward to welcoming you here again later this year, when we can continue our useful exchange on issues of importance to our two governments.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.,
President of the Republic of Liberia,
Monrovia.

Department of State

OP with one change
6/1/76
GERALD R. FORD

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

95
May 12, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

As Secretary Kissinger has already no doubt reported to you, we were delighted by his visit to Liberia and the opportunity which his brief stay in Monrovia afforded for us to exchange views with him on matters of mutual interest between traditional friends. I am happy to say that the unique character of the relationship between the United States and Liberia was reflected throughout our discussions.

We want to take this occasion to commend you for the timeliness of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Africa to espouse your new African policy which appears to us to be more harmonious with the aspirations of the African peoples. We are now all looking forward to seeing the pronouncements so well made by Secretary Kissinger on your behalf and that of your Government reflected in positive and concrete action.

I indicated to Secretary Kissinger during his visit to Monrovia that I would be communicating with my Colleagues in countries neighbouring Liberia to brief them on the discussions we had held especially as they concerned problems of Southern Africa and the question of economic development of the continent. As Secretary Kissinger was to be meeting with President Houphouet Boigny of the Republic of the Ivory Coast in Paris, I

His Excellency Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States of America
The White House, Washington, D.C.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

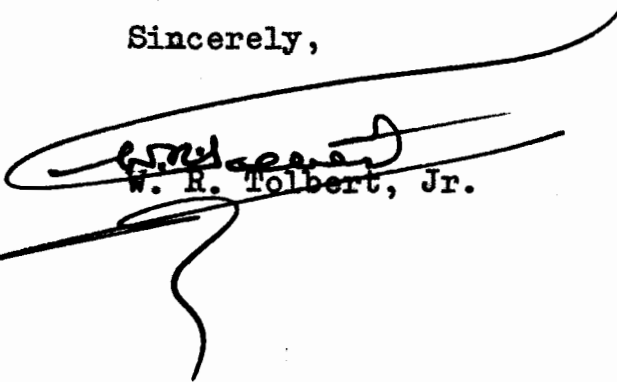
- 2 -

sent my Foreign Minister with special messages to my Colleagues, President Ahmed Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea and President Siaka Stevens of the Republic of Sierra Leone. I am pleased to inform you of the positive reactions of these two African Leaders to what apparently is a new American willingness to cooperate with Africa as she endeavours to make greater strides in the attainment of her legitimate political and economic aspirations. In this light I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter I have written to Secretary Kissinger which I hope you will find informative.

Finally, allow me to express to you my deepest appreciation for the kind invitation you extended me through Secretary Kissinger, to pay a State Visit to the United States during the second half of this year. I look forward to seeing you then and to continue the very useful exchanges which we commenced during our first meeting in Washington in November 1974.

With sentiments of highest consideration and esteem,

Sincerely,


W. R. Tolbert, Jr.



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COPY

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

May 12, 1976

Dear Secretary Kissinger:

Let me take this occasion to again express to you how pleased we were to have you with us in Liberia during your recent visit to Africa. Although your stay with us was brief, it did afford the opportunity for an exchange of views with you as your Government evolves a new policy toward Africa, which seems to be much more in harmony with the political and economic aspirations of the peoples of this Continent. You told us during your visit that the pronouncements you have been making were the beginning of a process and not an end in itself. As we indicated to you and have confirmed in our earlier message to President Ford, we are always pleased to offer such advice and counsel as the circumstances may require.

During our meeting in Monrovia, I informed you that since my incumbency as President of Liberia I have endeavoured to keep my Colleagues in countries neighbouring Liberia informed of important events which occur in Liberia from time to time. Because of the significance of your visit, I indicated that I would be briefing President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea and President Siaka Stevens of the Republic of Sierra Leone on the highlights of our discussions, especially as they affected Southern Africa and economic development for this continent. My Minister of Foreign Affairs who was

His Excellency Henry A. Kissinger
Secretary of State of the United States of America
The State Department, Washington, D.C.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

- 2 -

the bearer of special messages to these two Heads of State has returned to me and reported the very positive reactions of both President Toure and President Stevens with regard to the new and promising direction which United States foreign policy toward Africa seems to be taking. Both of them made particular reference to your pronouncements in Lusaka and Monrovia and commended you for them. I trust that you found your talks in Paris with President Houphouet-Boigny of the Republic of the Ivory Coast most rewarding.

President Sekou Toure has shared with me his views on your visit to Africa, and has offered an advice which you may want to take into consideration as you move toward implementation of the very forthright pronouncements you made during your visit to Africa. I quote hereunder relevant portions of his letter to me on the question:

"We have followed through radio the tour of the American Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, we have registered his Lusaka Declaration as a new orientation of the United States African policy. We have been very much impressed by it because, like you, we noted that a very great country like the United States of America was wrong for not having clearly enough indicated the orientation of their policy in Africa. Until now, the United States of America appeared as the policeman of Europe which colonized us and as being always ready to bring their contribution to this Europe,



against the legitimate interest of our peoples. Now that the United States of America are defining a clear position, favourable to the acceleration of the decolonization movement in Africa, we feel that they are thereby creating a new context which will cause the rise and growth of the confidence and esteem of our peoples for them. This fact will create in history a new situation beneficiary both to the people of the United States of America themselves and the African peoples as well.

We entertain the hope that beyond the speeches, since intentions do not make history, but actions instead, we entertain the hope, we say, that the United States of America will pass to concrete actions and these actions will be in favour of Africa and to the honour of the American Government and people. The sincere and strong support of the United States of America for the struggle of Africa to throw off the yoke of all foreign domination could create a solid basis for cooperation between America and Africa as a whole. One should not delude himself on the division of Africa, because if Africa is ideologically, racially and religiously divided, it remains however very much united on the watch word of national independence which regains the dignity of the Continent as a whole, and that on this point, no division is possible even though some isolated individuals could be demented enough to adopt an attitude contrary to this reality.

My dear Brother President, here we think that it is our duty to suggest to you a few words of advice which you could give to the American authorities: henceforth not to consider the African problems through the version given by Europe or by the



partisans of apartheid. The United States of America must consider the African problems as problems specific to the African peoples and any just stand, concerning Africa, must respect the unanimous will of our peoples and their aspirations for freedom and self-determination on their soil. One may not share the ideology practiced by a regime, but this cannot be a just pretext to be opposed to the freedom of the people concerned.

When the American press, in assessing the events of Angola, announced that "the United States of America have been surprised, but will not stand idly by, with regards to Namibia and Rhodesia" such a statement, or such a policy could only offend the conscience of the Africans and alienate them from the United States of America.

We have said that for the sake of freedom, Africa welcomes any assistance, because it has severely experienced slavery, for many centuries. Its only glimmer of hope is in its freedom. It is therefore up to the foreign countries to define themselves either for or against African freedom.

The right of peoples to national independence, sovereignty, full and complete freedom, the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, the right of peoples to the free choice of their regime is an infeasible right, an unconditional right. Nothing nor any power can limit it. Nothing nor any power can venture to postpone its actualization. It is not a right which can be satisfied with being simply enunciated without undertaking what must achieve it. It is not an abstract right, a potential right. It is a concrete right, the achievement of which cannot legitimately suffer any delay. The violation



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

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of this right is a crime against humanity as a whole. Any indifference towards this right is a culpable behaviour.

The struggle among the great powers is a strategic subject which is of interest to them. The importance and legitimacy of this struggle are lesser compared with the importance and legitimacy of the liberation struggle of a people, however small that people can be.

Thus, if the United States of America accelerate decolonization, Africa will not utilize arms nor ask other assistance to achieve its necessary and total liberation. And we feel, as for us, that it would be a political and moral duty for such a great power as the United States of America to assist, through deeds to the realization of this liberation.

The speeches made in Lusaka and Monrovia by the American Secretary of State confirmed in us the impression that a new era is being opened for American policy in Africa. Facts will show whether our impression is well founded."

You may rest assured that I shall continue to utilize my finest energies in any manner I can to be helpful in inspiring greater confidence in the interest of world peace and security and the relationship between the United States of America and Africa.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Sgd. W. R. Tolbert, Jr.





THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
MINISTRY OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

MONROVIA

TELEGRAM

APRIL 28, 1976

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC
USA

DEAR MR PRESIDENT I ACKNOWLEDGE WITH APPRECIATION YOUR
VERY KIND MESSAGE IN WHICH YOU INDICATED THE IMPOR-
TANCE WHICH YOU ATTACH TO SECRETARY KISSINGERS VISIT
TO LIBERIA AND TO AFRICA STOP NOT ONLY DO I
WELCOME THIS MOST TIMELY VISIT WHICH OFFERS YOUR
GOVERNMENT A FRESH OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS AT A HIGH
LEVEL THE UNFOLDING CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CMA
BUT I AM LOOKING FORWARD WITH SOME ANTICIPATION FOR
THE POSSIBILITIES IT WILL AFFORD OUR TWO COUNTRIES
TO ADD NEWER DIMENSIONS TO A RELATIONSHIP UNIQUE IN
THE ANNALS OF AMERICAN AFRICAN COLLABORATION STOP I
AM IMMENSELY HEARTENED TO LEARN OF THE RENEWED DIS-
POSITION OF YOUR COUNTRY TO STRENGTHEN ITS RELATIONSHIP
WITH AFRICA AT THIS CRUCIAL STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE TO
ELIMINATE COLONIALISM CMA RACIALISM AND OTHER FORMS
OF INJUSTICES AND INDIGNITIES FROM THE AFRICAN CONTINENT
STOP FOR I HAVE REMAINED CONVINCED THAT IN A CRISIS
SITUATION OF GLOBAL PROPORTIONS SUCH AS WE NOW HAVE
EVOLVING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CMA THERE IS A ROLE THAT
CAN CONSTRUCTIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO AN ENDURING SOLUTION





THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
MINISTRY OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

- 2 -

WHICH HISTORY HAS IMPOSED ON THE UNITED STATES STOP
THIS IS WHY FOLLOWING THE RECENT EVENTS IN ANGOLA
CMA I WROTE TO YOU IN A SIMILAR VEIN AND ALSO
CALLED UPON OTHER WESTERN DEMOCRACIES TO ACT DECI-
SIVELY TO AVERT A CRISIS SO THAT MAJORITY RULE
AND RACIAL JUSTICE MAY COME TO THE REGION OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA STOP THAT SECRETARY KISSINGERS VISIT CAN ALSO
SERVE AS AN OPPORTUNITY OF FURTHERING THE EXCHANGES
WHICH WE INITIATED IN WASHINGTON ON OUR BILATERAL
RELATIONS CMA I FULLY WELCOME STOP AND I DO SO THE
MORE AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA CELEBRATES TWO HUNDRED
YEARS OF EXEMPLARY DEMOCRACY AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRI-
BUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE CMA SECURITY AND
PROGRESS CMA AND LIBERIA CMA WHICH SHARES HISTORICAL
AFFINITY WITH AMERICA CMA IS PREOCCUPIED WITH A
SUSTAINED AND DEDICATED EFFORT TO BRING SPEEDY AND
MEANINGFUL DEVELOPMENT TO ALL OF ITS CITIZENS STOP
THE INGREDIENTS SEEM TRULY ASSEMBLED FOR ADDING NEWER
DIMENSIONS TO OUR HISTORIC SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP STOP
I FULLY SHARE YOUR HOPE CMA MR PRESIDENT CMA THAT
SECRETARY KISSINGERS TRIP WILL GENERATE MUTUAL UNDER-
STANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND





THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
MINISTRY OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

- 3 -

AFRICAN PEOPLES AT THIS MOMENT WHEN AFRICAN NATIONS
ARE MOVING COMMITTEDLY TO ACHIEVE FOR ALL OF THE
PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT THAT POLITICAL LIBERTY AND
ECONOMIC WELLBEING WITH WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
ARE NOW SO FAMILIAR STOP WITH SENTIENTS OF HIGHEST
CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

WR TOLBERT JR

FOR SENDER:

Reginald Poindexter
MINISTER OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS



2960
ACTION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
SUBJECT: Suggested Response to Letters from
President Tolbert of Liberia

President Tolbert wrote to you on April 28 (Tab B) welcoming Secretary Kissinger's then prospective April 30 visit to Liberia, and again on May 12 (Tab C) to express his pleasure at that visit and his hope that the Secretary's pronouncements will result in concrete action by the United States Government. In his second letter President Tolbert also informs you of the positive reactions of Liberia's neighbors-- Guinea's President Toure and Sierra Leone's President Stevens -- to these pronouncements. Lastly, he expresses appreciation for your invitation to visit the United States later this year.

I believe it would be appropriate for you briefly to acknowledge this correspondence from President Tolbert. Your proposed response indicates that the Secretary's statements in Africa reflect the increased importance we attach to our relations with that continent and that Tolbert's own views on these issues have been most useful to us. The letter also expresses your pleasure that President Tolbert has accepted your invitation to visit the United States. Doug Smith in Bob Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the proposed letter.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward to President Tolbert the letter at Tab A.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

lba 3/6/04



Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letters of April 28, on the eve of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Liberia, and of May 12 discussing the outcome of his visit. The Secretary's statements at Lusaka, Dakar, Nairobi during the UNCTAD meeting, and of course in Monrovia all reflect the importance we attach to events in Africa and to our relations with Africa. Your views expressed in previous letters on issues affecting Africa, particularly southern Africa, have been most useful in shaping our approach to these problems, and I want to thank you for sharing them with me.

Upon Secretary Kissinger's return to the United States I reviewed with him the results of his trip, including his meetings with you and Foreign Minister Dennis. I am delighted that you have accepted my invitation to visit the United States and look forward to welcoming you here again, when we can continue our useful exchange on issues of importance to our two governments.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.
President of the Republic of Liberia
Monrovia

BS:mb 6/8/76



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letters of April 28, on the eve of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Liberia, and of May 12 discussing the outcome. *of his visit.* The Secretary's ~~pronouncements~~ *statements* at Lusaka, Dakar, Nairobi during the UNCTAD meeting, and of course in Monrovia all reflect the ~~increased~~ importance we attach to events in Africa and to our relations with Africa. Your views expressed in previous letters on issues affecting Africa, particularly southern Africa, have been most useful in shaping our approach to these problems, and I want to thank you for sharing them with me.

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Sincerely,

His Excellency

William R. Tolbert, Jr.

President of the Republic of Liberia

Monrovia



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2960

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Brent Scowcroft
SUBJECT: Suggested Response to Letters from
President Tolbert of Liberia

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I believe it would be appropriate for you briefly to acknowledge this correspondence from President Tolbert, ^{your proposed response} and ~~I have attached a suggested text.~~ The letter indicates that the Secretary's statements in Africa reflect the increased importance we attach to our relations with that continent and ~~indicates~~ that Tolbert's own views on these issues have been most useful to us. The letter also ^{expresses} ~~indicates~~ your ^{pleasure} ~~delight~~ that President Tolbert has accepted your invitation to visit the United States. Doug Smith in Bob Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the proposed letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to President Tolbert the letter at Tab A.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)

lh 3/6/04



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INITIAL ACTION O
Horan

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES FROM: SECSTATE _____ S/S 7610329 UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT
 SCOWCROFT SECDEF _____ LOU NO FORN MODIS
 HYLAND _____ DCI _____ X REF _____ C EYES ONLY EXDIS
 DAVIS _____ STATE EXSEC S CODEWORD
 OTHER _____ TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: *Emb ltr to Sec for Talbert re Kissinger receipt visit to Africa & US-African relations*

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION					REC CY FOR
	ACTION	CONCURRENCE	COORDINATE	INFO	
ADV CYS S'CROFT/WGH					
STAFF SECRETARY					
CONGRESSIONAL					
ECONOMIC					
EUR/CANADA/OCEANS					
FAR EAST/PRC					
INTELLIGENCE					
LATIN AMERICA					
MID EAST/NO. AFRICA					
NSC PLANNING					
PROGRAM ANALYSIS					
SCIENTIFIC					
SUB-SAH/AFRICA/UN					

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT _____

MEMO FOR PRES _____

REPLY FOR _____

APPROPRIATE ACTION _____

MEMO _____ TO _____

RECOMMENDATIONS _____

JOINT MEMO _____

REFER TO _____ FOR: _____

ANY ACTION NECESSARY? _____

CONCURRENCE _____

DUE DATE: 5-27

COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)

Mr. Horan just a reminder that your 1653 is in "P" status w/ the Pres and has been since 4/10. L. William R. Talbert, Jr

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	STATUS	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	DUE	CY/TO
6/7	Proft	X		Pres to sign ltr to Talbert	6/11	
6-9	Pres			sign ltr to Talbert		
6-10	NSC/S			Pres sign ltr to Talbert		
6/11	Davis	S		Renew spec to Dispatch	6/12	
6/11	State	C		In Dispatch		

NSC/S INSTR

DISPATCH *via S/S 6/11/76* NOTIFY _____

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____

SPECIAL INDEXING: _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED

MICROFILM & FILE ROOMS

JUN 15 1976

IF _____

CRT ID: *MK* NS DY

OPEN: *TD* WH SA FP

CLOSE: *TD* PA

21 ~~SECRET~~ 10
FZ
H. B. Bud

October 7, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me once more to express to you, on behalf of Mrs. Tolbert, our Suite and myself, our profound thanks and sincere gratitude for having invited us to pay a State Visit to the United States during this historic and memorable year marking the American Bicentennial.

Having safely returned to Liberia, we can all reflect with deep satisfaction upon the warm and traditional American hospitality, the extraordinary care and cordiality which attended our visit.

We were thereby inspired. And we are determined to work particularly with America on the new agenda for world stability, peace and prosperity.

Our special and historical ties demand this of us, that with deep conviction and sincerity of purpose we shall promote and defend the cause of freedom and opportunity for the family of man and of nations. We are convinced that it is the only renewal of honour we can pay to the ageless ideals which bind and preserve our common destiny.

With sentiments of my highest esteem,

Sincerely,


W. R. Tolbert, Jr.



His Excellency Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States of America
The White House