

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

Memo No. 471-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 11, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Denis Clift

SUBJECT: Talking Points on Trip to West Africa for
Luncheon with President, Wednesday, June 11, 1980

-- My staff has been working with the NSC and State on a review of foreign travel possibilities that would make a contribution to your foreign policy objectives.

-- Greece -- Greece surfaced as an early possibility, given the new Rallis government and Karamanlis now in the Presidency. However, we have had indications from Iakovos and others that it would not be possible to avoid anti-US demonstrations and protests by the left if either you or I were to visit this year.

I have discussed that with Ed Muskie, he has been tentatively planning a stopover in Athens to balance his visit to Ankara for the NATO ministerial. I think Ed should do the Greek trip.

-- Peru -- Another possibility that emerged is the inauguration of President Terry of Peru in late July. I believe Rosalynn has expressed an interest in that, she has an excellent record in Latin America, and I believe that she should be your representative at the inauguration.

-- Western Africa -- The best candidate in terms of foreign policy and the domestic impact might be a trip to western Africa in late July -- Nigeria, The Cameroon, Senegal, Ivory Coast, possibly a refueling stop in the strategically important Cape Verde Islands.

I would be able to take an important delegation of influential black Americans.

The theme of the visit to these African democracies would be the success of your Administration's policy toward Africa -- the fact that we are friends where, in the last Administration, Kissinger could not even go to Nigeria.

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REVIEW ON JUNE 11, 1986

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NJC-06-035
R25725106 NSC LTR
BY C NARA DATE 6/9/00

The timing of the trip would center on the July 22-24 US-Nigerian Bilateral Commission. Nigeria's new democratic government attaches importance to the Commission and has been somewhat concerned that we may not be represented at a high enough level -- Nigeria, of course, is of tremendous importance to us not only in terms of existing oil sales but in terms of future commercial transactions.

We have a good ambassador there, Steve Low (paper at Tab A), who is working hard to follow through on the agreement that you made to continue high level US-Nigerian consultations.

If I take a good delegation with me, I think we can expect good press play and a positive impact in the United States in the black American community.

If you agree, I will work with Zbig and Ed to develop a more precise western African proposal.

(note: You may wish to skim the paper on Nigerian democracy (Tab B) before the luncheon.)

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 10, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: DENIS CLIFT
FROM: JERRY FUNK *JK*
SUBJECT: VP's Trip to Africa

There has been very little follow-through on the agreement between the President and the President of Nigeria to carry on a series of bilateral talks. Our new Ambassador Low is determined to put some content into the July talks. In my view it would be very helpful to have the Vice President give a hand, July 22-24. (C)

I see no problem with a stop in Ivory Coast. It could help to stimulate a bit more trade there, and elsewhere in Francophone Africa. We tend to cede the turf to the French too easily. (C)

I see little merit in the argument that the Vice President shouldn't go to Africa, because he will offend the Liberians if he skips Liberia, and a lot of other people if he does not. (C)

The Liberians are bound to be still in a state of moderate to frantic chaos at the end of July. If they are making progress, we can take the line that the VP is saying positive things about them to their neighbors, (which they will appreciate), and may be able to get back to see them when their ducks are all in a row next year. If they are not making progress, they would not expect the VP to call. (C)

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Review on Jun 10, 1986

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PER 8/25/06 NSCDB
BY *Q* NARA, DATE 6/6/06



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EIGHT MONTHS OF NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY

Overview

Eight months after President Shagari's inauguration, Nigeria's second republic is operating successfully. Thanks largely to Nigeria's oil, Shagari's task has not been to confront critical economic problems but rather to make the new constitution work. This is a less dramatic and much less personalized situation than that faced by most African leaders, but it is one well suited to Shagari's confident but relatively low-keyed approach. Given Nigeria's economic and political potential, it is also of more significance to the US than its "news value" would suggest.

* * * * *

The Strengths of Federalism

The federal structure of Nigeria's constitutional system, in which much of government and politics is decentralized to the 19 states, may prove the cornerstone of Nigerian democracy, because it keeps politics from being an all-or-nothing affair. Each of the five registered parties fully controls at least one state, giving the party a base for patronage and an opportunity to create a governmental record. Even though Nigerians play political hard ball, each party can face the electoral system with both a prospect for

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June 9, 1980

improving its position and some cushion against disaster if it does not win out. This is a powerful incentive for remaining within the democratic system.

At the same time, the federal system--though expensive in financial and bureaucratic terms--provides numerous opportunities to practice political roles and gain experience at levels where even serious errors do not endanger the national fabric. Despite cases of legal and fiscal irresponsibility, confrontations with the federal government, and--in one state--a total deadlock between governor and legislature, the states are tackling real problems and building new focuses of regional loyalty and citizen involvement.

National Leadership

The national-level coalition between Shagari's northern-oriented National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and Nnamdi Azikiwe's Ibo-based Nigerian People's Party (NPP) has survived a bit uneasily, as politicians discover that in a presidential system the gulf between executive and legislative may be almost as great as that between political parties. Shagari seems well aware that he has presidential prerogatives and responsibilities that transcend his party position. He has made partisan mistakes, but he has also spoken out forcefully on behalf of political and human rights and against some of the partisan extremes that undermined Nigeria's first republic. In domestic matters Shagari has moved cautiously. But after the uncertainties of military government, this approach--whether intentional or not--seems to be welcomed by Nigeria's predominantly private-sector economic system.

The Opposition

The principal opposition party--Obafemi Awolowo's Yoruba-based Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN)--is still seeking its role. If it seems uncertain as to how far opposition can responsibly be carried, it so far accepts the system and seems anxious to build a record of accomplishment in the five states it controls. Of the others, the most significant is Aminu Kano's People's Redemption Party (PRP), whose populism makes it the most ideological of the five recognized parties. The PRP may well grow, with a potential for appealing both to Islamic fundamentalism in the north and to the politically homeless radicalism of students, labor, and intellectuals in the south.

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The Role of the Army

Most observers seem to assume that, left to its own devices, the Nigerian constitutional system is a safe bet to last at least until the 1983 national elections. Short-term concern with Nigeria's prospects as a democracy centers around the army, which relinquished power in 1979 after 13 years of military rule.

There are periodic reports of grumbling, especially by middle-grade officers, over pay, career prospects, and corruption. Every now and then it is hinted that senior officers may have reservations about the new system. Since the Liberian coup, there has inevitably been speculation about the aspirations of Nigerian enlisted men. None of this, however, seems to add up to a significant threat to the government, thanks in part to an alert security system and to the government's recognition of the need for maintaining reasonable military morale.

The most serious threat to date, perhaps, has been the widespread, if as yet undocumented, belief that enormous sums (about US\$5 billion) in oil revenues were mishandled and possibly misappropriated during the last years of the military regime. There are fears that the army would not stand still for revelations impugning its honor in so sensitive a matter. Shagari, hoping to stem the political damage, has appointed a special commission to investigate. Whether the scandal will die down, or remain a potential time bomb, is at present uncertain.

Nigeria and the US

Nigerians are conscious of having opted for a US-inspired constitutional system, and while facile anti-Americanism remains intellectually fashionable, there is an enormous interest in how the US system works. Many Nigerian politicians want to see at first hand; there is a constant flow of visiting delegations--most traveling at Nigerian expense--from both state and federal levels.

Both Shagari and Foreign Minister Audu have been friendly and candid in their dealings with the US, but they retain their Nigerian view of the world. Though generally pro-Western in outlook, they are jealous defenders of Nigeria's leadership role, political independence, and non-alignment. Nigeria remains primarily concerned with continental matters and highly committed to South African liberation. As a new convert to constitutionalism,

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Nigeria is highly critical of regimes--such as Sergeant Doe's in Liberia--that have flouted it.

Shagari seems prepared to enjoy good relations with the US, so long as they are consonant with Nigerian interests. But as a democratic leader, he must be responsive not only to his own perceptions but also to the pressures of a system where xenophobic nationalism remains a potent political weapon. Even more than under the military regime, doing business with Nigeria will require both delicacy and a substantial tolerance for Nigerian foibles.

African Democracy and the Future

A few years ago, democratic systems based on civil liberties and free political competition seemed to be dead or dying in sub-Saharan Africa, despite the democratic constitutions with which virtually every newly independent African nation had been endowed. Except for Botswana and the Gambia, single-party states and military governments seemed to enjoy a virtual political monopoly. Today there is a real, if as yet tentative, movement back toward political democracy, as a result of internal political pressures rather than as a colonial legacy.

If Nigeria remains by far the most important example of this new trend, and probably the most viable of such African states, one must also cite Ghana, Upper Volta, and Senegal. In the first two, as in Nigeria, military governments voluntarily accepted a transformation to a multi-party, civilian system. In Senegal, President Senghor expanded a single-party system into one with four authorized, competing parties. It would be premature to predict success for all these experiments, which have yet to demonstrate their capacity for peaceful transfer of power between administrations. But they demonstrate that Africans are not prepared to concede, as some have sought to concede on their behalf, that political democracy in the Western sense is not suited to their continent.

For US interests, this is a development of considerable potential significance, not only because of the relationship between political democracy and human rights. Countries with democratic, multi-party political systems may disagree with the US on many specific issues. Bilateral relations with them will

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be made more complex because their leaders must be responsive to their own national public opinion. Nevertheless, the very fact that they share with the US and other Western democracies a common perception of the basis of social polity is likely, in the long run, to make them sympathize with at least the fundamentals of US and Western foreign policy.

Prepared by H.C. MacDougall
x27243

Approved by C. Thomas Thorne, Jr.
x26130

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INSERT FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH THE PRESIDENT
Wednesday, June 11, 1980

Meeting with Foreign Minister Colombo

You and the President will just have met with Italian Foreign Minister Colombo, and you may wish to comment on the views he had to offer with regard to the upcoming Venice Summit.

Middle East

Secretary Muskie received good press coverage of his Middle East speech on Monday to the Washington Press Club.

Thanks to the President's insistence, we have become the log jam on the Autonomy Talks, stalled over the Israeli Knesset bill on Jerusalem.

Sol Linowitz is scheduled to meet with Burg and Ali, with talks now proposed for the 25th or 26th in Washington.

Afghanistan

The Soviets' problems in Afghanistan continue to multiply with increased Soviet commitment of forces being matched by improved organization and tactics on the part of the Afghan rebels.

A look at the major papers this week would indicate that we are tending to fall off again in our ability to keep the Afghan story and the Soviet invasion on the front pages. (The New York Times for example had no more than 10-12 lines both on Monday and Tuesday buried back in its World News in Brief section.) The Soviets, of course, are masters at keeping such an issue alive, as they did with us in Vietnam. You may wish to recommend to the President that he take this up with Zbig and Secretary Muskie ensuring that we make as much news available as is possible.

Meeting with Greek-Americans

You may wish to refer to your meeting Tuesday with Andy Athens, George Charles and Andy Manatos to discuss issues of importance to the Greek-American community. They said they want to be helpful. They need something to point to in terms of Administration action, understanding the complexities of the nettlesome issues. The Administration has been silent for so long that the Greek-American community feels that it has turned its back on the issues of the greatest importance to the community.

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REVIEW ON JUNE 10, 2000

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BY C NARA, DATE 9/9/06

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You told the group that you would like their recommendations on individuals who you would suggest might meet on an unpublicized basis with Secretary Muskie. Four names have been recommended (Tab A) for you to pass along to Secretary Muskie.

You suggested that we find the right occasion to strike the theme that with the new Rallis government and the Presidency of Karamanlis, we have turned a fresh page in our relations, we look forward to more consultations to build on the ties that we value so deeply with Greece.

Your Possible Foreign Travel

Secretary Muskie has indicated that he would be pleased if you were to plan a trip to Greece, if you do not do so he believes he should stop in Athens, balancing his visit to Ankara later this month. While the Greek-Americans you talked to felt that a visit by you would be good, and would demonstrate US interests in Greece, they did express some concern over counterproductive demonstrations and protests engineered by the Papandreou left (this is George Vest's fear, coupled with his concerns that the Greeks will somehow trap you in an anti Turkish position). As of Wednesday evening, 6:00 p.m., neither Andy Athens nor George Charles had been able to get in touch with Archbishop Iakovos to obtain his views.

Western Africa -- A good case can be made for a visit to western Africa (Assistant Secretary Dick Moose's enthusiasm is contagious). Nigeria, which has just set in place its new democratic government, hosts the July 22-24 meeting of the US-Nigerian Bilateral Commission, which you could open as the head of the US delegation. Moose would strongly recommend taking a day or two to travel outside of Lagos to see other parts of the country. While in Africa he notes that The Cameroon would be his next highest recommendation, the country with a good human rights record, with active investment, with a good AID program in place. The visit could also include the Ivory Coast or Senegal, with a refueling stop and a meeting in the strategically important Cape Verde Islands.

Peru -- The Department of State is pressing for highest possible US representation at the July 28 inauguration of President Fernando Belaunde Terry, marking Peru's return to democracy. The visit would include consultations with the Andean Group. (Note: It is possible that Mrs. Carter may be interested in heading the US delegation.)

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD VICE

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT --
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11, 1980

I. Auto Industry Strategy

- o Meeting with Miller
- o Conversation with Fraser

II. Economy

- o Inflation
- o Interest Rates
- o Recession
 - We were elected in '76 on jobs
 - Need to be seen as caring

III. Possible Overseas Travel

- o Am exploring feasibility of foreign trip in summer
- o Considering Greece, Tunisia, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Peru
- o Initial reaction?
- o Will try to have proposal soon

IV. Colombo MeetingV. Meeting with Latin-Americans (see attached)VI. Middle East -- Begin/Burg/Alf Talks (see attached)VII. Afghanistan (see attached)

- o Coverage of Soviet Invasion

VIII. Politics

- o Minnesota Convention
 - Hope to get close to 50 delegates
 - Would you bring a note to Nick Coleman?
- o Reconciliation
 - Kennedy's behavior
 - Dick's meeting with Kirk
- o Ham's move

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

June 18, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD MOE *RM*

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH THE
PRESIDENT -- WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 1980

- I. Will try to handle things for you while you're gone
 - o Will work with Frank on Hill matters
 - o Will be available if Stu needs me on platform
 - o (?) Will hold daily 10:00 meeting with Jack et al
- II. Economy
 - o Auto Industry
 - Will work with Neil and Stu to have recommendations for when you're back; Neil thinks we're making progress
 - o Recession
 - Need to craft position to deal with unemployment
 - o Humphrey-Hawkins
 - Projection of 7% unemployment by 1985 is political dynamite
 - It's unnecessary, and bound to cause much flak
- III. Hussein Visit
- IV. Canadian Fisheries Treaty
- V. F-15 Equipment Sale to Saudis
 - o What's our position?
- VI. Venice Summit
 - o Hope you'll agree to German bilateral
 - o I'll see you off in the morning

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1980

Blitzer
re P.R.C.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD MOE *RM*SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT
MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1980*Israeli*
*Exclusion*I. Jerusalem Resolution in UNII. Summit Debriefing

- o Western unity on Afghanistan
- o Energy
- o Bilateral with Schmidt
- o Visits to Yugoslavia, Spain, Portugal

III. Possible Trips

- o Ohira funeral
- o Nigeria/West Africa (see attached)

IV. Economy

- o Tax cut
 - Miller made our case well yesterday
 - Biggest concern here is for your credibility and consistency
 - Tomorrow's leadership breakfast important for Hill to understand clearly your position
 - Harris poll -- oppose tax cut by 52 to 43
- o Recession
 - We need to be perceived as caring about jobs and doing something about rising unemployment
 - All attention now riveted on tax cut; you should instruct staff to come up with proposals in jobs area
 - Otherwise we're in untenable political position

V. Politics

- o Kennedy pursuing hard line on rules and platform
 - Need to be more aggressive in dealing with him
- o Any word on Ham's strategy?

VI. Things to Watch While You're Gone?

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TALKING POINTS FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT
Monday, June 30, 1980

Visit to Nigeria and Nations of Western Africa

Your policy toward Africa has been one of the strongest successes of the Administration's foreign policy. This deserves attention, and I have been giving some thought to a visit to western Africa with this in mind.

On July 22-24 the United States and Nigeria are scheduled to have the next round of formal bilateral talks, talks initiated by you and Obasanjo, in Lagos.

Because of its size, wealth, and influence, Nigeria is of importance to us not only bilaterally but also to the continuing success of your African policy.

It is my understanding that the Nigerians would be extremely pleased if the US were to be represented at the political level at this next round of talks, and I believe this would pay dividends for us bilaterally -- there will be an agricultural agreement to be signed, and we will be beginning important talks on a US purchase of Nigerian LNG. It would also permit us to give recognition to the new civilian democratic government under President Shagari.

-- While Nigeria would provide the principal news peg and focus for an African trip, I believe such a visit would be of importance internationally and domestically in a broader context.

-- This is a timely moment to highlight the good will generated in Africa by our firm stand on sanctions against Rhodesia, our support for the new government of Zimbabwe, our continuing efforts in southern Africa, and our increased attention to Africa's development and refugee meetings.

In addition to Nigeria there are a number of countries in western Africa which might well be included in such a visit -- Ivory Coast, Cameroon, and Niger.

-- In the Ivory Coast, a visit with President Houphouet-Boigny, the senior statesman of Africa's democracies and the founding members of the OAU, would repay his several visits to the United States and allow talks on international issues, issues in which the Ivory Coast gives us strong support.

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REVIEW ON JUNE 30, 1986

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BY Q NARA, DATE 9/9/06

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- Niger, which has received little attention from the United States, is of increasing importance economically, exercising a strong voice in the OAU, and will become a member of the UN Security Council this fall. A visit might well pay political dividends in the UN, it would also permit consultations on assistance to the Sahelian nations.

- The Cameroon is another young African democracy that is making good use of our aid in its agricultural development. We have a number of US firms and banks in the major port city of Douala, and in addition to talks with the leadership I might host a reception highlighting our commercial interests.

I thought it would be useful if I were to submit a memorandum to you in the next day or two formally laying out these proposals for your review.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 30, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK MOE

FROM: Denis Clift 

SUBJECT: Insert for Vice President's Luncheon with the
President, Monday, June 30, 1980

I am attaching a proposed insert for the papers you are
preparing for the Vice President's use in his luncheon with
the President.

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(THIS MEMORANDUM BECOMES
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FR 5/25/06 NSC LTR
BY C NARA, DATE 6/9/06



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