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- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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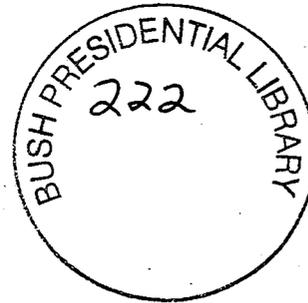
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- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Plenary Meeting with President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Acting Secretary of State
John Sununu, Chief of Staff
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs
Rush W. Taylor, Jr. U.S. Ambassador to Togo
Robert C. Frasure, Director for African Affairs, (Notetaker)
Alec Toumayan, Interpreter

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 12958, AS AMENDED

2000-0429-F
R 8/21/09

Gnassingbe Eyadema, President
Barry Moussa Barque, Planning and Mines Minister
Gbenyon Amegboth, Minister Delegate at the Presidency
Koffi Djondo, Industry and State Entreprises Minister
Kwaovi Johnson, Information Minister
Komla Alipui, Finance Minister
Yaovi Adodo, Foreign Affairs Minister
Ellom-Kodjo Schuppisu, Togolese Ambassador to U.S.
Mary Carol Wolter, Interpreter

DATE, TIME July 31, 1990, 11:15 a.m. - 12:00 a.m. EST
PLACE: Cabinet Room

The President: Welcome to the White House. We are very grateful for your friendship, we want to show to you and your colleagues our appreciation. You have taken risks to be at our side over the years. (U)

You have a child here undergoing treatment. Is he all right?
(U)

President Eyadema: Thank you. Yes. Thank you for caring about my family. The boy is doing well. (U)

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The President: I want you to speak first. The floor is yours.
(U)

President Eyadema: Thank you. I want to express my deep appreciation to you and your country. I want to salute you as a great statesman searching for peace and freedom. I recognize the struggle you have waged for a world of peace. (U)

The President: We are delighted to have you here. (U)

On Liberia, you spoke eloquently in the Oval Office about your attempt to work something out, on the lives at stake. I updated you on the situation in Trinidad, clearly a terrorist action.

(/)

Since we last met, there have been remarkable changes around the world; Eastern Europe, in this hemisphere. How do you see all of this playing out in Africa? Our position is one of support for democracy. But some leaders whom we know including Kaunda and Moi seem worried. If we support democratic change in South Africa, we have to do so elsewhere. What should the U.S. be doing? (/)

President Eyadema: Concerning these profound changes in Africa, I will speak about my own country. In 1969 there were four political parties and some wanted to limit it to two. When I sent my message to the people of Togo, they wanted one party to handle the issues of the nation. Twenty years later, we can now accept what we rejected. (/)

We have set up five committees on the need to carry out democratization. People are skeptical of democracy. But our party will be like the others. Freedom of expression has been proclaimed. The time is coming to move to the next stage. But we must not destroy what was in place. A National Human Rights Commission has been established emphasizing duties as well as rights. We need to move to genuine democratization. (/)

The President: I welcome all of that. How do you see Kenya and Zambia? (U)

President Eyadema: We were surprised by what happened there. If you are not standing next to a latrine, you do not get the smell. You cannot convince people by force. If people do not participate, the decisions are inoperative. We were surprised.

(/)

The President: Some African countries are doing well, Zimbabwe for example. The evolution of democracy is quite encouraging.

(U)

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I want to raise the situation in Angola. We think there democracy is the answer. Some countries think we are being backward with Dos Santos. But we do not want to sell out Savimbi. We do not want to try to dominate the situation. There are signs that the Soviets may want to be more reasonable. (Ø)

President Eyadema: It is a worrisome situation. After Gbadolite, which I could not attend, Savimbi came to see me and I told him it wouldn't be settled overnight and he should trust Mobutu as mediator. Dos Santos recently sent me his nine-point proposal. Savimbi agreed to it but wants the first point to be a ceasefire. I wrote that to Dos Santos. (Ø)

The President: You know Dos Santos? (U)

President Eyadema: Yes. (U)

The President: Is he a reasonable man? Is he a Marxist or did he just need Soviet support? (Ø)

President Eyadema: There are two sides to him. Few people believe in Marxism. He needed Soviet aid. But he is not alone. He is manhandled by his associates. He is not like Mobutu or Savimbi. (Ø)

The President: We support the Portuguese mediated talks. We should stay in touch on this. We both support reconciliation. Hank, how do you see the Portuguese talks? (Ø)

Secretary Cohen: When Savimbi come to see President Bush, we agreed there should be a ceasefire. Dos Santos did not want it because he was planning a major offensive. He had some successes. [REDACTED] Dos Santos then said he would turn to negotiations but he did not want the U.S. and the USSR involved. Dos Santos wants a ceasefire because of the success of the rebels in the north. We hope in the August round they will agree to the principles and a ceasefire. We are not sure they are ready to accept UNITA and Savimbi. The MPLA still has to take that step. (Ø)

(b)(1)

The President: What level are the talks at? (U)

Secretary Cohen: Roughly assistant secretary. (U)

President Eyadema: You are absolutely right to support Savimbi. You have to support friends. In South Africa, I said to them you must not abandon Savimbi. People want free elections. The MPLA are not sure of themselves. Savimbi is a friend now and will be a friend in the future.

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The President: Do a lot of African leaders feel this way? Some do not speak out?

President Eyadema: Not everyone has the courage to speak out. Some are asking for him to go into exile. I am trying to put him in contact with Babangida. (Ø)

The President: Lots of them will won't speak out. Right Hank? (Ø)

Secretary Cohen: Yes. Kaunda says it in private. (Ø)

President Eyadema: Have the Soviets stopped aid for the MPLA? (Ø)

Secretary Cohen: No. It is fifteen times bigger than our own aid to Savimbi. (Ø)

The President: Let me ask you about our friend Qadhafi. We keep getting feelers that he wants better relations. We say the should stop doing bad things like supporting terrorism, building a chemical weapons plant, and backing groups trying to overthrow democratic governments. I would not be surprised if his fingerprints are on Trinidad. We worry about him, his recklessness. What are your views? (Ø)

President Eyadema: Africans see independence as economic as well as political. They need peace and stability. Thanks to the U.S. some African governments have not been overthrown by Qadhafi. We were victims once. Sophisticated weapons were brought in. The culprits confirmed that Libya was involved. (Ø)

We had a similar situation in 1985. Two suitcases of explosives were brought in, one intended for the central market, the other for the U.S. ambassador's residence. If he would cease his activities, it would be good. (Ø)

The President: Is he fooling around again in Chad and Sudan? Looks like deja vu. (Ø)

President Eyadema: Yes. He is intervening in Chad providing support for the Chadian rebels in Sudan.

If you lay down terms, maybe he will meet them. (Ø)

The President: But he won't keep his word. Yet we would not want to miss an opportunity. We have intelligence reports from all over the world on his activities. (Ø)

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Secretary Cohen: We believe the Chadian rebels are about to attack from Darfur in Sudan. We expect war to break out again.
(Ø)

President Eyadema: It is a pity. What is he trying to accomplish? Thanks to the U.S., he has not succeeded. (Ø)

The President: I hear he wants to marry Diouf's daughter! I sure would not want him to marry my daughter! (Ø)

-- End of Conversation --

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