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DEPARTMENT PASS AS DESIRED

EO 11652 GDS  
TAGSI PFOR AD GH  
SUB: LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN ACHEAMPONG TO PRESIDENT FORD

REF: STATE 1377

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN ACHEAMPONG TO PRESIDENT FORD, DATED JANUARY 8, DELIVERED JANUARY 9, IN RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER CONTAINED IN REFTEL. ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED JANUARY 10 TO S/S UNDER REGISTRY NUMBER 1913537

QUOTE:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

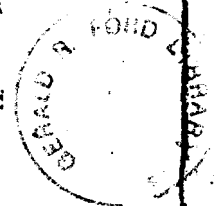
IT IS THOUGHTFUL OF YOU TO SHARE YOUR VIEWS ON THE ANGOLAN SITUATION WITH ME THROUGH YOUR LETTER OF 3 JANUARY, 1976 WHICH AMBASSADOR SMIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK KINDLY PRESENTED TO ME.

I AM EQUALLY OF THE VIEW THAT AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS WE SHOULD LEAVE NO ROOM FOR MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS, AND IT IS WITH FRANKNESS AND IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION THAT I NOW PRESENT MY THOUGHTS TO YOU ON THIS ISSUE. IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT THE VIEW WHICH I OFFER WILL WEIGH VERY GREATLY WITH YOU IN

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THE FUTURE POLICIES AND CONDUCT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN IN AFRICA.

THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN WAGED INTENSELY SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IN THIS STRUGGLE, WHATEVER HER PARTICULAR OBJECTIVES, THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONSISTENTLY TENDERED HER MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT. WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE HISTORICAL FACTORS THAT HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO OFFER SUCH SUPPORT. BY THE SAME TOKEN WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE CONSTRAINTS, LARGELY BASED ON HER ALLIANCE WITH THE COLONIAL POWERS, THAT HAD PREVENTED THE UNITED STATES FROM GIVING ACTIVE SUPPORT TO THIS STRUGGLE. YET WE HAVE ALL ALONG ALSO RECOGNISED THAT AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONARY ANTECEDENTS MAKE HER PEOPLE SYMPATHIZERS OF OUR CAUSE AND NATURAL ALLIES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.

AS A GLOBAL POWER I FULLY APPRECIATE THE CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES WITH EVENTS IN AFRICA, AS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, THUS WE CONSIDER YOUR ANXIETY OVER THE UNSTABLE SITUATION IN ANGOLA AS LEGITIMATE. GHANA HOWEVER DOES NOT SHARE YOUR CONCLUSION THAT THE SOVIET UNION IN CO-OPERATION WITH CUBA ARE TRYING TO IMPOSE A GOVERNMENT ON THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA BY FORCE OF ARMS.

BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA HAVE BEEN HELPING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF ANGOLA IN THEIR LIBERATION STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE FASCISTS FOR A VERY LONG TIME, AND GHANA AS A MEMBER OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE, HAD ADVOCATED FOR AND SANCTIONED THIS SUPPORT. IT WOULD NEITHER BE JUST, CORRECT, NOR EASY FOR US TO LABEL SUCH SUPPORT TODAY AS INTERVENTION. HOWEVER, THIS MUST NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN OUR DEPARTURE FROM A CARDINAL FOREIGN POLICY POSITION THAT NO FOREIGN TROOPS MUST REMAIN ON AFRICAN SOIL. IT IS OUR VIEW, A VIEW MADE MANIFESTLY CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENTAL DELEGATION OF THE MPLA WHICH VISITED GHANA RECENTLY, THAT AS SPEEDILY AS PRACTICABLE SUCH FOREIGN PRESENCE MUST BE REMOVED FROM ANGOLA. IT IS EQUALLY OUR POSITION, ALSO MADE CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA, THAT NO PERVERSIVE FOREIGN INFLUENCE SHOULD BE ALLOWED IN THE TERRITORY NOR SHOULD STRATEGIC FACILITIES OF ANY KIND BE PERMITTED A FOREIGN POWER, SINCE THIS WOULD BE INIMICAL TO THE INTEREST OF AFRICA

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AS A WHOLE AND OFFER TEMPTATION TO OTHERS TO COUNTER SUCH PREFERENCE.

AS YOU ARE AWARE, GHANA HAS DONE HER BEST IN SUPPORT OF THE OAU SPONSORED EFFORTS TO BRING THE WARRING FACTIONS IN ANGOLA TOGETHER. THAT THIS HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE UNTIL NOW HAS NOT BEEN FOR WANT OF EFFORT OR GOODWILL. BUT OUR OWN HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE, THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND THE PRESENCE IN THE ANGOLAN SITUATION OF RECOGNIZABLE ACUTE DIVISIVE FACTORS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO US THAT IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR A COALITION GOVERNMENT OF EQUALS DRAWN FROM THE MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA. FURTHERMORE, IT WAS AN UNTENABLE POSITION TO MAINTAIN THAT A SOVEREIGN STATE OF ANGOLA EXISTED BUT WITHOUT A RECOGNIZABLE GOVERNMENT. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCE, AND AFTER A VERY CAREFUL EVALUATION OF EVENTS, WE CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE ONLY WAY TO END THE FRATRICIDAL WAR AND TO ENCOURAGE RAPID RECONCILIATION WAS TO GIVE GHANA'S RECOGNITION TO THAT MOVEMENT WHICH, IN OUR CONSIDERED OPINION, WAS MOST INCLINED TO PROMOTE THE INTEREST OF ALL THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE, MAINTAIN THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND POLITICAL NEUTRALITY OF ANGOLA, AND WHICH HAS BOTH THE CAPACITY TO ASSERT AUTHORITY OVER THE TERRITORY AND DEMONSTRATE MAGNANIMITY IN RECONCILING WITH THE OTHER MOVEMENTS.  
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AS FAR AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION IS CONCERNED, GHANA CANNOT ACCEPT FOR AMOMENT THE IDEA OF ANY SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATE OF ANGOLA. IN THIS ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT IT IS UNTHINKABLE TO CONCEIVE THAT THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ANOTHER STATE CAN BE VIOLATED IN SUCH A MANNER. APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA HAS NO INTEREST TO SAFEGUARD IN ANGOLA AND WE FIND IT UNTENABLE TO LINK SOVIET AND CUBAN SUPPORT FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF ANGOLAN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE WITH THE INVASION AND AGGRESSION STAGED BY A NATION WHICH IS THE ACCLAIMED FOE OF ALL AFRICA. LET ME STATE VERY DELIBERATELY THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S AGGRESSION IF NOT TERMINATED IMMEDIATELY COULD LEAD TO A CONFRONTATION WITH TROOPS FROM INDEPENDENT AFRICA.

MR. PRESIDENT, WRITING TO YOU AS A FRIEND AND THE RESPECTED LEADER OF THE GREAT UNITED STATES, I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT NO AFRICAN STATE HAS BECOME A SATELLITE OF ANOTHER STATE UPON ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE AND NO FOREIGN POWER CAN CLAIM TO HAVE ALL-PERVASIVE INFLUENCE OVER ANY INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATE. THE HISTORICAL LESSON SHOULD BE CLEAR; INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES WOULD SEEK FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION FROM ALL QUARTERS BUT NOT SERVITUDE. WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING THEN, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE OVERLY INFLUENCED BY COLD WAR FACTORS AS TO ANTICIPATE SOVIET PREDOMINANCE IN THE NEW ANGOLA. RATHER, ITS ROLE SHOULD BE TO SUPPORT THE LEGITIMATE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT AND TO USE ITS ENORMOUS INFLUENCE TOWARDS RECONCILIATION AND PEACE UNDER THE BANNER OF THE MPLA. IF SUCH A COURSE IS PURSUED, I AM CERTAIN THAT GOODWILL

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AND FRIENDSHIP WILL FORM THE BASIS OF ANGOLAN-US RELATIONS FOR A LONG TIME TO COME, AND THIS, BELIEVE ME, IS THE SINCEREST WISH OF GHANA.

YOU CAN REST ASSURED THAT OUR RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA GOVERNMENT IS NOT AN END ITSELF; THE GHANA DELEGATION TO THE OAU SUMMIT MEETING ON ANGOLA WILL WORK ACTIVELY FOR A SOLUTION THAT WILL LEAD TO THE EVENTUAL REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA, FOR THE INTEGRATION OF ALL FACTIONS INTO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, AND FOR PEACE IN THAT TROUBLED LAND.

LET ME REITERATE MY APPRECIATE OF YOUR THOUGHTFULNESS IN OPENING UP SUCH CORRESPONDENCE WITH ME, AND TO EXPRESS THE TRUST THAT THROUGH SUCH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, WHICH I HOPE WOULD CONTINUE, WE WOULD BE ABLE TO SERVE NOT ONLY THE INTEREST OF OUR PEOPLE BUT CONTRIBUTE OUR SHARE TO THE EVOLUTION FOR A WORLD OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, AND PROSPERITY.

YOURS SINCERELY,

COL. I.K. ACHEAMPONG  
HEAD OF STATE AND CHAIRMAN OF  
THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL.

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PLEASE PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY  
MONROVIA FOR AMBASSADOR SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK

E. O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) GH  
SUBJ: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM GENERAL ACHEAMPONG  
REF: ACCRA 3251

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FROM GHANA HEAD OF STATE, GENERAL  
ACHEAMPONG TO THE PRESIDENT:

QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,  
I MUST THANK YOU VERY SINCERELY FOR YOUR LETTER OF 22ND APRIL,  
1976, STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THEM PROJECTED VISIT OF  
DR. KISSINGER, YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE, TO GHANA AND OTHER  
AFRICAN COUNTRIES.  
I HAD VERY MUCH LOOKED FORWARD TO THIS VISIT FIRST BECAUSE OF THE  
UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY IT PRESENTED FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF OUR  
BILATERAL RELATIONS AND ALSO FOR THE CLARIFICATION OF THE  
VIEWS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES, WHICH HAD DIFFERED ON OCCASIONS,  
ON THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. YOUR LETTER HAD INTRIGUED  
ME VERY MUCH BECAUSE OF YOUR INTIMATION THAT THE VISIT OF THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE WOULD MARK A NEW DEPARTURE IN THE AFRICAN  
POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. YOUR REQUEST THAT I GIVE (SIC)  
COUNSEL AND ADVICE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS  
WAS ONE THAT I HAD INTENDED TO HONOUR TO THE FULL.  
IT IS THEREFORE TO ME PERSONALLY A MOST DISAPPOINTING OCCURRENCE  
THAT I SHOULD IN THE VERY WEEK OF THE IMPENDING VISIT BE  
FORCED BY ILLNESS TO PUT OFF ALL ENGAGEMENTS. DESPITE THIS  
FACT, I WAS HOPING THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE VISIT  
TO GO ON IN THE EXPECTATION THAT I WOULD BE STRONG ENOUGH  
BY THE TIME THE SECRETARY OF STATE ARRIVED TO RECEIVE HIM  
PERSONALLY. UNFORTUNATELY, MY SITUATION WORSENERED SOMEHOW AND  
ON THE 27TH OF APRIL, IT BECAME OBVIOUS TO ME THAT MY  
EXPECTATIONS REGARDING MY HEALTH WERE MISPLACED. YOUR AMBASSADOR,

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

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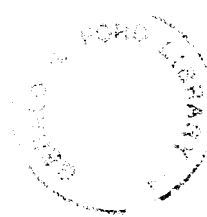
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MR. PRESIDENT, CANNOT DENY THE FACT THAT I HAVE NOT BEEN TO THE OFFICE SINCE THE EASTER HOLIDAYS. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO LET THE VISIT GO ON ALL THE SAME SO THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE COULD BE RECEIVED AND DISCUSSIONS HELD WITH HIM AT A LOWER BUT APPROPRIATE LEVEL. DISAPPOINTING THOUGH THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN TO ME PERSONALLY, I HAD BEEN PREPARED TO LET THE VISIT GO ON UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.

SINCE THE TIME THE VISIT TO GHANA BY DR. KISSINGER WAS ANNOUNCED, HOWEVER, THERE HAD BEEN MOUNTING PROTESTS IN OUR NEWSPAPERS AND WE HAD CONTINUED TO RECEIVE INDICATIONS OF POSSIBLE PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND DISRUPTION OF PUBLIC ORDER. IT WAS FOR THESE REASONS THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAD NOT ITSELF ANNOUNCED THE ACTUAL DATE OF THE VISIT AND THE PROGRAMME THAT HAD BEEN DRAWN UP BUT WAS WAITING FOR THE LAST POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THEM PUBLIC. WE WERE CONVINCED THAT WE COULD CONTAIN SUCH PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS EVEN THOUGH THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN EMBARRASSING TO BOTH OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AND TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. BY LATE MORNING OF THE 27TH OF APRIL, HOWEVER, I RECEIVED A REPORT ON THE SECURITY SITUATION CONNECTED WITH THE VISIT WHICH INDICATED RAPID DETERIORATION AND WHICH CONVINCED ME THAT IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC ORDER DURING HIS VISIT, STRONG DETACHMENTS OF RIOT POLICE AND OTHER SECURITY PERSONNEL WOULD HAVE HAD TO BE BROUGHT IN FROM THE REGIONS TO REINFORCE THE CONTINGENTS IN ACCRA. THE TIME WAS TOO SHORT TO TAKE ANY SUCH ACTION. MY PRESENCE ON THE SCENE WOULD HAVE CERTAINLY REMOVED ANY POSSIBLE EMBARRASSMENT TO OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS, BUT I WAS NOT AROUND. THE BOTHERING IMPRESSION THAT ANY INCIDENTS MIGHT HAVE GIVEN TO THE VISIT WAS ONE I FELT COULD NOT BE JUSTIFIED. IT WAS THIS COMBINATION OF, FIRSTLY, MY OWN INABILITY TO RECEIVE THE SECRETARY OF STATE PERSONALLY BECAUSE I WAS INDISPOSED, AND TO HONOUR YOU THROUGH HIM IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONTENTS OF YOUR LETTER; AND, SECONDLY, THE VEXED SECURITY SITUATION WHICH BECAUSE OF MY ABSENCE FROM THE SCENE POSED A SERIOUS PROBLEM THAT DICTATED THE MOST REGRETTABLE DECISION TO CALL OFF THE VISIT.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU SHOULD BE MORE AWARE THAN ANY OTHER, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA CANNOT BE SUBJECTED TO PRESSURES FROM ANY FOREIGN QUARTER, AND WERE THIS EVEN POSSIBLE, THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN GHANA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE SUCH THAT WE WOULD NOT COUNTENANCE INTERFERENCE BY ANY THIRD STATE. THE SPECULATIONS THAT PRESSURES FROM FOREIGN SOURCES WERE EITHER THE MAIN REASONS OR FORMED PART OF THE REASONS FOR THE CANCELLATION OF THE GHANA VISIT ARE TOTALLY UNFOUNDED. BELIEVE ME WHEN I SAY THAT THE DECISION TO CANCEL THE VISIT WAS NOT TAKEN LIGHTLY AND THAT IT WAS ONE OF OFFICIAL ACTIONS THAT I HAVE TAKEN WITH GREAT RELUCTANCE. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE

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IT TO BE IN THE BEST INTEREST OF GHANA-AMERICAN RELATIONS FOR SUCH A DECISION TO BE TAKEN, HOWEVER DISTASTEFUL IT WAS TO ME PERSONALLY AND MY COLLEAGUES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA. I KNOW THE GREAT EFFORTS WHICH YOUR ABLE AND HARD-WORKING AMBASSADOR TO GHANA, MRS. SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK, WHOSE PRESENCE IN GHANA I PERSONALLY, AND ALL MY COLLEAGUES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL VALUED (SIC) VERY MUCH, HAD MADE TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE VISIT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE. I COULD THEREFORE IMAGINE HER PERSONAL DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE SUDDEN TURN OF EVENTS AND I WOULD HAVE VERY MUCH WISHED TO BE ABLE TO TALK TO HER PERSONALLY AND EXPLAIN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. AS I HAVE LEARNED THAT SHE HAS ALREADY LEFT FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH HER GOVERNMENT, I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF MY REASSURANCES COULD BE CONVEYED TO HER, I PERSONALLY LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING HER SOON IN GHANA WHERE SHE IS ALWAYS SURE OF A WARM WELCOME.

I HAVE INSTRUCTED MY AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, HIS EXCELLENCY MR. S.E. QUARM, WHO HAD BEEN CALLED HOME TO ASSIST WITH THE ARRANGEMENTS OF THE VISIT, TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON IMMEDIATELY AND TO PERSONALLY HAND OVER THIS LETTER TO YOU AND CONVEY MY HIGHEST PERSONAL REGARDS AND DEEPEST REGRETS FOR ANY INCONVENIENCE AND EMBARRASSMENT THAT THE CANCELLATION OF THE VISIT HAS CAUSED TO YOU PERSONALLY, THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. WITH SENTIMENTS OF MY HIGHEST ESTEEM.

SINCERELY,

(SIGNED)

GENERAL I.K. ACHEAMPONG  
HEAD OF STATE AND CHAIRMAN OF  
THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL  
30TH APRIL 1976.

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