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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S: 7505275

Date: MAR 19 1975

For: Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft
National Security Council
The White House

Pursuant to referral dated _____, NSC No. 7501713 (if any) a copy of which is attached, we are enclosing the following:

Information copy of direct reply Translation Other
Draft reply for: President's signature Other signature
We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below

The attached item, which was sent directly to the Department of State, is being forwarded for your attention.

XX We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below

A draft reply is attached
A draft reply will be forwarded
A translation is attached
Other

REMARKS: In view of two pending Presidential responses to letters from President Tolbert, already at the White House, as well as the routine nature of the attached letter, the Department recommends that no response be made. Our Ambassador has been instructed to acknowledge receipt of the annual message on behalf of President Ford.

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: President Ford From: President Tolbert
Date: February 25, 1975 Subject: Presidential letter to President Ford enclosing Tolbert's Annual Message to the Legislature.



George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

16

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

February 25, 1975

My dear Great and Good Friend:

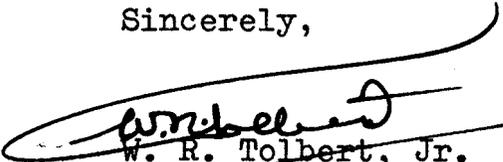
On January 24, 1975, I delivered my Fourth Annual Message to the Fourth Session of the 47th Legislature of the Republic of Liberia.

The annual Presidential Message to the Legislature is the means by which the President in a general way informs the peoples' representatives of the activities of Government on the previous fiscal year, lays guidelines and makes proposals for the operation of Government during the current year.

Because of my regard for our personal relation, I enclose a copy of my 1975 Message, for your information.

With assurances of my highest consideration and esteem and best wishes for your personal wellbeing and that of Mrs. Ford and for the continued progress and prosperity of the American people.

Sincerely,


W. R. Tolbert, Jr.

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



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: KISSINGER, H _____
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SUBJECT: *Pres Inquest of Libanin funds a, cy of his 1975 public hearing may to the 147th Legislature of the Republic of Liberia*

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EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO
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ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY?
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE:
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OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

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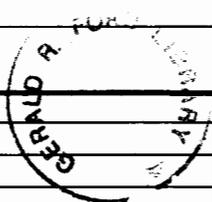
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10

FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE

OF

DR. WILLIAM R. TOLBERT, JR.

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

TO THE

FOURTH SESSION OF THE 47TH LEGISLATURE

JANUARY 24, 1975

E. J. ROYE BUILDING

MONROVIA, LIBERIA



Action for Self-Sufficiency





Dr. William R. Tolbert, Jr.
PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

I call upon all of our people, in every place and in every way, to become totally involved constructively and make the nation indeed a prosperous and glorious Land of Liberty. I call on them to hasten the removal of all barriers to national and universal progress and prosperity; I call on them to become breakers of every wall that separates and divides us, and builders of all bridges that are needed to unite us nationally and all individuals in one loving strong human Family.

--- William R. Tolbert, Jr.
PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

Mr. Vice President,
Mr. Speaker,
Ladies and Gentlemen of the Legislature:

In these times of world-wide stress and strain, of natural disasters, galloping inflation and creeping recession which loom high on the international horizon, it is with boundless gratitude and praise to Almighty God for His marvelous deliverance, His saving grace and His tender mercies showered upon us as a nation and people, that I appear before your Honourable Body, pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution, to report on the state of affairs of the Government of Liberia for the fiscal year just ended. Like the Psalmist David of old I am moved to exclaim: "Oh that men would praise the Lord for His Goodness, and for His wonderful works to the children of men."

We of this generation have every reason to be thankful to the God of our Fathers for having preserved our nation intact throughout these 127 years of national independence and given us the courage, wisdom, vision and fortitude to hold aloft the torch of freedom and justice, equality and human dignity to all who come within the radius of our influence. It is only by His might that we have survived and prospered; and as we stand upon the threshold of the year 1975, we face the future with renewed confidence and refulgent hope that this nation founded under God will continue to grow, develop and prosper as "a tree planted by the rivers of water that bringeth forth its fruits in its season."

Events during the year 1974 revealed that the international situation was characterized by two major inter-related developments. On the one hand, the process of detente, considerably enhanced during the earlier years of the 1970's, continued unabated. On the other hand, international affairs were increasingly dominated by instability arising from urgent and pressing matters of economic concern the inflationary spirals, development problems, monetary crises and trade imbalances.

We applaud the dauntless efforts of the United States of America and the Soviet Union to help create and sustain a climate of political understanding. These endeavours have greatly contributed to the lessening of international tension and confrontation. However, to be truly meaningful, all nations, large or small, rich or poor, must become involved in a firm and historic commitment to accept the principles of conciliation, cooperation, fairplay and mutual respect and justice. It cannot be over-emphasized that the resort to confrontation or conflict by any nation in our interdependent world undermines the structure of world peace and security, and increases the risk of an expanded conflict affecting other nations.

We report with deep regret that in the Middle East, in southern Africa and in southeast Asia, permanent peace still remains the hope of the international community to be realized and the blessing of mankind, particularly in the area, to enjoy.

In the Middle East, all efforts toward mutual accommodation must be unrelentingly pursued. Despite the hopeful signs in the first half of 1974, the risk of war in that troubled and vitally strategic area remains a source of constant danger. The atmosphere for fruitful negotiations established through the noteworthy efforts of American Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, which led to the Israeli-Egyptian and to the Israeli-Syrian troop disengagement; the exchange of prisoners of war and a limited Israeli withdrawal, should not be allowed to lose its influence. Instead, all the parties should take heart in the knowledge that with patience, understanding and determination, a just and enduring peace can be achieved.

War and the threat of war are no longer acceptable alternatives for resolving the problems, removing the injustices and allaying the suspicions which have sparked off four destructive conflagrations between Israel and the Arab States. I firmly believe that a secure existence for all nations and peoples in that area depends on a realistic settlement by negotiations, and not by force. Such a settlement should provide for the return of illegally occupied Arab territories, the recognition of the legitimate rights of the deprived Palestinian people, and the acceptance of the rights of all nations in that region to exist as independent states within recognized frontiers.

On our own continent, the burning issues of colonialism, racist minority rule and apartheid must be effectively dealt with, and the freedom of our oppressed African brothers and sisters assured, or genuine peace in southern Africa will never become a reality. It is our fervent hope and prayer that these issues will be resolved in the interest of Africa. The perpetrators of injustice in southern Africa who maintain systems based on inequality, racism and exploitation must understand before it is too late that the African people will no longer tolerate these evil practices.

Happily, the past year witnessed a dramatic change in attitude toward decolonization by Portugal, occasioned by the emergence of a new leadership in that country in April of last year.

It is gratifying to note that the new government of Portugal has already recognized the independence of our sister Republic of Guinea Bissau; concluded an agreement with FRELIMO for the transfer of administrative powers to the people of Mozambique, and set June 5th, 1975, as the date for that country's independence. It has also concluded negotiations with the leaders of the three liberation movements of Angola (MPLA, FNLA and UNITA) for the establishment on the 31st of this month of a transitional government and set November 11, 1975, as the date for that country's independence.

As a result of negotiations between the Portuguese Government and the PAIGC, a transitional government has been established in the Cape Verde Islands, and July 5, 1975,

set as the date for its independence. A similar agreement between the Portuguese authorities and the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe has been reached for the establishment of a provisional government in the territory to be followed by independence on July 12, 1975.

The present attitude and action of the Government of Portugal urge us to review our diplomatic position with that country, as we are impressed that it qualifies for a renewal of relations and appropriate cooperation with us, within the framework of the Organization of African Unity.

These developments seem to be having a marked impact on the racist minority regimes of southern Africa, and doubtlessly influenced the decision of the 29th Session of the United Nations General Assembly to bar South Africa from participation in that Session.

We are pleased to report that through the bold and sagacious initiatives of our brothers, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, President Seretse Khama of Botswana and President Samoa Michel of FRELIMO, agreements were reached early in December last, on the amalgamation of the four African nationalist movements in Zimbabwe under the leadership of the African National Council - the only African nationalist group that has not been banned in the country. This agreement also has provided for the release from detention of all political prisoners, including the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Mr. Joshua Nkomo; the cessation of military hostilities between African nationalists

forces and those of the Smith Regime, and the convening, without preconditions, of a Constitutional Conference to decide the future of Zimbabwe.

The world cannot be a passive observer of these unfolding momentous events, for if indeed detente is to be fully internationalized, it cannot be limited to relations among the major powers and their allies. If it is to achieve its objectives of creating and sustaining a solid structure of international political understanding, then it will be necessary for all the peoples of southern Africa to enjoy their inalienable right to live in freedom with justice, equality and human dignity.

Dislocations in the international economic structure have caused major problems for Third World nations. Inflation, which is a result of these developments, has greatly increased the cost of vitally needed imports; yet, the income from the raw material exports of non-oil-producing developing states has remained relatively low. The need for the establishment of a new world economic order, as articulated at the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held last April, has regrettably not been met. All nations must in concert apply themselves with seriousness of purpose to the challenge of so structuring the world economy that these evident problems may be resolved in a manner which benefits the entire international community.

We therefore view the need to assure adequate energy resources, food supplies, manufactured goods, capital resources and technological expertise as a matter of urgency

to be dealt with through the collective efforts of all nations. For the pursuit of selfish economic interest carries with it the destructive element of divisiveness, undermines cooperation, and lays the groundwork for confrontation, conflict, exploitation and aggressive rivalry.

As we begin the year 1975, uncertainties continue to loom ahead, and there is still lacking a common agreement as to how best to stave off the scourges of war, abject poverty, ignorance, disease and starvation. Political accommodation alone will prove illusory so long as the world is plagued by underdevelopment and the monetary and food crises.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

I am gratified to report that during the past year, Liberia continued to maintain relations of cordiality, goodwill and mutual respect with all friendly nations and peoples of the international community, and in particular, with those nations which have accredited diplomatic representatives near this Capital.

This is in consonance with our national policy of encouraging increased wholesome cooperation and genuine friendship among the nations and peoples of the world. It remains our firm belief that universal peace and the steady progress of humanity will be secured in an atmosphere of tolerance and international goodwill. We are convinced that the reality of our growing interdependence necessitates formulation and attainment of common goals for the common good.

In the course of the year, the Government of Liberia established diplomatic relations with the Governments of Cuba, Barbados and Guyana. This is another manifestation of our desire for useful and beneficial international contacts on an expanded scale, based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in the affairs of other States, and acceptance of the right of each nation to adopt a system of Government which reflects the needs and aspirations of its people.

In January of last year, we were pleased to accept the very kind invitation of our friend and brother, President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, to visit that country in order to participate in the closing of the Fifth Ordinary Session of the Defense Commission of the Organization of African Unity which was held in Conakry. This was indeed an important meeting, for it was convened primarily to devise means for granting greater assistance to our newly independent Sister Republic of Guinea Bissau, which at that time was engaged in an heroic and difficult struggle for complete independence. On that occasion, we made a contribution of \$25,000.00 to the Republic of Guinea Bissau in the name of the Liberian Government and people and pledged anew Liberia's unwavering support to all the peoples of Africa still subject to racism and colonialism.

During this visit, President Toure, the Democratic Party, the Government and fraternal Guinean people accorded us a most warm and enthusiastic reception for which we remain grateful.

We have continued to foster meaningful cooperation between Liberia and our neighbouring sister states. Implementation of agreements reached at the bilateral level with Guinea, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast was pursued during the past year through meetings at the technical and ministerial levels with their respective representatives. It is our hope that greater progress towards this end will be made through more vigorous initiatives and meaningful exchanges.

On the occasion of the State Visit to Liberia in July of last year by the President of The Gambia, Sir Dawda Jawara and Lady Jawara, they participated in the celebrations of the 127th anniversary of the independence of our nation. At that time a treaty of friendship and cooperation was concluded between Liberia and The Gambia providing for exchanges of technical information, and cooperation in tourism, agriculture, industry, transportation, culture and education.

The Honourable Aboud Jumbe, First Vice President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and representatives of several other friendly nations including His Excellency Kwame Baah, Commissioner of External Affairs of Ghana, His Excellency J. R. L. KOTSOKOANE, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Lesotho, His Excellency Dr. Kekura Camara, Minister of Breeding and Fishing of the Republic of Guinea, His Excellency Alexander Correira, Special Envoy of the Republic of Guinea Bissau, and two representatives of the Women's Committee of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics, Mrs. Maya MOLLEAVA and Mrs. Albernia DATSENKO, also participated in the independence celebrations in Zwedru, Grand Gedeh County.

The Mano River Union between Liberia and Sierra Leone achieved notable successes last year. The Joint Secretariat has already been established in Freetown. On October 3, 1974, the First Anniversary of the Union was celebrated and six Protocols to the Mano River Declaration were signed by President Siaka Stevens and me at Bo in Grand Cape Mount County. Agreement was also reached during the year for the construction of a bridge over the Mano River linking our two countries at a cost of 2.9 million dollars. The financing has been arranged and construction has commenced. Each country is expected to construct 12.7 miles of access roads.

It is our firm belief that cooperation based on sincere friendship and shared objectives holds out every chance for achieving mutually beneficial results. We shall persevere in our policy to promote African unity and solidarity at the sub-regional, regional and continental levels thereby advancing the economic emancipation and prosperity of the nations and peoples of Africa.

Accordingly, an essential feature of the Mano River Union is the provision that membership is open to other neighbouring states. Meanwhile, Liberia will continue to give every support to, and play a meaningful role in the successful establishment of the proposed Economic Community of West African States. To this end, a ministerial conference is being convened in Monrovia in less than a week to review a proposed Treaty for consideration later by the Heads of State of the participating countries.

In view of the increasingly evident and growing interdependence of the nations of the world, we have considered it a matter of the highest priority to do everything that lies within our power to assure expanded, equitable and mutually beneficial productive economic ties between our country and the entire international community. A fundamental threat to world peace and security arises from the unfortunate gap between those few nations blessed with an abundance of material wealth, and the large number still engaged in the arduous task of development. This state of affairs was rendered far more acute by the world-wide inflationary spiral, now compounded by a down-turn in economic activity in certain industrialized countries. All of these conditions have adversely affected developing countries most severely, Liberia not excepted.

In April last year we attended the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held in New York, because of the great importance which we attach to resolving what may properly be termed the economic crisis affecting mankind. In addressing that world body, we stressed the need for cooperation rather than confrontation in our attempts to achieve a just and equitable restructuring of the existing world economic order. We felt that in this manner we could secure the interest of all nations, particularly the most needy, and assure the prosperity and wellbeing of all peoples. Regrettably, no dramatic results have as yet emerged from that Special Session. It is our

fervent hope that during this period some positive efforts will be made by the entire international community to ensure the establishment of new economic and more beneficial relationships among nations.

Between the months of March and April we travelled to Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Libya; and in September, to the Socialist Republic of Romania upon the invitation of His Excellency President Nicolae Ceaucescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. In each case we were accorded the most cordial, warm and friendly reception by the respective Heads of State, and the Governments and peoples of these nations. Our purpose was not only to solidify and expand the close ties of friendship existing between Liberia and those countries, but also to explore possibilities for increased economic, commercial and trade links.

Several agreements providing for such cooperation were signed in Libya and in Romania, while the Saudi Arabian Government indicated a definite interest in the possibility of establishing joint venture enterprises including the steady supply of crude oil.

At the invitation of the Heads of State of three Sister African nations, namely, the Republic of Zambia, the Kingdom of Lesotho, and the Republic of Malawi, we paid State Visits to those countries in June and July. In each instance, we were accorded the warmest brotherly hospitality by our hosts. We had the opportunity of discussing matters of particular interest to Africa, especially the situation

in southern Africa where freedom and human dignity are denied millions of our brothers and sisters. In every case, we agreed that great benefits can be derived from regular consultations among us and on the necessity of promoting greater bilateral cooperation.

During that visit to southern Africa, I was pleased to extend an invitation to our Brother Chief M. Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu, Chief Executive Councillor and leader of over four million Zulus of South Africa, to visit Liberia. In response, he visited us from December 31, 1974, to January 6, 1975, and was accompanied by Mr. Gibson Thula, his Special Assistant.

We welcomed his visit, as it afforded us an opportunity of obtaining first-hand information about the situation in South Africa from a prominent and renowned leader of our Black brothers and sisters in that country.

I am gratified to state that our association with the Chief during his brief visit proved to be mutually beneficial. In his own words he described his visit as "a manifestation of concrete identification with the struggle of Blacks within the borders of South Africa itself." He also asserted that it will be a source of inspiration and strength to many Blacks in his country, and that the ties thus established will be further cultivated.

The Chief pledged to continue the struggle until "the Blackman's dignity is recognized ---- in South Africa." This, he declares, is a duty he and his compatriots owe not only to themselves, but to God the Creator of all men, to Africa and to the entire human family.

In early June, we participated in the Eleventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Mogadishu, Somalia. At this notable Assembly the Heads of State and Government declared the second decade of the founding of the OAU to be the "decade of fulfillment," and I am happy to state that a spirit of brotherhood, harmony and friendship prevailed throughout the Assembly.

We were heartened by the change of Government in Portugal and the new opportunities thereby presented for self-determination and independence in Portuguese African territories. We were pleased by Portugal's recognition of the independence of the Republic of Guinea Bissau, which had been admitted to membership in the OAU.

One of the outstanding measures adopted at that meeting was the election of a new Administrative Secretary General, Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua of the Cameroon, replacing Mr. Nzo Ekangaki of the same nationality, who had earlier tendered his resignation.

Of equal significance was the adoption of a statement calling for the withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian peoples as a means of establishing a just and

lasting peace in the Middle East. Additionally, a Standing Committee of five states was appointed to study means of combating the effects of the drought so severely afflicting various parts of Africa. We were also able to consult individually with the leaders of several sister African States on issues affecting our continent and the welfare of our peoples.

On October 31st, we were highly honoured when the Council of Churches of Greater New York, through the Society of the Family of Man, conferred upon us the Gold Medallion Award for 1974 - the first African Head of State ever to be so honoured. I accepted this rare distinction with a deep sense of humility and commitment to serve Almighty God and mankind to the limit of my resources. Indeed, we are all members of the same human family seeking alike to live lives of physical, economic, moral and spiritual fulfillment in the enjoyment of the abundant fruits of this good earth which indeed is our common heritage.

In New York, we were the happy recipient of further courtesies from, among others, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, who entertained us to an official luncheon at the Headquarters of the Organization. We also conferred with the President of the 29th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, His Excellency Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who is also Foreign Minister of Algeria.

Whilst in the United States, we were pleased to accept the kind invitation of His Excellency Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States of America, to hold discussions with him at the White House. President Ford received us most cordially and, in the most friendly manner, we exchanged views not only on the historic ties between our two countries, but on current events in Africa and world affairs. I am pleased to report that this first meeting between us, was profitable and constructive.

Leaving the United States we paid State Visits to Barbados and Guyana in response to invitations extended by the Heads of State and Government of those two friendly countries. We were enthusiastically received in Barbados with which Liberia enjoys ties of friendship and consanguinity dating back to the emigration to this country in 1865 of 346 Barbadians whose descendants have included two former Presidents of Liberia.

We were equally well received in Guyana, where, as in Barbados, we were greatly impressed by the energetic developmental activities based upon the spirit of self-reliance. They accorded us the distinct honour of being the first visiting Head of State ever to address their National Assembly.

These visits provided a beneficial exchange of views on problems of mutual concern in our endeavours to promote the rapid economic advancement for the welfare of our peoples.

In early January, Princess Christina of the Kingdom of Sweden visited Liberia and was accorded official courtesies. It will be recalled that her visit was made in connection with

the trans-shipment through Liberia of materials and supplies destined for the Sudano-Sahelian countries affected by drought.

Later during the same month, His Excellency Luiz Cabral, President of the Council of State of the Republic of Guinea Bissau, paid a two-day State Visit to Liberia upon our invitation, and participated in the dedication of Government's Sinkor Housing Estate named in memory of the late great African Freedom Fighter and valiant leader of Guinea Bissau, Amilcar Cabral.

In the month of February, Her Majesty Queen Juliana and His Royal Highness Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands paid a four-day State Visit to Liberia in response to our invitation. This visit further strengthened the historic relations already happily subsisting between our two nations and peoples.

His Excellency Nicolae Ceaucescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs. Elena Ceaucescu, paid a State Visit to us in March. In a Joint Communique issued at the end of the visit, President Ceaucescu and I indicated the possibilities which exist for the development of bilateral economic ties and several agreements on economic cooperation were signed between Liberia and Romania in the fields of mining, metallurgy, wood and natural rubber processing.

While enroute to the United States of America, President Siaka Stevens of the Republic of Sierra Leone visited us in April, and Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of

Somalia and Current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, also paid a three-day State Visit to Liberia in November.

All of these visits did not only afford us the opportunity of renewing acquaintances, but they enabled us to exchange views on matters of bilateral concern, developments in Africa and international affairs.

We also had the pleasure of receiving His Excellency Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, as well as His Excellency William Eteki Mboumoua, Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, both of whom came to confer with us on matters affecting their respective organizations as well as African and world affairs.

We were also visited by a representative of the Vatican, His Eminence Luigi Cardinal Raimondi, who conveyed to us a special message from His Holiness the Pope.

The policy of this Government will continue to be based upon those solid foundations which have guided us in the past. We will at all times seek to maintain the closest ties of friendship with our neighbours and foster the realization of stronger bonds of unity and solidarity on this continent. We will continue to encourage, support and assist in the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere, particularly our African brothers and sisters from colonialism, racist minority rule and apartheid.

Indeed, we will always be friendly to all nations which value our friendship on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect and non-interference in our internal affairs. It is

our sincere hope that the community of nations will more and more realize that it is principally through a commonality of interests, joint efforts, and genuine cooperation that a peaceful, stable and progressive world will be achieved. In this hope let us move forward together with faith in God and confidence in ourselves.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE

The Minister reports that the financial position of the Government has further improved during 1974. Revenues were 108.6 million dollars, compared with 89.8 million dollars for 1973, and expenditures on current account were 82 million dollars, compared with 70.4 million dollars during the previous year. This resulted in a current account surplus of 26.6 million dollars in 1974 as against 19.4 million dollars for 1973. Our financial operations during 1974 can further be described as one of continuing efforts, through more vigilant control of tax enforcements, to reduce non-productive spending while maximizing Government revenues.

REVENUES AND EXPENDITURE

According to the Minister, Government's revenues grew by almost 21 per cent, reaching 108.6 million dollars - an excess of 12.6 million dollars over 1974 estimates and 18.8 million dollars over 1973. Since 1971, the revenues of the country have grown by nearly 55 per cent, exceeding revenue estimates each year by at least 12 per cent.

The high performance in revenue collections was made possible in 1974 through favourable prices for rubber until last June; through continued high prices for iron ore on the world market during the entire year; by substantial increases in the value of imports, combined with the effective centralization of consular fees collection at domestic ports; and by successful reviews of concession agreements. On the whole, increased revenues have been derived from a broader tax base rather than from tax rate increases.

The price of iron ore increased by thirty per cent, which permitted the large mining companies to absorb the large cost increases, particularly for fuel. Rubber prices were also very favourable until the middle of 1974, leading to a considerable improvement in the net income of rubber farmers and concessions.

On the expenditure side, current expenditures of 82 million dollars together with investment expenditures of 7.8 million dollars and External Debt amortization of 18.6 million dollars combined to yield a total expenditure of 108.4 million dollars. Between 1973 and 1974, total expenditures have grown by 18.7 million dollars, or about 21 per cent. From these results it can be seen that while in 1973 Government improved its net financial position, it has in 1974 accomplished mainly an increase in real assets.

It is important to observe, however, that efforts to minimize wasteful expenditures and irregular transactions have resulted in considerable resentment among the small percentage of our people who personally benefited in the

past from the lack of proper fiscal controls. Whilst it may seem sometimes frustrating to dedicated public servants, it should be remembered that such adverse reactions are part of the price they are called upon to pay for their determination to discharge their duties with fervour and zeal.

The major categories of total current expenditure for 1974 were Salaries and Wages, 44.8 per cent; Purchase of Goods and Services, 50 per cent; and interest on the External Debt, 5.2 per cent. Moreover, of the total 1974 expenditures, 5.6 million dollars was spent on investments in public corporations, and 2.2 million dollars in the acquisition of land and buildings, in order to enhance the future earning potential of the Government as well as to raise the level of social benefits to the masses.

Increased revenues to Government is only one aspect of the Government's policy of creating a healthy business and commercial atmosphere in the country, and should not be regarded as a goal in and of itself. Far more important is the need to maintain an expenditure pattern which ensures a sustained and balanced growth of the economy.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Government's fiscal policies, the Minister points out, were also designed to counteract as much as possible the depressive effects emanating from world-wide economic conditions. The staggering increase in oil prices in late 1973, occurring as it did at a time when world economic activity

was already on the downturn, has created for industrial countries some of the most serious economic problems the world has faced since World War II. Their overall growth has virtually come to a halt. They are incurring huge international payments deficits. Unemployment is rising rapidly and inflation continues at rates of up to 20 per cent. Developing countries are particularly affected by the contraction in demand for their export products and by the rapidly rising cost of their imports. The purchasing power of consumers has declined, accordingly, and development efforts are being seriously eroded.

The negative effects of world economic conditions on Liberia are mainly reflected in the drop in Liberia's trade surplus by about one-third, from 130.5 million dollars in 1973, to an estimated 85 million dollars in 1974. This was the prime factor responsible for an overall balance of payments deficit, as evidenced by a decline of close to three million dollars of the country's disposable net foreign assets

In the light of events influencing the economy in 1974, the commercial banking system has practically exhausted its domestic resources in the aggregate. One might expect the banks, therefore, to exercise a high degree of restrictiveness in their lending policies and thus to exert a deflationary influence on the economy during 1975. The amendment of the Usury Law to raise the maximum rate of interest in the country, as proposed during the last Session of the Legislature, is necessary to counteract this undesirable tendency.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL RELATIONS

The Minister of Finance states that international confidence in the financial standing and the development potential of the nation has been enhanced by our longstanding record for political and economic stability, which has been strengthened over recent years by the strong management of the financial resources of the country. This confidence has been further evidenced by increased development lending from international financial institutions, such as the African Development Bank and the World Bank. Moreover, our enviable record of punctual servicing of an external debt of 140 million dollars continues to enhance the nation's creditworthiness. In 1974, such debt servicing amounted to 22.93 million dollars.

As a buttress to the financial viability of the economy, the Government has again concluded a one year standby arrangement with the International Monetary Fund for the amount of 4.8 million dollars and applied for additional resources of 5.8 million dollars Special Drawing Rights (SDR) through the Special Oil Facility.

Excellent relations with other financial institutions made available 5.4 million dollars from the African Development Bank for the Sierra Leone-Liberia Road Link and for the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment; 1.8 million dollars from the Arab League; and a package of 15 million dollars from the World Bank, pending feasibility studies, for financing the Mesurado Bridge and Port Access Roads, the Ganta-Totota Highway, and an integrated rural development

program in Lofa County. The World Bank is also considering the activation of studies for increased hydroelectric generation facilities which will be necessary for the exploitation of ores from the Putu, Gbie and Wologisi deposits.

THE NATIONAL BANK OF LIBERIA

The National Bank of Liberia, the Minister reveals, is another pillar of support to the economy and its establishment represents a major achievement in 1974.

Commencing as a monetary unit of the Ministry of Finance, the National Bank became a reality in July 1974. While its resources are still meagre, it has begun to function effectively in broadening the scope of its policy potential. However, its ability to exercise substantial corrective influence in the economy is limited by the narrow extent of its resources.

In its first six months of operation, the Bank showed a net income of 67,384 dollars from a gross income of 585,818 dollars. It paid Government interest of 125,506 dollars, and paid 70 percent of its net income in the amount of \$47,169.02.

CONCESSION AGREEMENTS

The renegotiation of concession agreements continued into 1974, highlighted by the signing of the Lamco and Bong agreements which provided additional revenue of approximately 2.6 million dollars per year. Indicative of the new atmosphere of confidence growing out of renegotiations, the Minister reports that Lamco is preparing a study for further development of its iron ore deposits; and the Bong Mining

Company has prepared a feasibility study calling for capital investment of about 120 million dollars in a new pelletizing plant. Moreover, the Bong Mining group is negotiating with European and Japanese concessionaires with respect to the development of the Putu Iron Ore deposit for which a concession agreement is expected to be negotiated in 1975.

Last year, a concession agreement between the Government of Liberia and the Liberia Iron and Steel Corporation (LISCO) was amended to allow the concessionaire to begin operation in 1981, instead of 1976, as originally specified. As compensation to the Government for loss of revenue due to deferment, the concessionaire has agreed to pay a sum of 500 thousand dollars per year beginning 1976 until such time as the mine is in commercial production. A major agreement was reached between the company, AMAX Inc., and a group of Japanese companies in 1974, which will be participating in the venture. At present, the company is updating feasibility and other technical studies necessary for the establishment of supporting facilities.

With respect to the Gbie Mountain deposit, a feasibility study has been updated and participants in the venture have begun negotiations in order to finalize their respective involvement. It is expected that this new economic activity will begin with the shortest possible delay to replace the activities lost through the closing of the Bomi Hills mines sometime in 1975.

It is anticipated that the total investment in these three new mining ventures in Liberia will be in excess of two thousand million dollars. This will have a very strong impact on the local economy, provided it is achieved. The negotiations which will be held in this connection are expected to be delicate and time consuming. However, the benefits to the people of Liberia should be of a long-term nature.

Iron ore mining is an extractive process taking away an asset which can never be replaced, but it also generates revenues for the Government and people of the country. These revenues must therefore be well managed in order to justify the removal of our natural wealth. In the past, our expenditure pattern has not always recognized our obligation to future generations in this regard. It is our policy, therefore, that the revenues accruing to Government from depletable resources of national wealth shall be re-invested so as to create assets which in turn will generate future revenues.

Outside the mining sector, one major concession review has been concluded, and a second is underway. Negotiations with the Liberian Maritime Administrators have been finalized, and the draft agreement is presently being reviewed. The changes in the agreement will yield, on the basis of 1974 results, an additional one million dollars in revenues. The Firestone concession agreement of 1926 is currently under review and it is hoped that this will be finalized sometime in 1975.

PUBLIC CORPORATION

In keeping with appropriate legislation, according to which the Ministry of Finance is required to exercise control over the financial operations of Public Corporations, the office of the Comptroller General was established in the Ministry of Finance in August last year. According to his Terms of Reference, the Comptroller General is responsible to monitor the performance of all Public Corporation and, when necessary, to make recommendations for improvement in their financial management. These Public Corporations include fourteen companies, only five of which are currently showing satisfactory results. They are the National Port Authority, (NPA), Roberts International Airport, (RIA), AGRIMECO, Liberia Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC), and Total Involvement Shipping Company (TISCO).

In September 1974, the Comptroller General submitted a report on the Public Utilities Authority (PUA) group of companies which outlined the necessity for immediate action on the part of Government to prevent a financial collapse. It was on the basis of the report that a Task Force was appointed to make recommendations regarding the companies.

Other public corporations which are not showing satisfactory results are being totally evaluated for the purpose of submitting recommendations intended to improve their viability. In addition, the Office of the Comptroller General has standardized all reporting for budgetary purposes, and is introducing procedures and criteria for investment decisions in respect of these corporations.

CONFERENCE CENTRE

During the course of the year, a Special Cabinet Committee was appointed to study and prepare recommendations for a project which would be designed to provide facilities for the hosting of international conferences. The Committee has recommended that such a project should include, as a first phase, the establishment of a tourist village and a new terminal building at Roberts International Airport which would constitute an initial step in providing the infrastructure for tourist development.

Inasmuch as emphasis has been placed by Government on the development of tourism as one of our priorities, we have approved the report of the Cabinet Committee recommending the project, and the implementation of the first stage will begin in March. It is expected that the project should be completed in 1976.

To this end, the Government has signed a contract with CUBITTS Liberia which is a joint venture between CUBITTS International and the Government of Liberia for the construction of these facilities. An amount of four million dollars was earmarked for this purpose from resources accumulated during 1974. Even though this amount was committed last year, it will be disbursed in 1975, and is consequently included in the proposed 1975 Budget which will be presented for your favourable consideration.

The Budget Committee, in cooperation with the Cabinet, has undertaken a very difficult exercise in coping with our needs and in ordering our priorities within the constraints

of our financial resources. This exercise has been particularly difficult in view of the uncertainties and fearful anxieties associated with the financial and economic situation which faces the world today. Nevertheless, I will be proposing for your consideration a total Budget of approximately 117 million dollars for 1975. This represents a substantial increase over the 1974 Budget of 96 million dollars and total actual expenditures of 108 million dollars.

In order to restrict ourselves within the limit of the proposed Budget, it is necessary that the strictest control is exercised over our expenditures in 1975, and a more aggressive and effective program for the collection of our revenue is maintained. It is in this spirit that the exemplary decision was made by us to dispose of SPEEDY II because we felt that the financial benefits to be derived from this decision would provide additional funds which could be used in areas of highest priority in our development program.

MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs observes that the world-wide inflationary trend which was started during the latter half of 1972, continued sharply in 1974. Because of this fact, the economy experienced only a moderate improvement of about 8.5 per cent over 1973. This situation is attributable mainly to two factors - the oil crisis, and the high labor cost in industrial countries.

While we are endeavouring in the Liberian economy to offset the unfavourable effects of the inflationary trend through higher earnings for our primary export commodities,

the increasing higher cost for imported goods and capital equipment continues to have an unfavourable effect on our economy. This phenomenon is aggravated by the fact that the Liberian economy is characterized by a high degree of openness, and is thus vulnerable to such price changes in the world economy.

The Minister points out that the relatively unfavourable impact of world inflation on our Balance of Trade and Payment Position will no doubt make development planning and programming for the future a critical problem.

The four-fold rise in crude oil prices at the beginning of 1974 has increased the import bill by more than 35 million dollars. As a consequence of this significant rise, the prices of goods and services in our country increased, and the prices of imported manufactured goods also became steeper.

It should be noted that the price of important export commodities, except for diamonds, were, on an average, considerably higher during the first half of this reporting period than those prevailing during the corresponding period in 1973. However, because of the slackening in the demand for industrial raw materials on the developed countries, there was a sharp decline in the prices of some of our raw materials during the second half of 1974.

The economy of Liberia is highly dependent on foreign trade, and is therefore very vulnerable to events elsewhere in the world economy over which we have no control. In this respect, the most significant factor as we enter 1975, is the widespread expectations of an economic recession in

the United States of America and Western Europe. Many analysts forecast that the major economies will continue throughout 1975 to undergo reduction of output, accompanied by inflation and unemployment on a scale not experienced since the depression of the 1930's. Such conditions will adversely affect Liberia mainly in two ways, namely, lower real demand for our major export products, and higher prices for imported goods.

Iron ore and rubber, our principal exports which together account for about 40 per cent of our Gross Domestic Product, 80 per cent of our export earnings, and 40 per cent of wage employment, are essential raw materials in industries such as steel making, automobile manufacturing and construction. These industries are expected to be the hardest hit by any recession in the developed economies. Notwithstanding this fact, our economy is expected to experience a modest growth in real terms during 1975.

Imports are a major source of our total supply of goods. Consequently, the prices we pay for these imports have a direct bearing on the growth of the commercial and transport sectors.

The agricultural sector excluding rubber has good prospects, particularly in forestry, fishing and rice production. Government will therefore continue its efforts to encourage the increased production in the agricultural sector to offset the high cost of imported products.

According to the Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs, the Second Population Census taken in February 1974, has been completed. He states however that the results will be published during the course of the year.

Foreign Aid constitutes an important part of the resources available for our development program. In recent years, the emphasis has shifted in Foreign Aid from the project-oriented to the program-assisted approach which is in consonance with our priority objectives of integrated development. The level of public foreign assistance in 1974, declined significantly from the all-time high cost of 53 million dollars to 32.2 million dollars. Within this framework, foreign assistance is being principally utilized for institutional and infrastructural development.

Liberia continues to promote closer economic and commercial cooperation with a number of countries on the bilateral, regional and sub-regional levels. The aim of this policy is to expand the market size, strengthen the competitive position of current and potential Liberian products in overseas markets, and attract additional foreign investment for further development.

Since 1969, and for a number of years, Government's approach to planning was exercised in a series of projects formulated and implemented on an annual basis through a development budget. This approach did not prove satisfactory; for it emphasized the development of infrastructure without sufficient concern for proper linkage and the diffusion of development throughout the economy.

With our increasing concern for welfare, our policy of development should be sufficiently comprehensive so as to benefit all of our people and improve the quality of life in every segment of the society, especially in the area of rural development. It is therefore quite apparent that a pre-determined development arrangement is imperative to assure that this policy is effectively implemented in order to avoid dissipation of our scarce resources.

In this connection, Government through the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, has begun intensive work on the preparation of a socio-economic development plan for Liberia to cover the period 1976 to 1984.

MINISTRY OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION

According to the Minister the international trade pattern during the year under review was of such that Liberia, like other developing countries, was adversely affected in its balance of trade position. Prices of manufactured products from the developed countries continued to rise. Consequently, Liberia exported more of her primary products, but received relatively less in terms of imported goods.

The total actual value of exports rose from 324 million dollars in 1973 to an estimated 375 million dollars in 1974, fifty-one million dollars more than the 1973 total. This increase was due wholly to the rise in the price of rubber, logs, and lumber, respectively, during the first half of 1974; and an increase in the price of iron ore. Nevertheless, there was a sharp rise in the total value of imports in 1974.

Because of the substantial increase in the price of crude oil, the value of petroleum imports in 1974 was about 60 million dollars compared with only 15 million dollars in 1973. Other imports for the year 1974 were valued at about 236 million dollars, resulting in an import bill of 290 million dollars. As a result of this significant negative effect of higher imports cost, our trade surplus declined from 130 million dollars in 1973 to about 85 million dollars in 1974.

The Minister further reports that he tackled the problem of rising prices for foreign and locally-produced commodities by establishing maximum percentage markups based on the landed cost of imports. In an effort to exercise nationwide control and supervision over escalating prices, the Ministry organized eight County and two Territorial Price control Committees which, according to the Minister, are working assiduously.

During the period under review, the following six new industries with a total investment of 2.3 million dollars were granted incentives:

1. Liberia Allied Chemical Company,
Manufacturer of all types of candles
2. Liberia Industrial Polyurethane
Foam Rubber Company,
Manufacturer of foam rubber
3. Liberia Equipment Manufacturing Company,
Producers of industrial/agricultural
hand tools
4. Junk River Corporation,
Producers of corrugated paper boxes

5. Mesurado Detergent Company,
Producers of Powder Detergent
6. Cargo Hauling Trailers,
Producers of trailers for hauling cargo.

In our last Annual Message, we referred to an Agreement between the Republic of China and the Government of Liberia for the sugar project in Maryland County. In this regard, considerable progress is being made towards its successful implementation. The most significant steps recently taken in this direction are the sending to China in August last of twenty-five Liberians who are undergoing basic intensive training in all aspects of sugar production; the construction of access roads to the plantation and proposed factory sites; and the extension of nursery activities. In November last, I had the occasion to visit the project and was favourably impressed with the achievements made there.

In the period under review, the Iron and Steel project which dates back to 1963 received renewed interest. A delegation of the Austrian Firm of VOEST-ALPINE visited Liberia and held talks with Liberian officials in September 1974, to further explore the possibility of implementing this project.

The decision reached during those talks was that the firm would update the 1963 feasibility study. It was further agreed that the necessary preliminary information for this study will be provided by both VOEST-ALPINE and the Government of Liberia. Thus, both the Ministries of Finance and of Planning and Economic Affairs are now engaged in collecting the necessary information.

In accordance with our policy to expand our foreign trade, Government is committed to promoting the establishment of an industrial Free Zone in Liberia as an expansion of the Free Port concept originally envisaged in the establishment of the Free Port of Monrovia. The main objectives of the Free Zone would be to provide facilities for factories; to attract millions of dollars in foreign exchange; to create new jobs for our citizens; and to introduce more advanced industrial technology.

The establishment of the Free Zone will basically remove one of the country's major constraints to industrial development, which is the limited size of the domestic market.

The Government of the Republic of China, which itself operates a very successful Free Zone, assisted the Liberian Government in the development of its Free Zone idea by sending out a team of experts to conduct a preliminary pre-feasibility study in 1973. Their report, which indicated that the idea is feasible, was received by Government early in 1974.

Additionally, Government requested the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) to undertake a more detailed study with specific recommendations as to the steps to be taken for the implementation of the Free Zone. Recently a team of UNIDO experts visited Liberia to collect more data for this study. Their report is expected early in 1975.

MINISTRY OF POSTAL AFFAIRS

The Minister of Postal Affairs has emphasized that the Postal Service is an essential factor in economic, social and cultural developments, and is therefore a part of the fundamental infrastructure of the nation. Accordingly, he

articulates the need for greater involvement of the Service in the national development planning process.

He reports that the quality of service offered by the Postal System continues to be maintained at a high standard by better administrative control methods and more efficient staffing; and relations with Foreign Postal Administrations as well as the Universal Postal Union are most cordial and beneficial.

In furtherance of its international relations and in fulfillment of its commitments, Liberia was represented by the Ministry at two foreign conferences, namely, the Seventeenth Congress of the Universal Postal Union and the Annual Executive Meeting of the African Postal Union of which Liberia is a foundation member. At the Universal Postal Union Congress in Lausanne, Switzerland, Liberia was elected to the Executive Council.

It is gratifying to report that the Minister of Postal Affairs ably represented Government at the Centennial Celebrations of the Universal Postal Union held in Berne, Switzerland, on October 9, 1974, where he renewed acquaintance with many of his colleagues and made significant contributions toward the further development and progress of the World's Postal Service.

One of the important areas of international commitment of the Liberian Postal Administration relates to the Mano River Union. Both Sierra Leone and Liberia have mutually agreed under the Joint Declaration to study areas requiring

improvement in our respective Postal Systems with a view to harmonizing our procedure and ensuring safer and faster transportation and distribution of mail and parcel service between our two countries. For this purpose, postal experts of the two nations have held several meetings in Liberia and Sierra Leone and submitted recommendations to their respective Governments for approval.

According to the Minister, the Liberian Philatelic Agency in New York continues to justify its existence both in its functions and the results accruing therefrom. Total sales of that Agency amount to 138 thousand dollars as compared with 104 thousand dollars for the same period last year, while postal revenues reached a new high of 557.6 thousand dollars as against 463 thousand dollars in 1973.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

The administration of justice is one of the fundamental functions of the State. Whenever this function, essential and indispensable as it is in a free democratic society, is disturbed or neglected for any period, the basis of the system will surely crumble, if not restored immediately.

The protection of our human resources and the rights of individuals, be they citizens or aliens residing within our borders, is beyond any doubt the responsibility of the State which, as in every other case, this administration will neither shirk nor abandon.

In the Executive Branch, the Ministry of Justice is both the definition and character responsible to the people through the Chief Executive for the orderly administration of the law within given limits. The head of this Ministry is therefore saddled with tremendous responsibilities to the nation, which include the security of the State, the maintenance of law and order, and the preservation of all legally established institutions.

Upon the breach of any of these duties, the will of the people must prevail. It was in this context that the Ministry of Justice experienced important changes during the period under review. The Honourable Clarence L. Simpson, Jr., as Minister of Justice, was replaced by the Honourable Lawrence A. Morgan, and other significant changes were made at the levels of Assistant Ministers of Justice for Prosecution, and for Administration, Commissioner of Immigration, and Director of the Motor Vehicle Bureau.

The Minister reports that the illegal use of narcotic drugs has become very prevalent and is causing serious concern. It is mainly responsible for the increasing crime rate and the growing number of motor accidents, causing widespread injury to people - many fatal - with considerable damage and destruction to property.

It will be recalled that in 1973, we held a public meeting with motor vehicle operators and appealed to them and pedestrians to exercise caution in the use of our streets and highways to save precious human lives and property. At that time we also called for a more rigid enforcement of our traffic laws. In keeping with my assurance on that

occasion, I reiterate that I shall not hesitate to sign death warrants for convicted murderers who, while under the influence of narcotic drugs, kill innocent people.

An almost inevitable consequence of modern development is the uneven displacement of the population resulting in the shift from rural areas to urban centers. Many social and other problems arise therefrom and it becomes the obligation of Government to provide solutions in the best interest of the public.

One of the main concern in this regard relates to the safety of the public and the individuals of whom it consists. In addition to problems relating to the health, welfare and education of the people, the control of crime, the maintenance of order and the enforcement of discipline seem to require our immediate attention.

It has been observed that cities, particularly Monrovia, are becoming relatively overcrowded and there is need to regularize and control marches and group meetings in public, in order to prevent traffic congestion, avoid public obstruction and facilitate the free movement of people.

The Ministry of Justice will therefore not only continue to exercise control over marches, demonstrations and public meetings in keeping with existing laws, but will be empowered to issue permits for any such marches, demonstrations and meetings. However, the issuance of such permits will not be unreasonably withheld. Appropriate legislation on this matter will be submitted for your consideration in due course.

Public law and order must prevail in this land where Liberia's sons and daughters have over a century and a quarter striven to build and preserve this glorious heritage that is so rightly ours and which we enjoy. Everyone of us alike, old or young, rich or poor, big or small, in authority or not, has a right equally to share in the benefits of our common country. No one, whatever his or her social status, will be allowed to trample upon the rights of others. Equality before the law means not only the sharing of equal rights in theory but the equal enjoyment of all the rights of the individual by each and everyone. This is our constant concern and every effort will be exerted to ensure full respect for the Constitution and laws of this Republic.

The people themselves alone, either directly or through their legal representatives, have the right to accept or reject any proposed changes in the law. An outstanding example of such a proposal was that of the controversial Bill submitted to the Legislature for the control of Gambling in this country. Although the Bill was passed by both Houses of the Legislature, we, in our position as Chief Executive, responsible for the peaceful conduct of Government and the protection of our people, exercised our constitutional power and vetoed the Bill.

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

In a world where the threat of war is imminent and the flouting of law and order are of international concern, I am gratified to state that the Armed Forces of this Republic, throughout 1974, have been engaged in peaceful pursuits.

In response to our call for total involvement, the Minister of Defense reports that the Engineer Battalion has been engaged in development projects such as, the construction of airfields, farm-to-market roads, bridges and public buildings, including barracks and clinics.

The Minister further reports that diversified training programs have been implemented, and the results occasioned favourable improvement. In spite of this, there is room for more intensified training which, it is hoped, will be vigorously pursued in conformity with the Ministry's Military Assistance Program (MAP). Additionally, the Army's foreign training program is reportedly progressing satisfactorily. Already, one official, seventeen officers and six enlisted men have benefited from the training; and their performances, since their return to their several posts of duty, have proved to be very impressive.

Continuing his report the Minister reveals that owing to the temporary closure of the Booker Washington Institute, the Army Students Training Program (ASTP) involving intensified training has been transferred to the Tubman Military Academy in Todee and is proceeding satisfactorily.

During the current year, eight officers and 161 enlisted men of both the Liberian National Guard and the Liberian National Coast Guard, respectively, had to be retired from the service. However, in order to maintain and improve the desired level of efficiency, the Minister will launch a program in 1975 designed to fill existing vacancies.

Since the termination of the United States Military Aid to Liberia, the Minister has drawn attention to the fact that the responsibility for the purchase of all spare parts, arms and ammunition, vehicles and military hardware to equip the Liberian National Guard Brigade has been assumed by the Government of Liberia. This obligation is now wholly ours to meet, and this we will do to the limit of our resources.

Other matters affecting the Ministry of Defense will be laid before you for your timely consideration.

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

We in Liberia are a part of a world that is increasingly concerned about the ability of its people to produce sufficient food for survival. This is even more accentuated when natural and man-made disasters continue to negate the capability and reduce the capacity of nations to feed themselves.

This concern was recently expressed by the World Food Conference held in Rome in November last when the largest gathering of Ministers of Agriculture underscored the very serious situation now facing the world as a result of its failure to increase food production in relation to population growth. The Ministers estimated that over 400 million people will go hungry this year and 10 million will die of sheer starvation. You will agree with me that this is a very dismal forecast for humanity.

We can consider ourselves fortunate in that no one in Liberia has as yet died of starvation, even though we do have a problem of malnutrition. We have always emphasized the importance of agriculture and have accorded it highest priority

in the implementation of our integrated rural development programs. Hence, at this critical time it is even more imperative that we make food production a matter of national and individual priority so that we will become self-sufficient within the shortest period. I call upon my countrymen, therefore, to go to the soil and produce more food. This year must indeed be made one of Action for Self-sufficiency.

According to the Minister of Agriculture, prices of agricultural products on the World Market during the first half of 1974 rose along with other commodities, and farmers throughout the world experienced one of their best years with respect to farm income. Prices of Liberian coffee, cocoa, palm kernels, palm oil and rubber, for example, reached record levels. During the second half of the year, however, a downward movement developed. In the case of rubber, the price fall was very sharp, as a result, Liberian rubber farmers suffered severe reduction in their farm income. This verily is having an adverse effect on our economy.

Rubber accounts for 14 percent of our export earnings and is the largest source of employment in the agricultural sector; hence, there is great need for Government now to institute measures to stabilize the income of rubber farmers which would stimulate their productive capacities.

We have noted with dismay that the domestic price for rubber is usually unrelated to world market price because it has been left for too long to the discretion and manipulation of the large concessions. To avert this situation

we propose to establish a Price Review Commission that will associate with the relevant Government Agencies and the Rubber Planters Association to work out an appropriate local pricing mechanism.

Mechanized rice production during the year increased from two thousand five hundred acres in the Foya area in 1973, to six thousand five hundred acres in the Foya, Cape Mount and Zleh Town areas in 1974. There was also a very large increase in the number and size of traditional rice farms. Sales of local rice in 1974 are reported to have caused a reduction in imports by 38 percent over the preceding year, thereby preventing a foreign exchange loss of 8.15 million dollars. Because of this increased level of production, it is predicted that there will be a further substantial reduction in the 1975 imports.

There is another significant development in rice production. I am happy to announce that Government is negotiating the financing of large-scale investment in rice production on over 50,000 acres. When this is realized, it will transform Liberia from a rice-importing to a rice-exporting country. Already, Government has given approval for 13,000 acres of this project to be cleared during the current dry season.

In further support of our expanded rice production program, the Research Division of the Experimental Station at Suakoko, the University Farm and the Liberian Agricultural Company are continuing experiments on rice varieties, weed and pests control, and fertility improvement. Our

scientists at Suakoko have reported the discovery of some new varieties which are both higher yielding and marked by greater tolerance to local pests. They have also completed rotation trials with such crops as sweet potatoes, cow peas, soya beans, peanuts, corn, sorghum, and cotton. With respect to sorghum and cotton, they are now continuing field trials for the purpose of introducing them into the farming system during the dry season when there is not sufficient water for a rice crop.

Agricultural cooperatives and credit unions continue to play a major role in our rural development program as they increase their membership and economic viability. The membership of these cooperatives rose from 7,160 in 1973 to 10,200 in 1974 and credit union from 2,247 to 4,000. Correspondingly, credit unions assets rose from 210 thousand dollars to 333 thousand dollars. Of this amount 156 thousand dollars was given out to members as loans. It is interesting to note that assets of these cooperatives rose from 583 thousand dollars in 1973 to 883 thousand dollars in 1974, with a business turnover of 3.1 million dollars in 1973 and 4.2 million dollars in 1974.

It became necessary during the year to institute strict quarantine control measures when we received reports that diseased animals were being imported into the country. Our borders were closed while more than 10,000 animals were vaccinated at all entry points and other locations within the country. The Minister of Agriculture reports that the disease has now been contained, but it is imperative that strict quarantine measures be continued at the borders.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Legislature, it is imperative that we in Liberia become self-sufficient in food production as quickly as possible. Since the beginning of my incumbency as Chief Executive of this nation, I have continually emphasized the need for greater productivity in the agricultural sector, and I am determined to pursue this policy consistently until our objective is achieved. I have discovered that one of the greatest impediments to the achievement of our goal is the high cost which our farmers have to pay for agricultural equipment and supplies. Therefore, as a means of accelerating our agricultural program and simultaneously reducing the cost to Liberian farmers, I hereby recommend, for the favourable consideration of your Honourable Body, that agricultural equipment and supplies, including tools, insecticides, herbicides, fertilizers and seeds be imported duty free.

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT,
RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN RECONSTRUCTION

In pursuance of his Ministry's objectives, the Minister reports that as a result of recent internal re-organization, a new impetus has been provided to participate even more effectively in the accelerated integrated rural development program.

Of important significance was the National Independence Celebrations in Grand Gedeh County. He states that it is the general consensus that our policy of rotating these celebrations among the counties and territories is undoubtedly serving as one of the most effective means of bringing about

balanced and rapid development throughout the nation.

As manifested in the Minister's report, public response to our policy of total involvement continues to be highly encouraging. Throughout the nation, farmers cooperatives, as well as a number of self-help projects in roads, clinics, markets and schools are being rapidly established.

During the past year, the self-help rural development program has shown marked progress in building and road construction. Twenty-one self-help projects were completed and thirty-four additional ones are under construction. Of the completed projects, there are seven schools, four clinics, three market buildings, six roads and one bridge. Further requests for assistance have already been made for a total of 113 self-help projects consisting of 35 schools, 23 clinics, nine market buildings and 46 farm-to-market roads.

This is proof positive that greater interest and enthusiasm have been awakened among the rural people for our self-help program. In this connection, it might be interesting to note that the overall contributions to self-help projects by Government was less than the contribution in cash made by the people of the individual towns where such projects were undertaken.

As a part of its on-going programs, the Ministry organized seminars for Mayors and Common Councilmen as a means of preparing them to discharge their duties more effectively. In addition, several employees of the Ministry were also sent abroad for specialized training in their

specific areas. It also co-sponsored with the Institute of Public Administration two Seminars on: THE ROLE OF SUPERINTENDENTS IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT and ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM IN PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Education continues to be a major weapon against ignorance, one of the common enemies of man. Accordingly, we attach the highest importance to Government's policy of providing equal educational opportunities to all of our people. It is therefore not surprising that Government has consistently increased its appropriation for education annually by substantial amounts.

This fact is reflected in a 20.16 percent rise in 1974 over the 1973 Education Budget which, including the amount appropriated for the University of Liberia, is 13 percent of the total national budget. Yet this is still inadequate to meet the educational needs of the country, in view of the student population explosion and the need for more classroom facilities and supplies throughout the nation.

The Minister reports that since the abolition of tuition fees in the public secondary schools in 1972, the rise in enrollment at the secondary level has become dramatic. At the close of the school year there were 175.5 thousand students in elementary and secondary schools with a teaching staff of 5,388. In higher education there were over 2,000 in all disciplines with a teaching staff of 323 Instructors and Professors.

It is of interest to note that Liberia has now been admitted to full membership in the West African Examination Council. This is an important step towards the development of educational cooperation with countries in the West African region for the attainment of common educational standards. As a full member, Liberia will participate in all professional fora on curriculum development, test construction, research and other important activities designed to improve teaching and instruction.

During the period under review, Government awarded 974 local scholarships in secondary and higher education. In March 1975, a new aspect of the local scholarship program, known as the Mathematics and Science Honors Program, will go into effect. It will be open to senior high school and college students who have earned a minimum grade of "B" in either Mathematics or Science courses. Twenty of these will be open to college students and thirty to senior high school students on a nation-wide competitive basis.

One of the most heartening developments during the year has been the construction of a number of school buildings on a self-help basis by communities in various counties. The Government encouraged this self-help effort by providing imported building materials and technical advice for the construction work. Through this program, valuable contributions are being made to meet a part of the shortage of accommodation for the ever rising school enrollment. For example, in Lofa County alone eleven such school buildings were constructed in 1974. We congratulate all of our people

who have embarked upon such self-help projects and I hope they will continue to make even greater contributions in the future.

The Minister states that there are a number of foreign governments and international organizations which are contributing to our foreign scholarship program by providing scholarships to selected students to study abroad in various technical fields. We express our appreciation to them for this needed assistance which we hope can be increased in the years ahead.

As a means of accelerating the pace of our Liberianization policy, it is necessary for every high school to include a vocational curriculum to provide practical training in middle-level technical skills. In this context, it is very regrettable that the Booker Washington Institute, the only wholly supported Government technical and vocational institute in the country, had to be closed down during the Second Semester of 1974. This became necessary because of the unruly behaviour demonstrated by the students of that institution against constituted authority - a behaviour which must be stamped out.

While effort is being made to provide better accommodation, modern equipment and more extensive facilities for BWI by the reopening of school this year, I reiterate that Government will not permit a handful of uncouth, uncultured, unruly and undisciplined students to disrupt the normal operation of any of our institutions of learning or allow

them to obstruct the majority of our students in their enjoyment of the educational opportunities afforded them.

MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS

The construction and supervision of roads, city streets, airfields and public buildings including Rally projects have been the major preoccupation of the Ministry of Public Works during the period under review.

According to the Minister, several feasibility and detailed engineering studies for various roads and airfield projects were carried out by the Ministry's Engineering Division. These included, among others, the Bentol City Road, Monrovia City Streets, Spriggs Payne Airfield improvement, and the expansion of the airfields in Grand Cess, Sasstown, Zwedru and Harper.

Other feasibility studies with foreign financing have been carried out by foreign consultants on the improvement of the 76-mile Paynesville/Totota Road, the 28-mile Paynesville/Robertsfield Road, the 14-mile Mount Coffee Dam Road, the 40-mile Tubman Bridge/Bomi Hills Road, and the 36-mile Kakata/Dubli Island Road.

The Minister emphasizes, however, that despite the intensive road development program of the past, our national road network remains relatively small for the size of the country and the needs of the people. As a consequence, he states that some areas of the country are still inaccessible and isolated, while roads to others are almost impassable.

Because of this fact, the Ministry is persevering with its five-year road development and maintenance program designed to expand and upgrade the entire road network of the nation. Under this program, several primary and secondary roads and bridges are being constructed, and contracts have been awarded for the construction and macadamization of other roads. Among the Ministry's major constraints, however, are the shortage of qualified manpower and equipment, and the financial limitation which today affects the world.

The necessity to keep abreast of modern technological developments has impelled the Ministry to send abroad three of its top engineers for advanced training in the fields of soil and materials engineering, marine engineering and structural engineering. Meanwhile, on the local scene, the Ministry has provided training facilities at two Centers, one in Grand Bassa County and the other in Sinoe County as a means of encouraging more Liberians to enter the engineering field. It is expected that some of our brilliant young men and women with special aptitude will take full advantage of these opportunities to be of greater service to the nation.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The standard of health of a nation influences the attitude of its people. In his report, the Minister reveals that the general health situation of Liberia continues to improve as accomplishments are made in strengthening all aspects of the system.

Last year I drew attention to the unfavourable attitude of Liberian doctors and nurses to serving in rural centers. Today, I am pleased to inform you of a change in that attitude which has resulted in a substantial increase in the number of such doctors working in rural areas. At the present time Liberians are serving as medical doctors in Lofa, Bong, Grand Gedeh and Maryland Counties, in addition to three who are serving as public health physicians in Montserrado County, Nimba and Maryland Counties.

There has also been a considerable improvement in the level of health care delivered to the citizens and residents outside Monrovia and its environs. This has been accomplished by sending more professionally trained people to work in rural areas, thereby strengthening considerably the logistic support and supervision of these areas.

The Minister reports that two new hospitals located in Kakata and Jorwah, respectively, were constructed and made operational in 1974 with Resident Doctors and complete staffs. As a result of major renovations, the Francis J. Grant Hospital in Greenville and the Martha Tubman Hospital in Zwedru were restored to acceptable standards to ensure effective delivery of health service. Moreover, two new Health Centers were established in Grand Gedeh County.

According to the Minister, the level of assistance from donor countries and agencies to the health sector increased substantially during the year, thereby evidencing the rising interest of foreign states and agencies in the priority which Government attaches to its health program.

With appreciation and gratitude, drugs, vaccines, vehicles and financial contributions have been received from the United States of America, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Republic of South Korea, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Argentina and the International Leprosy Relief Association.

A Liberian Medical Board was formerly established to regulate the practice of medicine in the country. The Minister reports that this Board is now functioning smoothly, and its work has resulted in removing from the practice of medicine many of the irregularities and unprofessional characteristics prevalent in the past.

Among the professional workers in Liberia, the nurses have always suffered a disadvantage in that the compensation they receive for service is not commensurate either to the sacrificial nature of the service they render or to the level of their training. We consequently resolved to do something positive about this inequity and have approached the problem in two stages.

In the first stage which will be implemented in 1975, we have raised the salaries of all professional nurses, practical nurses, midwives and nurses aides working in rural areas to the level of those working in the urban area; and established a salary scale for all nurses with a bachelor degree comparable to college graduates in other professions.

The second stage of this plan, which hopefully we will be able to implement in the shortest possible time, will be to provide all nurses, rural as well as urban, with a salary more commensurate with their responsibilities which I hope will encourage them to remain in their profession and discontinue their present practice of seeking employment in other areas.

To facilitate an easy flow of communication between all hospitals in the country and the central office in Monrovia, the Ministry has established a transportation and communication network, making it possible for them to be serviced on a regular basis by road as well as by air.

The Minister has submitted a number of recommendations which will be forwarded for your timely consideration.

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION,
CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND TOURISM

The lines of mass communication throughout the nation should be kept constantly open, and information on Government policies, programs and activities should at all times be freely disseminated among the people. This is indeed necessary to motivate them on a continuing basis to achieve the great goals we have set for the nation.

It is our policy to keep the people adequately informed so as to secure their fullest support, total involvement and cooperation and thereby minimize or avoid any misunderstanding on matters affecting their interest and wellbeing. Let it be known that this Government has nothing to hide and is open to all who desire to obtain factual information on

matters of public interest which is their legitimate right. It is therefore absolutely unnecessary for any well-meaning citizen to rely on any information and publication manifestly designed only to distort the facts and mislead the people.

The Minister reports that all the communications media at the Ministry's disposal during the year have been fully utilized. According to him, improvement in rural transformation, today evident throughout the nation, has been greatly enhanced as a result of the Ministry's program of "village-to-village lectures" at the grass-root level. Many new films on Government activities have been produced on such subjects as Government's self-reliance policy and Liberia's activities in world affairs.

On relations with the world press, the Minister reveals that several articles, reports and supplements on Liberia were featured in such internationally reputable newsorgans as The New York Times, The Financial Times, Africa Progress Magazine, African Development Magazine and other publications.

The cultural programs of the Ministry have been vigorously pursued in furtherance of our policy of discouraging the blind imitation and absorption of alien cultures. Thus during the year under review, the Minister reports that the staff of the National Cultural Center assisted the cultural troupes of several schools in the Monrovia area in upgrading the level of their performances; and instilled in them a deeper appreciation for our cherished indigenous songs, dances and traditions.

MINISTRY OF LANDS AND MINES

Despite the international energy crises and the prevailing apprehension in the beginning of 1974 as to the fate of the steel industry, the Minister of Lands and Mines reports that iron ore the world over experienced a temporary price increase.

Liberia's iron ore export for the current reporting period amounts to 25.2 million long tons including 4.2 million long tons of pellets. The Bong Mining Company is constructing a new pelletizing plant with the capacity of two million long tons per annum. When completed, this will increase Liberia's pellet production to 6.2 million long tons annually and considerably raise the value of our export earnings from iron ore.

The Minister reveals that gold mining has gained momentum and a number of miners have shifted their interests from diamond to gold mining as a result of the favourable price of gold on the world market. On the other hand, he reports that the diamond market is experiencing a recession, although the demand for industrial quality stones continue to remain stable.

This downward trend in the price of diamond resulted in a tremendous financial reduction in income to a number of diamond prospectors which was reflected in the short fall in diamond exports. For example, export figures for this reporting period show a 50 percent decrease in both the value and quality of diamonds. While in 1973 the sale of Liberian diamond amounted to 46.9 million dollars, in 1974 the amount fell to 27.2 million dollars.

As an indication of the rising interest on part of Liberian students in mining engineering and allied fields, the Ministry has cooperated with the Ministry of Public Works and the Public Utilities Authority in the establishment of the T. J. R. Faulkner College of Science and Technology in the University of Liberia, and it is hoped that our young men and women will avail themselves of this opportunity so timely provided by this institution.

PUBLIC UTILITIES AUTHORITY

During the course of the year, it became necessary to effect a change in the administration of the Public Utilities Authority. The Honourable Taylor E. Major was retired, and the Honourable Benjamin M. Darpoh was appointed Acting Chairman.

In view of the very weak financial position which was discovered during the transition period, a special Task Force was appointed to make appropriate plans and recommendations to improve the quality of performance of this public Corporation, both in terms of technical operations and sound financial management.

The Task Force was required to submit short-term and long-term recommendations to insure the economic viability of the Corporation which will be dealt with in the near future.

The Acting Chairman reports that in order to curtail the effects of the steady escalation in the cost of fuel, studies are being conducted to maximize the use of the

hydro-electric potentials of our rivers. Within this framework, discussions are being held with our neighbouring States of Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast for the development of power on the Mano and the Cavalla Rivers.

With the advent of satellite communications technology, the world is now accustomed to a superior system of communication that is faster, more reliable, flexible and unrestricted in its capacity for simultaneous use by a large number of customers. Since Liberia is a part of the international communications mainstream, the Acting Chairman reports that proposals have been received from several companies to install a communications satellite earth station in Liberia. Having made comparative studies of various proposals, the Public Utilities Authority recommends that those submitted by the French Cable and Radio Company are acceptable in the light of local conditions.

As a result, a statement of understanding was executed last year between the Authority and French Cable and Radio Co. It is therefore proposed that a new corporation to be known as the International Telecommunications Corporation of Liberia be formed as a joint holding company between Liberia Telecommunications Corporation and the French Cable and Radio Company for the construction and operation of the Communications satellite earth station. Details on this project will be found in the Acting Chairman's Annual Report which will be submitted to you.

In reporting on the Liberian Broadcasting Corporation, the Acting Chairman states that the Corporation faced two major problems in 1974: 1) the pressing need for expansion, and 2) inadequate financing. The Station stands in immediate need of a 50-kilowatt short wave transmitter and a 20-kilowatt medium wave transmitter to enable it to cover the entire country effectively. In addition, it urgently needs studio and other equipment both for radio and television to avoid a major breakdown. As radio is the most powerful, effective and fastest means of reaching the majority of the people in our efforts to arouse them to the clarion call of speedy development, and self-reliance for self-sufficiency, I consider it a matter of national importance that provision be made for the needed facilities for expansion purposes as early as possible.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR, YOUTH AND SPORTS

In its attempts to mete out equitable solutions to workers and management, the Ministry of Labour, Youth and Sports resolved a number of cases relating to strikes and workers grievances. As a result, the Minister reports that the Division of Labour Standards heard and determined 755 complaints of labour violation and collected and paid to employees more than 19 thousand dollars for arrears in wages, wrongful dismissals and annual leave.

The Workmen Compensation Division collected and paid to injured employees and beneficiaries of deceased workers over 78 thousand dollars. Meanwhile, the Division of Employment

deposited into Government's revenue the amount of 659.5 thousand dollars for aliens work permits. The Minister further reports that there was a significant increase in occupational injuries which underscores the need for the establishment of a National Safety Code.

On the subject of Liberianization, the Ministry placed 462 citizens in jobs, 120 of which were middle-level management positions. However, the Minister emphasizes that the pace of our Liberianization program is less than satisfactory. He reports that in many cases, management uses subterfuge in job descriptions to deny Liberians entry into top management positions. In many cases where a Liberian is employed in such a position, the scope of his authority is whittled down to such an extent as to cause frustration on the job.

Government will not countenance this practice and requires an immediate end to be brought to it. It is expected that management will fully cooperate in the fulfillment of our policy of Liberianization. It is also expected that Liberians will truly qualify themselves to benefit from our Liberianization policy.

As opposed to 20 strikes which occurred in 1973, the Minister happily reports that strikes have been reduced to a minimum as there were only eight in 1974. It is our hope that there will be even fewer in 1975, if any at all, since strikes have a disruptive effect on our national economy.

The Minister represents that the Division of Youth continues to co-ordinate youth activities, clubs and organizations within the country; and according to his assessment, our young people are beginning to appreciate the role that the Ministry is playing in espousing the philosophy of total involvement. This is necessary in a developing country such as ours so as to raise the living standards of our people.

Through self-help, the youth organizations completed the first all-purpose youth building in Zwedru, Grand Gedeh County, and participated in the construction of playgrounds in Zwedru and Brewerville, respectively.

The Klay Basic Craft Training Center, the Minister states, had its first graduation of 33 trainees in 1974 in the disciplines of metal-work, electricity and building construction. An intensive program has been initiated at the Harrisburg Youth Camp where selected youth from various parts of the country are being trained in modern methods of agriculture, animal husbandry, vegetable cultivation and poultry farming. He recommends that the Harrisburg Camp be expanded into a national training center where young people can be trained in basic work attitudes, discipline and good citizenship. This is having our timely consideration.

In the area of sports, the Minister reports a continuing interest on part of the public in sporting activities, and for the first time, the amount of \$9,362.70 was deposited into Government revenue from sporting activities.

MINISTRY OF ACTION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS

The priority development objectives of this Ministry are to assist in catalyzing the transformation of the rural areas through integrated development programs designed to attack the problems of isolation, poor health, illiteracy, and inadequate diet. Several regional programs have been initiated; and while inter-disciplinary coordination is still

inadequate, considerable progress has been made in cooperating with several Ministries to accomplish these objectives.

In early 1972, we launched a rural development scheme intended to serve as an example of the quality of impact development we desire for the rural population, and through which we intend to inspire national involvement from the grass-roots to the highest level of government. As stated, our policy is to "lift the people from mats to mattresses," in the shortest period of time possible.

It was in this context that we created the Agency of Action for Development and Progress, specifically responsible for implementation of our impact programs. In recognition of its ability to produce speedy results, we recommended in early April 1974 and received your approval for its elevation to the status of a Ministry.

The Minister reports that while functioning within the scope of its responsibility, his Ministry has initiated and completed several development projects. It has also identified feasible projects in rural areas for the promotion of commerce, industry and the general wellbeing of the population.

In the period under review, the Ministry completed the construction of a number of rural school and market buildings, farm-to-market roads, and low-cost houses. In the meantime, it organized and encouraged community participation in other infrastructural development projects.

The Minister has submitted a detail report containing several recommendations which will be laid before your Honourable Body for timely consideration.

CIVIL SERVICE AGENCY

The Director of Civil Service notes with optimism that as a result of the Executive Ordinance on recruitment and employment, the Civil Service Agency has experienced a great degree of cooperation from the various Ministries. He commends the Bureau of the Budget for its support in forwarding all new personnel action notices to his Agency for counter-signing.

The number of individuals entering Government service is being increasingly channelled through the Civil Service. Since 1972, a total of 2,141 persons have been examined by the Agency, but the results have been very discouraging. For example, in 1974, a total of 440 persons were tested but as many as 337 failed and two were disqualified.

In its effort to diffuse the principle of efficiency and competence at all levels of government, the Civil Service held two Local Authority Seminars outside of Monrovia in Voinjama, Lofa County, and Buchanan, Grand Bassa County. This was the first time in a number of years that the Civil Service Agency had gone out to reach our citizens in other areas of the country in its endeavour to inform them of the many opportunities and improved conditions of the service it offers. I express the hope that more such seminars will be held in other counties and territories.

The Director reports that notwithstanding the strides being made to instill into employees of Government basic work attitudes in consideration of the impetus given through salary increments both in 1974 and 1975, statistics reveal that 17,128 man-hours were lost in 1974 due to unexcused absenteeism, and 16,000 man-hours due to tardiness on part of Civil Servants. This is outrageous and ridiculous, and will not be tolerated.

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Director indicates that the period under review marks the end of the survey of manpower needs throughout the public service.

He asserts that the results of investigations conducted within this period revealed that there is a need for some decentralization of authority and responsibility, and for greater participation of rural officials and employees in the operation of Government. I concur with him that this change would improve management competence in the planning and overall operation of the machinery of Government, and make possible achievement of developmental objectives in the respective political sub-divisions of the nation.

In May last, the Institute with active participation from the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Urban Reconstruction, organized a four-day Local Government Seminar for County and Territorial Superintendents, and the Assistant Ministers of Agriculture, Education, Health and Social Welfare, Public Works, Action for Development and Progress, and Planning and Economic Affairs. Later in the year, the Institute

sponsored a sixteen-week Management Development Seminar for tax officials of the Ministry of Finance. It also provided consultancy services to the Ministry of Health and Social welfare and the Liberian Broadcasting Corporation.

The Director emphasizes that in view of the increasing level of acceptance by the various Ministries, the Institute looks to the future with a high degree of optimism; and is in readiness to expand its range of training and research programs to include Ministers, their Deputies, County Commissioners and field personnel from Ministries and other Agencies.

NATIONAL PORT AUTHORITY

According to the report of the Managing Director, the financial position of the Authority continues to improve despite increasing cost of operations and the overall slump in the world economy.

He further states that the Authority has obtained from UNCTAD technical assistance program, under the auspices of the Mano River Union, an Inter-Regional Advisor on port documentation to develop an improved system of clearing cargo from the Port. The consultative analysis of the Advisor's report has already begun in collaboration with the Bureau of Customs, the Liberia Chamber of Commerce, and the Association of Shipping Agents of Liberia. It is expected that the recommendations will be implemented by mid-1975.

In an effort to make the Port of Greenville more responsive to the demand of the timber industry, a proposal was submitted to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for assistance in improving and expanding that Port.

To this end, an engineering study aimed at determining the technical feasibility of expanding and reorganizing the port, has been completed and submitted by a German Team.

As a means of developing closer Technical and Economic Cooperation with the USSR, the Government of Liberia has requested technical assistance from the Soviet Government for the construction of a deep-water port in Harper, Cape Palmas. In February, 1974, the Soviet Government agreed in principle to conduct a pre-feasibility study, and according to the Director, a contract is being negotiated between the two Governments for TECHNO-EXPORT, a Russian Engineering Firm, to conduct the study.

GENERAL SERVICES AGENCY

The Director-General reports savings of more than half a million dollars in the 1974 local purchases of petroleum, tires, tubes, competitive bidding and sales of surplus property.

On the subject of housing, he draws attention to the substantial cost to Government of leasing houses for use of officials and other Government personnel as well as buildings for offices, schools and clinics. Although sixty-nine rented houses were released during 1974, there is an urgent need to review the present housing policy of Government to further reduce the considerable amount of money Government still has to pay for leased houses; and this will be done.

Because of the increasing number of accidents and damage to Government owned mobile equipment, it has become mandatory to adopt stricter measures to protect Government property against misuse and guard against losses and corrupt practices. Accordingly, serious attention is being given thereto.

THE LIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

The Liberian Development Corporation was reorganized on February 12, 1974, and assigned major functions in the categories of housing, industrial development and tourism.

The General Manager reports that in comparison with 1973, a 52 percent reduction in over-head cost per dollar of construction of low-cost housing was achieved. Through the use of cost-control measures, the Corporation has kept the total cost per housing unit as low as \$4,425; \$6,011; and \$13,039 for one, two and three-bedroom houses, respectively. Consequently, tenants can obtain these housing units on the basis of a twenty-year mortgage with 10 percent interest at monthly payments of \$29.75; \$43.33 and \$58.86 per unit. As a result of this construction program eighty-eight (88) families have been placed in comfortable homes.

The Corporation intends to reactivate the "MATADI" project and begin a large-scale construction program at Gardnersville early this year as part of its efforts to expand the National Housing Program.

In the area of industrial development, the General Manager reports that as of last July, LDC assumed full supervision over the West Africa Shoe and Rubber Industries Limited, a company which was declared financially insolvent in 1969.

It has now completed plans for the reconstruction and re-establishment of the company on a profitable basis. He adds that the Corporation is co-ordinating the evaluation of a proposed Agro-Chemical Fertilizer Plant and is involved in the preparation of a feasibility study for the development of Agro-Chemical Industries in Liberia.

The General Manager asserts that a formal organizational machinery for an effective tourism development program for Liberia is now being implemented. Within this context, the Corporation assumed responsibilities for the commercial operation of Hotel Victoria in Robertsport, Grand Cape Mount County. According to him, every effort is being made to insure the profitable operation of the Hotel and its integration into the development of the area for tourism.

THE AUDITOR GENERAL

In furtherance of our policy of requiring strict accountability for public funds, the Auditor-General states that all Government agencies, with the exception of two, were audited during the year under review. Several discrepancies were discovered, including misappropriation of funds, improper expenditure control, mis-management of public properties and deficiencies in accounting systems.

These discoveries have been forwarded to the Agencies concerned and in each case of misappropriation of funds the findings have been referred to the Ministry of Justice for legal prosecution of those responsible; and we have directed that this be vigorously done without discrimination and with urgency this year.

Other observations of the Auditor-General are contained in his Annual Report which will be submitted in due course for your timely consideration.

THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

The Director states that the 1974 Budget was yet another historical milestone in the great resource generation strides that have been achieved by this Administration over the past three years.

According to him, the Bureau accomplished a complete restructuring of the Budget by dividing it into two major functional classifications: The Activity Budget which shows the aggregate of the main functions and activities of various agencies together with their explanations; and the Detailed Budget containing the usual lined-items and the purpose for which Government expenditures were to be incurred.

In keeping with the recommendations made in my last Annual Message, the Director further reports that in 1974 salary payments were for the first time made to all Township Commissioners and Town Clerks as well as to all Mayors and their Clerks, while salary payment to all Paramount Chiefs, Clan Chiefs and their Clerks was commenced for the first time in 1973.

The Director asserts that in addition to the 10 percent salary increase provided in 1974 on salaries up to \$200 per month, Government has also provided another 12.5 percent salary increase across the board to all Government employees as well as an 81.5 percent increase in gasoline allowance over the 1974 level for all Government Agencies in the 1975 Budget.

In the 1975 Budget, appropriation for developing purpose in the political sub-divisions of the country has been increased; in the case of counties, from 10 thousand to twenty-five thousand dollars each; and for territories, from two thousand five hundred ten thousand dollars each. In addition, appropriation continues to be provided to cities and townships for community development.

STREETS OF OUR CAPITAL CITY

Within a developing nation such as ours, common national symbols serve as important stimuli for rallying the total efforts of the people in the nation-building process. These provide a means by which the people identify themselves with the policies and participate in the programs of the State. I have observed that some of the streets of the Capital bear no relation to our national image and accordingly have no meaning in moulding the attitude of the people.

It is within this framework that I consider it timely and appropriate to recommend to your Honourable Body that some of the streets of our Capital City be renamed to reflect our concepts and goals and indicate the direction in which the nation is moving. I therefore recommend for your favourable consideration that Broad Street be renamed UNITY STREET; Center Street become SELF-RELIANCE STREET; Lynch Street be changed to RALLY TIME STREET; and Water Street be renamed TOTAL INVOLVEMENT STREET.

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

In my Annual Message to your Honourable Body last year, I requested appropriate legislation to empower the Chief Executive to appoint a Special Commission to study and review the present system of the allocation of seats in the House of Representatives.

At that time, I also recommended that Article II, Section 2nd of the Constitution be amended to fix the ratio of population per representative at 25,000; provided, however, that in no case shall the total number of members in the House of Representatives be less than 74.

By your authority, the Special Commission was established on the 18th of June, 1974, under the Chairmanship of the Honourable James N. Anderson with five representatives from each county and one representative from each territory.

The Commission completed its task and submitted its Report on the 19th of December 1974, establishing throughout the Country 63 political Electoral Districts. I have approved the Report with the addition of one district to be known as Duside District with two representatives.

I am pleased to note that your Honourable Body has also considered our recommendation and, by appropriate legislation, increased the ratio of population per representative from 10,000 to 25,000.

By this Act and taking into account the 1974 Population Census, the total number of seats in the House of Representatives will be increased from 74 to 84. The allocation of these seats among the counties and territories will be as follows:

1. Montserrado County with a total population of 378,787 is entitled to 16 representatives including two for Duside, a new Electoral District with a population of 55,551.

2. Nimba County with a total population of 248,882 is entitled to ten representatives.
3. Bong County with 181,802, and Lofa County with 181,001 persons, are entitled to eight representatives each.
4. Grand Bassa, Sinoe, Maryland, Grand Cape Mount and Grand Gedeh Counties are each entitled to seven representatives.
5. The Territories of Marshall, Rivercess, Sasstown and Kru Coast are entitled to one representative each, and Bomi Territory to two.

we extend hearty congratulations and thanks to the Chairman and members of the Commission for the completion of such an arduous assignment in record time.

Let me make it clear, however, that this will not become effective before it is adopted by Referendum.

TEACHING OF LOCAL LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS

In our last Annual Message, we presented for your consideration a proposal for the appointment of a National Commission to work out the details and submit recommendations for one or two of our local languages to be included in the curricula of our schools.

Your Honourable Body favourably responded by authorizing the President in an Act, approved July 23, 1974, to appoint that Commission; and we register our appreciation for your cooperation in this matter. In keeping with that provision,

we constituted a National Commission as directed under the said Act, and caused the issuance of a Proclamation to be published on November 18, 1974, confirming the establishment of the Commission, consisting of distinguished citizens in the field of education. They are, as follows:

1. Dr. Mary Antoinette Brown Sherman - Chairman
2. Dr. Rocheforte L. Weeks
3. Dr. Christian Baker
4. Dr. J. Bernard Blamo
5. Mr. Jeremiah W. Walker
6. Mr. Bengaly M. Kamara
7. Mr. John S. McKay
8. Mr. William Reide Dennis
9. Mr. Walter D. Richards
10. Mrs. Christine Norman
11. Mr. A. Nanuh Manly
12. Mrs. Edith Kamara, and
13. Mr. Joseph Gbayue

The Commission has zealously entered upon its assignment and we look forward to receiving its report and recommendations in due course.

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTION

In response to our recommendation, by an Act approved July 22, 1974, your Honourable Body authorized the setting up of a National Commission to give consideration to possible changes in the National Motto, National Flag, National Anthem and the Constitution of Liberia.

We are pleased to state that the Commission, consisting of a Chairman and fifty members, (five from each County and one from each Territory) has been appointed. They are as follows:

1. Honourable McKinley A. DeShield - Chairman

MONTSERRADO COUNTY

1. Honourable C. Abayomi Cassell
2. Honourable E. Reginald Townsend
3. Honourable R. I. E. Bright
4. Mrs. Luvenia V. Ash-Thompson
5. Mr. Nathan C. Ross, Jr.

GRAND BASSA COUNTY

1. Honourable G. Flamma Sherman
2. Honourable Lawrence A. Morgan
3. Honourable Joseph Findley
4. Mrs. Martha Dunn
5. Mr. Joseph M. N. Gbayue

SINOE COUNTY

1. Honourable Harrison Grigsby
2. Honourable H. C. Williamson
3. Mr. E. Richmond Draper
4. Mr. Charles A. Minor
5. Mrs. Florence Ricks-Bing

MARYLAND COUNTY

1. Honourable David Hne
2. Honourable J. Daniel Anderson
3. Honourable H. Nyema Prowd
4. Mr. Nathan Barnes, Jr.
5. Mrs. Janet H. Cooper

GRAND CAPE MOUNT COUNTY

1. Honourable Charles Dunbar Sherman
2. Honourable M. Fahnbulleh Jones
3. Dr. Abeodu B. Jones
4. Reverend Eric David
5. Reverend Evelyn Watson-Kandakai

BONG COUNTY

1. Honourable Harry A. Greaves
2. Honourable Elizabeth Collins
3. Honourable Melville Harris, Sr.
4. Dr. Joseph G. Morris
5. Mr. Bismarck N. Kuyon

NIMBA COUNTY

1. Honourable Jackson F. Doe
2. Honourable Michael J. S. Dolo
3. Honourable David M. Toweh
4. Mr. Railey Gompah
5. Mrs. Phoebe A. Logan

GRAND GEDEH COUNTY

1. Honourable Silas Rue
2. Honourable Harry Carngbe
3. Professor Yancy Peters Flah
4. Mrs. E. Yeda Amafili
5. Honourable Albert T. white

LOFA COUNTY

1. Honourable E. Sumo Jones
2. Honourable Milton K. Freeman
3. Honourable Boimah K. Morris
4. Mr. William W. Momolu
5. Honourable Robert H. Kennedy

MARSHALL TERRITORY

1. Honourable Emma Campbell

BOMI TERRITORY

1. Honourable C. C. Dennis, Sr.

RIVERCESS TERRITORY

1. Honourable John Payne Mitchell

SASSTOWN TERRITORY

1. Honourable Joseph S. Nimene

KRUCCOAST TERRITORY

1. Mr. S. Edgar Sie Badio

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

In a democratic society great emphasis is placed on the freedom of the individual and his role in the development of the State. Accordingly, the drafters of the Liberian Constitution exercised meticulous care in securing the rights of the individual. This is important; for the preservation of peace, unity and security among the people undoubtedly forms the real basis for national progress and prosperity. It is necessary, therefore, that all of us should combine our forces and join in a concerted and positive action for the ever progressive development and security of our nation.

Each of us has an individual responsibility to the other and, as members of the society in which we live, a collective responsibility to the State. Hence, everyone of us has equal rights before the law and corresponding duties which, in this country, have been clearly set forth in the "law of the land."

Be that as it may, our right, freedom or liberty to act is by definition limited in relation to its effect on the free exercise of the rights of others. The freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, for example, do not confer an absolute right on any individual to speak or write whatever he may choose without responsibility for its abuse. Nor does it authorize an unrestricted and unbridled license that gives immunity to anyone to publish anything one pleases with impunity; for this would be a patent abuse of that freedom.

In the language of the Constitution of this Republic, it is expressly recorded, that "the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every

citizen may freely speak, write and print, on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty."

While each and every citizen may equally and fully enjoy the freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the Constitution, the liberty of expression is not absolute; and may be restrained in circumstances where its exercise bears causal relation with some substantive evil, either to another person, or to the State.

Utterances, whether in words or print, inimical to the public welfare, tending to corrupt the public morals, incite to crime, disturb the public peace or endangering the foundations of legally organized government, constitute an abuse of the freedom of speech, and is punishable by the State in accordance with law.

In keeping with our obligation to uphold, protect and defend the Constitution and laws of this Republic, we view with serious concern and will not tolerate any irresponsible and reckless statements designed to subvert the State or undermine the foundations of its institutions; or pervert the minds of youth and other members of the community for the purpose of creating confusion and producing chaos among us.

We will not stand by idly and see the subversion of our cherished heritage. National Unity and stability must and will be maintained. We will not countenance lawlessness nor permit any individual or group of individuals to sow seeds of discord and disunity and thus bring about divisiveness among the people of this land. Neither will we tolerate the practice of tribalism, sectionalism or parochialism in the country, as

same will make it impossible to achieve national unity, solidarity and prosperity.

This nation must move ever forward and upward on a course which must not be interrupted or disturbed; and I assure you that liberty will be equally enjoyed, and justice will be meted out to all without fear or favour.

RALLY TIME

It is appropriate that I again call upon every citizen to get into the spirit of Rally Time, so that with national consciousness, we can move more speedily with the transformation of our country.

While it cannot be denied that to ether we have made great strides in our common efforts to transform and reconstruct our society for the benefit of us all - and I acknowledge and thank you for the successes we have achieved - there still exists the need for greater involvement of the greatest number and the elimination of corruption wherever it exists.

I am sure that we are aware that the achievement of our ultimate goal of eliminating corruption will remain difficult so long as we have among us "hares and hounds running together". By this we mean that there are some, whose duty it is to eradicate corruption from our society, who themselves are engaged in corrupt practices.

We are determined to make ours a Wholesome Functioning Society. Whether we realize it or not, our country is actually going through a revolution - not a bloody one - but one of

attitude and thinking; and as a result, our actions are occasioning progress and development which can be vividly seen throughout the nation by those whose sight is not blinded by prejudice.

It is timely, therefore, that I appeal most imploringly and with emphasis and urgency to those of our citizens who are selfish and SELF-SEEKING to become converted to our philosophy of selflessness and NATIONAL-INTEREST-SEEKING, and change their character or mode of life by abandoning egotism and adopting altruism in its stead. This definitely ought to be the character of people who inhabit and perpetuate a Wholesome Functioning Society.

THE JUDICIARY

His Honour the Chief Justice and his colleagues are constantly seeking to maintain the highest standard in the dispensing of transparent justice and to deepen the trust and confidence of the public in the judicial system of the country. In protecting the rights of citizens and foreigners alike, they continue to merit our highest esteem and respect for their diligence in contributing their quota toward raising our nation to higher heights.

Our courts must at all times exercise their functions under the law without consideration of fear or favour: for the sole purpose and objective of our Government, according to our Constitution, "is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it, with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquility, their natural rights, and the blessings of life."

To this end and for this purpose, the three coordinate branches of our Government exist and function. Accordingly, the doors of our courts must remain open to citizens and strangers alike, so that any infringement of the right to the enjoyment of these privileges might be speedily redressed.

Among the sacred duties of the Court is the protection of vested interest of the citizen, the foreign resident, the private investor as well as the concessionaire. Thus whenever the Judiciary ceases to be able to provide adequate protection for investment, a principal support of our economic structure must of necessity suffer serious reverses, which the development of the country cannot afford.

I am pleased to note that the Supreme Court as head of the Judiciary convened regularly in keeping with law, and held its statutory two terms for the year just ended; and its cooperation with the other coordinate branches of Government has continued to remain at the highest level.

In the words of Moses, the Lawgiver, I now confirm unto the people of this our beloved land: "One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you."

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations contained in all of the Reports of the Ministries and Agencies of Government are having our timely consideration; and those which we deem necessary for your attention will be submitted to you later in a Special Message.

NECROLOGY

The restless and unceasing wings of time have borne aloft into the Great Beyond many of our relatives, friends and compatriots who, like ourselves, were engaged in the busy pursuits of life making their contributions to our land and country.

Some were legislators, administrators and politicians strong and bold; others were experts in tribal traditions, culture and customs. Some were prelates, priests and evangelists leading men into the path of rectitude; others were scholars renowned and erudite who nurtured and moulded our youth to heights of excellence. Some were military men of stature, while others with dignity and skill did till the soil with sturdy hands from morn till night to drive starvation from our doors. Some were ripe in age and wisdom; others had scarcely crossed the meridian of their day.

They have all gone to that land from whence no traveller has ever returned. We will continue to miss them, for we highly esteemed and revered them. But their treasured deeds of loyalty and patriotism, dedication and devotion to Church, Society and State shall linger fondly in our memories and egg us on to greater achievements.

May their souls rest in eternal bliss and light perpetual shine upon them.

CONCLUSION

I call upon all of our people, in every place and in every way, to become totally involved constructively and make this nation indeed a prosperous and glorious Land of Liberty.

I call upon them to become breakers of any wall that divides us, and builders of all bridges that are needed to unite us.

Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Legislature, let us relentlessly serve our people faithfully and diligently and our nation with self-sacrifice and dedication; then we can be assured of their continuing confidence and favourable verdict.

May Almighty God multiply His rich graces unto us, prosper the works of our hands, and save the State!

NSC REFERRAL TO STATE SECRETARIAT

Date: Mar 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GEORGE SPRINGSTEEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NSC LOG# 7501296

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: Wm Tolbert

FROM: Pres

DATE: Mar 20, 1975

SUBJECT: Acknowledge Tolbert's ltr

ACTION REQUESTED:

 DRAFT REPLY FOR: PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE
 WHITE HOUSE STAFF SIGNATURE
 OTHER

 DIRECT REPLY FURNISH INFO COPY

 XXX DISPATCH

 RECOMMENDATIONS/COMMENTS

 TRANSLATION

 APPROPRIATE HANDLING

 INFORMATION

 FOR ADDITIONAL PROCESSING AS INDICATED:

DUE DATE:

URGENT

ROUTINE

COMMENTS:



Charlotte D. Agostino
for JEANNE W. DAVIS
Staff Secretary

219

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1975

Dear Mr. President:

I have received your letter of February 24 containing your views on my nomination of Ambassador Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and your concerns over United States policy towards Africa. The frankness with which you have written is consistent with the excellent and historic relations between Liberia and the United States. It is in the same spirit of frankness that I would like to address the points you made in your letter.

First, let me say that I firmly believe that Ambassador Davis has outstanding qualifications for the position of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Secretary Kissinger outlined these qualifications in his letter to Secretary General Eteki of the Organization of African Unity. I will not, therefore, belabor them here since a copy of the Secretary's letter has been conveyed to your government by the American Embassy in Monrovia. I would ask only that you give Secretary Kissinger's letter your careful consideration. It was written with my approval and reflects my dismay over the grave injustice that has been done to a very fine individual and public servant.

As for the policy of the United States towards Africa, I believe the record speaks for itself in economic, human and political terms. I believe that the United States, which had no colonial interests in Africa and which worked in the United Nations and elsewhere for the decolonization of the continent, can be proud of the contribution Americans have made to the achievement of African independence and the resolution of African

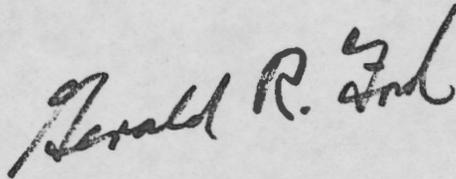


problems. There is scarcely a country in Africa which has not benefitted from the sustained generosity of the American people.

The United States has not always been able to do all that we or our African friends might have wished, but there can be no question of the constancy or direction of our efforts or basic goodwill. American assistance to the drought-stricken Sahel, which represented over one-third of the total international effort, is only the most recent example of that goodwill.

Finally, I am certain that Ambassador Davis, in league with our African friends, can strengthen understanding and cooperation between the United States and Africa. I know that Liberia under your leadership will play a significant role in helping him to do so.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Gerald R. Ford". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent "F" at the end.

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



MEMORANDUM

1296
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1975

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~-GDS

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *B*

SUBJECT: Reply to President Tolbert's Message to the President on the Nomination of Ambassador Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa

Liberia's President Tolbert, whom you met in the Oval Office last November, has written you (Tab B) about his concerns regarding the appointment of Ambassador Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. He recognizes it is not within his right to interfere in American affairs but takes the liberty of doing so, based on the close relationship between our two countries and his personal friendship with you. President Tolbert also expresses the view that the United States Government has not taken a genuine concern for Africa's welfare.

I recommend a personal response to President Tolbert's letter, but one that makes it clear Ambassador Davis has outstanding qualifications for the position, and expresses your own dismay over the grave injustice that has been done to Ambassador Davis by such actions as the recent declaration questioning his appointment by the Organization of African Unity. A response should also make clear that the United States has been a constant and generous friend of Africa.

Attached for your consideration is a suggested response (Tab A) which has been cleared by Paul Theis.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

- Tab A - Suggested Presidential reply to President Tolbert.
- Tab B - President Tolbert's letter of February 24.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~-GDS

lwh 3/16/04



20

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

February 24, 1975

My dear Great and Good Friend:

I recall with pleasant memories my visit to the United States of America in November last year and the advantage I took of the splendid opportunity you afforded me for a discussion with you at the White House on matters of mutual interest. Not only were our talks free and friendly but the warmth of the atmosphere and the spirit in which the talks were held truly underscored the historic links between our two countries and peoples.

Under these circumstances, I took the liberty, as a friend, to let you know the feeling prevalent among African leaders and peoples to the effect that the present Government of the United States had not shown any positive interest in us. While I realized at the time, as I still do, that it was not within my right to interfere with American affairs, the privilege I assumed to inform you of this feeling was based on our friendship and the responsibility I feel we share as leaders of our respective peoples and in our one world.

In this same spirit, I must confess that since our discussion in November, I have not been able to

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



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

- 2 -

trace appropriate acts on the part of the United States Government that can be convincingly taken to assure Africans of your Government's genuine concern for our welfare and timely consideration of our aspirations.

In this vein, permit me to refer to the recent proposal to appoint Mr. Nathaniel Davis to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs at your State Department in Washington, D.C. I do so, because he is considered, as the result of the evaluation of his attitude and action, to be unacceptable to Africa; and it is further felt that he is inconsiderate of our aspirations. That being the case, he is considered to be a man most unsuitable for the development of relations between the United States of America and the African peoples. In effect, the proposal has created a psychological condition that brings great harrassment and annoyance to our peoples.

Indeed, it is to be regarded only reasonable to consider that it is essential for Africans to have confidence in and trust whomever you will appoint to interpret your Government's policy whatever they may be. I think that this is a good basis upon which international relations can be promoted and developed particularly between the United States of America and African countries.



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

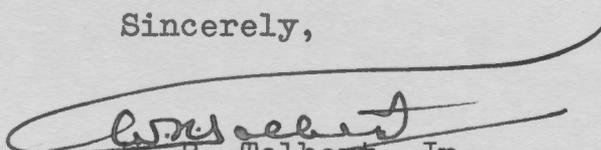
- 3 -

Again, I take the liberty of expressing direct to you in this manner the views and sentiments of our peoples, because of the context in which I place our relations and in the hope that you will give same your timely consideration.

In the meantime, if my action in the premises can be considered interfering in American affairs, I trust that you will forgive me.

With assurances of my highest consideration and esteem and best wishes for your personal well-being and that of Mrs. Ford and for the continued progress and prosperity of the American people.

Sincerely,


W. R. Tolbert, Jr.



MEMORANDUM

1296

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GDS

March 12, 1975

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: Hal Horan *HH*

SUBJECT: Reply to President Tolbert's Message to the President on the Nomination of Ambassador Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa

Liberia's President Tolbert recently wrote the President (Tab B) expressing his reservations concerning the nomination of Ambassador Davis as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs and United States policy toward Africa.

Attached is a recommended Presidential response (Tab A) as received from the State Department and revised here, with the concurrence of Paul Theis. The text is designed to respond with the same frankness President Tolbert's letter displays, to confirm the President's confidence in Ambassador Davis, to express the President's personal dismay over the grave injustice that has been done him, and, finally, to maintain that the United States has an enviable record in its relations with Africa.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward to the President the memorandum from you at Tab I recommending he sign the letter to President Tolbert.

Attachment

Tab I.

Tab F judged 3/17/75

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GDS

Wh 3/6/04



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ATTACHMENTS

March 10, 1975

1975 MAR 10 AM 11 13

FOR: Paul Theis *OK/*

FROM: Hal Horan
(x-5022)

SUBJECT: Presidential response to
letter from the President
of Liberia

May we have your concurrence in the
attached revised draft of State's suggested
Presidential response. Thanks.

Att.



(State proposed draft,
as revised by HEHoran-NSC,
3/10/75)

Suggested Presidential Letter to Liberian President Tolbert

Dear Mr. President:

I have received your letter of February 24 ^{Confusing} in which you conveyed ~~to me~~ your views ^{on} ~~with regard to~~ my nomination of Ambassador Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, ^{and} ~~as well as~~ your concerns over United States policy toward Africa. The frankness with which you have written is consistent with the excellent and historic relations between Liberia and the United States. It is in the same spirit of frankness that I would like to address the points you made in your letter.

First, let me say that I believe firmly that Ambassador Davis has outstanding qualifications for the position of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Secretary Kissinger outlined these qualifications in his letter to Secretary General Eteki of the Organization of African Unity, ^{belated} and I will not, therefore, ~~repeat~~ them ^{here} ~~to you~~ since a copy of the Secretary's letter has been conveyed to your government by the American Embassy in Monrovia. I would ask only that you give Secretary Kissinger's letter your careful consideration. It was written with my ~~and~~ approval and reflects my dismay over the grave injustice that has been done to a very fine individual and public servant.

As for the policy of the United States towards Africa, I believe the record speaks for itself in economic, human and political terms.



I believe that the United States, which had no colonial interests in Africa and which worked in the United Nations and elsewhere for the decolonization of the continent, can be proud of the contribution *Americans have* ~~it has~~ made to the achievement of African independence and the resolution of African problems. There is scarcely a country in Africa which has not benefitted from the sustained generosity of the American people. *The United States has* ~~We~~ have not always been able to do all that we or our African friends *MIGHT HAVE* ~~wished~~ ~~might do~~, but there can be no question of the constancy or direction of our efforts or ~~of the~~ basic goodwill ~~that has prompted them~~. American assistance to the drought-stricken Sahel, which represented over one-third of the total international effort, is only the most recent example of that goodwill.

Finally, I am certain that Ambassador Davis, in league with our African friends, can strengthen understanding and cooperation between the United States and Africa. I know that Liberia under your leadership will play a significant role in helping him to do so.

Sincerely,

[for President's signature]

His Excellency

William R. Tolbert, Jr.

President of the Republic of Liberia

Monrovia.





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

ADD-ON

March 7, 1975

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Reply to President Tolbert's Message on
Nomination of Assistant Secretary for
African Affairs

On February 28 we forwarded a letter dated February 24 from President Tolbert to President Ford conveying the Liberian leader's opposition to the nomination of Ambassador Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs and expressing concern over United States policy toward Africa.

A draft reply for the President's signature is attached.



George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Draft Reply
2. Copy of President Tolbert's Letter
3. Message from Secretary Kissinger to OAU (State 40694)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GDS

lala 3/6/04



Dear Mr. President:

I have received your letter of February 24 in which you conveyed to me your views with regard to my nomination of Ambassador Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, as well as your concerns over United States policy toward Africa. The frankness with which you have written is consistent with the excellent and historic relations between Liberia and the United States. It is in the same spirit of frankness that I would like to address the points you made in your letter.

First, let me say that I believe firmly that Ambassador Davis has outstanding qualifications for the position of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. [If I did not believe this to be the case I would not have nominated him for this important position.] Secretary Kissinger outlined [Ambassador Davis' high] ^{these} qualifications in his letter to Secretary-General Eteki of the Organization of African Unity, and I will not, therefore, repeat them to you since a copy of the Secretary's letter has been conveyed to your government by the American Embassy in Monrovia. I would ask only

His Excellency

William R. Tolbert, Jr.

President of the Republic of Liberia
Monrovia



that you ^{give} [read the letter of] Secretary Kissinger ~~because~~ ^{is letter your careful}
it was written with my full approval and reflects my ^{consideration}
 dismay over the grave injustice that has been done
 to a very fine individual and public servant.

[Insofar] ^{for} as the policy of the United States towards
 Africa [is concerned], I believe the record speaks for
 itself in economic, human and political terms. I believe
 that the United States, [a country] which had no colonial
 interests in Africa and which worked in the United Nations
 and elsewhere for the decolonization of the continent [-
 often to the detriment of its relations with its allies -]
 can be proud of the contribution it has made to the
 achievement of African independence and the resolution
 of African problems. There is scarcely a country in
 Africa which has not benefitted from the sustained
 generosity of the American people. We have not ^{always} been
 able to do all that ^{we or} our African friends wished we might
 do [in either political or economic terms], but there can
 be no question [either] of the constancy or direction of
 our efforts or of the basic good will that has prompted
 them. [The] American assistance to the drought-stricken
 Sahel is only the most recent example of that good will.

*which represented over one-third
 of the total international effort,*



Finally, I am certain that Ambassador Davis, ^{in league with} with
the cooperation of our African friends, can strengthen
understanding and cooperation between the United States
and Africa. I ^{know} (would hope) that Liberia ^{under your leadership} (will play a signifi-
cant role in helping him to do so.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford





Department of State

TELEGRAM

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87

ORIGTN AF-06

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 ISN-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRF-00 HSTE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAF-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /053 R

DRAFTED BY AF:FWMULCAHY:CHG
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
P - MR SISCO
S/S-0: RKUCHFL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 040694

LO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, OAU

SUBJECT: DAVIS NOMINATION: MESSAGE FOR SYR FTFKI

1. EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY
FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TO OAU SECRETARY GENERAL
WILLIAM ETEKY MBOUMONA:

QUOTE: DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL: THE TEXT OF THE 'COM-
SENSUS RESOLUTION' OF THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS COM-
MENTING UPON THE NOMINATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF NATHANIEL DAVIS TO THE IMPORTANT POSITION



LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



Department of State TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 040694

OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION BY PRESS ACCOUNTS.

THE SELECTION OF SENIOR OFFICIALS FOR POSTS IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS A FUNCTION OF AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY. UNLIKE THE ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES FOR ACCREDITING AMBASSADORS FOR WHOM AGREEMENT IS SOUGHT, THE SELECTION OF ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF STATE REMAINS A PURELY INTERNAL, DOMESTIC CONCERN. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD NEVER COMMENT PUBLICLY UPON THE CHOICES OF OTHER SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS IN FILLING ANY OF THEIR PUBLIC OFFICES. UNDER COMMONLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL DECENCY IT HAS THE RIGHT TO EXPECT THE SAME OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

PARTICULARLY OF THOSE WHOM IT HAS REGARDED AS FRIENDS. YOU WILL UNDERSTAND, MR SECRETARY GENERAL, THE DEPTH OF MY DYSMAY IN LEARNING FROM THE PRESS OF THIS UNPRECEDENTED AND HARMFUL ACT OF THE COUNCIL.

AMBASSADOR DAVIS, AS YOU KNOW, IS A BRILLIANT CAREER OFFICER IN OUR FOREIGN SERVICE. PRESIDENT FORD AND I REPOSE PARTICULAR TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN HIM. INDEED, HE HAS SERVED WITH GREAT DISTINCTION IN HIGH POSTS IN OUR PUBLIC SERVICE UNDER PRESIDENTS KENNEDY, JOHNSON AND NIXON AS DEPUTY ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORP, MINISTER TO BULGARIA, AMBASSADOR TO GUATEMALA, AMBASSADOR TO CHILE AND AS DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE. HE IS NOT YET FIFTY YEARS OLD. THE POST TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT IS ONE TO WHICH WE ATTACH VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE. MR. DAVIS WAS SELECTED IN ORDER TO GIVE NEW IMPETUS AND INSPIRATION TO OUR AFRICAN POLICY. I HAVE FULL CONFIDENCE IN HIS ABILITY TO FILL THIS VITAL POSITION WITH DISTINCTION. I AM CERTAIN THAT THE AFRICAN STATESMEN WITH WHOM HE WILL BE DEALING WILL LEARN TO RESPECT HIM AS I DO.

I CANNOT BELIEVE, MR SECRETARY GENERAL, THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WERE AWARE THAT AMBASSADOR DAVIS, WHILE SERVING IN THE PEACE CORPS UNDER PRESIDENT KENNEDY, TRAVELED WIDELY IN AFRICA, THAT HE WAS A MARSHAL IN THE GREAT 1963 CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH IN WASHINGTON LED BY DR.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 STATE 040694

MARTIN LUTHER KING, THAT HE HAS SERVED FOR PERIODS TOTAL-
ING FIVE YEARS AS AN ASSISTANT PROFESSOR AT WASHINGTON'S
LEADING BLACK INSTITUTION, HOWARD UNIVERSITY, AND THAT
HE HAS DEVOTED MANY YEARS OF HIS SPARE TIME AS A VOLUN-
TEER WORKER AMONG THE DISADVANTAGED BLACK CITIZENS OF
WASHINGTON. I AM TRULY SADDENED TO LEARN OF THE MANNER
IN WHICH THE COUNCIL HAS BESMIRCHED THE REPUTATION OF
THIS OUTSTANDING MAN WHO WAS SELECTED PRECISELY BECAUSE
WE BELIEVED THAT HE POSSESSED THE BREADTH OF VIEW AND
THE COMPASSIONATE UNDERSTANDING FOR A NEW APPROACH TO
THIS VITAL POST. TO SUGGEST THAT SUCH A MAN HAS A MISSION
TO DESTABILIZE AFRICA, A CONTINENT WITH WHICH WE HAVE
ENJOYED EXCELLENT RELATIONS AND IN WHOSE DEVELOPMENT IT
IS OUR POLICY TO ASSIST IS UNACCEPTABLE AND OFFENSIVE.
(I MIGHT ALSO ADD THAT THE WORD 'DESTABILIZE' IS ONE
COINED BY A NEWSPAPER REPORTER, NOT ONE EVER USED BY ANY
U.S. OFFICIAL TO DESCRIBE OUR ACTIVITIES IN ANY COUNTRY.)

I WOULD ASK YOU TO COMMUNICATE TO THE AFRICAN HEADS OF
STATE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT THE TEXT OF THIS

MESSAGE IN ORDER THAT THE REGRET FELT IN THE UNITED
STATES OVER THIS UNFORTUNATE AND UNFAIR ACTION
IS WELL UNDERSTOOD. UNQUOTE

2. ACTION REQUEST: ALL POSTS EXCEPT CAPETOWN
SHOULD BRING THIS MESSAGE TO ATTENTION OF HIGHEST
LEVELS HOST GOVERNMENT.

KISSINGER



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

s/s: 1504222

Date: FEB 28 1975

For: Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft
National Security Council
The White House

Pursuant to referral dated _____, NSC No. _____ (if any)
a copy of which is attached, we are enclosing the following:

Information copy of direct reply _____ Translation _____ Other _____

Draft reply for: _____ President's signature _____ Other signature _____

_____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below

The attached item, which was sent directly to the Department of State, is being forwarded for your attention.

_____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below

_____ A draft reply is attached

A draft reply will be forwarded

_____ A translation is attached

_____ Other

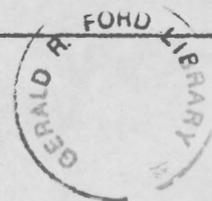
REMARKS:

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: President Ford From: President Tolbert

Date: Feb. 24, 1975 Subject: President Tolbert

voices objection to Ambassador Davis' nomination



(for) Paul Elvins
George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

February 24, 1975

My dear Great and Good Friend:

I recall with pleasant memories my visit to the United States of America in November last year and the advantage I took of the splendid opportunity you afforded me for a discussion with you at the White House on matters of mutual interest. Not only were our talks free and friendly but the warmth of the atmosphere and the spirit in which the talks were held truly underscored the historic links between our two countries and peoples.

Under these circumstances, I took the liberty, as a friend, to let you know the feeling prevalent among African leaders and peoples to the effect that the present Government of the United States had not shown any positive interest in us. While I realized at the time, as I still do, that it was not within my right to interfere with American affairs, the privilege I assumed to inform you of this feeling was based on our friendship and the responsibility I feel we share as leaders of our respective peoples and in our one world.

In this same spirit, I must confess that since our discussion in November, I have not been able to

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



trace appropriate acts on the part of the United States Government that can be convincingly taken to assure Africans of your Government's genuine concern for our welfare and timely consideration of our aspirations.

In this vein, permit me to refer to the recent proposal to appoint Mr. Nathaniel Davis to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs at your State Department in Washington, D.C. I do so, because he is considered, as the result of the evaluation of his attitude and action, to be unacceptable to Africa; and it is further felt that he is inconsiderate of our aspirations. That being the case, he is considered to be a man most unsuitable for the development of relations between the United States of America and the African peoples. In effect, the proposal has created a psychological condition that brings great harrassment and annoyance to our peoples.

Indeed, it is to be regarded only reasonable to consider that it is essential for Africans to have confidence in and trust whomever you will appoint to interpret your Government's policy whatever they may be. I think that this is a good basis upon which international relations can be promoted and developed particularly between the United States of America and African countries.



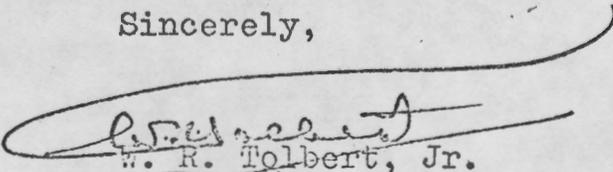
- 3 -

Again, I take the liberty of expressing direct to you in this manner the views and sentiments of our peoples, because of the context in which I place our relations and in the hope that you will give same your timely consideration.

In the meantime, if my action in the premises can be considered interfering in American affairs, I trust that you will forgive me.

With assurances of my highest consideration and esteem and best wishes for your personal well-being and that of Mrs. Ford and for the continued progress and prosperity of the American people.

Sincerely,


W. R. Tolbert, Jr.



2M

SC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD		LOG NBR		INITIAL ACTION O
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR		
27	8	3	01	10	7501796	Horowitz

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: Tolbert, William R REFERENCE: _____ CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE

KISSINGER _____ FROM: KISSINGER, H _____ S/S 7504222 UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT

SCOWCROFT X COLBY, W _____ OTHER _____ LOU NO FORN NODIS

DAVIS _____ SCHLESINGER, J _____ C EYES ONLY EXDIS

ST EX SEC X S CODEWORD

TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: Ask LTR to Pres for Pres Tolbert of Liberia objecting to nomination of DAVIS as new US amb

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT		<u>X</u>		MEMO FOR HAK ()
STAFF SECRETARY <u>Jarvis</u>			<u>X</u>	MEMO FOR PRES (<u>X</u>)
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR ()
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	<u>X</u>		<u>X</u>	APPROPRIATE ACTION ()
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO _____ TO _____ ()
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS ()
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO ()
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ ()
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? ()
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE ()
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: <u>3/10</u>
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL		<u>X</u>		
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE <u>Leonard, M</u>			<u>X</u>	

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
<u>3/12</u>		<u>HAK</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Pres to sign ltr to Tolbert (3-19)</u>	
<u>3/17</u>		<u>Pres</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>Decision</u>	
<u>3/19</u>		<u>NBC/13</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>Pres sign ltr to Tolbert</u>	
<u>3/20</u>		<u>State</u>		<u>In Dispatch</u>	

NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH 3/20/75 CD

CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: _____

NOTIFY _____ & DATE _____ BY _____

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____

CROSS REF W/ _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: X FOLDER: _____

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:

M/F'D _____

MAR 24 1975

CRT ID: VE SA SF

OPEN ML HP NS

CLOSE ML WH EP

PA DY