

Confidential Filing

Visit by President Tolbert of Liberia

LIBERIA

June 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>13-6-79</del>							
<del>15-6-79</del>							
<del>22-6-79</del>							
<del>24-9-79</del>							
<del>13-11-79</del>							
<del>16-11-79</del>							
<del>28-11-79</del>							
<del>2-12-79</del>							
<del>17-12-79</del>							
<del>2-12-79</del>							
14-1-80							

PREM 19/288

**CLOSED**





*010*

With the compliments of

The Minister for Overseas Development

ELAND HOUSE, STAG PLACE  
LONDON SW1



*Liberia*

cc PS/No 10 Downing Street  
PS/Secretary of State for Trade  
PS/Lord Privy Seal

*F. Marten*  
*5/3*

5 March 1980

When you called on me on 6 February we spoke amongst other things of the documents President Tolbert left with the Prime Minister during his visit to London in December. These comprised a survey of British technical and economic cooperation in Liberia over the years, and a description of new projects related to the current Liberian development plan.

My officials have now reported to me on their study of the papers so far as the aid aspects are concerned. If I may say so the kind thoughts expressed in the first of the papers about the value of past and present official assistance to Liberia are much appreciated here. It is all the more distressing for me therefore to have to confirm as I told you when we met that I can see no immediate possibility of changing the present shape of our programme assistance to your country in the implementation of the projects so carefully detailed in the second paper.

On the trade and private investment side, however, I understand that our Department of Trade have drawn to the attention of British businessmen the investment paper by means of the Export Intelligence Service; the proposals in it have been aired at a meeting of the West African Businessmen's Group in January; and have been discussed by the Tropical Africa Advisory Group of the British Overseas Trade Board. The Chairman of the Group is currently visiting Monrovia and will report to the Group in April on trade and investment possibilities.

My colleagues in Government much welcome the desire of the Government of Liberia to increase economic cooperation between our two countries particularly in the development of British imports from and investment in Liberia. A copy of a model Investment Protection Agreement was, I understand, handed over to President Tolbert's delegation and is now being negotiated by our Embassy at Monrovia. I am sure that a successful outcome of these negotiations will be very helpful to the development of relations between Liberia and Britain.

NEIL MARTEN

HE The Hon Francis A Dennis  
Ambassador of the Republic of Liberia





EG MAR 1980





Liberia

10 DOWNING STREET

JOY ROBILLIARD

I have sent the bill off to the Civil Service Department for the Crown Derby bowl for the President of Liberia but I would be grateful if the Prime Minister could pay hers. I attach a copy of Mr. Bellak's letter.

CAROLINE STEPHENS

14 January 1980



File

ds

14 January 1980

I am attaching a bill for a present that was bought for the President of Liberia and I would be grateful if you could let Royal Doulton have a cheque as soon as possible. The cheque should be made payable to the Royal Crown Derby Porcelain Company Limited.

CAROLINE STEPHENS

R.D.H. Baker, Esq.,  
Civil Service Department.

259




P O Box 100 London Road  
Stoke-on-Trent Staffs ST4 7QD  
Telephone 0782 49171  
Cables Doulton Stoke-on-Trent  
Telex 36502 Minton G

Royal Doulton Group

Miss Caroline Stephens,  
10 Downing Street,  
London, S.W.1.

JGB/GAA

10th January, 1980.



Royal Doulton Tableware Limited

Thank you so much for your letter of 31st December (and a happy New Year to you). I hope the newsletter extract is not too much of an impertinence since it is meant as a support for the Prime Minister's policies.

Attached are two invoices. The first, No. R.23763 for £47.99, is the item which was destined for the President of Liberia and is therefore the Government's responsibility.

The second, R.23762, covers the Prime Minister's activities at the factory when we had the pleasure of her visit and is netted off at the same price that I personally would pay.

I'd be very grateful if I could have the relevant cheques. The one in respect of the Liberian gift can be made out either to me personally or to the Royal Crown Derby Porcelain Company Limited, which may possibly be better from a Governmental point of view. The Prime Minister's own purchases had best be covered by a cheque made out to me since it's "my" price.

With every best wish,

Yours sincerely,



J. G. BELLAK

Registered in England  
Number 58357

Registered Office  
London Road Stoke-on-Trent

London Office  
46 Pall Mall  
London SW1Y 5LW  
Telephone 01 839 7391

Glasgow Office  
82 Mitchell Street  
Glasgow G1 2NA  
Telephone 041 221 6442

~~Chairman~~  
JP Medd TD

~~Managing Director~~  
RJ Bailey CBE

~~Deputy Managing~~  
Director  
JG Bellak

Directors

~~GC Cooper~~  
GC Cooper  
The Hon MJ Hare  
JW Ledger  
AW Norris





# Royal Doulton Tableware Limited

Domesticware Sales Division, P.O. Box 301, Hobson Street, Burslem, Stoke on Trent, ST6 2AW.

Telephone: 0782 85671, Telex: 36164 Chinas G, Cables: Finechina, Stoke on Trent.

INVOICE TO:-

Mr. J. G. Bellak,  
Minton H. Q.,  
Stoke-on-Trent.

ALL ACCOUNTS PAYABLE TO:

ROYAL DOULTON TABLEWARE LIMITED  
P.O. BOX 100, LONDON ROAD  
STOKE ON TRENT, ST4 7QD  
Telephone 0782 49171  
Telex 36502 MINTON G

DELIVER TO:-

V.A.T. Reg. No. 278 5371 21

**Sales  
Invoice**

CARRIER COLLECTED 07.12.79	7 ACCOUNT NUMBER	DESP. OR INV. DATE 02.01.80	31 INVOICE No. R 23762
CONSIGNMENT CONSISTS OF	CARTONS	OPEN TRAYS	CASKS CRATES

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION
THE ROYAL CROWN DERBY PORCELAIN CO. LTD.			
6	Low Tea cups 1128	12.20	73.20
6	Tea saucers "	6.50	39.00
6	Plates 7" "	11.45	68.70
8	" 5" "	7.35	58.80
5	Trays 5 petal "	12.60	63.00
8	" 1963 "	8.15	65.20
4	" Silver "	15.60	62.40
1	Oct. bowl 9" "		142.80
1	Plate 7" A.962 Gadroon Rose	9.05	9.05
1	Box 1920 Posie		5.00
1	Duchess No. 2 "		6.50
1	Tray Silver "		2.20
			595.85
	LESS SPECIAL DISCOUNT.....		198.62
			397.23
	PLUS V.A.T. @ 15%		59.58
			£456.81

Terms and Conditions of Sale are as quoted in the Official Price Lists.  
All sizes and capacities quoted are approximate within manufacturing tolerances.



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CONSIGNMENT CONSISTS OF	CARTONS	OPEN TRAYS	CASKS	CRATES

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE	EXTENSION
	THE ROYAL CROWN DERBY PORCELAIN CO. LTD.		
1	Basket 1685 1128 Boxed PLUS V.A.T. @ 15%		41.73 6.26 <hr/> £47.99

Terms and Conditions of Sale are as quoted in the Official Price Lists.

All sizes and capacities quoted are approximate within manufacturing tolerances.

Wilkes Business Forms



Liberia



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

21 December 1979

Dear Nick,

Thank you for your letter of 17 December enclosing a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Tolbert of Liberia. You asked whether the Prime Minister ought to send a reply.

The message is primarily one of thanks following President Tolbert's official visit to the UK from 10-13 December and in these circumstances we do not consider it is strictly necessary to reply. However we have proposed separately (my letter today to Michael Alexander) that HM Ambassador at Monrovia should be instructed to thank President Tolbert for his help over Rhodesia.

yours ever

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

Nick Sanders Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

271 DEC 1979





T 172AA/795

cc Rhoderic - Sit  
Pg 12

**PRIME MINISTER'S**

**PERSONAL MESSAGE**

**SERIAL NO.** T172<sup>AA</sup>/795 Prime Minister

(2)

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
MONROVIA, LIBERIA  
AM-APJ/688/R.T.VII

December 19, 1979

Handwritten signature/initials

Dear Madam Prime Minister:

Having safely returned to Liberia, we recall with deep appreciation, the very warm, cordial and kind hospitality which Her Britannic Majesty's Government has bestowed upon us during our recent visit to your great country and industrious nation.

We were indeed gratified by the opportunity afforded us to meet and form new friendships, while strengthening existing ties and to exchange views on issues of the moment in Africa and our One World.

Indeed, as I am writing you this letter, I have been informed of the concurrence of the Leaders of the Patriotic Front to an immediate ceasefire. These are glad tidings which finally announce the advent of peace in Zimbabwe.

Allow me to again express heartiest congratulations for this great achievement of your Government.

We therefore hail the dawn of a new day in the relations between the United Kingdom and Africa and for our part, we will endeavour to build solid bridges

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher  
Prime Minister of Great Britain &  
Northern Ireland  
10 Downing Street  
London - ENGLAND



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

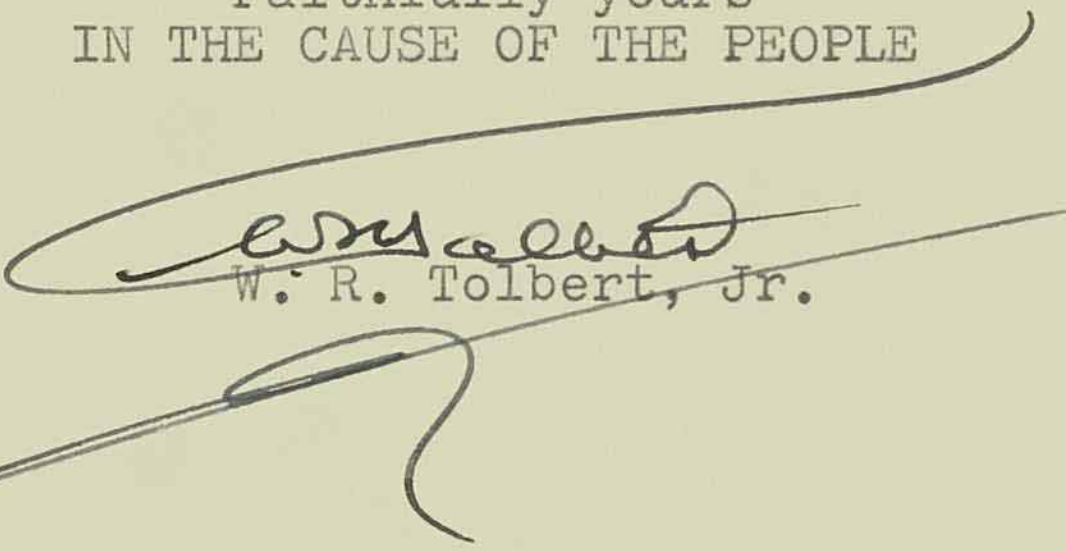
- 2 -

of genuine friendship with your great Country for a rewarding and productive partnership in progress and development for the mutual benefit of our peoples and Governments.

Mrs. Tolbert, our Suite and indeed the Government and all the people of Liberia, enthusiastically join me in sentiments of gratitude to you and all the friendly people of the United Kingdom.

With kindest personal regards, appreciation and best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

Faithfully yours  
IN THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE

  
W. R. Tolbert, Jr.



File

B/E 241279BK



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

17 December 1979

I attach a copy of a cable from President Tolbert of Liberia which was received here this morning. I should be grateful for advice on whether the Prime Minister needs to send a reply.

N. J. SANDERS

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



SUBJECT

T170/29T

DE 16 15 50

ZCZC CLF085 LBE887 GLB0003 ROC459 IBY0016 MOI335 1216-928  
GBLH CO LIMV 373  
MONROVIA 373/362 16 903

LFS1301

GOVERNMENTAL  
(PRIORITY)

ETATPRIORITE  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MARGARET THATCHER  
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND  
10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDONSW1

MAAM PRIME MINISTER CAM I TAKE PLEASURE IN INFORMING  
YOU OF MY SAFE ARRIVAL HOME AFTER A PLEASANT FLIGHT  
FROM BRITAIN AND SEIZE THE OCCAISION TO AGAIN EXPRESS  
TO YOU MY BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF  
LIBERIA AND IN MY OWN NAME CMA SINCERE APPRECIATION  
FOR THE KIND INCITATION YOU SO GRACIOUSLY EXTENDED  
SUS TO VISIT YOUR GREAT COUNTRYSSTOP THE FRIENDLY AND WARM  
HOSPITALITY ACCORDED US HAS TENDEJWY TOUCHED MRS TOLBERT D  
CMA THE MEMBERS OF MY SUITE AND ME STOP ON THEIR  
BEHALF AND IN MY OWN NAME CMA I CONVEY OUR FEELINGS  
OF GRATITUDE AND APPRECIATION STOP OUR VISIT OCCURRED  
AT A CRUCIAL STAGE IN THE ZIMBABWE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS  
AND I AM THANKFUL THAT OCCASION AFFORDED US THE  
OPPORTUNITY OF EXCHANGING VIEWS ON THIS MATTER OF HIGH  
PRIORITY TO AFRICA AND TO PEACE LOVING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT  
OUR ONE WORLD STOP ALTHOUGH THE NEWS THAT THE TALKS  
HAVE NOW ENDED IN DEADLOCK ON AN ASPECT OF THE CEASEFIRE  
ISSUE CMA WE ARE GRATIFIED TO KNOW THAT YOUR  
GOVERNMENT HAS LEFT THE DOOR FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE  
NEGOTIATIONS OPEN STOP IT IS OUR FERVENT PRAYER THAT A  
WAY SHALL BE FOUND TO RESOLVE THE OUTSTANDING ISSUE IN  
A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE MANNERSOI THE PRODIGIOUS EFFORTS  
WHICH YOU AND MEMBERS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT AND THE OTHER  
CONCERNED PARTIES TO THE TALKS CMA PARTICULARLY THE  
CO-LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT CMA HAVE MADE IN THE  
SEARCH FOR A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION TO THE ZIMBABWE  
PROBLEM WOULD NOT BE RENDERED FUTILE STOP WE ARE STRONGLY  
CONVINCED THAT HAVING GONE SO FAR CMA THE PROCESS EMBARKED  
UPON FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WHICH WILL ENSURE  
GENUINE MAJORITY RULE FOR ZIMBABWE WILL RESULT IN A

To send Telegrams — CONSULT TELEPHONE  
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To send Telegrams — CONSULT TELEPHONE  
DIRECTORRY OR TELEX DIALLING CARD  
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GENUINE MAJORITY RULE FOR ZIMBABWE WILL RESULT IN A  
CONCLUSION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES STOP OUR VISIT  
ALSO AFFORDED THE OPPORTUNITY OF REVIEWING OTHER INTERNATIONAL  
ISSUES AND OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH CAN ONLY  
BECOME FURTHER STRENGTHENED AS WE BROADEN THE BASIS OF  
OUR COOPERATION ECONOMICALLY CMA CULTURALLY AND POLICICALLY  
STOP PLEASE ACCEPT CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA RENEWED  
ASSURANCES OF OUR HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

W R TOLBERT JR

COL 10





10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

14 December 1979

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Here is a further bill for a handbag that the Prime Minister wishes to give Mrs Tolbert. I would be grateful if you could arrange for payment to be made out to Miss Joy Robilliard. If you still have the other receipt could you kindly destroy it.

CS

Miss Peggy Metcalfe OBE



HARRODS Ltd  
- KNIGHTSBRIDGE, SW1 7XL

14 DEC 79

033.00 I -

011.. 033.00 CASH

Mach 752. Ph 01 750 1234

V.A.T. Reg. No. 238 7031 63



file

BK



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

13 December 1979

The Prime Minister wanted to give a present to Madame Tolbert and we bought her an evening handbag. Could you very kindly arrange for reimbursement of £25 to be sent to Mrs. Crawford, c/o 10 Downing Street.

I attach a receipt from Peter Jones.

CAROLINE STEPHENS

Miss Peggy Metcalfe, O.B.E.,  
Protocol and Conference Department,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

JMP





a fro

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

13 December 1979

Could you very kindly forward this  
letter from the Prime Minister to your  
President.

CAROLINE STEPHENS

His Excellency Mr. F.A.W. Dennis



cc PM gifts, June 79



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

13 December 1979

Your Excellency.

Your beautiful gifts have safely arrived and I am delighted not only with the beautiful country cloth but also the ivory carving.

They are the most generous of presents and ones that I shall treasure.

Yours sincerely  
Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Dr. William R. Tolbert, Jr,  
K.C.M.G.



Liberia

JS

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

13 December 1979

VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT

Thank you for your letter of 12 December summarising the documents left with the Prime Minister by President Tolbert. Unfortunately, your letter arrived after the Prime Minister had left to say goodbye to the President. It was not, therefore, possible for her to speak as you proposed in the final paragraph of your letter.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

KRR





CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

12 December 1979

*Dear Michael,*

Visit of President Tolbert:  
Documents on Anglo-Liberian Technical and  
Economic Cooperation and Liberian Development  
Projects 1980-84

During his talks with the Prime Minister on 10 December, President Tolbert handed over two documents entitled:

- i. United Kingdom and Liberia Technical and Economic Cooperation; and
- ii. Selected Priority Planned Public Investment Projects of Liberia's Socio-Economic Development 1980-1984.

The Prime Minister undertook to study the papers. You have asked for a summary of them, together with our comments.

The first paper traces the history of commercial and technical cooperation between UK and Liberia. It describes UK technical assistance in various sectors including the provision of specialist advisers, loans and scholarships, and refers to the Commonwealth Development Corporation involvement in Liberia. It notes without complaint that British assistance has generally been technical rather than capital and given in response to specific requests by the Liberian Government. The paper refers to the continuing imbalance of trade in Britain's favour and suggests that British importers should be encouraged to buy more of Liberia's exports, namely rubber, timber, cocoa, coffee, etc. It proposes the negotiation of an 'Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement' between the two countries which would include provisions to promote trade and guarantee British involvement in Liberia. The Liberian Government would be prepared to take the initiative in negotiations for an agreement. The paper also describes the favourable climate for investment in Liberia and proposes the negotiation of a formal Investment Protection Agreement between UK and Liberia.

The second paper sets out the priority development projects for 1980-84 and describes ways in which foreign countries can assist in their implementation. The projects cover the development and diversification of the agricultural sector, hydro-electric power, road construction, and health and education

/programmes.

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL





programmes. Capital aid is sought from developed countries as well as private sector investment and technical assistance.

Both papers are well researched and presented and avoid a 'cap in hand' approach. Copies are being sent to the Department of Trade and the Overseas Development Administration and we shall be coordinating follow-up action through diplomatic channels. In the meantime we are making it clear to the Liberians that we would welcome the negotiations of an Investment Protection Agreement (in fact we proposed in Monrovia last year that one should be negotiated, but the Liberians did not respond).

If the Prime Minister has the chance when she says goodbye to the President on Thursday morning, she could say that the papers are being studied here with interest; that we shall be following the ideas in them up through diplomatic channels; and that, in particular, we welcome the proposal for an Investment Protection Agreement.

*Yours ever*  
*Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary



11 12 1  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

13 DEC 1979



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11 December 1979

Call by President Tolbert

As you know, President Tolbert had a 45 minute talk with the Prime Minister here at No.10 before lunch yesterday. I enclose a record of the discussion.

I am sending a copy of this letter and its enclosure to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

SL

Roderic Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



# CONFIDENTIAL

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA AT NO 10 DOWNING STREET AT 12.15 PM ON  
MONDAY, 10 DECEMBER 1979

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Present:-

The Prime Minister	President Tolbert
Lord Carrington	Mrs E Johnson-Sirleaf
Mr N Aspin CMG	Mr D Franklin Neal
Mr R Williams	Mr J McClain
Mr J Doubleday OBE	Mr T Siafa Sherman
Mr J R Johnson	HE Mr F A Dennis
Mr M Pattison	Mr S B Cole Jr

The Prime Minister welcomed President Tolbert and expressed appreciation of his close interest in and messages about the Rhodesia Conference. Settlement was near and she hoped it might be reached quickly. President Tolbert said that he was grateful for the invitation to visit at such a significant juncture. He had talked to the Patriotic Front leaders that morning and was confident that the Rhodesia problem which was of great concern to Africa and to the world could be successfully resolved.

At the Prime Minister's request, Lord Carrington outlined the current position. It was essential to allay the suspicions on both sides which had led to the continuing cross-border infiltration and the retaliatory attacks at the weekend. He intended to provide a paper the next day which should reassure Patriotic Front fears. The conference had come so far that it could not be allowed to founder on the assembly of forces. The aims now were to have the cease-fire arrangements agreed and to send the Governor out. He hoped that President Tolbert would use his influence to convince the Patriotic Front leaders of the fairness of the British measures and of the need to reach a decision quickly.

President Tolbert congratulated the British Government on behalf of Liberia and of the OAU on their courage and resolve over Rhodesia. A Liberian proverb seemed appropriate: 'If you eat the rat you must be prepared to eat the tail'. He had been impressed by the determination of the Patriotic Front leaders to end the war. They were not opposed to assembling their forces or to the number of points, but they

/needed to be

cc Master Set  
Rhodesia Sit Pt II

CONFIDENTIAL



needed to be reassured that the Rhodesia forces would be treated and monitored in the same way. Their fears about the reliability of the Rhodesian forces were shared by Presidents Nyerere and Shagari who had been in Monrovia last week. Lord Carrington said that these fears were exaggerated, but the arrangements had to be fair. The observers, the monitoring forces, the Governor and the world press would ensure this.

President Tolbert said that it took time to create the right psychological conditions but he would do what he could to help. He would speak to the Patriotic Front leaders again as soon as possible. Lord Carrington undertook to give the President a copy of his paper and advised waiting until he had read it before seeing the Patriotic Front leaders again. He stressed the need for the information on force numbers and for a reciprocal withdrawal to allay fears on both sides. The Conference had made great progress and could not be allowed to fail now. President Tolbert said that it would not fail.

President Tolbert spoke of the distress Africa felt at the Rhodesian raids and the problems in particular caused for Zambia. The Prime Minister said that Britain had tried to get mutual agreement on stopping cross-border infiltration and raids but the Patriotic Front spokesman had called for an intensification of the war. Lord Carrington pointed out that the raids would stop when the British Governor was in charge, and maize would flow to Zambia again. (Lord Carrington then left to fulfil another engagement).

The Prime Minister stressed that she had been instructed at the CHGM in Lusaka to act with urgency on Rhodesia. The conference had now lasted for 15 weeks. A most powerful Governor had been carefully chosen to build confidence in Salisbury. It would be most appropriate for final agreement to be reached during the President's visit. President Tolbert agreed that they must work to this end.

The Prime Minister asked about current issues facing the President as Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. President Tolbert said that Western Sahara was important. The OAU had resolved that the Saharan people were entitled to self-determination. He had just held a meeting of

/the ad hoc



CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

the ad hoc committee which had successfully broached consideration of the problem. Other preoccupations were the Ethiopia/Somalia and Benin/Gabon disputes and reconciliation in Chad. Peace had to be achieved in African trouble spots and then the OAU would devote attention to economic development. He hoped an economic meeting would be held in Lagos in April/May 1980. The Prime Minister wished him well in these endeavours.

The Prime Minister asked about the President's plans for Liberia. President Tolbert said that the emphasis was on an integrated development programme for the rural areas concentrating on schools, roads and agricultural projects. The standard of living of the masses would be improved. But world problems had made it difficult for Liberia to rely solely on its own resources, so it was necessary to look to friendly countries. He wanted particularly to expand the long-standing relationship with the United Kingdom by seeking co-operation in education, especially manpower training and technical knowhow. He handed over to the Prime Minister documents on:

'UK and Liberia: Technical and Economic Co-operation'; and  
'Selected Priority Planned Public Investment Projects of Liberia's Socio-Economic Development 1980-84'.

The Prime Minister expressed her interest and undertook to study the documents. The meeting closed at 1300 hours.

11 December 1979.

CONFIDENTIAL



Type as a  
No 10 record  
M. MAP



Mike Patton: Betty usony for  
a 45 minute meeting: but

With the compliments of  
perhaps little was said?

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

(R M J Lyne)

John Johnson has asked me  
to send this across to you  
for your approval.

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE  
SW1A 2AH

10 December 1979



DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM: RECORD

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT: RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA AT NO 10 DOWNING STREET AT 12.15 PM ON MONDAY, 10 DECEMBER 1979

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

Present:

- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| The Prime Minister  | President Tolbert     |
| Lord Carrington     | Mrs E Johnson-Sirleaf |
| Mr N Aspin, CMG     | Mr D Franklin Neal    |
| Mr R Williams       | Mr J McClain          |
| Mr J Doubleday, OBE | Mr T Siafa Sherman    |
| Mr J R Johnson      | HE Mr F A Dennis      |
| Mr M Patterson      | Mr S B Cole Jr        |

The Prime Minister welcomed President Tolbert and expressed appreciation of his close interest in and messages about the Rhodesia Conference. Settlement was near and she hoped it might be reached quickly.

President Tolbert said that he was grateful for the invitation to visit at such a significant juncture.

He had talked to the Patriotic Front leaders that morning and was confident that the Rhodesia problem which was of great concern to Africa and to the world could be successfully resolved.

Enclosures—flag(s).....



At the Prime Minister's request, Lord Carrington outlined the current position. It was essential to allay the suspicions on both sides which had led to the continuing cross-border infiltration and the retaliatory attacks at the weekend. He intended to provide a paper the next day which should reassure Patriotic Front fears. The conference had come so far that it could not be allowed to founder on the assembly of forces. The aims now were to have the cease-fire arrangements agreed and to send the Governor out. He hoped that President Tolbert would use his influence to convince the Patriotic Front leaders of the fairness of the British measures and of the need to reach a decision quickly.

President Tolbert congratulated the British Government on behalf of Liberia and of the OAU on their courage and resolve over Rhodesia. A Liberian proverb seemed appropriate: 'If you eat the rat you must be prepared to eat the tail'. He had been impressed by the determination of the Patriotic Front leaders to end the war. They were not opposed to assembling their forces or to the number of points, but they needed to be reassured that the Rhodesia forces would be treated and monitored in the same way. Their fears about the reliability of the Rhodesia forces were shared by Presidents Nyerere and Shagari who had been in Monrovia last week. Lord Carrington said that these fears were exaggerated, but the arrangements had to be fair. The observers, the monitoring forces, the Governor and the world press would ensure this.



President Tolbert said that it took time to create the right psychological conditions but he would do what he could to help. He would speak to the Patriotic Front leaders again as soon as possible. Lord Carrington undertook to give the President a copy of his paper and advised waiting until he had read it before seeing the Patriotic Front leaders again. He stressed the need for the information on force numbers and for a reciprocal withdrawal to allay fears on both sides.

*The Conference had made great progress and could not be allowed to fail now. President Tolbert said that it would not fail.*

President Tolbert spoke of the distress Africa felt at the Rhodesian raids and the problems in particular caused for Zambia. The Prime Minister said that Britain had tried to get mutual agreement on stopping cross-border infiltration and raids but the Patriotic Front spokesman had called for an intensification of the war. Lord Carrington pointed out that the raids would stop when the British Governor was in charge, and maize would flow to Zambia again. (Lord Carrington then left to fulfil another engagement.)

The Prime Minister stressed that she had been instructed at the CHGM in Lusaka to act with urgency on Rhodesia. The conference had now lasted for 15 weeks. A most powerful Governor had been carefully chosen to build confidence in Salisbury. It would be most appropriate for final agreement to be reached during the President's visit. President Tolbert agreed that they must work to this end.

The Prime Minister asked about current issues facing the President as Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. President Tolbert said that Western Sahara was important. The OAU had resolved that the Saharan people were



entitled to self-determination. He had just held a meeting of the ad hoc committee which had successfully broached consideration of the problem. Other preoccupations were the Ethiopia/Somalia and Benin/Gabon disputes and reconciliation in Chad. Peace had to be achieved in African trouble spots and then the OAU would devote attention to economic development. He hoped an economic meeting would be held in Lagos in April/May 1980. The Prime Minister wished him well in these endeavours.

The Prime Minister asked about the President's plans for Liberia. President Tolbert said that the emphasis was on an integrated development programme for the rural areas concentrating on schools, roads and agricultural projects. The standard of living of the masses would be improved. But world problems had made it difficult for Liberia to rely solely on its own resources, so it was necessary to look to friendly countries. He wanted particularly to expand the long-standing relationship with the United Kingdom by seeking cooperation in education, especially manpower training and technical knowhow. He handed over to the Prime Minister documents on:

'UK and Liberia: Technical and Economic Co-operation;  
and Selected Priority Planned Public Investment  
Projects of Liberia's Socio-Economic Development  
1980-84.'

The Prime Minister expressed her interest and undertook to study the documents. The meeting closed at 1300 hours.



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

*C. F.W.*

*for  
Nunt*

S T A T E M E N T

BY

DR. WILLIAM R. TOLBERT, JR.  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

&

CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

AT THE

L U N C H E O N

IN HIS HONOUR

BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MARGARET THATCHER  
PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

LONDON, DECEMBER 10, 1979



THE EXECUTIVE MANSION  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTERS;  
MR. THATCHER;  
LORD MINISTERS;  
EXCELLENCIES;  
DISTINGUISHED LADIES AND GENTLEMEN;  
FRIENDS:

YOU HAVE ONCE MORE OCCASIONED AN HISTORIC MEETING -- THIS TIME, INVOLVING THE FIRST LIBERIAN CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE FIRST LADY PRIME MINISTER IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND OF EUROPE!

SINCE YOUR RECENT ELECTION TO THIS HIGH OFFICE, YOUR FIRMNESS AND FLEXIBILITY HAVE OFTEN BEEN COMPARED TO THE COMPONENTS OF STEEL. BUT WE FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA WILL



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APPRECIATIVELY AGREE THAT YOUR LEADERSHIP IS  
STEEL-LIKE AS WELL AS STEADFAST, COURAGEOUS  
AS WELL AS CONSIDERATE, PURPOSEFUL AS WELL AS  
PATIENT.

ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF  
LIBERIA, OUR SUITE AND MRS. TOLBERT, WE EXTEND  
TO YOU, THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED  
KINGDOM OUR DEEP APPRECIATION AND GRATITUDE FOR  
YOUR KIND INVITATION TO PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT  
TO BRITAIN; ESPECIALLY AT THIS TIME OF CONFRON-  
TATION IN AFRICA.

NOW THAT IRON HAS BECOME A GREAT FAVOURITE  
OF THE BRITISH ELECTORATE, WE HOPE THAT LIBERIA,  
A TRADITIONAL IRON ORE PRODUCER, WILL ENJOY A



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- 3 -

MOST FAVOURED NATION STATUS HERE IN ENGLAND!

HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER: FOR SCORES OF DECADES, THE AFRICAN COUNTRY OF RHODESIA LAY PROSTRATE UNDER THE COLONIAL YOKE. AND FOR OVER ONE ADDITIONAL DECADE, SHE DRIFTED RE- PRESSIVELY IN THE LIMBO OF DEFIANT, REBELLIOUS ILLEGITIMACY. THEN, IN ABOUT FOURTEEN WEEKS, UPON THE ADVENT OF YOUR PRAGMATIC GOVERNMENT, IN EXERCISING IT RESPONSIBILITY, A WELCOME PERIOD OF PRUDENCE AND PROMISE HAS BEEN USHERED IN ZIMBABWE.

WE CONGRATULATE AND THANK YOU HEARTILY FOR THIS ACHIEVEMENT.



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IN PARAPHRASE OF DISRAELI, HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER, LORD CARRINGTON AND YOURSELF HAVE SKILLFULLY WROUGHT THE PREMISE OF PEACE IN ZIMBABWE, AND WE CAN ONLY HOPE THAT IT WILL STAND FOR THE HONOUR OF BRITAIN AND OF AFRICA.

MAY I CORRESPONDINGLY STATE, HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER, THAT IN AFRICA THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE TOWERING HIGH TODAY, FOR THEY HAVE WITHSTOOD NOT ONLY THE SCARS OF CONFLICT BUT HAVE BRAVELY BORNE THE TRIALS OF MANY CONFERENCES. WE COMMEND AND CONGRATULATE THEM ALSO FOR THEIR UNIQUE CONTRIBUTIONS OF PERSEVERANCE, RESTRAINT AND ACCOMMODATION TO THIS SOLID ACHIEVEMENT. AGAIN, AFRICA OWES A



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LASTING DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO THE HEROES OF THE  
FRONTLINE STATES, BOTH PEOPLE AND LEADERS, FOR  
THEIR STRENGTH OF PURPOSE AND THEIR ENDURING  
SACRIFICE IN THE CAUSE OF AFRICAN EMANCIPATION.

IN AFRICA WE LOVE PEACE, BUT, ALAS, NO  
PRICE IS TOO GREAT TO PAY FOR THE PRIZE OF  
LIBERTY.

WE MUST PERMIT NOTHING NOW TO TURN BACK  
THE HANDS OF TIME!

ALL MANKIND, WE BELIEVE, HAS AN INALIENABLE  
AND IRREPRESSIBLE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, TO  
LIBERTY AND TO PROSPERITY; TO DIGNITY, JUSTICE AS  
WELL AS DECENCY.



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AND PRIVILEGED TO SPEAK AS THE CURRENT  
CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY,  
I CANNOT MORE GRAVELY STRESS THAT THE RIGHTS  
OF THE MAJORITY OF HUMANITY IN NAMIBIA AND  
SOUTH AFRICA CANNOT, AND WILL NOT BE LEFT IN  
ABEYANCE TO BE TRAMPLED UPON PERSISTENTLY BY  
A RACIST MINORITY.

NOR WILL THE WHOLE AFRICAN COMMUNITY OF  
NATIONS PERMIT ILLEGAL AND REPRESSIVE REGIMES  
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO CONTINUE TO ABUSE THE  
SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF  
INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES IN THE AREA.



THE VOICES OF THE MAJORITY MUST BE HEARD, THEIR CHOICES MUST BE RECOGNIZED, THEIR ASPIRATIONS RESPECTED, AND THESE MUST BE TIMELY ACHIEVED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONCORD, MOST PREFERABLY AND HOPEFULLY AROUND THE CONFERENCE TABLE.

HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER: SINCE PEACE IS PROLOGUE TO DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS, WITH EACH SETTLEMENT FOR PEACE THE ISSUES OF PROSPERITY ARISE. AND AFRICA'S CLAIMS AGAINST RACISM AND AGAINST COLONIALISM BECOMES AFRICA'S CASE AGAINST DEVELOPED NATIONS.

SADLY, DESPITE CENTURIES-OLD RELATIONSHIPS, THE DIFFERENCES IN LIVING STANDARDS BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE MASSIVE AND EXPANDING, WHILE THE ECONOMIES OF AFRICAN NATIONS ARE BY FAR OUTDISTANCED BY THOSE OF OTHER CONTINENTS.



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AFRICA'S SHARE IN WORLD INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IS SIX-TENTHS OF ONE PER CENT, COMPARED WITH 93 PER CENT FOR DEVELOPED NATIONS, AND 6.4 PER CENT FOR ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA.

AFRICA HAS THE HIGHEST INFANT MORTALITY IN THE WORLD.

THE MAJORITY OF EARTH'S POOREST NATIONS IS IN AFRICA.

OUR POPULATION GROWS AT A RATE MUCH LESS THAN THE RATE OF OUR FOOD PRODUCTION.

AND FOR ALMOST TWO DECADES OUR INCOME PER CAPITA HAS RANGED FROM A NEGATIVE RATE TO 1.8 PER CENT, AT CONSTANT PRICES.



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TO ALL THESE WE ADD THE RATHER IMPOSED  
PARAMETERS OF HIGH EXTERNAL DEBTS AND HIGHER  
ENERGY COSTS, DECLINING EXPORT DEMAND AND  
DETERIORATING TERMS OF TRADE.

FOR OUR OWN PART, THE OAU HAS ADOPTED IN  
MONROVIA, A DECLARATION OF COMMITMENT FOR  
POSITIVE ECONOMIC ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN BY THE  
YEAR 2000. AND STUDIES ARE NOW UNDERWAY FOR  
CONVENING AN EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT ON ECONOMIC  
DEVELOPMENT EARLY NEXT YEAR IN LAGOS, NIGERIA.

IN AN IMPORTANT MANNER, THE SERIOUS  
CHALLENGES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR AFRICA,  
IMPLY SUBSTANTIVE CHANCES FOR MULTILATERAL AND  
BILATERAL COOPERATION AS WELL AS PRIVATE INVEST-  
MENTS.



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THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION WERE FIRST SEIZED BETWEEN BRITAIN AND LIBERIA IN 1847. LIBERIA RECEIVED HER FIRST GRANT FROM HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1848, AND HER FIRST DEVELOPMENT LOAN FROM BRITISH BANKS IN 1871.

IN SUM, OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS TRAVERSED A RUGGED, BUT SATISFYING COURSE, AND WE ARE HAPPY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT BRITAIN HAS GAINED A SHARE IN OUR DEVELOPMENT AND A STAKE IN OUR FUTURE.

HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER: UNDER YOUR ABLE GUARDIANSHIP, THOUGH IN THE MIDST OF WIDESPREAD INFLATION, RECESSION AND UNEMPLOYMENT, BRITAIN HAS SECURED IN AFRICA A VICTORY FOR PEACE, AFRICA WILL TRUST ALSO IN THE CARRY OVER OF YOUR LEADERSHIP UPON A VICTORIOUS COURSE TO DEVELOPMENT.



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- II -

MANY DEEDS WILL SEAL THIS CONFIDENCE --  
THROUGH YOUR MANAGEMENT OF THE TRANSITION TO  
MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE; THROUGH YOUR EQUAL  
PROTECTION OF MAJORITY AND MINORITY; THROUGH  
YOUR EFFECTIVE PREVENTION OF RACIST ALIEN  
INFRINGEMENTS AND INTERFERENCES; AND THROUGH  
YOUR BALANCED COUNSEL IN OTHER GLOBAL DISPUTES  
OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE.

AS OLIVER CROMWELL STATED, (QUOTE) THOUGH  
PEACE BE MADE, YET IT IS INTEREST THAT KEEPS  
PEACE. (UNQUOTE) IF GENUINE, OUR INTEREST IN  
PEACE WILL EXTEND PARTICULARLY TO DEVELOPMENT --  
TO WIDENING TECHNICAL SERVICES, TO MORE ADEQUATE  
FLOWS OF FINANCE, BACKED BY MUTUAL INVESTMENT  
PROTECTION AGREEMENTS, TO EXPANDING LEVELS OF  
COMMERCE AND TO NEWER RESOURCE DISCOVERIES.



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IN THE INTEREST OF A DEEPER RELATIONSHIP,  
WE HOPE YOU WOULD DO LIBERIA THE HONOUR, AT  
YOUR CONVENIENCE, OF RECIPROCATING OUR OFFICIAL  
VISIT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN FOND ANTICIPATION  
OF WHICH WE EXTEND YOU NOW THIS FORMAL  
INVITATION.

HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER: AT THIS CHRIST-  
MASTIDE, THE STAR OF PEACE HAS PEAKED ABOVE AN  
ENDANGERED, TROUBLED WORLD. MAY THE GLOW FROM  
THAT STAR IGNITE THE BEAMS OF GOODWILL WITHIN  
ALL HUMAN HEARTS, THAT HARMONY AMONG AND LOVE  
TO ALL MANKIND WILL REIGN. IN KEEPING WITH THE  
MIND OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE, WE MUST BURN BRIGHT  
THE LAMPS OF PEACE, TO ENSURE A NEW WORLD ORDER  
OF GOODWILL AND JUSTICE, HUMAN DIGNITY AND  
PROSPERITY FOR THE NOBLE FAMILY OF MAN.



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LORD MINISTERS, EXCELLENCIES, DISTINGUISHED  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS: TO THE HONOURABLE  
PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER!



DRAFT SEATING PLAN

LUNCH ON MONDAY, 10 DECEMBER

THE PRIME MINISTER

HE DR. WILLIAM R. TOIBERT

The Hon. D. Franklin Neal

MR. DENIS THATCHER

Mrs. Younger

Mrs. William R. Tolbert

The Hon. Johnny McClain

Rt. Hon. George Younger

Rt. Hon. Nicholas Edwards

The Hon. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf

Mr. Russell Johnston

Mr. Ted Rowlands

Mrs. Agnes Cooper Dennis

Mr. Richard Luce

The Hon. Charles A. Clarke

The Hon. A. Benedict Tolbert

Mr. James Johnson

The Hon. T. Siafa Sherman

Mrs. Edwards

Mrs. Luce

HE The Liberian Ambassador

Rt. Hon. Edmund Dell

Mr. Ian Grist

The Earl of Limerick

Mrs. Russell Johnston

Mrs. Dennis

The Hon. P. Clarence Parker, Jnr

The Hon. Garanawrahn Zarnghah

The Hon. J. Weseh McClain

Mr. Ivor Stanbrook

Mr. James Johnson

Mrs. Dell

Admiral Sir Anthony Griffin

HE J. Charles Hansford

Mr. P.A. McCunn

Mr. J.D.B. Mountrose

Mrs. Stanbrook

Lady Griffin

Mrs. Brooke

Mrs. Ward Thomas

Mr. J.G. Doubleday

Mr. G.E. Ward Thomas

Mr. David Nicholas

The Hon. Peter Brooke

Mrs. Grist

Mrs. Aspin

Mrs. McCunn

Mrs. Mountrose

Mr. Norman Aspin

Mr. David Warburton

Mr. Ian Gow

Mr. Fred Hardman

Mrs. Warburton

Mrs. Nicholas

Mrs. Hardman

Mrs. Gow

Professor J.D. Fage

Mr. Roy Williams

Mr. Clive Whitmore

Mr. Michael Alexander

Mrs. Williams

Mr. Bernard Ingham

ENTRANCE



VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA: BRIEFING

1. Steering Brief and sheets on vital statistics.  
Visit Programme.
2. Background Note on Liberia (Internal political,  
economic and foreign policy).
3. Bilateral Relations; Trade and Aid.
4. Organisation of African Unity.
5. Rhodesia.
6. Other African Questions.
7. Personality Notes.



VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA  
10-12 DECEMBER 1979

BRIEF NO 1: STEERING BRIEF

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

INTRODUCTION

1. Our relations with Liberia have been consistently cordial, helped by our historical affinity: the UK was the first state to recognise the Liberian Republic in 1848. Bilateral trade has remained relatively steady, but there is a useful market for British exports and we are keen to increase our share. It is only during the last few months, since President Tolbert assumed the Chairmanship of the Organisation of African Unity that our political relations with Liberia have had any real content. President Tolbert's visit provides the opportunity for us to build on what has been achieved from our exchanges with him on the Rhodesia constitutional talks and to enlist his understanding and sympathy for our Southern African policies; and also to put more content into our commercial relationship.

HANDLING TACTICS

2. The President is sensitive about his status. On the other hand he will respond positively to any acknowledgement of his importance as an elder statesman of Africa.

OBJECTIVES

3. In the time available at the Prime Minister's talks and lunch with President Tolbert it will only be possible to cover a limited range of subjects.



The President will wish

- a) on behalf of the OAU to make us aware of the views of Africa as a whole on the problems of Rhodesia and Southern Africa;
- b) to secure our recognition of his own role as a senior spokesman for Africa;
- c) to persuade us to play a greater part in the development of Liberia by giving capital aid and increasing our investments.

4. We will wish

- a) to explain to the President the magnitude of the task which has faced us in trying to achieve a settlement in Rhodesia and enlist his support for the difficult job we will be undertaking in the coming months;
- b) to secure his understanding of and if possible sympathy with our policies in Namibia and South Africa;
- c) to encourage his own pro-Western outlook;
- d) to express our support for the constructive role which the OAU can play in ensuring the future stability and independence of the countries in Africa;



- e) to show the President how we can contribute to the development of Liberia through investment and explain, if the subject is raised, why we cannot give any capital aid.

BILATERAL RELATIONS INCLUDING TRADE AND AID (BRIEF NO 3)

5. There are no current bilateral questions of political importance but Liberian irritation with the BBC African Service's reporting of Liberian domestic issues in recent months has reached the point where our relations could be soured. If the President raises this matter, the Prime Minister could stress the BBC's independence and suggest that representations be addressed direct to the Corporation.

6. The President will have talks with a group of leading businessmen on 11 December. He will meet many more at the functions being held in his honour. The Prime Minister should emphasise the readiness of British companies to participate in projects in Liberia.

7. There are no aid points which we wish to raise. Our technical cooperation programme is running at about £350,000 per year and we hope to maintain that level. The President wants capital aid from us. But Liberia is over-aided, and cuts in the aid programme rule out any increased expenditure. The Prime Minister could stress that we are major contributors to the European Development Fund, UN Development Programme and the World Bank, all of which are involved in projects in Liberia.



INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) (BRIEF NO 4)

8. The Prime Minister could acknowledge the importance of the OAU as the organisation best fitted to resolve problems on the African continent without outside involvement. A tribute to the President's personal efforts as a mediator is justified and would be well-received.

RHODESIA (BRIEF NO 5)

9. The Prime Minister could thank the President for his constructive messages on Rhodesia since the Lusaka Agreement. We should seek the President's understanding as Chairman of the OAU, of what has been achieved at Lancaster House and enlist his support.

OTHER AFRICAN QUESTIONS (BRIEF NO 6)

South Africa

10. The President takes a close interest in the problems of Southern Africa and will probably speak forcefully on what he sees as the threat that South Africa poses for peace in the region by

- i) the continuing deprivation of human rights under apartheid;
- ii) its sabre-rattling over Rhodesia and Namibia;
- iii) its attempts to develop a nuclear capability.

We will wish to argue that there have been signs of change in the internal situation in South Africa, and that there is more to be achieved by encouraging the South African to make further progress than by ostracising them.



Namibia

11. The Prime Minister will wish to leave President Tolbert in no doubt that a negotiated settlement is still possible and to stress that it would not be useful to consider imposing sanctions.

Western Sahara

12. A current preoccupation of the President who will have just come from a Summit Meeting in Monrovia on 4/5 December of an ad hoc OAU Committee and will be able to give his assessment of the prospects for a negotiated settlement. Our policy is one of strict neutrality.

Communist Involvement in Africa

13. President Tolbert will stress the non-aligned position of the OAU and the need for the major powers to refrain from interfering in African affairs. He is firmly anti-Communist and suspicious of Communist involvement in Africa. We should find much common ground with him here. It would be best to focus on the destabilising effects of Communist intervention (eg Horn of Africa) and to stress the role that African countries can play through OAU and other mechanisms to settle disputes by peaceful negotiation.

14. If time allows, there could be an exchange of views on other developments in Africa, concentrating on West Africa.



## LIBERIA: VITAL STATISTICS

1. Population and Land Area

Land Area	111,369 sq kms (less than half the size of the United Kingdom)
Population (1977)	<u>1.68 million</u>
Population growth rate	2.4% (1970-77) per annum

2. Economic(i) Gross National Product1977

(a) Total	US\$ 710 million
(b) Growth Rate (1970-76)	3.9% p.a.
(c) Position in GNP league	119th (of 146)
(d) Per capita	US\$ 430
(e) Position in per capita league table	96th (of 146)

(ii) Inflation197619771978

Consumer Price Index	6.00%	6.04%	<u>7.12%</u> p.a.
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(iii) Liberian Exports1977

Exports (fob)	US\$ 447.4 million
of which Iron Ore	61.13%
Rubber	13.21%
Coffee	9.61%
Logs & Lumber	6.55%

/Main Export Markets



(iv)	<u>Main Export Markets</u>		<u>1977</u>		
	Germany		27.71%		
	USA		18.54%		
	Italy		10.49%		
	France		8.91%		
	(UK		3.58%)		
(v)	<u>Major Imports</u>		<u>1977</u>		
	Manufactures		68.46%		
	Oil		14.87%		
	Foodstuffs		12.25%		
(vi)	<u>Major Sources of Imports</u>		<u>1976</u>		
	USA		29.83%		
	Germany		12.42%		
	Saudi Arabia		11.90%		
	UK		8.22%		
(vii)	<u>UK Exports to Liberia</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1978</u>		
	Total value of exports	£17.6m	£33.0m		
	Real growth of exports five years ending	N/A	- 5.4% p.a.		
	Position in UK's export league table	70th	80th (of 152)		
(viii)	<u>Liberian Overall Trade Balance</u>				
	US\$m	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>
	Exports fob	400.0	394.4	460.0	447.4
	Imports cif	-288.4	-331.2	-399.2	-463.5
	Invisibles and transfers (net)	-141.9	-144.4	-103.6	-112.9
	Current Account	-30.3	-81.2	-42.8	-129.0
	Capital Account	27.9)	47.2	78.7	62.2
	Balancing Item		29.0	-1.4	69.8
	Overall Balance	-2.4	-5.0	34.5	-7.0

/Anglo-Liberian Trade






(ix) Anglo-Liberian Trade (£ million)

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>Jan- Aug 1978</u>	<u>Jan- Aug 1979</u>
UK Imports	10.0	14.1	12.5	8.8	8.5
UK Exports	27.9	21.5	33.0	21.4	<u>24.2</u>
Balance to UK	17.9	7.4	20.5	12.6	<u>15.7</u>





PROGRAMME FOR THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA  
10-13 DECEMBER 1979

MONDAY 10 DECEMBER

- 0940 Arrival of President Tolbert at Heathrow Airport Southside. Met by Mr R W H du Boulay, Vice-Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps (Escale Technique)
- 0945 President departs by helicopter for Kensington Palace helipad.
- 1000 Arrival at Kensington Palace helipad. Greeted by the Queen's representative, The Lord Mowbray and Stourton and by the Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP, Prime Minister, HM Ambassador Monrovia and Mr Barclay GHF
- 1005 President leaves by car for Claridges.
- 1012 Arrive Claridges.
- 1200 Talks at No. 10 Downing Street with the  
NOON Prime Minister. (Photocall)
- 1300 Luncheon hosted by the Prime Minister  
for at No. 10 Downing Street.  
1315
- 1430 approx Depart No. 10 Downing Street
- 1530 Call on the President at Claridges by African Ambassadors and High Commissioners.
- 1858 Leave Claridges.
- 1910 Arrive front entrance Covent Garden.
- 1930 Ballet 'Swan Lake' at Covent Garden hosted by The Lord Privy Seal and Lady Caroline Gilmour followed by supper at Lancaster House.

/TUESDAY




TUESDAY 11 DECEMBER

- 1000 Meeting with representatives of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
- 1130 Meeting with representatives of BP at Claridges.
- 1255 Leave Claridges.
- 1300 Arrive Buckingham Palace.  
A Guard of Honour will be mounted in the Quadrangle. Inspection of Guard of Honour.
- 1310/1315 Luncheon given by HM The Queen.
- [1300 Luncheon given by HMG for members of the President's entourage, hosted by Mr Norman Aspin, Assistant Under-Secretary for African Affairs, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, at Admiralty House]  
Leave Buckingham Palace.
- 1445 Wreathlaying Ceremony at Westminster Abbey.
- 1500 Leave Westminster Abbey.
- 1630 - 1800 Calls on the President by businessmen at Claridges. (French Salon)
- 1933 Leave Claridges.
- 1945 President arrives at the Mansion House.
- 1930 for  
2000 hours Dinner at the Mansion House given by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London.

WEDNESDAY 12 DECEMBER

- 0850 Depart Claridges.
- 0900 Arrive Westminster Pier  
Depart by river for the Tower of London  
Accompanied by Mr Richard Luce MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Mrs Luce.
- 0910 approx Arrive Tower Pier.





0915 Arrive Tower of London.  
approx At the Tower met by Resident Governor and  
Keeper of the Jewel House, Major General  
G H Mills and Doris Mills.

1100 Leave Tower of London.  
approx

1105 Leave Tower Pier.

1130 Arrive Greenwich Pier.  
approx

1200 Luncheon at Greenwich.  
for Hosted by Rear Admiral A J Cooke, Admiral  
1230 approx Resident, Royal Naval College, Greenwich,  
and Mrs Cooke, at their Residence.  
Remainder of party will have lunch at Travellers'  
Tavern.

1400 approx Leave Greenwich by limousine.

1430 ' ' Arrive Claridges.

1455 Depart Claridges.

1500 Reception for Liberian students at the Liberian  
Embassy, 21 Prince's Gate.

1700 Leave Liberian Embassy.

1730 Press Confernce at Claridges.

1930 Dinner given by the Anglo-Liberian Society  
for at Stationers Hall.  
2000

THURSDAY 13 DECEMBER

0933 Leave Claridges.

0940 Arrive Kensington Palace helipad.

0945 Departure of the President by helicopter from  
Kensington Palace. Seen off by Rt. Hon.  
Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP and by The Queen's  
representative, The Lord Mowbray and Stourton.

1000 Arrive at Heathrow Airport Southside.

1003 Doors close.

1010 Departure from Heathrow Airport Southside.



VISIT OF PRESENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA  
10-12 DECEMBER 1979

## BRIEF NO 2: BACKGROUND NOTE ON LIBERIA

Brief by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office

## INTRODUCTION

1. Republican form of government based on American model but only one established political party (the True Whig Party) in power for more than 90 years. Comparatively stable and prosperous by African standards with mixed mining/agricultural economy. Some popular dissatisfaction with ruling elite has led to outbreaks of unrest in recent months.

## HISTORICAL

2. Africa's oldest independent republic. Founded by freed slaves from United States in 1822 and became independent in 1847. Britain first state to recognise (1848) and to establish regular steamship line (1853). Until first quarter of 20th century closest links with Britain, Germany and other European States. From 1926, when Firestone Company developed rubber industry, until World War II US influence increasingly dominant. Since his inauguration it has been President Tolbert's policy to establish good relations with all nations, in particular with African countries.

## POLITICAL

3. Dr William R Tolbert Jr was Vice-President from 1951 until he assumed Presidency on death of President Tubman (in London) in 1971. He has tried to press ahead with mild liberalising reforms. In 1978 the President agreed to formation of an opposition party 'Progressive Alliance of Liberia' (PAL) which had already been active in United States. Despite efforts to integrate the two

/groups



groups, sharp divisions persist between the indigenous tribal peoples (mainly subsistence farmers) and the descendants of settlers who occupy many top positions. The Government was shaken and embarrassed by violent demonstrations in April 1979 caused ostensibly by proposals for an increase in the price of rice but also by popular dissatisfaction with the ruling elite and resentment at the cost of mounting the OAU Summit at a time when the country's economy was in the doldrums. Guinean troops were brought in to restore order. Government put the blame on the PAL and rounded up its leaders. A Commission on National Reconstruction subsequently made recommendations (including an amnesty for all arrested and abolition of controls on the import and sale of rice as a means of lowering the price) which were accepted by President Tolbert. Two Ministers sacked and a further Cabinet reshuffle in September. After a period of calm immediately before and after the OAU Summit there have been some further outbreaks of unrest (principally industrial disputes leading to violence) and the President has been obliged to intervene personally to settle some of the disturbances. For the present President Tolbert seems to retain firm control of the situation but his government will come under increasing pressure during the next year or two.

#### ECONOMIC

4. Iron ore and rubber for many years provided major part of export earnings. Liberia has suffered from world-wide recession in iron and steel industry and consequent fall in demand for iron ore. Has largely unexploited resources of other metal bearing ores. Government plans lay stress on agricultural development and it is hoped to make the country self-sufficient in rice by 1980.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

5. Liberia has sought to lessen its dependence on the United States but the two countries remain close (President Carter made a short visit in 1978). Although Liberia usually votes with the African



majority at the UN and OAU, the President is an influence for moderation. He is strongly suspicious of Communist involvement in African affairs. Liberia is a signatory of the Lomé Convention and a member of the Economic Community of African States (ECOWAS) established in May 1975. In 1973 Liberia and Sierra Leone signed the Mano River Declaration to increase economic cooperation between the two countries including the implementation of a customs union. Liberia hosted July 1979 OAU Summit. As Chairman 1979/80 President Tolbert has travelled extensively seeking to play a mediating role in intra-African disputes and to speak for Africa at the UN and on visits to Europe. Liberia is also a member of the coordinating committee of the Non-Aligned Movement.



CONFIDENTIAL

VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA

10-12 DECEMBER 1979

BRIEF NO 3: BILATERAL RELATIONS; TRADE AND AID

Brief by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Points to Make

GENERAL

1. Value our long and friendly relations with Africa's oldest Republic; and admire your long-established stability.
2. Useful exchanges on Rhodesia.
3. (Defensive) BBC enjoys independence of control by government. If there are instances of reporting which you consider to be inaccurate or ill-informed, the best course is for your Embassy to present the facts direct to the BBC.

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

4. Ready to play a role in Liberia's economic development. Many British companies already interested. They can assist to exploit Liberian natural resources, to diversify from iron ore production and to develop infrastructure. You will be meeting a number of businessmen and industrialists during your visit, and I hope it will be possible to identify suitable projects.

AID

5. We contribute to the European Development Fund under Lomé Convention and UN Development Programme, both involved in major projects in Liberia. Glad that Lomé II has now been signed, putting EEC-ACP relations on a firm footing up to 1985.

CONFIDENTIAL



6. Glad Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) associated with World Bank in smallholder rubber scheme. Will be 10 British experts engaged in this project. Others are in forestry, health and survey work.

BILATERAL AID (Defensive)

7. We will do our best to maintain our technical cooperation with Liberia more or less at its current level. But an aid programme has had to carry its share of cuts on public expenditure. Overall cut of £50 million in 1979/80. Further substantial cuts next year. Cannot enter into any new commitments at present.

8. (If President presents framework paper for future cooperation).

We shall study your paper very carefully and consider how we can best cooperate with you within the constraints of our policy to reduce public expenditure. Hope that your talks with businessmen will lead to increased investment in Liberia from the private sector.



BRIEF NO 3: BILATERAL RELATIONS; TRADE AND AID

Essential Facts

POLITICAL RELATIONS

1. Britain first state to recognise independence in 1847. During latter half of 19th century strong commercial (shipping, banking) and political links with Britain. British and other European links gradually eroded as Firestone Company developed rubber plantations and US influence became dominant. US dollar replaced sterling as Liberia's currency in 1943.
2. Political relations have been cordial but have lacked substance. However, President Tolbert has always followed Southern African affairs closely and has conducted a continuing dialogue with successive British Prime Ministers which he has pursued with increasing earnestness since the Lusaka agreement and his assumption of office as Chairman of the OAU.

PRESIDENT'S VISIT

3. First official visit by a Liberian Head of State since State Visit of President Tubman in 1962. President Tolbert has wanted to come here for some time and has angled hard for a State Visit. Cancelled visit proposed for 1973 ostensibly because of his wife's ill-health but in fact because not satisfied that he would be accorded level of hospitality which he felt he merited. With some reluctance he accepted our explanations of the difference between official and State Visits and finally agreed to come as a guest of government rather than continue to hold out for a State Visit.
4. President and Liberian Ministers increasingly angry at what they see as distorted reporting of Liberian internal situation by BBC African Service. HM Ambassador in Monrovia has explained the independence of the BBC from government control and during a recent visit Mrs Sirleaf, Liberian Finance Minister, discussed problem Head of BBC African Service. The Liberians have been advised that Embassy in London should make representations direct to BBC.



## UK VISITORS TO LIBERIA

5. Visitors from the UK have included Lord Home (as Foreign Secretary in 1973), Lord Limerick (as PUSS Trade in 1974), Leslie Huckfield MP (as PUSS Industry in 1978) and Mr Richard Luce MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State FCO who has visited Monrovia twice this year. The Archbishop of Canterbury also visited Monrovia earlier this year.

## ECONOMY

6. Liberia comparatively prosperous (GNP/capita 1978 \$433) by African standards with mixed mining/agricultural economy. Iron ore and rubber for many years provided the major part of Liberia's export earnings. Diamonds also exported and largely unexploited resources of gold, bauxite, copper, corundum, lead, manganese, tin and zinc. Mining sector dominated by foreign companies. Agriculture other than rubber (dominated by Firestone) largely at subsistence level. Government plans stress agricultural development; hoped to make country self-sufficient in rice by 1980. Liberia has suffered from worldwide recession in demand for iron ore and from the decreasing value of the US dollar with which the Liberian dollar is interchangeable.

## TRADE

7. British exports to Liberia in 1978 totalled £24m (excluding £9m exports of ships for Liberian registration), comprising 9%-10% of the market. Liberia's principal suppliers USA and Germany. Britain is Liberia's fifth most important source of imports in value terms after USA, Germany, Japan and Netherlands. But Liberia ranks only 80th in our world market terms and takes only 0.6% of total British exports. The UK's share of the market has remained steady in recent years and, whilst it ought to be possible to improve our position slightly at the expense of our principal competitors,



there is little prospect of any dramatic improvement until Liberia recovers from the effects of the worldwide recession in the iron and steel industry. We had a trade surplus of £20.5 million with Liberia last year. UK took 3.58% of Liberian exports in 1977. The book value of British investments was £5.4m in 1974 (excluding oil, banking and insurance).

## AID

## 8. Aid to Liberia from international agencies includes:

European Development Fund	£16.25 million (current year)
UN Development Programme	US\$10 million (over next three years)
Lomé I Stabex Scheme (for iron ore exports)	£5 million (1975-80)
European Investment Bank (under Lomé I)	£5 million loans (1975-80)

to all of which UK contributes. (18% in case of EDF). Liberia doing well out of Lomé I. Similar benefits from Lomé II Convention (signed in Lomé on 31 October 1979).

## 9. UK Technical cooperation programme includes:

6 TCOs with World Bank/Commonwealth Department Corporation Rubber project (4 more to be recruited).

6 other experts in medical, road construction, English teaching and forestry sectors.

Three year (1979-82) Mapping and Survey Programme by Directorate of Overseas Surveys (DOS) in collaboration with Liberian Cartographic Service. Cost to DOS £418,000.

UK training programme for about 12 Liberians annually.



CONFIDENTIAL

VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA  
10-12 DECEMBER 1979

BRIEF NO 4: ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Points to Make

1. Congratulations on the successful organisation of the Summit Conference in Monrovia in July.
2. Recognise importance of OAU in resolving problems facing African countries and in working for the development of Africa. Our firm belief that regional disputes can best be dealt with by those most closely involved without interference from outside. OAU stand on inviolability of international frontiers has played an important part in the stability of Africa.
3. Particularly admire your own determination, as Chairman of the OAU, to mediate in disputes involving member states of OAU.
4. This year has seen the departure of three abhorrent dictators (Amin in Uganda, Bokassa in Centra African Republic, Macias in Equatorial Guinea). We welcome your initiative for a Human Rights Commission for Africa.

CONFIDENTIAL



## BRIEF NO 4: ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

Essential Facts

## GENERAL

1. OAU established 1963. Liberia a founder member. Permanent Secretariat in Addis Ababa. Chairmanship revolves annually. President Tolbert Chairman July 1979-June 1980. Summit meetings often scene of sharp divisions along ideological lines but have always avoided breakdown in Organisation. At recent meetings there has been growing readiness by more moderate governments to stand firm in resisting extremist proposals put forward by the radicals, often with Communist encouragement.

## MONROVIA SUMMIT, JULY 1979

2. 16th meeting of OAU Heads of State and Government took place in Monrovia from 17-21 July. Twenty-five Heads of State attended. Summit was preceded by meeting of Foreign Ministers which continued to meet between sessions of the Summit. Atmosphere at this year's Summit generally less highly-charged than on previous occasions although some subjects, notably Tanzania's intervention in Uganda, led to acrimonious exchanges. Debate on Rhodesia relatively low-key. Although five countries - Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Liberia and Zaire - recorded their reservations on the recognition of the Patriotic Front as the 'sole, legitimate and authentic' representative of the people of Zimbabwe, there was general unanimity among delegates that a strongly-worded resolution, including the proposed change in status of the Patriotic Front, was needed in response to the emergence of the Muzorewa regime. Despite the apparent uncompromising tone of the resolution, OAU Secretary-General Kodjo (a Togolese) was subsequently reported to have said at a press conference that the door was not closed to further talks on the future of Rhodesia.

/4.



4. Unlike last year, there was no sharp polarisation of delegates along ideological lines. Participants formed different groupings (eg Francophones and Arabs) depending on the subject under debate. A major issue was the Arab and radical African attempt to condemn Egypt for the separate peace agreement with Israel. The final resolution stopped short of condemnation and can be seen as a success for the Egyptians. Other features of this year's debate included a generally adverse reaction from delegates to what were regarded as the heavy-handed pressure tactics of Nigeria; a significant failure for the radicals over the decision to base the Pan African News Agency in Dakar rather than in Addis Ababa; and further evidence of the desire of President Sekou Touré of Guinea to associate himself with the generally moderate viewpoint of the leading Francophone countries.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

5. The Monrovia Summit adopted a resolution proposed by Senegal calling for the examination by a committee of experts of a proposed African Charter on Human Rights. President Tolbert subsequently took initiative in hosting in Monrovia a joint seminar with UN on human rights which was attended by many African countries and international organisations. Seminar concluded by adopting a resolution calling for the establishment of an African Commission on Human Rights. Liberia's own record on human rights is good.



OFFICIAL VISIT TO LONDON BY THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA, 10-12 DECEMBER

BRIEF NO 5: RHODESIA

Line to Take

1. Grateful for the close interest the President has shown in the progress of the Constitutional Conference. Most useful to keep in personal touch.
2. Latest developments - Governor's arrival in Salisbury will enable us to make arrangements for ceasefire, elections; cross-border military activity will cease, maize shipments to Zambia will be resumed.
3. Final ceasefire details still to be agreed - should be possible in few days. Hope we can count on Liberia's continuing support: and that the President can use his influence with the Patriotic Front leaders to help us settle the final details as quickly as possible.





Essential Facts

President Tolbert has sent a stream of messages to the Prime Minister about the Lancaster House Conference. Most of them have been overtaken by events. Copies of some recent ones / are attached. There would seem to be no need for written replies to be sent to the most recent of these, but the Prime Minister may wish to refer specifically to the messages in speaking to the President.



263564 PRDRME G

FROM FORMIN LI MONROVIA, LIBERIA

DECEMBER 4, 1979

TELEX 4224

TO

HER EXCELLENCY MARGARET THATCHER  
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND  
NORTHERN IRELAND  
NO. 10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON

UNCLASSIFIED

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON AS THE OAU AD HOC COMMITTEE ON WESTERN SAHARA CONVENES TODAY IN MONROVIA CMA DEEP AND GRAVE CONCERNS HAVE BEEN AROUSED BY NEWS REPORTS OF STATEMENTS MADE BY YOUR FOREIGN SECRETARY LORD CARRINGTON INDICATING THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO PROCEED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE PLAN FOR ZIMBABWE WITH OR WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT STOP HENCE OUR COLLEAGUES CMA PRESIDENTS JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA CMA PRESIDENT SHEHU SHAGARI OF NIGERIA AND MYSELF WERE IMPELLED TO CALL IN YOUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN THE ABSENCE OF AMBASSADOR DOUBLEDAY AND EXPRESS OUR CANDID VIEWS ON THESE DEVELOPMENTS STOP THESE VIEWS CMA AS WE TRUST WILL BE FAITHFULLY REPORTED TO YOU BY YOUR CHARGE CMA RELATE TO THE QUESTION OF RECIPROCAL GROUPING OF FORCES OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE RHODESIAN REGIME CMA CONTROL OF THE AIRFIELDS AND MILITARY AIRCRAFT AND THE REVELATION OF THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN RHODESIA STOP WE HAVE BEEN MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT CLARIFICATIONS SOUGHT BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON THESE POINTS HAVE NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT STOP ANOTHER CONCERN OF OURS RELATES TO THE DISPOSITION OF THE PRIVATE ARMY OF BISHOP MUZOREWA OR FOR THAT MATTER OF ANY OTHER POLITICAL FACTION IN ZIMBABWE STOP YOU WILL AGREE CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA THAT IN THE CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENT THESE ARE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS WHICH MUST BE CLARIFIED AND RESOLVED IN A MANNER THAT WOULD BE SATISFACTORY TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED STOP THEREFORE THE POSITION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT AS ANNOUNCED BY LORD CARRINGTON CMA IF MAINTAINED CMA WILL RENDER



RENDER COMPLETELY FRUITLESS ALL EFFORTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS MADE THUS FAR TOWARDS A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE ZIMBABWE QUESTION STOP WHILE WE APPRECIATE YOUR CONCERN TO REACH AN EARLY AGREEMENT CMA WE ARE STRONGLY OF THE OPINION THAT THIS CONSIDERATION SHOULD NOT BECOME SO FLEXIBLE IN APPLICATION AS TO LEAD TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS WHICH HAVE ENSUED FOR THREE MONTHS NOW CMA ARISING FROM A PROBLEM WHICH HAS DEFIED SOLUTION AND PLAGUED AFRICA FOR FIFTEEN YEARS STOP WE AGAIN APPEAL TO YOU CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA TO EXERCISE PATIENCE AND AVOID THE IMPRESSION THAT THE TALKS ARE BEING CONDUCTED UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHEREIN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE GIVING ORDERS AND NOT GENUINELY NEGOTIATING THE POINTS OF CONTENTION STOP WE FURTHER URGE YOU PERSONALLY CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA ON BEHALF OF MY COLLEAGUES CMA PRESIDENT NYERERE CMA PRESIDENT SHAGARI AND MYSELF AND IN THE NAME OF AFRICA CMA TO DO ALL THAT IS WITHIN YOUR POWER TO ALLOW THE NEGOTIATIONS CMA WHICH HAVE BROUGHT A RAY OF HOPE FOR PEACE IN ZIMBABWE CMA TO CONTINUE UNTIL AN ACCEPTABLE AND LASTING SETTLEMENT FOR GENUINE INDEPENDENCE WITH MAJORITY RULE BECOMES A REALITY IN ZIMBABWE STOP WITH RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM

SINCERELY

W R TOLBERT JR  
PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

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(MR FREELAND)  
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PS/MR RIDLEY  
PS/MR HURD  
PS/MR MARTEN  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF  
MR BULLARD  
MR FRETWELL  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MISS BROWN  
MR DAY  
MR WILLSON  
MR ASPIN

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
RHODESIA POLICY



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THE RIGHT HONORABLE MARGARET THATCHER  
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND  
10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF  
2ND NOVEMBER ELABORATING ON THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSITIONAL  
OR PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD IN ZIMBABWE AS PROPOSED BY  
YOUR GOVERNMENT AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS STOP WE ARE  
HOWEVER GRAVELY CONCERNED THAT THE INSISTENCE OF YOUR  
GOVERNMENT ON FULL ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS  
AS ADVANCED MIGHT JEOPARDIZE WHAT IS PERHAPS THE LAST  
OPPORTUNITY FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE ZIMBABWE  
PROBLEM STOP I AM INFORMED THAT IN THE SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE  
AND ACCOMMODATION CMA THE COLEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC  
FRONT ARE NOW PROPOSING A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF FOUR  
MONTHS CMA THE INCLUSION OF THE ELECTION COUNCIL OF REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE COMMONWEALTH CMA THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CEASEFIRE  
COMMISSION CONSISTING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PATRIOTIC



ONT CMA THE INTERNAL REGIME AND THE COMMONWEALTH CMA  
VOTING PERIOD OF TWO DAYS AND EQUAL TREATMENT  
D STATUS FOR ALL CONTENDING LEADERS STOP AS THE PROPSAL FOR A  
ITISH GOVERNOR WITH EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS HAS  
W BEEN ACCEPTED CMA IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT  
E ELECTION COUNCIL AND CEASEFIRE COMMISSION WOULD GENERALLY  
LL UNDER LTHE GOVERNORS JURISDICTION THUS ENSURING  
ITAINS FULL AUTHOURITY OVER THE TERRITORY UNTIL THE ATTAINMENT  
INDEPENDENCE STOP AS THESE PROPOSALS IN MY VIEW DO NOT  
EM INCONSISTENT AND UNREASONABLE CMA I AGAIN URGE YOUR  
VERNMENT TO DEMONSTRATE FLEXIBILITY AND AN ATTITUDE  
ACCOMMODATION BY GIVING SEROUS CTNSIDERATION TO THESE  
W PROPOSALS SO THAT AGREEMENT MAY BE REACHED ON THE CRUCIAL  
SUES RELATING TO THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD STOP I DO TRUST  
AT I CAN REPLY ON THE ASSURANCE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL  
ALL WITHIN ITS POWER TO ENSURE THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL  
LKS LEAD TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE  
RMULA FOR THE INDEPENDECE OF ZIMBABWE CMA A FORMULA  
ICH SERVES THE SUPREME INTEREST OF THE ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE  
D CONTRIBUTES TO THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND PROGRESS  
THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA STOP WITH RENEWED ASSUANCES OF  
HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM SINCERELY

W R TOLBERT JR+

ESIDENT OF LIBERIA AND CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE ORANIZATION  
AFRICAN UNITY



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THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MARGARET THATCHER  
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND  
10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1

MADAM PRIME MINISTER COLON ALLOW ME CMA AT THE OUTSET CMA TO  
COMMEND THE EFFORTS MARSHALLED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT WHICH HAVE  
CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUCCESS SO FAR ACHIEVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS  
ON ARRANGEMENTS

COL 10

PAGE 2



FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD LEADING TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE STOP THE CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENT WITH WHICH THE TALKS ARE NOW CONCERNED ARE DESERVANT OF THE MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED IN ORDER THAT AN ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE SO CRUCIAL TO THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF THE

PAGE 3

TALKS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED STOP ARE HOWEVER DISTRESSFULLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SERIES OF UNPROVOKED ATTACKS BEING LAUNCHED AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA BY SECURITY FORCES OF RHODESIA STOP YOU WILL AGREE THAT SUCH BLATANY AND FLAGRANT TRANSGRESSIONS UPON THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ZAMBIA CONSTITUTE A

PAGE 4

SERIOUS THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND GREATLY ENDANGER FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE ZIMBABWE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS BEING HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT STOP IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA CMA A CONTINUATION OF THESE WANTON ACTS OF AGRESSION COULD LEAD TO A CONFLAGRATION OF THE CONFLICT PORTENDING

FILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
STATE DEPARTMENT



PAGE 5

GRAVE CONSEQUENCES NOT FOR THAT REGION ALONE BUT FOR AFRICA AS A WHOLE AND THE WORLD AS WELL STOP WE HAVE ALWAYS DEPLOYED MOST VEHEMENTLY THESE DIABOLICAL ATTACKS PERPETRATED BY THE RHODESIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN REGIMES AGAINST THE FRONTLINE STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA STOP AND IT IS MOST DISTRESSING CMA

PAGE 6

HADAN PRIME MINISTER CMA THAT SUCH HEINOUS ACTS SHOULD BE COMMITTED AT THIS TIME WHEN GENUINE EFFORTS SUPPORTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ARE BEING MADE TO REACH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE ZIMBABWE PROBLEM STOP THAT THESE ATTACKS WOULD BE DIRECTED AGAINST ZAMBIA WHOSE PRESIDENT HAS PLAYED A PIVOTAL ROLE

PAGE 7

BOTH IN THE FORGING OF THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT ON ZIMBABWE AND IN BREAKING THE RECENT STALEMATE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IS MOST SURPRISING TO SAY THE LEAST, AND COULD SERIOUSLY IMPAIR AND JEOPARDIZE THE TALKS WHICH HAVE NOW REACHED A DELICATE AND DECISIVE STAGE STOP IN THE INTEREST

NATIONAL TELEGRAPHIC DIRECTORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA



PAGE 8

OF PEACE AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS  
CMA I URGE THAT YOU DO ALL IN YOUR POWER TO CAUSE THE RHODESIAN  
REGIME TO FORTHWITH DESIST FROM FURTHER ACTS OF AGRSSION  
AGINST ZAMBIA AND OTHER FRONTLINE STATES STOP PLEASE ACCEPT  
CMA MADAM PRIME MINISTER CMA RENEWED ASSURANCES OF

PAGE 9

SINCERELY

HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM ~~SI: 34336~~

W.L. BERT R  
~~24 593345 4~~

TO SEND TELEGRAMS - CONSULT TELEPHONE  
DIRECTORY OR TELEX DIALING CARD INTERNATIONAL



OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA TO THE UK  
10-12 DECEMBER

BRIEF NO 6: OTHER AFRICAN QUESTIONS

POINTS TO MAKE

SOUTH AFRICA

1. There are signs of positive developments in South Africa's internal affairs. We should encourage the South Africans instead of ostracising them.

Sanctions

2. The United Kingdom is opposed to the extension of further sanctions, beyond the existing UN arms embargo, to South Africa.

UNGA Debate on Apartheid [Defensive]

3. We were unable to go along with the hard line taken by most delegations at UN General Assembly debate on apartheid. We must recognise the improvements in South Africa and not attack her at every opportunity. Most of the resolutions on apartheid were either totally impractical in their objectives or used language which we could not support.

Nuclear Links [Defensive]

4. UK not a major nuclear exporter to South Africa. Exports limited to medical, agricultural and research areas. UK nuclear contacts with South Africa could not assist development of their nuclear weapons capability.





NAMIBIA

5. Geneva consultations took matters forward. South Africa, SWAPO and the Front Line States have accepted concept of demilitarised zone. South Africa still negotiating seriously for implementation of UN Plan. No indication of final decision against international settlement.

Sanctions [Defensive]

6. Sanctions an admission of defeat, not an effective method of extracting concessions from South Africa.

South African Raids on Angola [Defensive]

7. We condemn all violence in and around Namibia. Only solution is early implementation of UN Plan.

Internal [Defensive]

8. Five have protested about detention of SWAPO leaders and others. Over half now released.

WESTERN SAHARA

9. Our policy is one of neutrality. We abstained on the recent resolution sponsored by the Algerians at the UN.

10. We have always welcomed African and Arab efforts to reach a peaceful solution. But Western involvement would be counter-productive. Interested in the initiative to hold a meeting in Monrovia last week. How do you rate the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the dispute?.



### COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA

11. Russians and allies seek to expand their influence in Africa through cynical intervention. Contrast between their use of force on behalf of one party in Angola and our negotiating approach involving all parties in Rhodesia. Shameful Soviet performance on economic aid. Consumer shortages and sagging growth rate within USSR suggest their ideology not a promising model.

### THE HORN OF AFRICA

12. Stability in general Western interest. Russian/Cuban intervention in Ethiopia destabilising factor. Disputes ideally resolved by peacefully negotiated settlements, preferably through African mechanisms (OAU).

### UGANDA/TANZANIA

13. Binaisa merits support. Skilful pragmatic politician. But future uncertain. Uganda would benefit from improved relations with Kenya. Main problem is poor communication at all levels.

[if Tanzanian rôle in Uganda is questioned]

14. Majority of Tanzanian troops now withdrawn. Remainder stay with consent of Uganda Government. No obvious alternative to maintain law and order until Ugandans complete training of own police and armed forces. UK helping with police training.





NIGERIA AND GHANA

15. We welcome the return of democratically-elected civilian governments in both Nigeria and Ghana. UK's relationship with both countries traditionally close. Important for all their friends to help the new governments maintain stability.

CHAD

16. We value the part Liberia played, through its Chairmanship of the OAU, in the negotiations that led to the signing of the Lagos Accord in August which brought about a ceasefire and the formation of a transitional government of national unity. We wish you every success in the part you are to play in the Commission of Observers (with 9 other African countries) to monitor the progress of the new Chadian government in implementing the Lagos Accord.

GUINEA

17. Impressed by President Tolbert's mediatory rôle in restoring good relations between President Sekou Touré of Guinea and the Presidents of Senegal and the Ivory Coast in March last year. This was clearly in the interests of West Africa. An important result in Guinea's greater involvement in West African affairs and weakened ties with the Communists.

ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

18. We support this organisation's aim to encourage greater cooperation between its member states and note with pleasure that Liberia is playing a major part.



Essential FactsSOUTH AFRICAInternal Political Developments

1. Prime Minister Botha appears to accept the necessity of change as part of his 'total strategy' for the future of the Republic. We welcome these encouraging signs. Long way to go to implement changes being discussed. Fundamental white supremacy and separate development not called in question of Botha. Recent changes include recognition of registered black trade unions; phasing out white job reservation; an offer to review the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts; desegregation in stages of public facilities and the beginnings of acceptance of political status for urban blacks.
2. Talk of reform worries Afrikaners. Botha loses support (but not yet seats) to extreme right wing HNP, but still firmly in control. Blacks sceptical of changes. Internal situation still peaceful. No indications of upsurge of terrorist activity except in Namibia.

Homelands Policy

3. Separate development still firm National Party policy. Three homelands so far 'independent'. No country recognises this independence (except South Africa).

Sanctions

4. Liberia with other OAU countries has sponsored resolutions at the UN calling for mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII. The UK fulfils its obligations under the



mandatory arms embargo against South Africa but it is not prepared to see it extended or other limited sanctions (eg an oil embargo) or a full trade embargo. We do not accept that South Africa represents a threat to international peace and security. The sanctions committee of the OAU has acted closely with the UN anti-apartheid committee in pressing for sanctions against South Africa and is to help organise a UN conference on sanctions in 1980.

#### UNGA Debate on Apartheid

5. HMG has made plain its abhorrence of apartheid. Our position on most apartheid resolutions at the UN is to vote against or abstain. We must recognise that improvements have taken place recently in South Africa and we must encourage this process of change.

#### Nuclear Links

6. UK not major contributor to South Africa's civil programme. Our contacts mostly limited to safety, medical and agriculture and could not contribute to a nuclear weapons capability. 50% of our uranium imports come from Rossing in Namibia. We have long urged South Africa to accede to the NPT.

#### The Suspected Nuclear Test

7. We have no independent evidence of an explosion, nor evidence linking the suspected events with any country. If there was an explosion we should take a serious view of it. Any talk of action against any country is premature and hypothetical.



NAMIBIA

8. Consultations were held in Geneva from 12-16 November under UN Chairmanship to discuss arrangements for a demilitarised zone on the northern border of Namibia. This was proposed by the late President Neto and taken up by the Five and the UN as a means of solving the problem of how to monitor SWAPO forces outside Namibia during the transition period.

9. South Africa, after consultations with the internal parties, accepted the DMZ in principle on 6 December. SWAPO and the Front Line States had done so earlier. This should give the Five and the Secretariat enough freedom of manoeuvre to survive the current debate in the General Assembly without a complete collapse of confidence in South Africa's intentions, or an early move to the Security Council. It is not only South Africa which is raising problems. SWAPO have gone back on their earlier commitment to forego their claim to bases inside Namibia in return for South African agreement to go ahead with the UN Plan.

10. The next stage will be further discussion, including perhaps a visit to Namibia by UN staff, on points of detail still unresolved. In this way we hope to hold the position until after the Rhodesia elections, when there is a chance that South Africa will decide to co-operate in implementing the plan for Namibia.



WESTERN SAHARA

11. The former Spanish colony of Western Sahara is under de facto Moroccan control. The Algerian backed Polisario Front are fighting a guerilla war against the Moroccans in the cause of Saharan independence.

12. Morocco has long established claims to the Spanish Sahara. Both the International Court of Justice and the UN Visiting Mission have supported Spain's view that the Western Sahara's future should be decided by self-determination. November 1975 Spain, Morocco and Mauritania established a tripartiate interim administration until Spain's withdrawal in February 1976. Thereafter, Morocco and Mauritania exercised de facto control of respectively the northern and southern halves of the area. Mauritania withdrew in August this year and Morocco claimed control of the whole area.

13. The Polisario Front proclaimed a rival Government, the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in February 1976. The Mauritanian Government signed a peace treaty with the Polisario in August this year and withdrew. Polisario attacks have continued upon Moroccan forces in the northern part of Western Sahara and increasingly (since January 1979) in Morocco proper. Their military successes have encouraged intransigence and an extension of the claims to include territory internationally recognised as Moroccan.



14. Morocco's claim to the Western Sahara has widespread popular support in Morocco. Compromise could be politically damaging to King Hassan. The OAU Summit at Monrovia in July, after a second vote, supported the recommendation of its committee of six heads of state (Guinea, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Mali, Tanzania, Sudan) for a referendum in the area, despite fierce Moroccan opposition. The separate peace between Mauritania and the Polisario also weakened Morocco's position.

15. The Moroccan Army is unlikely to defeat the Polisario. At the end of August King Hassan wrote to President Tolbert, in his capacity as OAU Chairman, proposing a Summit Conference of neighbouring countries to discuss general Saharan problems. Such a conference has just been held in Monrovia but is unlikely to have been successful unless either Morocco or the Polisario have backed down. The Moroccans no doubt want to recover lost diplomatic ground, but they refused to participate because of the presence of the Polisario. (Algeria agreed to attend).

16. Our policy is one of neutrality. We do not recognise Polisario or Moroccan claims to the territory but support the principle of self-determination for the people of the area.

#### COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA

17. Soviet aid to Africa is overwhelmingly military. Soviet development assistance disbursements to Africa in 1978 totalled a mere \$93 million: this compares with \$4,812 million from members of OECD's Development Assistance Commission (DAC).



18. The Soviet Union and its allies have shown little interest in gearing their aid to meeting basic human needs in the poorer countries: they have concentrated on large industrial and infrastructure projects.

19. Less than 5% of the Soviet Union's world trade in 1978 was with black Africa.

#### THE HORN OF AFRICA

20. Tension in the Horn remains high. Without support of some 12,000 Cubans the Ethiopians would have difficulty controlling the situation. No incursions into Somalia since the Ethiopian air raids in December 1978. Little activity on the part of the Nigerian Chairman of OAU Good Offices Committee after abortive attempt in Lagos last year at mediating in the Ethiopia/Somalia dispute. Brief fruitless visit to Mogadishu by the Nigerian Foreign Minister last May.

#### UGANDA/TANZANIA

##### OAU Summit

21. Tanzanian intervention in Uganda was denounced by the Sudanese and Nigerians at Monrovia as infringing the principle of territorial integrity. Heated exchanges with Presidents Binaisa and Nyerere followed and the subject was shelved. We know of no further plans for OAU involvement and would not wish to encourage this.

##### Tanzanian Troops

22. Some 15,000 of the original 40,000 remain in Uganda. Complete withdrawal reportedly planned for about six months time. But Nyerere will not want to risk complete withdrawal



until the danger of further civil unrest and the emergence of the regime hostile to Tanzania has passed. Binaisa has suggested a Commonwealth force as an alternative to the Tanzanians, but got no support from HMG or elsewhere. Kenyan mistrust of President Nyerere and the Tanzanian rôle in Uganda is causing problems in Kenya/Uganda relations.

#### UK/Uganda

23. The UK offered to Uganda £4 million capital aid, plus £1 million technical co-operation for 1980/81 at World Bank Donors Conference in Paris on 8/9 November. Of the £2 million emergency aid offered for 1979/80, £250,000 allocated to equipment for Uganda Police. 18 Ugandan police instructors have undergone training in the UK with more to follow in 1980.

#### NIGERIA

24. The Federal Military Government (FMG) handed over to a newly-elected civilian administration on 1 October. President Shehu Shagari has built up an alliance between his own National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigerian People's Party (NPP).

#### GHANA

25. The handover in September to the civilian government of President Limann and his People's National Party (PNP) was smooth and peaceful. The new government faces economic stagnation, high inflation and shortages. There is a serious lack of foreign exchange. The security situation is still fragile. President Limann has recently been showing firmness



and determination, and at the end of November it was announced that the former chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, Flt Lt Rawlings, had been retired from the Armed Forces.

#### CHAD

26. The civil war which for the past ten years had been confined to the northern half of Chad spread to most areas of the country in the early months of this year. A precarious stability based on a de facto position was preserved by the presence of French military forces and the diplomatic efforts of Chad's African neighbours. A series of negotiations ended with the signing of the Lagos Accord in August. This provided for the establishment of a Transitional Government of National Unity in Chad which has now been appointed and on which all 11 political groups are represented.

27. A ten-nation Commission of Observers has been set up to monitor the progress of the implementation of the Lagos Accord with regard to the demilitarisation of the Chadian capital, N'Djamena, and the establishment of a Chadian national army. The Commission's activities are directed by the Secretary-General of the OAU.

#### GUINEA

28. The Marxist Parti Democratique de Guinée (PDG) led by President Sekou Touré has been in power since independence from France in 1958. For the past few years, President Sekou Touré has been slowly repairing his relations with France - broken off by de Gaulle at the time of independence - and with other Western countries and his West African neighbours,





at the same time distancing himself from the Soviet Union and its allies. President Tolbert conducted secret negotiations in early 1978 which resulted in Sekou Touré's public reconciliation with the Presidents of Senegal and the Ivory Coast at a Summit Conference at Monrovia in March 1978. This was a major personal diplomatic success for President Tolbert, and added to his reputation as an African elder statesman.

ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

29. The 16-member Economic Community of West African States became fully operational in November 1976. The Secretariat is in Lagos. The Fund has its seat in Lomé with a Liberian as Director-General. Aims include tariff consolidation and free movement of persons within the Community. A Non-Aggression Protocol was signed in 1978. ECOWAS could help stability in the area by increasing links, especially between the Anglophone and Francophone countries.

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

DECEMBER 1979







in which he has grasped personal power and his determination to push forward mild liberalising reforms designed to iron out some of the gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth. In doing so he has antagonised some of the powerful old guard with a vested interest in the status quo while throwing himself open to criticism from a younger intelligensia for not moving faster with more radical changes. His motives are a mixture of a genuine feeling for the needs of the country and a realisation of the voting power of the masses. But he is sincere in his intentions.

He is struggling to establish a reputation as an international statesman and is jealous of the position of more influential African leaders. While at heart a moderate, with a deep dislike of violence and communism, his search for influence in Africa has led him to lend verbal support to some of the more violent OAU lines and to seek a non-aligned image for Liberia by inter alia establishing relations with communist countries. Received President Vorster of South Africa in a 'secret' visit in February 1975.

As Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity 1979/80 he was host to the OAU Summit in Monrovia in July 1979. An inveterate traveller who has this year paid an official visit to France and a State Visit to Germany. He has also visited New York for the United Nations General Assembly and a number of African countries in his capacity as Chairman of the OAU.

He has maintained his strong connections with world Baptism and this brand of Christianity is a powerful motivating force in his life. Genial and a teetotaller.



HER EXCELLENCY MRS VICTORIA TOLBERT

Aged about 62.

Married President 1936. 7 surviving children, the eighth died in 1971. One daughter is married to son of late President Tubman. She worked as a school teacher until 1943 when her husband was elected to House of Representatives but has not worked since then. She is cheerful and friendly, often accompanies husband on overseas trips and is an enthusiastic worker for charity. In September 1976 Mrs Tolbert was keynote speaker at the 75th session of Women's Convention Auxiliary of National Baptist Convention held at Dallas, Texas. Her most famous charity in Liberia is the Annual (end of November) Calendar Tea which raises substantial sums for building hostels for girls throughout Liberia.



THE HONOURABLE MRS ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF  
MINISTER OF FINANCE

Born 29 October 1938.

Divorced: 3 or 4 sons.

Attended College of West Africa, received a Bachelor's Degree from the Madison (Wisconsin) Business College, earned a Master's in Banking and Finance from Michigan State University, and did post-graduate work at Harvard University.

Mrs Johnson-Sirleaf joined the Ministry of Finance in 1964 as an accountant. In 1970 she became Special Assistant to the Minister. From February 1972 until June 1973, she served as Assistant Minister for Fiscal Affairs, resigning due to a falling out with then Finance Minister Stephen Tolbert. From 1973 to 1976 Mrs Sirleaf worked as a desk officer at the World Bank. In February 1977 she returned to Liberia as Deputy Minister for Fiscal Affairs and Banking. Promoted to Minister of Finance on 1 August 1979.

An able and articulate person with much experience of financial matters and wider horizons than most Liberians because of her American education and service with the World Bank. She is a straight talker and one of the few Liberians not afraid to speak her mind to the President. She has a pleasant manner but can be impulsive, and on occasion rude. She has accused British firms working in Liberia of undue extravagance and on occasion declared herself 'thoroughly disenchanted with British institutions'. She can be abrasive; last year she returned a letter from the British General Manager of Cubitts with which she disagreed rubber-stamped 'with a scatalogical expression'. /Mrs Sirleaf



Mrs Sirleaf is of Gola extraction. Her late father, Carney Johnson, came from a long line of Gola-Mandingo Paramount Chiefs. Her mother, Martha Dunbar, is the product of a German national and a Kru woman. She has 2 brothers, J Carney Johnson, Deputy Minister of Technical Services with the Ministry of Lands and Mines and Charles Johnson, Director of Fisheries at the Ministry of Agriculture. Her only sister is Jennie Johnson Bernard, Assistant Minister for Administration at the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and wife of Minister of Labour, Youth and Sports, Estrada Bernard.



THE HONOURABLE DAVID FRANKLIN NEAL  
MINISTER OF PLANNING AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS  
Born Harper Cape Palmas 24 November 1928.  
Married to a charming wife, Anna.

MA in Economics, University of Michigan. Post-graduate studies in Industrial Financing, London School of Economics. Employed as a government economist 1959. Appointed Executive Officer, National Port Authority in President Tolbert's re-allocation of government posts in January 1972. Was for a time Alternate Governor of the African Development Bank and led the Liberian delegation to UNCTAD II. In January 1976 he became a member of the Board of the Liberian Institute for Biomedical Research.

An experienced economist who has proved a level-headed and competent Minister.

A very pleasant personality.



THE HONOURABLE JOHNNY McCLAIN

MINISTER OF INFORMATION, CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND TOURISM

Born 1942.

Married with 4 daughters.

Educated in Catholic schools, University of Liberia, University of Dakar and International Institute of Public Administration in Paris. Has also had study grants in USA. Most of his career has been spent in Ministry of Information, Cultural Affairs and Tourism (MICAT), serving as Director of Press and Publications 1972-74, Assistant Minister for Information 1974-1976, and Deputy Minister 1976-79. Became Acting Minister November 1979. A fluent French speaker but not a very successful administrator.



THE HONOURABLE DR CHARLES A CLARKE  
MINISTER OF STATE WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

Born Sinoe County circa 1944.

Married with two daughters.

Educated: Lab High School Monrovia; BA Ohio State University; MA Ohio State University; PhD in Public Administration. American University in Washington.

Cadet in the Supreme Court of Liberia 1960-63; 1969-1971 Youth Pride Incorporated, a black community organisation in Washington, programme specialist to design and develop programmes for individuals in the Youth Pride Organisation; May 1974 - October 1974, Assistant Professor in School of Business and Public Management, Federal City College, Washington; October 1974 returned to Liberia and 2 weeks after his return was commissioned Assistant Minister of State for Presidential Affairs; three months later in January 1975 he was commissioned Deputy Minister of State for Presidential Affairs. Appointed Minister of State Without Portfolio in January 1976.



MRS AGNES COOPER-DENNIS  
WIFE OF FOREIGN MINISTER

Age unknown.

Married with 3 children.

Married the Honourable C C Dennis, Foreign Minister in  
1956. She is Dean of the Faculty of Biology at the University  
of Liberia.



THE HONOURABLE ADOLPHUS BENEDICT TOLBERT

CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Born Bentol 18 July 1937.

Married.

Eldest son of President Tolbert. A Lawyer; partner in Tolbert Law Firm. In 1974, although holding no official Government appointment, travelled the world seeking out potential investors for Liberia and approaching them personally on an informal basis. Shortly after he was appointed Ambassador-at-Large. Honorary Consul for Libya. Chief Patron, Liberian Boxing Association. Executive Coordinator and Legal Adviser to the Rural Development Executive Committee, Todee District, Montserrado County. In October 1975 he was elected to the House of Representatives and made Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. September 1976 refused to accept one of the new posts as Deputy Speaker.

Has an erratic personality.

In December 1975, married the adopted daughter of President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, Miss Daisy Marie Delafosse.



THE HONOURABLE T SIAAFA SHERMAN  
DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Age unknown.

Married with two children.

Career Foreign Service Officer. Served Addis Ababa, Lagos and New York. Ambassador Conakry 1972-76. Deputy Minister (Political), Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1976.

Close family connection with Mrs Tolbert and thus has access to President. Withdrawn and does not mix easily though always polite.

In London since mid-October as personal representative of President Tolbert to observe Rhodesia Constitutional Talks. Has also attended meetings to discuss arrangements for the President's visit. Has shown himself to be efficient and helpful though, like most Liberians, sensitive on matters affecting his dignity and status.



HIS EXCELLENCY MR FRANCIS ALFONSO WILLIAM DENNIS  
AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA IN LONDON

Born 1924.

Married: 4 children.

Attended Liberia College (now University of Liberia)  
and also Louis Arthur Grimes School of Law. Admitted to  
the Legal Bar of Montserrado County as Attorney-at-Law in  
1965 and admitted to the Supreme Court Bar as Counsellor-  
at-Law in 1976. Has held the following positions:

Civil Service Examiner, RL 1951-1953.  
Administrative Officer, Department of State 1953-55.  
First Lieutenant, Fifth Regiment, Armed Forces of Liberia.  
Secretary, Liberia United Nations Association.  
Councilman, City Corporation of Careysbury (Elective).  
1952-55.  
Second Secretary, Liberian Embassy, Paris 1955-1959.  
First Secretary and Consul, Washington 1959-1961.  
Counsellor, Washington 1961-62.  
Chargé d'Affaires, Permanent Mission of Liberia to  
the United Nations 1960.  
Counsellor, Liberian Embassy, London, 1962-68.  
Ambassador to the Republic of Ivory Coast, 1968-1972.  
Ambassador to USSR, 1972-76.  
Ambassador to Poland (resident in Moscow) 1975-1976.  
Ambassador to the USA and Canada 1976-1979.  
Ambassador in London since November 1979.

Special Assignments

Special Ambassador to the Sequin-centennial Celebration  
of the Independence of the Argentine Republic 1960.  
Special Representative of the President of Liberia to  
the Inauguration of the President of Venezuela 1979.  
Member, Liberian Delegation, Maritime Safety Committee of  
Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation  
meetings  
Alternative Representative, Liberian Delegation, First  
Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly of IMCO



Representative of Liberia to the 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st and 42nd Sessions of the International Wheat Council.

Member, Liberian Delegation to the International Convention of Load Lines.

Represented Liberia at several sessions of the International Coffee Council.

Member, Liberian Delegation to the 22nd, 31st, 32nd and 33rd Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mr. Dennis is a smallish man, self-confident, but chooses his words carefully as becomes a good lawyer. Less of an extrovert than his predecessor.



HER EXCELLENCY MRS EVANGELINE B DENNIS

WIFE OF THE LIBERIAN AMBASSADOR

Born circa 1920.

4 Children: 2 sons and 2 daughters.

A quiet, rather shy person with a nice sense of humour.

Youngest son (aged 12) will enter boarding school in UK.

The eldest son is working in Liberia and two daughters are at university in the United States.



THE HONOURABLE P CLARENCE PARKER JR  
CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL INVESTMENT COMMISSION

Born near Monrovia 6 July 1933.

Divorced.

Graduated 1955 from Ohio University.

General Manager of the Agricultural and Industrial Credit Corporation. Chairman of the Liberian United Nations Association 1964. Started a factory for local manufacture of an American paint under licence in December 1964. Chairman of the Liberian Bank for Industrial Development and Investment. Made little of the Development Bank and left after quarrelling with the late Stephen Tolbert. In 1974 he was President of the Liberian Chamber of Commerce and in September 1975 he became a member of the new Tripartite Labour Advisory Board, consisting of Government, employers and trade unions. 1977 he was made General Treasurer of the True Whig Party. December 1977 Chairman of the Economic Commission set up by the President to review Liberia's economic situation. In April 1978 this Commission submitted a report critical of the investment climate in Liberia. The report has not yet been published.

Member of a rich and old-established, Americo-Liberian family with extensive property just outside Monrovia. Is friendly and polished, if somewhat effeminate. Pro-Western.





4 Dec 79

*With the compliments of*

**PROTOCOL AND CONFERENCE DEPARTMENT**

**VISITS SECTION**

*Christine Payne*

---

*From Sue Goodchild*

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**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE  
LONDON, SW1A 2AH**





EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA  
21 PRINCE'S GATE  
LONDON SW7 1QB

TEL. 01-589 9405  
01-589 2264

OFFICIALS WHO WILL ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT TO  
THE PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER'S  
TALK, NO 10 DOWNING STREET DECEMBER 10, 1979  
12.00 NOON

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*Libenia*  
*R.F. 10/12/79*

1. Honourable Ellen Johnson Sirleaf  
Minister of Finance
  
2. Honourable D. Franklin Neal  
Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs
  
3. Honourable Johnny McClain  
Acting Minister for Information, Cultural  
Affairs and Tourism.
  
4. Honourable T. Siafa Sherman  
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs,
  
5. His Excellency Francis A. Dennis  
Ambassador to the United Kingdom.
  
6. Mr. Nathan Barnes, Jr.,  
First Secretary,  
Embassy of the Republic of Liberia.

*"G.H.F  
WAD  
4 Dec 79  
(A)*





3 Dec 79

*With the compliments of*

PROTOCOL AND CONFERENCE DEPARTMENT

VISITS SECTION

*Antwa J. Jones*

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE  
LONDON, SW1A 2AH



Copy to No 10

for Amis

RESTRICTED

GRS 130

RESTRICTED

FM MONROVIA 021200Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 182 OF 2 DEC.

PRESIDENT'S VISIT: GIFTS.

1. AMBASSADOR HANSFORD (NO. 13) TOLD ME TODAY THAT PRESIDENT WILL BE GIVING TRADITIONAL GIFTS OF QUILT AND TAPESTRY TO THE QUEEN, ANOTHER QUILT (WITHOUT FLAGS) TO PRIME MINISTER AND SIMILAR TYPE OF GIFT TO LORD MAYOR. NO OTHER PRESENTATIONS.

2. HE CONFIRMED THAT PRESIDENT WISHES TO DECORATE HER MAJESTY WITH GRAND COLLAR. \*

DOUBLEDAY

\* GRAND COLLAR OF THE MOST VENERABLE ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD OF THE PIONEERS.

- FILES
- P & C D
- WAD
- NEWS D
- OID
- CRD
- PS
- PS/LPS
- PS/MR LUCE
- PS/PUS
- SIR A DUFF
- MR ASPIN
- LORD N G LENNOX

RESTRICTED



405 1550  
CLASSIFIED

FM MONROVIA 010930Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 181 OF 1 DECEMBER.

*fs*  
*Runt*

MI FT:

1. MRS. VICTORIA A. TOLBERT  
WIFE OF THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA
2. HON. ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF  
MINISTER OF FINANCE
3. HON. D. FRANKLIN NEAL  
MINISTER OF PLANNING AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
4. HON. JOHNNY MCLAIN  
MINISTER OF INFORMATION, CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND TOURISM
5. HON. CHARLES A. CLARKE  
MINISTER OF STATE WITHOUT PORTFOLIO
6. MRS. AGNES COOPER DENNIS  
WIFE OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
7. HON. A. BENEDICT TOLBERT  
CHAIRMAN, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. R.L.
8. HON. T. SIAFA SHERMAN  
DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
9. HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS A. DENNIS  
LIBERIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED KINGDOM
10. MRS. EVANGELINE DENNIS  
WIFE OF THE AMBASSADOR
11. HON. P. CLARENCE PARKER, JR.  
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL INVESTMENT COMMISSION
12. HON. J. WESEH MCLAIN  
DEPUTY MINISTER OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS
13. HIS EXCELLENCY J. CHARLES HANSFORD  
CHIEF OF PROTOCOL TO THE PRESIDENT
14. DR. ALPHONSUS NEMAH  
PRIVATE PHYSICIAN TO THE PRESIDENT
15. BRIGADIER GENERAL JOSEPH B. BARCLAY, AFL  
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA
16. HON. EDWARD P. MASSAQUOI  
DIRECTOR OF THE SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE
17. HON. JULIUS C.W. KROMA  
ASSISTANT MINISTER AND PRIVATE SECRETARY
18. HON. ALBERT P. JUSTE  
ASSISTANT MINISTER AND INTERPRETER



19. HON. WILLIE A. GIVENS  
PRESS SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT
20. HON. JOHN P. MORAIS  
PRESS AND CULTURAL COUNSELLOR AT THE LIBERIAN EMBASSY,  
LONDON
21. HON. JONATHAN REFFELL  
DEPUTY MANAGING DIRECTOR, LIBERIA BROADCASTING CORPORATION
22. HON. GARANAWRAHN ZARNGBAH  
PARAMOUNT CHIEF, NO. 1 DISTRICT, GRAND BASSA COUNTY
23. MR. SIMEON B. COLE  
SENIOR RESEARCH ANALYST, BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
24. MR. JOHN SCOTLAND  
EDITOR, SUNDAY EXPRESS AND BENTOL TIMES
25. MISS KOH BOAYUE  
SENIOR STUDENT, T.J.R. FAULKNER COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND  
TECHNOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF LIBERIA
26. MR. CHARLES WORDSWORTH  
SENIOR STUDENT, CUTTINGTON UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
27. MR. FRANCE GARBO  
SECRETARY, MINISTRY OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS
28. MISS ALFREDA ANDERSON  
SECRETARY, MINISTRY OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS
29. MRS. EMMA SAMPSON  
LADY-IN-WAITING
30. AGENT LISA KROMA  
SECURITY TO THE FIRST LADY
31. MR. FORTI FRANK  
CHIEF OF MOTION PICTURE DOCUMENTARY
32. MR. JOHN TYLER  
PHOTOGRAPHER, MICAT
33. MR. JAMES KPANGBAI  
LIGHTMAN, MICAT
34. MR. JOE MORRIS  
ACTING DIRECTOR OF NEWS TV COMMENTATOR
35. MISS JANICE COOPER  
ELBC TRAINEE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM
36. MR. AMAFFEE ALLISON  
TV CAMERAMAN, ELBC
37. MR. EDWARD DAVIES  
DIRECTOR, LINA
38. HON. T. LEO YATES  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR OPERATIONS, S.S.S.



- 39. MR. RUFUS V. KENNEDY  
INSPECTOR
- 40. MR. CHRISTOPHER TARGBE  
ATTACHE
- 41. MR. DENNIS Y. SLOPPER  
ATTACHE
- 42. LT. NATHAN NELSON  
ATTACHE
- 43. LT. C. REIDY COOPER  
ATTACHE
- 44. MR. PATRICK TUAZAMA  
BUTLER TO THE PRESIDENT
- 45. MR. SAMMY NCAH  
VALET TO THE PRESIDENT
- 46. MR. HENRY DUKULY  
ATTENDANT

DOUBLEDAY

FILES  
P. 100  
WAD  
NEWS. D  
OIB  
CAD  
PS  
PS/LPS  
PS/LUCK  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF  
MR. ASPIN  
LORD N.G. HENNOX



RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

FM MONROVIA 010930Z DEC 79

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TEL NO 180 OF 1 DEC.

*Lg*  
*Amr*

YOUR TELNO 173: PRESIDENT'S VISIT.

1. I SAW DE SHIELD YESTERDAY EVENING AND HE GAVE ME REVISED LIST OF ENTOURAGE IN PROTOCOL ORDER. THIS IS IN MIFT AND WE SHALL USE NEW NUMBERS IN THIS AND FUTURE TELS. MOST NOTABLE CHANGE IS INCLUSION OF MRS SIRLEAF MINISTER OF FINANCE, RECENTLY OUR CAT. I VISITOR. SHE IS PROBABLY GOING BECAUSE I TOLD HER LAST WEEK THAT IT WAS NOT MUCH GOOD PARKER (NO. 11) LOOKING FOR BRITISH INVESTORS IF LIBERIA DID NOT PAY HER DEBTS TO BRITISH FIRMS. CURRENT EXAMPLES ARE AIR LIBERIA'S DEFAULT ON PAYMENTS FOR HS748, APPROX 8 MILLION DOLLARS OWING TO CUBITTS FOR HOTEL AFRICA AND 900,000 DOLLARS INDIRECTLY TO BP. MRS SIRLEAF SAID THAT IF SUBJECT WAS LIKELY TO BE RAISED IN ENGLAND SHE WOULD JOIN PARTY SO AS TO SAVE PRESIDENT FROM EMBARRASSMENT. SHE TOLD ME THAT ALL DEBTS WOULD BE PAID EXCEPT THAT TO CUBITTS WHICH SHE DOES NOT ACCEPT AND WHICH WILL HAVE TO GO TO ARBITRATION. I HAVE HAD BP AND TARMAC DIRECTORS HERE RECENTLY AND TLD THEM THE POSITION.

2. GUESTS OF HMG SHOULD BE PRESIDENT AND NO'S 1, 2, 3, 4, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22, 29. DE SHIELD ASKED IF ONE ADDITIONAL ROOM AT CLARIDGES COULD BE BOOKED FOR NO'S 44 AND 45 TO SHARE (AT LIBERIAN EXPENSE) AND IF NO. 30 COULD SHARE ROOM OF NO. 29. SHERMAN WAS ARRANGING FOR REMAINDER TO STAY ELSEWHERE.

*/3.*

RESTRICTED



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3. DE SHIELD SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT DEFINITELY WISHED TO AWARD THE QUEEN THE GRAND COLLAR OF THE MOST VENERABLE ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD OF THE PIONEERS. HE WAS CONSIDERING OUR DISCOURAGEMENT OF GIFTS AND WOULD LET US KNOW. IN ANY CASE THERE WOULD NOT BE MORE THAN 4 RECIPIENTS IE, THE QUEEN, PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN SECRETARY AND LORD MAYOR. IF BROUGHT THEY WOULD BE LIBERIAN PRODUCTS. HEADS OF STATE WERE USUALLY GIVEN A HAND-MADE QUILT WITH FLAGS OF BOTH NATIONS. WE SHALL REPORT ON GIFTS ASAP. I HAVE EMPHASISED URGENT NEED TO KNOW.

DOUBLEDAY

FILES

P. CD

WAD

NEWS. D

OID

CRD

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

SIR A DUFF

MR ASPIN

LORD N.G. LENNOX

2

RESTRICTED



Liberia



10 DOWNING STREET

Called Peggy  
Netcalge a  
Confirmed hot  
p. 17. rd bird  
fennell to  
president on  
13 Dec 1964

C. J.





10 DOWNING STREET

Miss Stephens.

To check against diary.  
Can P.A. see him off:  
She probably ought to do so  
(having refused a return dinner).

Ans  
Mr. Alexander. 28/11

---

OK - entered  
in diary -  
with full.

28/11 E.S.





**Foreign and Commonwealth Office**  
London SW1A 2AH

Telephone 01- 233 4137

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
SW1

Your reference

Our reference TXV 408/428/1

Date 28 November 1979

*Dear Michael*

VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA  
10-13 DECEMBER 1979

1. We spoke about President Tolbert's departure on Thursday, December 13 and I suggested that it might be possible for the farewell to take place at Claridges.

2. On reflection our view is that although we could bend the rules on protocol by arranging this, it would be better to stick to precedent and have the protocol departure at the Kensington Palace helipad.

3. Would the Prime Minister agree therefore to see off the President at the helipad at 0945? The Queen's Representative will of course also be there.

4. It is not intended to have any military presence for the departure.

/ 5. A revised outline programme is attached.

*Your ever*

*Peter Metcalfe*

Miss P T Metcalfe  
Protocol & Conference Department



OUTLINE PROGRAMME FOR THE VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA 10-13 DECEMBER 1979

<u>Time</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
0940	Arrival of President Tolbert and Mrs Tolbert at Heathrow Airport Southside. Met by Mr R W H du Boulay, Vice-Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps (escale technique)	
0945	President departs by helicopter for Kensington Palace helipad. (Transit time 15 minutes)	In the first helicopter: President Tolbert Mrs Tolbert Liberian Ambassador Hon Edward P Massaquoi Mr R W H du Boulay
1000	Arrival at Kensington Palace helipad. Greeted by The Queen's Representative, The Lord Mowbray and Stourton and by the Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP, Prime Minister.	2nd Lieutenant Special Branch GHF Escort  Honour guard provided by the Royal Navy.
1005	President leaves by car for Claridges.	
1200 noon	Talks at No 10 Downing Street with the Prime Minister.	
1300 for 1315	Luncheon hosted by The Prime Minister at No 10 Downing Street.	
1530	Call on the President at Claridges by African Ambassadors and High Commissioners.	
Evening	Ballet 'Swan Lake' at Covent Garden hosted	

/by



by The Lord Privy Seal and Lady Caroline

Gilmour followed by supper at Lancaster House.

Tuesday 11 December

1000 ?Courtesy call on the President at Claridges  
by HE Shridath S Ramphal, Secretary General  
of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

1100 ?Call on the President at Claridges by the  
Rt Hon James Callaghan MP, Leader of the  
Opposition

1130 Meeting with representatives of Shell BP  
at Claridges.

1300 Arrive Buckingham Palace

A Guard of Honour will be mounted in the  
Quadrangle. Inspection of Guard of Honour

1310/ Luncheon given by HM The Queen  
1315

1300 Luncheon given by H.M.G. for members of The  
President's entourage, hosted by Mr Norman  
Aspin, Assistant Under-Secretary for African  
Affairs, Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

1500 Wreathlaying ceremony at Westminster Abbey

1630 Calls on the President by businessmen French Salon  
-1730/  
1800 at Claridges.

1945 President arrives at the Mansion House

1930 Dinner at the Mansion House given by the Evening dress with  
for decorations or national  
2000 Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of dress.  
hours London.



Wednesday 12 December

0850 Depart Claridges

0900 Arrive Westminster Pier

Depart by river for the Tower of London

Accompanied by  
Mr Richard Luce MP,  
Parliamentary Under-  
Secretary for Foreign  
and Commonwealth  
Affairs and Mrs Luce

0910 Arrive Tower Pier  
approx

0915 Arrive Tower of London  
approx

At the Tower met by Resident Governor  
and Keeper of the Jewel House, Major  
General G H Mills.

1100 Leave Tower of London.  
approx

1105 Leave Tower Pier.  
approx

1130 Arrive Greenwich Pier  
approx

1200 Luncheon at Greenwich  
for  
1230 hosted by Rear Admiral  
approx

Remainder of party  
will have lunch at  
Trafalgar Tavern

A J Cooke, Admiral President, Royal  
Naval College, Greenwich, and Mrs  
Cooke, at their residence.

1400 Leave Greenwich by limousine  
approx

1430 Arrive Claridges  
approx

1500 Reception for Liberian students at the



Liberian Embassy, 21 Prince's Gate

1730 Press Conference at Claridges

1930 Dinner given by the Anglo-Liberian Chairman:  
for Society at Stationers Hall Dr JDB Mountrose OBE  
2015

Thursday 13 December

0933 Leave Claridges

0940 Arrive Kensington Palace helipad

0945 Departure of the President by heli-  
copter from Kensington Palace

1000 Arrive at Heathrow Airport South-  
side

1010 Doors Close

Departure from Heathrow Airport  
Southside



28 NOV 82







file 16  
Liberia

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 November 1979

VISIT OF PRESIDENT AND MRS TOLBERT

You wrote to me on 9 November and again on 15 November about the arrangements for the visit of President Tolbert.

The answers to the questions you raised are as follows:-

- (a) The Prime Minister would prefer to meet President Tolbert at Kensington Palace at 1000;
- (b) the Prime Minister will be extremely pre-occupied in the period in question. It is near the end of the Parliamentary session and shortly before her visit to New York. She hopes therefore that the Liberians will understand when she says that she will be unable to attend a dinner on the evening of 12 December;
- (c) Thursday is, as you know, Cabinet day and it would not be at all easy for the Prime Minister to see President Tolbert off at Kensington Palace. If, however, the advice is that it would cause offence if she were not to do so, she would be prepared to reconsider the matter. The departure would have to be at 0945 rather than 1000;
- (d) the arrangements you have in mind for President Tolbert's arrival seem suitable.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

Miss P. T. Metcalfe, O.B.E.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

GB





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 November 1979

Michael Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

Dear Michael

VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA: 10 - 13 DECEMBER 1979

Further to my letter of 9 November there is a further point about the arrival on which I would be grateful for a decision by the Prime Minister.

As you know, under the existing MOD rules, Heads of State visiting the UK as Guests of Government (unlike Heads of State on a State Visit) do not normally get a Guard of Honour on arrival. Exceptions have recently been made for Premier Hua and President Giscard. No exception to the rule has been suggested for President Tolbert and our Ambassador's advice is that our present proposals for President Tolbert, ie to be brought by helicopter to Kensington Palace and met there by The Queen's Representative and the Prime Minister, will satisfy President Tolbert, provided that there is "some military presence". I have discussed this with the MOD and they would, I think, be prepared to provide a detachment of troops who could line the route from the helicopter to the President's car. This is what the Germans do on some occasions and it could provide quite a good photographic shot for the ~~photographers~~ *press*.

President Tolbert will, of course, get a full Guard of Honour when he ~~comes~~ <sup>goes</sup> to Buckingham Palace to lunch with The Queen.

Before I discuss the details of the arrival arrangements with MOD, I would be glad to know if the Prime Minister would be satisfied with this arrangement.

Yours ever  
P T Metcalfe

P T Metcalfe (Miss)  
Protocol and Conference  
Department

cc: West African Department



NOV 15 1973



NOV 15 1973

NOV 15 1973



B/F 5.12.79

HS

Liberia

13 November 1979

Visit of President Tolbert of Liberia

When I wrote to you on 24 September agreeing the time of President Tolbert's visit to No. 10, I failed to give you a date by which the briefs should be delivered. I should be grateful if you would let me have them by close of play on Wednesday 5 December.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER



R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.





**Foreign and Commonwealth Office**  
London SW1A 2AH

*Miss Stephens:?*

Telephone 01- 233 4137

*Paul*

M Alexander Esq  
Prime Minister's Office  
No 10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

Your reference

Our reference TXV 408/428/1

Date 9 November 1979

*Dear Michael*

VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA AND MRS TOLBERT,  
10 - 13 DECEMBER 1979

A short meeting was held on Monday, 5 November at the request of the Liberian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Sherman, to discuss the programme for President Tolbert's forthcoming visit. Mr Johnson, Head of West African Department was in the chair, and the Liberian Chargé was also present. A draft outline programme, see copy attached, was put to Mr Sherman and he agreed this ad referendum. There are one or two points on which I would be grateful for your advice:

The first point is about the arrival time. The Liberian President would like to arrive as early as possible on the Monday, 10 December, so as to have a rest before his meeting with the Prime Minister. We suggested that he should arrive at Southside at 9.40 am on Monday, 10 December, and go by helicopter to Kensington Palace helipad, arriving there at 10 am. The Liberians would like an even earlier arrival getting to Kensington Palace at 9.30. I said we would have to consult the Prime Minister.

Secondly, the Liberians raised the question of a return dinner to be given by the President on the evening of 12 December. We had originally understood that the Liberians were proposing to hold a private reception for Liberian students and/or a dinner hosted by the Anglo-Liberian Society that evening. At the meeting on Monday, we tried to head Mr Sherman off the idea of a return dinner, but they may come back on this, but if the Prime Minister already has an engagement that evening, it might be the deciding factor against the proposal to have a return dinner.

*Lous eve*

*Paul Metcalfe*

Miss P T Metcalfe *PBE*  
Protocol & Conference Department



OUTLINE PROGRAMME FOR THE VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA 10-13 DECEMBER 1979

Monday 10 December

<u>Time</u>	<u>Event</u>
0940 (0910)	Arrival of President Tolbert and Mrs Tolbert at Heathrow Airport Southside. Met by Mr R W H du Boulay, Vice-Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps (escale technique)
0945 (0915)	President departs by helicopter for Kensington Palace helipad. (Transit time 15 minutes)
1000 (9.30)	Arrival at Kensington Palace helipad. Greeted by The Queen's Representative and by the Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP, Prime Minister.
1005	President leaves by car for Claridges.
1200 noon	Talks at No 10 Downing Street with the Prime Minister.
1300	Luncheon hosted by The Prime Minister at No 10 Downing Street.
PM	Free at the request of the Liberians
Evening	Supper/ballet 'Swan Lake' at Covent Garden hosted by a Minister.

Tuesday 11 December

1000 - 1130/1200	Call on the President at Claridges by Ambassadors and High Commissioners.
1300	Arrive Buckingham Palace Guard of Honour
1300	Luncheon given by HM The Queen
1300	Luncheon given by a Minister for members of The President's entourage.
1500	Wreathlaying ceremony at Westminster Abbey
1630 - 1730/1800	Calls on the President by businessmen at Claridges
1945	President arrives at the Mansion House
1930 for 2000 hours	Dinner at the Mansion House given by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London.



Wednesday 12 December

0850 Depart Claridges

0900 Arrive Westminster Pier

Depart by river for the  
Tower of London

1300? Lunch at Greenwich?

Return to Claridges by limousine,  
arriving Claridges before 1500 hours

Late afternoon Reception for Liberian students

1730 hours Press Conference at Claridges

2000 Dinner hosted by The Anglo/Liberian  
Society or/Return dinner

Thursday 13 December

1000? Departure of the President by helicopter  
from Kensington Palace

0945 Seen off by The Prime Minister?



112 NOV 1979





R E S T R I C T E D

vb

*Liberia*

24 September 1979

Visit of President Tolbert of Liberia

You wrote to me on 17 September about the timing of President Tolbert's visit to this country. The Prime Minister would be prepared to offer President Tolbert lunch on Monday 10 December and to have a session of talks, starting at 12 noon, immediately beforehand.

M O ' D B A

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

*KhB*





10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister:

This is an official rather than a State Visit i.e. no processions etc. The weather doesn't matter greatly.

Paul

21.9.79

Paul



11



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Apex x ? (with  
Subanto, biscand & the Empereur  
the second half of November is v. full) September 1979

Dear Michael,

Paul: 27/9

David

Visit by President Tolbert of Liberia

In his letter of 15 June to Stephen Wall, Bryan Cartledge informed us that the Prime Minister had agreed that President Tolbert should be invited to visit Britain in November as the guest of the Government. The invitation was formally conveyed to the President by Mr Luce during his visit to Monrovia in June, and it was made clear then that we envisaged the visit taking place during the second half of November.

President Tolbert has now conveyed his acceptance of the invitation through our Ambassador. We therefore need to agree on precise dates for the visit as soon as possible so that preparations for it can start. A central element in the programme will be talks at No 10 and some entertainment by the Prime Minister. Talks starting at 12 noon followed by a lunch would seem the most convenient arrangement.

We discussed possible dates on the telephone. You told me that the second half of November would not now be a good time for the Prime Minister to receive President Tolbert, but that she might be able to manage talks and a lunch on Monday 10 December. If you can confirm this, we shall go back to the Liberians and propose that the visit should be deferred until that week.

X

(to start at noon)

yours ever

Roderic Lyne

December is rather late for a state visit. Can we

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

not find a day in November. I know it is full-ish.

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON



*Liberia*

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du  
20/6*

DESKBY 221500Z

FM FCO 221015Z JUNE 79

TO IMMEDIATE MONROVIA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 51 OF 22 JUNE 1979

FOR PS/MR LUCE

INVITATION TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT

1. A VISIT BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT TO LONDON IN EARLY NOVEMBER WOULD PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. IN EXTENDING THE INVITATION GRATEFUL IF MR LUCE WOULD ENQUIRE WHAT DATES IN THE SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER MIGHT BE CONVENIENT. WE ENVISAGE A VISIT OF ABOUT 3 DAYS.

CARRINGTON

FILES  
WAD.  
PCD.  
NEWS.D.  
PS.  
PS/LPS  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF.  
MR WILLIAMS

COPIES SENT TO  
No. 10 DOWNING STREET



CONFIDENTIAL

*Liberia*



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

15 June 1979

Visit by President Tolbert  
of Liberia

Thank you for your letter of 13 June, in which you conveyed the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's recommendation that the invitation to President Tolbert to pay an official visit to the UK in November, which had earlier been agreed, should now be issued.

The Prime Minister has seen your letter and agrees that President Tolbert should now be invited to visit the UK as the guest of the British Government in November this year.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

**B. G. CARTLEDGE**

J.S. Wall, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

*[Handwritten signature]*





Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 June 1979

Dear Bryan,

President Giscard  
mentioned to you the desirability  
of a good relationship with  
President Tolbert. An invitation now would  
be timely: so agree 'X'?

Agreed and

SW  
14/6

Visit by President Tolbert of Liberia

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary recommends that President Tolbert of Liberia should be invited to Britain as the guest of the Government in November. He hopes that the Prime Minister can agree to receive the President and entertain him to lunch or dinner.

President Tolbert was originally to have come here in March 1973 but called the visit off at the last minute. The Liberians have since hinted on a number of occasions that they would welcome a renewal of the invitation. We have made it clear that a State Visit is not possible. President Tolbert's predecessor, President Tubman, had one in 1962 and the Liberians would not normally qualify for consideration for some years.

Our relations with Liberia are good. In 1978 our exports increased by some 53% to £33 million. Although there were some disturbances over Easter after rumours of an increase in the price of rice, the country is generally stable. President Tolbert, while maintaining Liberia's close association with the United States, has sought to extend his links with other Western countries. He has been sympathetic to our southern African policies.

The next Summit Meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will take place in Monrovia in July, and President Tolbert will be appointed Chairman for the ensuing 12 months. He will certainly seek to play a prominent role in African issues and it would be in our interests to pay him some special attention. This view is shared by our Western colleagues: the President has already visited France and West Germany this year.

Mr Callaghan agreed earlier this year that an invitation should be issued for November. The formal invitation was not however delivered pending discussions over the content of the programme with the Liberians. Lord Carrington recommends that this should now issue. Mr Luce is going to Monrovia as part of his tour of African capitals for Rhodesian consultations and will leave London on 18 June. It would be helpful if he were authorised to extend the formal invitation on behalf of the Prime Minister. Precise dates could be settled later.

I am copying this letter to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,  
Stephen  
(J S Wall)

Bryan Cartledge Esq  
10 Downing Street



113 JUN 1979





