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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

SMF 7/24/2007

File Folder LIBERIA (1/1/84-1/25/85)

FOIA

M2007-074

Box Number 2

BLANTON

53

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
39095	MEMO	WETTERING TO MCFARLANE RE US DELEGATION TO LIBERIAN REDEMPTION DAY CELEBRATION <i>R 5/15/2008 M07-074</i>	1	3/15/1984	B1
39096	MEMO	HILL TO MCFARLANE RE US DELEGATION <i>R 5/15/2008 M07-074</i>	1	3/13/1984	B1
39097	MEMO	WETTERING TO MCFARLANE RE TRIP <i>R 5/15/2008 M07-074</i>	1	4/5/1984	B1
39098	MEMO	WETTERING TO MCFARLANE RE LIBERIA <i>R 5/15/2008 M07-074</i>	2	4/16/1984	B1
39099	MEMO	HILL TO MCFARLANE RE LIBERIA <i>R 5/15/2008 M07-074</i>	2	4/12/1984	B1
39100	MEMO	HILL TO MCFARLANE RE UPDATE ON LIBERIAN DEVELOPMENTS <i>R 5/15/2008 M07-074</i>	2	4/20/1984	B1
39101	MEMO	SITUATION ROOM NOTE <i>R 5/15/2008 M07-074</i>	1	8/22/1984	B1
39102	MEMO	WETTERING TO MCFARLANE RE LIBERIA <i>PAR 12/15/2010 MR074/1</i>	2	11/6/1984	B1
39103	MEMO	WETTERING TO MCFARLANE RE AFRICA <i>PAR 12/15/2010 MR074/1</i>	3	9/28/1984	B1

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

SMF 7/24/2007

File Folder LIBERIA (1/1/84-1/25/85)

FOIA

M2007-074

Box Number 2

BLANTON

53

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
39104	CABLE	101505Z DEC 84 R 5/15/2008 M07-074	2	12/10/1984	B1
39105	MEMO	RINGDAHL TO POINDEXTER RE DOE'S MESSAGE PAR 5/15/2008 M07-074	1	1/25/1985	B1
39106	MEMO	RINGDAHL TO POINDEXTER RE LIBERIA R 5/15/2008 M07-074	1	1/25/1985	

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

NSC/S PROFILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ID 8402095

RECEIVED 14 MAR 84 10

TO MCFARLANE FROM HILL, C

DOC DATE 13 MAR 84

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1987
By Amf NARA, Date 7/24/07

KEYWORDS LIBERIA

FIELDING, FRED

HALEY, GEORGE

SUBJECT: US DELEGATION TO LIBERIA REDEMPTION DAY CEREMONIED 10 - 11 APR

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE: 18 MAR 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION
WETTERING

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
FORTIER

COMMENTS

REF# 8407310

LOG

NSCIFID

(CL)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<u>McFarlane</u>	<u>IX 3/15</u>	<u>for info</u>		
	<u>MAY 07 1984</u>	<u>Poundexter noted</u>		<u>we ✓</u>

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE Pa (C)

81F

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

System # I
Package # 2095

84 MAR 15 P 4: 28

1053

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin	<u>1</u>	<u>WMM</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall	<u>X</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>X</u>		<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>3 3</u>		<u>N</u>
Situation Room			
Tom Shull			

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

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

Bud: Our new procedure on delegations, which I have communicated to State in writing, should help avoid occurrences like this in the future.

39095

3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

2095

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION

March 15, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: FRED WETTERING *W*

NOTED

SUBJECT: Liberia: US Delegation to Liberian
Redemption Day Celebrations, April 10-11

Liberian Redemption Day is the anniversary of the Doe coup in Liberia and considered its leading national holiday. Each year the US sends a delegation headed by a notable, although usually not a Presidential Delegation. (C)

This year, State sought a senior White House staffer to head the delegation and, working through State/M, invited Mr. Fred Fielding. They did not go through NSC on this, but did advise us subsequently. I registered a protest and required them to send us a memo, which they have belatedly done. This is not the first time I have experienced this type of end run on personnel matters; the problem, according to my contacts, is that State/M insists on having its own channels to the White House staff outside the NSC channel. (C)

I have no problem with Mr. Fielding going. I would be happy to brief him prior to his departure. Chairman Doe has an extraordinary respect for the President and will certainly receive personally anyone from his staff. (C)

Attachment

Tab A State memo to you

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR MD7-074#39095

BY LOS NARA DATE 5/15/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520



39096

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 13, 1984 84 MAR 13 P10: 46

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

MEMORANDUM TO MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: United States Delegation to Liberia's Redemption
Day Ceremonies - April 10-11, 1984

White House Counselor Fred Fielding has agreed to lead the United States delegation to Liberia's Redemption Day ceremonies. George Haley and one or two State Department officials will travel as members of the delegation. Background materials and predeparture briefings will be provided prior to departure.

Corey

Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 107-074#39096

BY LAT NARA DATE 5/15/08

RECEIVED 05 APR 84 17

TO MCFARLANE

FROM WETTERING

DOC DATE 05 APR 84 5

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By SMF NARA, Date 7/24/07

KEYWORDS. LIBERIA

SUBJECT. LIBERIA MR FIELDINGS TRIP SCRUBBED PROBLEMS WITH CHAIRMAN DOE

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE: 06 APR 84 STATUS IX FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

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COPIES TO

APR 07 1984

Mcfarlane noted

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National Security Council
The White House

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System # I

Package # 2813

5 P 3:12

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep. Exec. Sec'y	<u>1</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall	<u>4</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>5</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>		<u>N</u>
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M07-074#39097

2813

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7

MEMORANDUM BY LOJ NARA DATE 5/15/08

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

April 5, 1984

Thanks

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: FRED WETTERING *W*

FCM HAS SEEN

SUBJECT: Liberia: Mr. Fielding's Trip Scrubbed;
Problems in Relationship with Chairman Doe

State just advised me that Mr. Fred Fielding, who was scheduled to lead the U.S. delegation to Liberian Redemption Day ceremonies on April 9-12, has cancelled out due to an illness (an adverse reaction to malaria pills).

It's just as well. State/AF was preparing to recommend that he not go anyhow as a result of two problems that have just emerged in our relationship with Liberian leader Chairman Doe. The first was a postponement by him yesterday of free elections from April 1985 to January 1986. The second, which is just in and unconfirmed but likely, is that thirteen coup conspirators have just been sentenced to be shot tomorrow morning. State/AF is greatly bent out of shape by what they perceive as an excessive election delay (Doe's advisors recommended a three-month setback, with which we would have been much more comfortable) and directly contrary to the recent advice that Dick Walters gave Doe in the name of the President (stay the course).

State/AF has done the following: Chet Crocker called the Liberian Ambassador in today and in polite but firm tones expressed our dismay at the delay and the lack of consultations; State has asked the Ambassador to come home for consultations ASAP; and State has asked the Ambassador to seek out the most senior Liberian official available to ask for clemency for all or some of the 13 condemned and to make the point about our unhappiness with the lengthy election delay.

State believes that both these Liberian measures, if they are implemented, will cause us real grief in Congress and jeopardize our rather extensive aid (\$75 million in '84, \$91 million asked for in '85) to Liberia. They will also cast into real doubt Doe's intentions of returning to constitutional rule in business and international eyes.

State is withholding decision until tomorrow about any further measures, including the composition of any Redemption Day delegation (although Mr. Fielding is out in any case by his own choice).

I will keep you posted. State is keeping me advised and I have been given some opportunity to input.

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

RECEIVED 12 APR 84 15

TO MCFARLANE

FROM HILL, C

DOCDATE 12 APR 84

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1987

By AMJ NARA, Date 7/24/87

KEYWORDS LIBERIA

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

DOE, SAMUEL

CONGRESSIONAL

HUMAN RIGHTS

SUBJECT US CONCERN OVER LIBERIA ANNOUNCED DELAY IN TRANSITION

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE

DUE: 13 APR 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

WETTERING

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SABLE

FORTIER

LEHMAN, C

RAYMOND

ROBINSON

THOMPSON

STEINER

Concurrence's unnecessary

COMMENTS

REF# 8410973

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(HW *ET*)

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ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

McFarlane 14 4/17 For info

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FILE *PA 28*

National Security Council
The White House

1118 91F

System # I

Package # 2924

APR 10 P 51 51

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep. Exec. Sec'y	<u>1</u>	<u>S</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall	<u>3</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>4</u>		<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>		<u>N</u>
Situation Room			

Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

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39098

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

2924

INFORMATION

April 16, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: FRED WETTERING *W*

NOTED

SUBJECT: Liberia: Latest Problems in US-Liberia Relations

Liberia's chief of state, Chairman Samuel Doe, recently announced two decisions out of the blue which have caused us some heartburn: that he was postponing the return of Liberia to constitutional rule from April 1985 to January 6, 1986; and that of 13 Liberians on trial for treason all were to be given the death sentence following a guilty verdict. (S)

State correctly believed that both decisions would cause us problems with Congress, were against approved policy lines, and in general should be reversed. State was particularly unhappy at the lack of any consultation with the US prior to the announcement of these decisions, especially since General Walters had just seen Doe three weeks previously with the message to stick to the timetable on return to constitutional rule. While I felt this was a tad naive, given Doe's increasing autocracy and general flakiness, I concurred that we needed to go on record strongly. (S)

State officially protested both decisions and cancelled a VIP delegation to Liberia's national day. Doe got the message and was unhappy with it. He reversed himself on the executions, pardoning 10 of the 13 convicted (the three remaining actually had committed murder). But he has not rolled back the timetable of 1/6/86, and in his national day address noted his distress at outside "pressures" on the timetable and on economic reform. (S)

In my view this pique of Doe's will pass, and I think we eventually should be able to get him to adjust the timetable back to a late 85 date which would be palatable to us. We may be forced to change ambassadors in order to get better consultation, though, as Bill Swing (the current US ambassador) perhaps has lectured Doe once too often. Both Swing and State realize this and both have committed to me that if the ambassador appears to be part of the problem he will voluntarily depart for reassignment. (S)

Our longer-term problem is that Chairman Doe is a man of limited

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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NLRR M07-074#39098

BY LOJ NARA DATE 5/15/08

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2

capabilities but not without pride and a growing imperiousness. Our ability to guide him has dwindled although he remains fundamentally pro-US. ~~(S)~~

A state memo attached is not particularly worth reading. ~~(S)~~

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to you from State

cc:

Raymond

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~~SECRET~~



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

S/S 8410973
~~SECRET~~

April 12, 1984

2924

D

MEMORANDUM TO MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

39099

SUBJECT: U.S. Concern over Liberia's Announced Delay in
Transition

The Liberian Government's April 2 decision to postpone by nine months the return to civilian rule came as somewhat of a surprise, given previous indications of Head of State Doe's commitment to the original timetable. It raises human rights concerns and could jeopardize Congressional support for our high aid levels.

Since the President met with Head of State Doe in New York last September, Doe has publicly reiterated his commitment to the transition on numerous occasions. Until last week Liberia's planned return to civilian rule in April, 1985, seemed fairly well advanced. A new constitution had been drafted and an elections timetable announced. Despite various indications that Doe is emotionally and intellectually ill-equipped for the give and take of a free political process, he still appeared serious in his intention to proceed with the transition on schedule. Ambassador-at-Large Vernon Walters met with Doe in late February to reassure Doe of our willingness to help him through the process. He counseled Doe to exercise restraint in dealing with his critics and to maintain fiscal discipline.

We expected GOL administrative inefficiency and the efforts of certain senior GOL officials to slow the planned return to civilian rule would delay somewhat the transition timetable. However, the 9-month delay was more than we anticipated. While the reaction has thus far been manageable, further backsliding would likely raise questions in Liberia and the U.S. (particularly in the Congress) about Doe's commitment to civilian rule, and could adversely affect Congressional support for the planned FY85 \$91 million Liberian AID package.

In a related matter of potential major human rights concern, we learned April 5 that ten of the Liberians on trial for treason for alleged coup plotting and three charged with murder in connection with a politically inspired raid had been sentenced to death. Both here and in Monrovia we urged the government to suspend the executions and permit appeals. Following pressure from a number of sources, Doe granted executive clemency to the ten coup plot defendants on April 7. The remaining three, convicted of perpetrating murder during the raid, will likely be executed in the near future.

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DECL: OADR

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NLRR M07-074#39099

BY WJ NARA DATE 5/15/08

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- 2 -

The military regime's nominal governing body, the People's Redemption Council (PRC) affirmed the sentences twice and directed that they be carried out expeditiously. It denied a request by Doe for a three-day delay to review the sentences. Doe's executive announcement on April 7 overrode the PRC and again demonstrated its relative weakness. Nonetheless, the possibility that some PRC members might seek to harm Doe in the period ahead cannot be ruled out.

Working through Ambassador Swing, and to come extent through the Liberian Ambassador here, we will be conveying two basic messages to Doe in the near future: (a) as Liberia's major friend and supporter, we need to be consulted more closely on important decisions if that support is not to be jeopardized and (b) while we understand the need for some delay in the transition, we do not believe the GOL has made an effective public case for such a lengthy delay; it would be in Liberia's and Doe's interest were he to indicate a willingness to keep the timetable under review with an eye toward advancing it as much as possible.

Corey

Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

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NSC/S PROFILE

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14
ID 8403314

RECEIVED 21 APR 84 11

TO MCFARLANE

FROM HILL, C

DOCDATE 20 APR 84

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By NARA, Date 7/25/07

KEYWORDS LIBERIA

DOE, SAMUEL K

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON LIBERIAN DEVELOPMENTS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 25 APR 84 STATUS S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

WETTERING

FORTIER

COMMENTS

REF# 8411985

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(DW)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

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C 4/25 OBE Per Wetting

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03 APR 21 A 9: 32

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S/S 8411985
United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
3314

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April 20, 1984

~~SECRET~~

PII: 02

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Update on Liberian Developments

Recent Developments. Our memorandum of April 6 referred to a Liberian Government decision to postpone by nine months the transition to civilian constitutional rule and an announcement of death sentences for 13 persons convicted in a coup plot trial. In meetings with the Liberian Ambassador here and the Foreign Minister in Monrovia we made known our concern that these decisions could seriously impair support in this country for our very substantial aid program. On April 7 Head of State Doe announced clemency for 10 of the 13 defendants not implicated in acts of violence, a move which eased human rights concerns here and met popular approbation in Liberia.

However, in a speech to the nation on April 12, Doe warned foreign diplomats to respect Liberia's sovereignty and stressed Liberia would not sacrifice its sovereignty to obtain foreign assistance.

On April 17 Doe publicly accused the U.S. of interfering in Liberia's internal affairs and stated his intention to return \$350,000 which the United States had provided to support the transition to civilian rule. Doe cited our decision to call in Liberia's Ambassador in Washington on the delay in Liberia's transition date as evidence of interference. He also ordered the GOL to stop negotiations with aid donors who impose conditionality, meaning, presumably, the U.S., the IMF, and IBRD.

Doe's Personality. Doe has a history of taking ill-timed, emotional actions which he later regrets. Doe's need to pay salaries and meet debt payments in the next several weeks may cause him to back away from this action. However, Doe's public commitment will make that more difficult than in the past. The recent series of surprise announcements raises serious questions about our future ability to work successfully with Doe and to encourage a transition to constitutional rule. It is too early, however, to draw definitive conclusions to those questions.

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DECL: OADR

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NLRR 107-074#39100

BY LOJ NARA DATE 5/15/08

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- 2 -

The Immediate Future. We may not have seen Doe's last move. It is possible that he will seek to further reduce what he presently sees as excessive US influence in Liberia. For example, Doe might decide to declare our Ambassador persona non grata.

What We are Doing. To avoid a pretext for further impulsive actions by Doe, we will not respond immediately to the accusations of interference. We will take a correct but not apologetic tone with the GOL, and will seek to reengage Doe in serious dialogue at a suitable time in the future. We plan an internal reassessment of our facilities (for which we now pay no rent) to determine with as much precision as possible their actual value. We will also begin to consider, on a contingency basis only, basic questions on how to protect US interests should Doe make it clear that he will no longer work with us.

Richard D. Kaugland
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

John
J



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SITUATION ROOM NOTE

August 22, 1984

~~SECRET~~

39101

Students Clash with Police in Monrovia

Embassy Monrovia reports student demonstrators and security officers clashed today near the University of Monrovia. The soldiers were seen firing their automatic weapons into the air and at the feet of the students which resulted in a number of them incurring gunshot wounds.

- o Liberian radio announced Head of State Doe has ordered the university closed and has dismissed the entire administration and faculty.
- o As of this afternoon, the city was mostly quiet although the police remained at the university dispersing a small crowd.
- o The police advised businesses to close early and our embassy expects a curfew will be declared.
- o Because of the expected curfew, our embassy has sent all but a skeleton staff home and has advised official Americans to stay at home this evening. No Americans have been involved in the demonstration.

Our embassy notes that Doe addressed the interim National Assembly in the capital building across the street from the university at about the same time the demonstrations began, but no readout of his speech is available yet. (S)

Monrovia 9014, PSN 37195; Monrovia 9018, PSN 373

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CLASSIFIED BY MONROVIA
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M67-074 #39101

BY LOJ NARA DATE 5/15/08

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RECEIVED 06 NOV 84 18

TO MCFARLANE

FROM WETTERING

DOCDATE 06 NOV 84

18

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By [signature] NARA, Date 7/25/07

KEYWORDS: LIBERIA

ECONOMICS

SUBJECT: LIBERIA RE DOE & THE ELECTIONS

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE:

STATUS IX FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

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(DR)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

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COPIES TO

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DEC 05 1984

Mcfarlane noted

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DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

FILE

PA

(C)

27

National Security Council
The White House

1430 JFF

System # I
Package # 8251

04 NOV 6 16:00

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	<u>1</u>	<u>[initials]</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[initials]</u>	
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall	<u>5</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>6</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u>7</u>	<u>K</u>	
NSC Secretariat	<u>8</u>		<u>N</u>
Situation Room	<u>4</u>	<u>w/k</u>	<u>DKOM to bud</u>

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

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

8251

INFORMATION

November 6, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: FRED WETTERING *FW*

-9102

SUBJECT: Liberia: Doe and the Elections

A few weeks ago you asked me for my views on my best estimate on Doe's continuity for the next six months and the prospects for a "state successor" (which I interpret to mean whoever wins the scheduled presidential elections takes office peacefully).

The elections are still a goodly way away - the legislative elections are scheduled for October 1985, the presidential elections for November 1985 with a January 1986 inauguration. So this is a lot of time for Doe to either improve his position for the election - which at present is not particularly strong - or to make it worse, which would likely lead to his aborting the exercise.

Doe's prospects revolve around his personal temperament and skills which are limited. He has a tendency for decisive action, the quick solution, and a developed taste for various uses of force rather than more subtle forms of action. He nonetheless has basically sound political instincts and a tribal base. His use of force against university students a couple of months ago backfired and may have inculcated a healthier circum-



State also has serious questions about Doe's judgmental abilities, particularly when under stress.

I find myself in the curious position of being somewhat more optimistic than either State or CIA. While I concede scenarios which could get out of hand, I submit that Doe has grown in survival instincts, has cleverly been building a cadre of tribally loyal security troops (a la Mobutu), has access to enough of our aid to weather serious economic distress in the capital in the short term, and has a tribal information network plus a few loyal other tribal commanders to keep on top of things in general.

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLR MD7-074 #39102

BY RW NARA DATE 12/15/10

13524
E: O-12958-
As Amended
Sec. 3.3(b)(1)(G)

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2

As for the election, Doe in a fair election would be thrashed by Bacchus Matthews, the moderate, opportunist/progressive leader of a party grouping contesting the election. But Doe will win, one way or another. More than likely he will either put increasing pressure on Matthews to join in coalition with his (Doe's) party (after all, he did serve as Doe's foreign minister for a time), or he will discredit, arrest, detain or force him into exile. Doe has already started pressing minor candidates to merge with his party, using both inducement and (especially) threats of intimidation. If Matthews waits too long to arrive at a modus vivendi with Doe he will likely be framed as a coup plotter and either jailed or go into exile. Matthews' strong card, which Doe must respect, is his popularity among the urban proletariat in Monrovia and support from students, so Doe is well advised to proceed cautiously with Matthews.

In sum, I am at considerable variance with CIA and at some dispute with State in that I think Doe will survive the next six months and go on to "win" the election. The legitimacy of that win will depend on how opposition leader Matthews is dealt with. Frankly, I see extraordinary parallels between Doe now and Mobutu in 1965-67, and see the real possibility of a similar development.

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National Security Council
The White House

System #

8F
I 22

Package #

7338

1375

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	1	<i>[Signature]</i>	
Bob Kimmitt	2	<i>[Signature]</i>	
John Poindexter	3	<i>[Signature]</i>	
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall	4		
Bud McFarlane	5	<i>[Signature]</i>	I
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			
<i>F. W. [Signature]</i>	6		<i>See Rem note</i>

Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

INFORMATION

September 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: FRED WETTERING

SUBJECT: Africa: Short Term Trends and Developments

*Fred - pls
Send me a 23
me - page
summary of
Southern
Africa game
plan
Thank*

The following is my explanation/analysis of recent events and trends in Africa arising from both intelligence and office activities.

Southern Africa Initiative: DAS Frank Wisner is standing by in Lisbon to travel to Luanda for another round of talks with the MPLA on Cuban troop withdrawal. State expects a marketable MPLA proposal this time. MPLA President Dos Santos [redacted] had made up his mind that the Cuban troops must go, [redacted]

[redacted] Kaunda is sending his personal aide to Havana with a message asking Fidel to withdraw the troops. I spoke with this advisor last week. This is a significant tactical victory for us - after three years the African players have shifted the heat from us to the Cubans. (S) ✓✓

Angola: [redacted]

[redacted] I agreed to let a small supply of C-130 spare parts go in return for a reaffirmation of State's opposition to Commerce of sales of aircraft mainframes. State will also block sale of encryption equipment to the MPLA. (S)

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLRR MD7-074#39103

BY RW NARA DATE 12/15/10

~~SECRET~~

*13526
E.O. 12958
As Amended
Sec. 3.3 (b)(1)(6)*

~~SECRET~~



Economic Crisis: Once again, Sudan and Liberia are in desperate straits. Sudan owes \$40 million, soon to be \$80 million, to the IMF without a hope of paying it, thus will fall out of compliance and collapse the house of cards econ assistance we set up (it worked for a year at least). Similarly, Liberia owes or will owe 40-80 million, mostly to the World Bank, again with no hope of repayment. There are no immediate solutions - and may not be any real ones - but our economists are working on these. (S)

*What
your
guess
Does
continuity
in
next
to me
What
prose
do you
see
as
success*

African Drought/Famine: AID and State experts, analyzing new data, now believe the current drought as it is likely to continue will assume catastrophic proportions in certain areas of Africa and exceed donors ability to help. Worst hit now is Ethiopia. While Mengistu has been suppressing the information, we now see a possibility of 900,000 people dying this year alone. In Kenya, the GOK estimates it will need \$500 million in emergency food over the next several months. No such quantities are available, and neither the Ethiopians nor the Kenyans have expertise or facilities to begin to move and distribute the food even if it were fully provided. I have asked Peter McPherson to do a memo to you outlining this and his thoughts on how we help. In Mozambique, the drought continues to deepen and will probably not bottom out until next year. (S)



Ethiopia: General Walters will meet the Ethiopian Foreign Minister next Friday. Walters will offer significant new emergency foodstuffs, delivered state-to-state (a change in our policy), if the Ethiopians will permit numerous American observers to ensure non-diversion. I asked State to do an info memo to us on this; while I am lukewarm I think the Ethiopians will reject the offer. (S)

Chad: Penne, Nucci, and others have assured us that the French will increase economic and military assistance to Habre and indeed return if the Libyans renege on the deal. We are all suspicious of this since in 1983 the French ignored massive Libyan involvement for a long time. We have refused a French request to pressure Habre to accept French-selected withdrawal observers, especially Benin. (Admiral Poindexter wrote me on this and we all see it the same way - the French can carry their own water on this). (S)

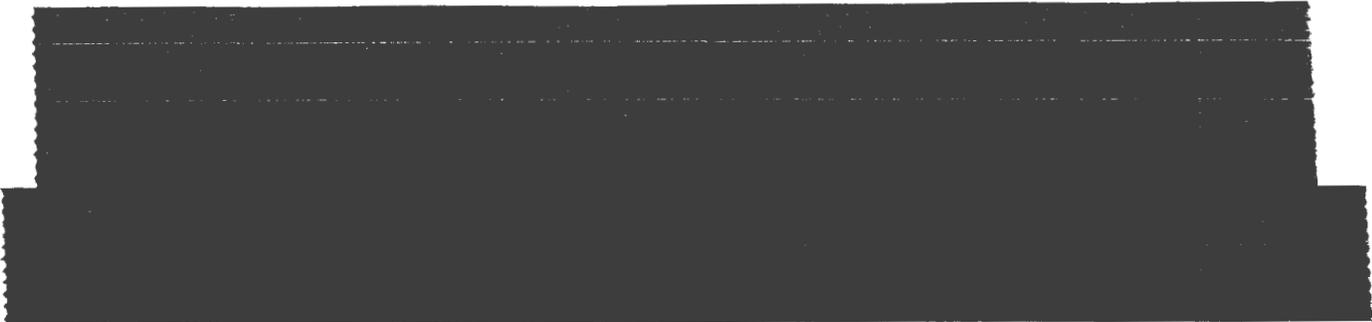
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~~Secret~~

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES 3

IMMEDIATE

DACOM # 162

RELEASER WHC

PRIORITY

DEX #

DTG 102005Z

ROUTINE

TTY #

FROM/LOCATION/

1. THE SITUATION ROOM

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. TOM SHULL FOR ROBERT MCFARLANE/SITTO # 252 /SANTA BARBARA/TOR: 102010Z

INFORMATION ADDRESSES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1.

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS: LOG # NISC# 8251

ATTACHED:

84 NOV 10 P 3: 17

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

~~Secret~~

CLASSIFICATION

28

National Security Council
The White House

System #

Package #

I
8954

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	1	K	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	2	_____	A
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

Stuff to Kingdahl

I am not aware of any such letter

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

39104

29

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02 MONROVIA 3515
SIT607 AN007449

DTG: 101505Z DEC 84 PSN: 034215
TOR: 345/1505Z

DISTRIBUTION: KIMM SIT EOB /003

OP IMMED
STU4761
DE RUEHMV #3515 3451506
O 101505Z DEC 84
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3783

INFO USIA WASHDC 2458

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MONROVIA 13515

H FOR NANCY MORGAN, AF/W FOR PERKINS

E.O. 12356: DECL: 12/10/90
TAGS: OVIP, PGOV, PREL, LI
SUBJECT: WORLD CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

REF: MONROVIA 13177

1. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUESTED CABLE.
2. (6) WORLD CONFERENCE ORGANIZER SAM TUCKER ARRIVED IN MONROVIA DECEMBER 7 AND MET WITH AMBASSADOR, DCM, AND EMBOFFS DECEMBER 10. HE ADVISES THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS AGREED TO SEND A LETTER TO THE CONFERENCE WHICH AMBASSADOR SWING IS TO READ DURING THE AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH AT 0930Z DECEMBER 13. TUCKER SAID THE LETTER

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M07-074#39104

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BY LET NARA DATE 5/15/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

30

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02 MONROVIA 3515

DTG: 101505Z DEC 84 PSN: 034215

IS BEING HANDLED THROUGH WHITE HOUSE INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS OFFICE. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE ADVISE ON STATUS OF LETTER. TUCKER IS ASKING THAT WE REPRODUCE SAME IN ADVANCE TO INCLUDE IN PARTICIPANTS' WELCOME FOLDERS.

3. (U) TUCKER ALSO ASKED THAT WE ASCERTAIN TRAVEL PLANS OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE DIRECTOR JOSEPH LOWRY. TUCKER SUGGESTS DEPARTMENT CALL HIS OFFICE IN WASHINGTON AT 628-1411 OR DR. LOWRY'S OFFICE IN ATLANTA, (404) 522-1422. SWING
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECEIVED 25 JAN 85 19

TO POINDEXTER

FROM RINGDAHL

DOCDATE 25 JAN 85

RINGDAHL

25 JAN 85

DECLASSIFIED

White House, August 28, 1997

~~by [signature]~~ 7/25/97

KEYWORDS: ~~LIBYA~~

13enia

IMF

DOE, SAMUEL K.
Swing, William L.

SUBJECT: DOE MESSAGE TO PRES RE SUSPECTED COMPLAINTS ABOUT AMB SWING &
WITHHELD ESF ASSISTANCE

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION DUE: STATUS IX FILES PA

FOR ACTION
POINDEXTER

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS

RLF# LOG NSCIFID (JW)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Poindester ix *1/25* *Add-on/For Information*
28 JAN 1985 *Poindester noted both* *PRV*

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

32

32

National Security Council
The White House

System # I

Package # 0667

1542

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>I</u>
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>4</u>		<u>N</u>
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

Good

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

33

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0667
Add On

INFORMATION

January 25, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN POINDEXTER

39105

FROM: PHILLIP RINGDAHL *PR*
SUBJECT: Africa: Doe's Message

NOTED

FOIA(b) (1)

There is a message in from [redacted] in Monrovia to the effect that Doe will not ask for Ambassador Swing's removal when he sees Walters next week. Doe said he would rather work with a new face, but will try to get along with Swing as long as he remains there. If true, a positive development, which could set the stage for some constructive talks with Walters on moving our relations back to even keel.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLS MD 7-074 # 39105

By HOT, NARA, Date 5/15/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

34

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0667

INFORMATION

January 25, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN POINDEXTER

FROM: PHILLIP RINGDAHL *PR*

39104

SUBJECT: Liberia

NOTED

As I mentioned this morning, State was preparing a Presidential letter for President Doe, but now they and Ambassador Walters have decided they first want to see Doe's message to the President. Depending on what Doe says and wants, a Presidential message may be necessary later.

State is withholding some ESF assistance (\$11 million) which Doe may complain about. The reason is that Liberia is crashing on its IMF program, has gone from a \$22 million surplus last year to a \$22 million deficit this year, and State wants to have money ready when the IMF arrearage arises, probably this summer.

I told State (Jim Bishop) that as far as the NSC was concerned, Walters should be explicitly firm with Doe, and that Doe would completely miss any verbal message delivered in subtleties or diplomatic niceties. Doe has done some outrageous things lately, and we have to put down some strong markers. Bishop agreed, and also agreed that Doe would probably call for Ambassador Swing's removal. In my personal view, Swing has done a very good job in a difficult situation, but probably has been there too long and lost some of his objectivity. The Swing-Doe relationship completely wore out several months ago. I believe State had planned to change him in the summer of 1985 anyway, but in any case will not be intimidated by Doe.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M07-074 # 39106

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BY

LOI NARA DATE 5/15/88