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**Collection:** African Affairs Directorate, NSC:  
Records

**Folder Title:** [Nigeria] Visit of Babangida  
11/18/1987

**Box:** RAC 8

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*Last Updated: 3/27/2024*

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** AFRICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NSC: RECORDS

**Withdrawer**

LM 3/7/2024

**File Folder** [NIGERIA:] VISIT OF BABANGIDA 11/18/1987

**FOIA**

F12-045

**Box Number** 8

DEVERMONT

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
256355	NOTE	FOR HERMAN COHEN <b>PAR 3/7/2024 NLR-8-8-31-5-5</b>	1	10/28/1987	B1
256356	REPORT	NIGERIA: BABNGIDA'S BALANCE SHEET <b>PAR 3/7/2024 NLR-8-8-31-5-5</b>	11	10/25/1987	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

5900

*Chen*  
*HE*  
*Rosenberg*

August 7, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN JR., Director  
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: GRANT S. GREEN, *GR.*

SUBJECT: Official Working Visit for President Babangida of  
Nigeria

By memo of July 9 (see Tab A), we requested scheduling President Babangida for November. He has been unable to accept an invitation before now because he was recuperating from back surgery.

Nigeria has great importance in Africa. One-quarter of sub-Saharan Africa's population lives in Nigeria, and the Nigerians often play a leading role on major African political and economic matters. Babangida and his wife are young, very attractive, and articulate. A visit would not only be helpful for our foreign policy interests in Africa, but would constitute an excellent opportunity for the President to reach out to the American black community.

Attachment

Tab A Memo of July 9, 1987, #5202

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *NSA/DOS/ANVERS*

BY *BM* NARA DATE *3/7/24*

A

f

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

July 9, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED RYAN

FROM:

GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

SUBJECT:

Official Working Visits - Oct/Nov 1987

By memo of May 22, we withdrew our recommendation for the November Official Working Visit of Prime Minister Alebua and left the spot open for later consideration. We are now substituting President Babangida of Nigeria for November, moving him from October.

We are proposing the vacated October slot be filled with an Official Working Visit by the Southern African Frontline States, (the Heads of State from Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Tanzania, and Mozambique). This Visit will be an excellent forum for promoting peaceful negotiations leading to multiracial democracy in South Africa; reconfirm the President's strong anti-apartheid sentiments for the Black independent nations of southern Africa; and help offset a possible negative impact of the report to Congress due October 2 on the first year of economic sanctions against South Africa. The Heads of State will be in Canada the week of October 11 for an annual Commonwealth Conference.

August 7, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

FROM: HERMAN J. COHEN *AR for*

SUBJECT: OWV for President Babangida of Nigeria

The Scheduling Office has requested a memorandum regarding the OWV of President Babangida, which the NSC has proposed for November (see Tab A).

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for Fred Ryan.

Marybel Batjer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for Fred Ryan attached at Tab I.

Approve *[checkmark]*

Disapprove       

Prepared by:  
Alison P. Rosenberg

Attachments

Tab I Your Memorandum to Fred Ryan

Tab A Memo #5202 dated July 9, 1987

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2005  
BY NARA *LM* DATE *3/7/24*



<DIST>SIT: EOB VAX VPLHB

5

<PREC> IMMEDIATE<CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~<OSRI> RUEHOS<DTG> 240824Z OCT 87  
<ORIG>FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
<TO>TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: PROPOSED TOASTS FOR BABANGIDA VISIT

<TEXT>

*will file*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LAGOS 13258

FOR AF/W

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (BABANGIDA, IBRAHIM B.), PREL, NI, US

SUBJECT: PROPOSED TOASTS FOR BABANGIDA VISIT

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)
2. FOLLOWING ARE PROPOSED TOASTS FOR BABANGIDA VISIT:

3.

PROPOSED TOAST BY PRESIDENT REAGAN  
TO PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. A NATION, EVEN IN THE BEST OF TIMES, REQUIRES OF ITS LEADERS COURAGE, COMPASSION, AND CONVICTION. HOW MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THESE QUALITIES ARE IN TIMES OF CRISIS AND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE. NIGERIA TODAY IS BLESSED WITH LEADERSHIP WHICH IS AMPLY ENDOWED WITH ALL OF THEM.

THE COURAGE YOU HAVE SHOWN, MR. PRESIDENT, IN TACKLING HEAD ON THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BESETTING NIGERIA COMMAND THE RESPECT AND SYMPATHY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. YOU HAVE CHOSEN NOT THE EASY PATH, BUT THE RIGHT ONE. YOU HAVE FACED HEAD-ON THE BASIC CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC REALITIES OF YOUR COUNTRY SINCE THE END OF UNUSUALLY HIGH OIL PRICES. YOU HAVE RESTORED A SENSE OF SELF-RELIANCE AND AN EMPHASIS ON DEVELOPING ALL OF NIGERIA'S INTERNAL RESOURCES, ESPECIALLY ITS AGRICULTURE. YOU HAVE TAKEN BOLD STEPS TO FREE THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY FROM THE WEIGHT OF DECADES OF DEADENING GOVERNMENT CONTROL. IN SO DOING, YOU ARE LIBERATING THE CREATIVE POWER AND ENERGY FOR WHICH THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE ARE SO WELL KNOWN. YOU ARE RESTORING NIGERIA TO HER RIGHTFUL PLACE AS AN EXAMPLE FOR ALL OF AFRICA.

PROGRESS IS SOMETIMES PAINFUL AND NEVER EASY. BUT THE SACRIFICES OF TODAY WILL BEAR IMPORTANT FRUIT TOMORROW. NIGERIA--AND NIGERIA'S FRIENDS--LOOK CONFIDENTLY TO THE DAY WHEN YOUR COUNTRY'S GREAT PROMISE HAS BEEN FULLY REDEEMED.

MR. PRESIDENT, I KNOW FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS OF YOUR DETERMINATION TO SEE NIGERIA SET FIRMLY ON THE PATH OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROGRESS. YOUR COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND A RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL, DEMOCRATIC RULE RESTS ON THE BEDROCK OF COMPASSION AND DECENCY. YOU HAVE NOT SUCCUMBED TO THE TOTALITARIAN TEMPTATION TO STIFLE FREEDOM IN THE NAME OF PROGRESS, FOR THERE CANNOT BE ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER. YOU KNOW AND UNDERSTAND YOUR PEOPLE AND THEIR DEEP YEARNING FOR A RELIABLE, RESPONSIBLE, AND DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. WE KNOW THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY THESE PRINCIPLES--AND WILL URGE OTHERS TO DO SO AS

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008  
BY NARA AM DATE 3/7/24

WELL. WE KNOW THAT NIGERIANS CHERISH THEIR FREEDOMS AS DO AMERICANS.

- BUT THREATS TO FREEDOM AND DIGNITY CAN COME IN UNEXPECTED WAYS. DECENT PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TODAY ARE UNDER ATTACK FROM A NEW SOURCE--THE SCOURGE OF INTERNATIONAL DRUG TRAFFICKERS. THESE POISONERS OF OUR YOUTH KNOW NEITHER BOUNDARY NOR SCRUPLE. THEY ARE A DEADLY DANGER TO US ALL. WE ARE IMPRESSED THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT AND THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE ARE NOT STANDING BY IDLY, BUT FIGHTING BACK AGAINST THIS MENACE WITH DETERMINATION AND STEADILY GROWING EFFECTIVENESS. I KNOW THAT YOUR WIFE, NIGERIA'S FIRST LADY, HAS PERSONALLY TAKEN ON THE LEADERSHIP OF THIS CAMPAIGN, AS HAS MRS. REAGAN HERE IN AMERICA. WE ARE PROUD TO STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH NIGERIA AND WITH THE MANY PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD WHO SHARE OUR CONVICTION THAT ILLEGAL DRUGS THREATEN ALL OF US, AND MUST BE FOUGHT BY ALL OF US.

- IT WOULD BE UNREASONABLE TO EXPECT THAT THE VIEWS OF TWO SUCH LARGE, DIVERSE AND DYNAMIC COUNTRIES AS THE UNITED STATES AND NIGERIA WOULD COINCIDE ON EVERY ISSUE. IT IS WITHIN THIS CONTEXT THAT OUR DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS AS TO THE BEST WAY TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO APARTHEID SHOULD BE PLACED.

- LET NO ONE DOUBT THAT NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES SHARE THE SAME COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES FOUGHT A BLOODY CIVIL WAR OVER THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY. MUCH OF OUR HISTORY FOR THE LAST CENTURY CAN BE SEEN AS AN EFFORT TO REDEEM THE PROMISES INHERENT IN THE VICTORY OF THE UNION. WE HAVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LAGOS 13258  
FOR AF/W

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (BABANGIDA, IBRAHIM B.), PREL, NI, US

SUBJECT: PROPOSED TOASTS FOR BABANGIDA VISIT

LABORED HARD TO BRING THE FULL MEASURE OF EQUALITY TO OUR SOCIETY AND HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH. CONSISTENT WITH THIS EFFORT, NO NATION IS MORE COMMITTED THAN OURS TO THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID. THIS REPELLENT SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION HAS NO PLACE IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD, AND THOSE WHO TAKE THE NAME OF CIVILIZATION AS A DEFENSE FOR THEIR IMMORAL PRACTICES TAKE IT IN VAIN. BUT OUR OWN HISTORY HAS TAUGHT US THAT THE JUST AND PROSPEROUS SOCIETY WHICH WE SEEK FOR SOUTH AFRICA, INDEED FOR ALL SOUTHERN AFRICANS, CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY ITS OWN PEOPLE AND CAN ONLY BE WRECKED BY ACCEPTING VIOLENCE AS THE MEANS TO THAT END. EQUALLY, IT CANNOT BE WON BY SLOGANS AND RHETORIC. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE HARD DIPLOMATIC WORK WHICH CAN BEST BRING OUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR.

- FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS, I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER, IN CLOSE CONSULTATION, TO FIND WAYS TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE, WHICH IS THE MOST URGENT ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. I PLEDGE YOU OUR BEST EFFORTS AND DEEPEST COMMITMENT TO THIS OBJECTIVE.

- I HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOUR VISIT HERE HAS SHOWN YOU THE EXTENT TO WHICH WE ADMIRE AND SHARE YOUR VISION FOR A FREE AND PROSPEROUS NIGERIA, AND HAS REAFFIRMED FOR YOU OUR WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH YOU TO TACKLE THE WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES ON WHICH WE SHARE COMMON



OBJECTIVES.

7

- LET US TODAY PLEDGE OURSELVES TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLES. TO REDEEM THAT PLEDGE, WE WISH YOU GOOD HEALTH AND I ASK ALL HERE PRESENT TO JOIN IN PROPOSING A TOAST TO THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA, THEIR PRESIDENT, GENERAL IBRAHIM BABANGIDA AND THE PROSPECT OF EVER CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

4.

- PROPOSED TOAST TO PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

- BY VICE PRESIDENT BUSH

- MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. I AM PLEASED TO RENEW MY PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH NIGERIA, WHICH I HAD THE PLEASURE OF VISITING IN 1982. THAT VISIT WAS ONE OF A LONG SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS WHICH OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN HOLDING FOR MANY YEARS. BECAUSE OF THE STRENGTH OF OUR RELATIONS, NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE ALWAYS EXCHANGED VIEWS FRANKLY AND FREQUENTLY. MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR VISIT TO WASHINGTON CONTINUES THIS RELATIONSHIP, IN WHICH FRIENDS DISCUSS THE STATE OF THE WORLD IN WHICH THEY LIVE, THE PROBLEMS THEY FACE, AND TAKE COUNSEL WITH EACH OTHER OVER HOW TO SOLVE THEM. WE ARE ALSO AWARE, AND GREATLY ADMIRE, THE COURAGEOUS STEPS YOU HAVE TAKEN TO RESTRUCTURE NIGERIA'S ECONOMY AND TO RESTORE ACCOUNTABLE, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. WE APPRECIATE THE WARMTH AND COOPERATION THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONS IN YOUR ADMINISTRATION.

- U.S. TIES WITH NIGERIA GO BACK MANY YEARS AND HAVE ENRICHED BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. THEY THRIVE ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF SHARED LANGUAGE, A STRONGLY INDIVIDUALISTIC SPIRIT, AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS WHICH VALUE FREE ENTERPRISE.

- WE ARE ESPECIALLY PROUD THAT OVER 150,000 NIGERIANS HAVE PARTAKEN OF THE BEST THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION HAS TO OFFER, AND HAVE RETURNED HOME TO SHARE THE SKILLS THEY HAVE LEARNED AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY. I AM PLEASED TO NOTE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU AND SO MANY OF YOUR COLLEAGUES IN THE NIGERIAN ARMED FORCES ARE ALUMNI OF AMERICA'S PROFESSIONAL MILITARY TRAINING.

- PERHAPS LESS WELL KNOWN IS THAT 5,000 AMERICANS LIVE, WORK AND GO TO SCHOOL IN NIGERIA. THOUSANDS MORE HAVE BEEN PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS, BUSINESSMEN OR DIPLOMATS THERE AND RETAIN STRONG AFFECTION FOR NIGERIA.

- AS ONE OF THE FIRST AND MOST PROMINENT OF NIGERIA'S EXCHANGE STUDENTS, DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE (NAM-DEE A-ZEE-KI-WEE) ONCE WROTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LAGOS 13258  
FOR AF/W

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (BABANGIDA, IBRAHIM B.), PREL, NI, US

SUBJECT: PROPOSED TOASTS FOR BABANGIDA VISIT

- "DEEP IN MY HEART, I CAN HONESTLY CONFESS THE  
- UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IMPRESSED ME AS THE HAVEN  
- OF REFUGE FOR OPPRESSED SECTIONS OF HUMANITY IN  
- EUROPE, AFRICA, ASIA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. MY

8

- LIFE IS A TESTIMONIAL THAT AMERICANS SHARED LIFE'S  
- PLEASURES AND NALKED THE HONEST ROAD WITH ME."  
- MR. PRESIDENT, NO NATION CAN RECEIVE A GREATER  
ACCOLADE THAN THAT, AND WE DEEPLY CHERISH THE DEEP AND  
LASTING RELATIONSHIP TO WHICH IT TESTIFIES.  
- PRESIDENT REAGAN, IN TAKING NOTE OF NIGERIA'S  
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE SAID:  
- "NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE LINKED BY  
- HISTORY, CULTURE, LANGUAGE, AND BLOOD. MANY  
- AMERICANS TRACE THEIR HERITAGE TO NIGERIA. OUR  
- COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN DRAWN CLOSER BY THE INTERCHANGE  
- OF PEOPLES OVER THE DECADES AND BY THE DEEPLY HELD  
- VALUES WHICH WE HAVE LONG SHARED. PREEMINENT AMONG  
- THESE IS A BELIEF IN FREEDOM, JUSTICE, AND HUMAN  
- DIGNITY.  
- LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PLEASE JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO  
PRESIDENT BABANGIDA, TO NIGERIA, AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP  
WE SHARE TO OUR COMMON BENEFIT.

-  
LYMAN

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

26-Oct-1987 07:52am EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

COHEN

FROM: WHSR@VAXE  
(jnet%MRGATE)

SUBJECT:

Received: From VAXE(WHSR) by VAXC with RSCS id 4008  
for COHEN@VAXC; Fri, 23-OCT-1987 12:16 EDT  
Date: Fri, 23-OCT-1987 12:16 EST  
From: <WHSR@VAXE>  
To: COHEN@VAXC

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SIT: COHEN EOB VAX

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231536Z OCT 87

<ORIG>  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

<TO>  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8938

<SUBJ>  
SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR BABANGIDA  
VISIT

<TEXT>  
BT  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LAGOS 13269  
FOR AF/W  
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: OVIP (BABANGIDA, IBRAHIM B.), PREL, NI, US  
SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR BABANGIDA  
VISIT

1. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA LM, DATE 3/7/24

2. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED WHITE HOUSE DEPARTURE  
STATEMENT:

3. - WHITE HOUSE DEPARTURE STATEMENT BY  
- PRESIDENT REAGAN

- IT HAS BEEN MY VERY SINCERE PLEASURE TO WELCOME  
PRESIDENT IBRAHIM BABANGIDA TO THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY.  
YOUR VISIT, MR. PRESIDENT, HAS AFFORDED ME THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN MORE ABOUT YOUR AMBITIOUS GOALS FOR  
NIGERIA AND FOR NIGERIA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN AFRICA.  
AMERICANS CANNOT BUT APPLAUD YOUR OBJECTIVES AND OUR  
DISCUSSIONS HAVE CONVINCED ME THAT THERE IS MUCH WE CAN  
DO TO BUILD ON OUR ALREADY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP AND  
ENHANCE OUR COOPERATION IN MANY SPHERES.

- YOU HAVE DESCRIBED FOR ME THE COURAGEOUS EFFORT  
YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS UNDERTAKEN TO RESTRUCTURE THE  
NIGERIAN ECONOMY. I HAVE DISCOVERED THAT WE HAVE VERY  
SIMILAR VIEWS ON WHAT FORCES GENERATE THE KIND OF  
ECONOMIC PROSPERITY WE SEEK FOR BOTH OUR PEOPLES. I  
KNOW YOU ARE VERY MUCH AWARE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT A  
MAJOR PRIORITY OF MY TENURE IN WASHINGTON HAS BEEN AN  
EFFORT TO RESTORE ECONOMIC FREEDOM TO THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE. LIKE NIGERIANS, WE LIVED TOO LONG WITH THE  
ILLUSION THAT GOVERNMENT COULD MICRO-MANAGE OUR WAY TO  
PROSPERITY, THAT BASIC ECONOMIC WELFARE COULD BE  
LEGISLATED AND ASSURED BY UNENDING SUPPLIES OF  
GOVERNMENT MONEY. IN SO DOING, WE FORGOT THE REAL  
SOURCE OF BOTH THAT MONEY AND OUR PROSPERITY--INDIVIDUAL  
CITIZENS FREE TO USE THEIR INDIVIDUAL TALENTS WITHOUT  
CONSTANT REGULATION AND INTERFERENCE.

- OVER THE LAST SEVEN YEARS WE HAVE MANAGED TO LAUNCH  
THE AMERICAN ECONOMY ON ONE OF ITS LONGEST PERIODS OF  
SUSTAINED GROWTH. BUT THE ROAD HAS NOT BEEN AN EASY  
ONE. LIKE YOU, WE HAVE CONFRONTED MANY SACRED COWS AND  
DONE BATTLE WITH LONG FAVORED INTERESTS SEEKING TO  
PROTECT THEIR PRIVILEGED POSITIONS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE  
NATIONAL INTEREST. IT IS FOR THIS VERY REASON, MR.  
PRESIDENT, THAT I HAVE SUCH GREAT ADMIRATION FOR WHAT  
YOU HAVE DONE AND ARE TRYING TO DO IN NIGERIA. YOU HAVE  
MY PLEDGE THAT MY GOVERNMENT WILL ACTIVELY ENCOURAGE  
AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY HOW  
IT CAN PARTICIPATE IN YOUR EFFORTS.

- I HAVE ALSO LEARNED MORE ABOUT YOUR PERSONAL  
CONVICTION, WHICH I SHARE COMPLETELY, THAT SUSTAINED  
ECONOMIC PROSPERITY CAN ONLY BE ASSURED IN THE CONTEXT  
OF RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND  
STABLE, RESPONSIBLE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. LIKE YOUR  
ECONOMIC POLICIES, THE PROGRAM YOU HAVE DESCRIBED TO ME  
FOR THE RETURN OF CIVILIAN RULE IN NIGERIA DOES NOT TAKE  
THE EASY ROAD. IT SEEKS TO CONFRONT FRANKLY THE MOST  
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF YOUR POLITY WITHOUT COMPROMISING  
THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF ANY OF YOUR CITIZENS. I WILL  
CONTINUE TO WATCH THIS PROCESS WITH THE GREATEST OF  
INTEREST AND MOST SINCERELY WISH IT WELL.

- WE HAVE ALSO HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS OUR COMMON CONCERNS FOR SOME OF THE MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS FACING THE AFRICAN CONTINENT WHERE NIGERIA OCCUPIES A POSITION OF SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY. WHEN SECRETARY SHULTZ RETURNED FROM YOUR COUNTRY LAST JANUARY, HE TOLD ME THAT I COULD PROFIT GREATLY FROM YOUR VIEWS AND INDEED I HAVE. OUR DISCUSSIONS TODAY CONVINCE ME THAT WE MUST CONTINUE A REGULAR DIALOGUE. OUR OBJECTIVES, PARTICULAR AS THEY RELATE TO PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND AN END TO APARTHEID AND TO PEACE AND SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF CHAD, HAVE TOO MUCH IN COMMON FOR US NOT TO CONTINUE TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHERS KNOWLEDGE OF THE PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVE ON SOLUTIONS.

- FINALLY, MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL BATTLE AGAINST NARCOTICS. THE LEADING ROLE THAT YOU AND MRS. BABANGIDA HAVE TAKEN IN THIS EFFORT IS A MATTER OF SPECIAL GRATIFICATION TO NANCY AND ME. WE HAVE AGREED TO EXPAND OUR ALREADY IMPRESSIVE COOPERATION TO INCLUDE ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A MUTUAL LEGAL ASSISTANCE TREATY TO BETTER ARM OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO ATTACK THIS AWFUL

BT  
#3269

BT  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LAGOS 13269  
FOR AF/W

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: OVIP (BABANGIDA, IBRAHIM B.), PREL, NI, US  
SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR BABANGIDA SCOURGE.

- PRESIDENT BABANGIDA, I HAVE PROFITED GREATLY FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS TODAY. I TRUST THAT WE WILL HAVE MANY OPPORTUNITIES TO CONTINUE THIS VALUABLE DIALOGUE IN THE FUTURE.

-  
LYMAN  
BT  
#3269

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~~APR~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

26-Oct-1987 07:52am EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

COHEN

FROM:

WHSR@VAXE  
(jnet%MRGATE)

SUBJECT:

Received: From VAXE(WHSR) by VAXC with RSCS id 5000  
for COHEN@VAXC; Fri, 23-OCT-1987 14:24 EDT  
Date: Fri, 23-OCT-1987 14:24 EST  
From: <WHSR@VAXE>  
To: COHEN@VAXC

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SIT: COHEN EOB RODMAN VAX

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IMMEDIATE

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<OSRI>  
RUEHOS

<DTG>  
211518Z OCT 87

<ORIG>  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

<TO>  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8885

<SUBJ>  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE TRAVEL BY FIRST LADY

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~~SECRET~~ LAGOS 13100  
NODIS  
STADIS////////////////////////////////////  
FOR INM  
E.O. 12356: OADR  
TAGS: SNAR, OVIP, NI, US  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE TRAVEL BY FIRST LADY  
REF: LAGOS 13014

Joint appearance  
here in DC  
area in Lieu  
of the usual  
tea might  
be a good  
idea - H

1. (~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)  
2. ASSUMING A SUCCESSFUL NOVEMBER VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY PRESIDENT BABANGIDA, WE BELIEVE THAT A VISIT TO NIGERIA BY MRS. REAGAN WOULD BE VERY WARMLY RECEIVED HERE AND THAT WE COULD DEPEND ON THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF MRS. MARYAM BABANGIDA (SEE REFTTEL). WE WOULD ANTICIPATE AN ACTIVE TWO-DAY PROGRAM INVOLVING VISITS TO REHABILITATIVE FACILITIES, PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA'S NEWLY LAUNCHED PUBLIC AWARENESS PROGRAM, MEETINGS WITH A WIDE RANGE OF SENIOR OFFICIALS, AND IN ALL LIKELIHOOD JOINT MEDIA APPEARANCES WITH MRS. BABANGIDA. IN ADDITION, AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND MOST ESPECIALLY THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HONORED BY A VISIT FROM THE FIRST LADY.  
LYMAN  
BT  
#3100

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SECTION: 01 OF 01  
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**Directorate of Intelligence**  
**Office of African and Latin American Analysis**

28 October 1987

NOTE FOR: Ambassador Herman Cohen  
Director of African Affairs  
National Security Council

*Ann:*

Attached please find our recently completed typescript on Nigeria. I hope you will find it useful in preparing for President Babangida's visit scheduled for next month.



25X1

Africa Division  
ALA

State Dept. review completed

DIA review completed.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority CREST  
BY LM NARA DATE 3/7/24

[REDACTED]  
Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

25 October 1987

Nigeria: Babangida's Balance Sheet

Summary

President Ibrahim Babangida, who will visit the US in mid-November, is the latest in a series of Nigerian military and civilian leaders who have attempted--with mixed success--to cope with the country's daunting ethnic, regional, and religious problems amidst increasing economic dislocation. General Babangida came to power in a bloodless coup in August 1985, precipitated by widespread public anger over the authoritarian ruling style of his predecessor and public discontent over the continuing deterioration of the oil dependent economy. Babangida quickly committed himself to a program of sweeping political and economic reform and has attempted to encourage widespread popular participation in the political process. Most recently, he has turned his attention to gradually handing power over to a civilian government by 1992. Nevertheless, festering social and religious tensions, the failure of severe austerity measures to produce tangible economic improvement, and the ever present danger of another military coup will continue to threaten the stability of Babangida's regime and the potential for a peaceful transition to civilian rule. [REDACTED]

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Babangida has maintained Nigeria's moderate, pro-Western and anti-Communist direction, despite occasional nationalistic rhetoric and criticism of US policies in Africa. He probably

This typescript was prepared by [REDACTED] West Africa Branch, Office of African and Latin American Analysis, with a contribution from [REDACTED] the Office of Leadership Analysis. This paper was coordinated with Directorate of Operations. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Africa Division, ALA, [REDACTED]

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Babangida  
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State Dept. review completed

[REDACTED]

views his visit to the United States as a chance to enhance his standing as a regional leader and as evidence of Nigeria's importance to the US. During meetings in Washington the Nigerians are likely to focus on such regional issues as pressing for stronger US sanctions against South Africa, settlement of the Chad-Libya war, and general African economic issues. Babangida also is likely to seek continued US support for his economic reform program and the planned transition to civilian rule. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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\* \* \*



President Babangida's regime made a strong start shortly after coming to power in August 1985 with its ambitious plans for reforming Nigeria's declining economy, and for developing a popular consensus--transcending religious and regional rivalries--that would allow the military to return to the barracks. The US Embassy reports that Babangida's swift and forceful moves gained widespread respect and a measure of popularity among Nigerians--civilian and military. In September 1985, the Babangida government--after five years of footdragging by its predecessors--came to grips with the need for significant economic adjustment in the face of plunging oil revenues by signing a letter of intent with the IMF that committed Nigeria to an economic reform plan and permitted the government to reschedule its official and commercial debt. [REDACTED]

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### Economic Restructuring

Faced with mounting debt arrears, due partially to declining oil prices and illconceived development projects undertaken during the oil boom, Babangida launched his ambitious Structural Adjustment Plan (SAP) last year to revamp Nigeria's oil dependent economy and pave the way for a reconciliation with its creditors\*. The SAP is intended to boost nonoil exports and encourage local production of import-substitution goods. Under the plan most price controls have been lifted, government subsidies cut, inefficient agricultural commodity boards abolished, the import licensing system dismantled, and the tariff system overhauled. Moreover, Lagos sharply devalued its currency and is continuing to allow a floating exchange rate. [REDACTED]

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Despite Babangida's effort, and the improved performance of other portions of the economy, depressed oil earnings will prolong Nigeria's economic difficulties. Moreover, Nigeria's external debt burden--currently \$24 billion, according to World Bank figures--probably will remain high. The IMF, disappointed with large deficit and accounting discrepancies, has not certified Lagos' compliance with its 1987 standby program, and reportedly will focus instead on a new agreement for next year. Although there had been indications that the World Bank and the London Club were nearing agreement for additional loans, lack of IMF approval probably will further delay new credits. [REDACTED]

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The population--the largest of any state on the continent and growing at one of the fastest rates in Africa--is already discouraged by an economic reform program that has not produced tangible results, and is unlikely to support further austerity measures, in our judgment. The US Embassy reports that public criticism is growing over the government's tightening of monetary

\*The oil sector provides about 95 percent of Nigeria's export earnings and 70 percent of government revenue. [REDACTED]

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[redacted]

and credit policies and high import prices. Although the regime appears to be delaying the proposed reductions in petroleum subsidies, Babangida reaffirmed his commitment to the SAP in his National Day speech on 1 October, and underscored that economic reform will be a long-term process calling for continued sacrifice. Despite Babangida's exhortations, further subsidy reductions almost certainly will increase dissatisfaction, and could spark protests and labor strikes, in our judgment. [redacted]

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### Rocky Road to Civilian Rule

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With economic reform measures underway, Babangida and his Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) have turned to the second important issue on its agenda, the return to civilian rule. Last July, Babangida announced detailed plans for a staged transition by 1992. We believe, however, that the inherent problems that led to the failure of previous civilian regimes (the First Republic, 1960-1966 and the Second Republic, 1979-1983) continue to underlie Nigerian politics. The military, for example, still sees itself as the ultimate guarantor of the Nigerian state and as a counterweight against greedy and corrupt civilian politicians, in our judgment. US Embassy reporting indicates that religious, ethnic, and regional tensions--which contributed to the 1967-70 civil war and other episodes of violent conflict--still run deep. [redacted]

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The Transition: The planned step-by-step return to civilian rule is scheduled to begin with nonpartisan local elections later this year and proceed to national elections in 1992. (See figure 1.) The ban on political activity--imposed by the previous military regime in 1983--would be lifted in 1989, permitting the creation of two regionally balanced political parties. Last month, however, Babangida announced that all former civilian and military government officials--whom he charged with election rigging, economic mismanagement, and corruption--would remain barred from political activity until after 1992. The US Embassy notes that the ban covers virtually an entire generation of political leaders, and is likely to antagonize many of Nigeria's most talented and articulate citizens who have not been guilty of misdeeds. Babangida has also prohibited press criticism of the ban, barred the media from providing a platform for banned politicians, and warned that his government would deal harshly with any attempt to subvert the process. [redacted]

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Military Support for Babangida: Based on a variety of Embassy and [ ] we believe that for now Babangida and his plans for a civilian government enjoy the support of the military, but this support may not endure. Frequent reports of grumbling over poor pay and conditions, lead us to believe that Nigerian security is monitoring the military closely. Some coup plotting has been uncovered since Babangida took over, but he probably cannot depend on his security services to uncover all plots, in our judgment. We expect that Babangida will face a number of threats from the military as the political stakes increase between now and 1992 and the prospect of returning to the barracks comes more sharply into focus. [ ]

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Religious, Regional, and Ethnic Tensions: We believe both Christian and Muslim\*\* religious leaders--many of whom are subject to the political ban--will continue to oppose aspects of the transition program, such as the call for only two regionally balanced political parties. They reportedly see the plan as part of Babangida's attempt to curtail their power. Some leaders have been using inflammatory rhetoric and at least one key Islamic leader recently announced that Muslims could never accept a Christian President. US Embassy reporting indicates that the Christians, for their part, are concerned over Muslim political domination and have formed an organization to promote their interests. We believe that the constraints on political activity probably will contribute to religious tensions, and that violence could erupt at any time. Religious violence in the past has tended to spread quickly and has often required use of the military to suppress it, as in the latest outbreak in the heavily Muslim North last March when churches were burned and several people killed. [ ]

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Babangida, for his part, has added fuel to religious factionalism by misjudging the consequences of some of his actions, in our judgment. For example, tensions were aggravated by Babangida's decision last year to join the Islamic Conference Organization (OIC) in hopes of obtaining Arab economic aid and gaining favor with Nigeria's Muslim majority, according to US

\*\*Christians account for close to 40 percent, and Muslims about 50 percent, of the population. [ ]

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[REDACTED]

Embassy reporting. Embassy and press reporting indicates that Christian protests of the move engendered in turn a violent Muslim reaction. We believe religious animosity could be further inflamed, if Nigeria goes through with plans to join the Islamic Development Bank. [REDACTED]

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Religious cleavages may be further inflamed by Libyan and Iranian meddling, in our view. US Embassy reporting indicates that Lagos clearly is concerned by the appeal of Qadhafi's radical rhetoric and Iranian fundamentalism in the Muslim North. The regime is especially worried that students, the unemployed, and intellectuals might be vulnerable to foreign influence, according to US Embassy reporting. Lagos has warned northern leaders against provocative religious rhetoric and has attempted to monitor Libyan and Iranian contributions to Muslim organizations. We believe, however, that Libyan and Iranian support could make Muslim leaders more intransigent in defense of their interests and could also serve to incite Muslim violence against Christians. [REDACTED]

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North-South rivalries and ethnic competition also are likely to intensify as political activity picks up. The North traditionally has dominated Nigerian governments, but a variety of Embassy and other reporting indicates that Babangida, a Muslim from a Middle Belt state, is gradually appointing more officials from the Middle Belt region, both Christians and Muslims, to his Cabinet and to key military posts. Babangida's moves have fueled fears among northern elites that their diminished political role could threaten their extensive economic interests. [REDACTED]

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Babangida's plan to conduct a national census in 1991 also is bound to aggravate regional tensions, in our view. The US Census Bureau estimates the population of the North at approximately 37 million and the South about 51 million, yet successive northern-dominated governments have allocated revenues and representation on the basis of past biased censuses that have given the North the numerical edge. An honest census almost certainly would further fuel fears of rising southern power and could lead to renewed plotting among Northerners wishing a return to the status quo. [REDACTED]

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### Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Babangida is continuing the moderate, pro-Western foreign policy of his predecessors although regime policies often appear muddled because of official ineptitude and the lack of a single authoritative voice, in our judgment. For example, Minister of External Affairs Akinyemi often impulsively pursues uncoordinated policies, and quarreling among senior officials impedes policy implementation, according to US Embassy sources. Lagos has generally succeeded in keeping the USSR at arm's length, although Babangida did agree to continue construction of the long-troubled, Soviet-sponsored steel complex in Ajaokuta. Nigeria often votes with non-aligned positions in international forums, particularly on issues involving Israel, partially, in our judgment, to deflect criticism from local Muslim leaders. Policies toward Libya and Iran also seem to be driven principally by domestic religious concerns. Relations with Libya and Iran remain cool but correct while Lagos attempts to control contacts between northern Muslims and radical, fundamentalist Arabs. We believe fears about outside meddling have been behind the government's refusal to allow Tripoli to open a consulate in northern Kano state. [REDACTED]

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Despite his preoccupation with domestic problems, Babangida has attempted to assert Nigeria's role as a regional and continental power. Lagos, for example, has sought to revitalize the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) and enhance its leadership role of the forum, according to US Embassy reporting. A "Nigerian Peace Corps" program, initiated by Babangida, already has sent the first group of volunteers to several African countries to work on development projects. The Embassy also reports that Nigeria has improved strained relations with most of its neighbors, particularly war-torn Chad. Last year Babangida reopened Nigeria's borders with Chad--closed in 1984--and has been quietly supporting Chadian President Habre diplomatically. [REDACTED]

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As the centerpiece of its African policy, Lagos remains staunchly and vocally opposed to the South African regime. This opposition has taken the form of contributions to the OAU Liberation Committee and humanitarian assistance to Southern African refugees along with continuing pressure at the United Nations for international sanctions. [REDACTED]

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### Relations with the US

US Embassy officials report that Babangida has tried to bring Nigeria closer to the West and repeatedly seeks US advice and assistance, particularly on economic issues. US economic and political interests in Nigeria are considerable. Lagos continues to be a key source of crude oil for the United States and its



Western allies, and US banks have over \$1 billion in outstanding loans in Nigeria, according to US Federal Reserve data. Moreover, as Sub-Saharan Africa's richest and most populous country, Nigeria wields considerable regional influence and can serve as a useful ally for the United States in Third World forums.

Babangida's Agenda: During talks here, Babangida is likely to emphasize Nigeria's financial difficulties and the issue of African indebtedness in general. He probably also will discuss the prospects for an end to the war in Chad and push for further US sanctions against South Africa. He clearly views this trip to Washington as a chance to enhance his standing in Africa, to reaffirm Nigeria's importance in regional and international affairs and perhaps to demonstrate Western support for his ambitious program of economic and political reform.

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### Prospects

Babangida's prospects for remaining in office over at least the next year or so appear favorable, in our judgment. Despite the lack of public enthusiasm for either the transition plan or economic austerity, most Nigerians want religious rivalries to subside, and recognize that economic reform is necessary. US Embassy reporting indicates that Babangida still retains widespread military support and public respect. Moreover, we believe Babangida's political senses are acute, having weighed in on the winning side of four attempted or successful coups thus far.\*

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Nevertheless, Babangida's leadership will be severely tested with the approach of civilian rule. As the pace of political activity quickens, we believe the regime will be hardpressed to keep in check the religious, ethnic and political tensions that have led to the downfall of eight governments since independence in 1960. Civilian politicians almost certainly will again attempt to exploit these divisions for their personal political advantage and could attempt to capitalize on underlying economic grievances to galvanize opposition to the regime.

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We believe the economic situation is unlikely to improve significantly and will continue to complicate the transition process. Additional austerity measures or further economic contraction might touch off protests and could derail the transition program. The military almost certainly would intervene in the event of civil unrest. While it is possible

\*He was among the officers who removed General Gowon in 1975, assisted in foiling the coup against Murtala Muhammad regime in 1976, participated in the Buhari coup in 1983, and finally staged his own in 1985.








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[REDACTED]

that junior officers may pose serious threats to the government, we believe it more likely that mid-level or senior officers--who control key units and may believe it is their turn to wield power--would move against the regime, if civilian unrest increases. The election of inexperienced politicians also could offer ambitious senior officers--themselves covered by the political ban--an excuse to prolong the military regime, in our judgment. In any case we believe such mid-level and senior officers would be likely to follow the generally moderate course of their predecessors. [REDACTED]

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## TIMETABLE FOR TRANSITION

- 1987: 4th Qtr Nonpartisan Local Elections 
- 1988: 1st Qtr Establish Constituent Assembly
- 1989: 1st Qtr New Constitution Completed
- 2nd Qtr Lift Ban on Political Activity
- 3rd Qtr Registration of 2 Political Parties
- 4th Qtr Partisan Local Elections 
- 1990: State Elections 
- 1991: 1-3 Qtrs Census Taken 
- 4th Qtr Partisan Local Elections 
- 1992: 1st Half National Assembly Elections 
- 2nd Half Presidential Elections and Turnover of Power 

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October 30, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director  
FROM: AF - John D. Garner  
SUBJECT: "Catch-Up Notes"

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*Wick file*  
*HC*  
*APR*

PART I. Reports of Effectiveness and Other Significant Developments

WORLDNET SERVICE TO AFRICA INAUGURATED

1. (U) Worldnet service to Africa was officially inaugurated October 28 with a reception at the Television and Film Service and a multi-country interactive program involving six African posts. Counselor Stan Burnett welcomed members of the diplomatic corps, State and NSC officials, and USIA colleagues. During the interactive program panelists from the Smithsonian's National Museum of African Art -- Assistant Director Roy Sieber, Chief Curator Philip Ravenhill, and Curator Roslyn Walker -- fielded questions from participants in Abidjan, Brazzaville, Libreville, Lagos, Monrovia, and Niamey on the museum's collection, research program, and goal of increased understanding by Americans of the diverse art and cultures of Africa. Taped statements by President Reagan and Director Wick opened the complex interactive program, which was done in both English and French and which, considering the technical difficulties that plague most African posts, was a triumph of technology.

DISCUSSION ON STOCK MARKET GETS WIDE MEDIA COVERAGE

2. (U) Reacting quickly to the turmoil in world financial markets, USIS Harare programmed a highly successful electronic dialogue with Robert Lawrence of the Brookings Institution and an audience of 35 Zimbabwean bankers and businessmen. Lawrence's comments were the subject of a front-page article in the Harare daily Herald and will be followed by a more lengthy report in the weekly Business Herald. The program was taped by the Zimbabwean Broadcasting Corp and broadcast in its entirety. Next month, depending on events in the market place and the world economic scene, the post plans a follow-up program with Lawrence.

AMSPEC SPREADS THE GOOD NEWS OF JAZZ IN SOUTH AFRICA

3. (U) Master jazz musician and teacher Bill Prince left an unforgettable mark on South Africa's music scene after a month-long visit under the auspices of the Academic Specialists program. From spontaneous jam sessions with professional musicians to master classes with university students, Prince wove his way through the complex and sensitive South African landscape. Because the

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BY LM NARA/DATE 3/7/24

international cultural boycott against South Africa precludes visiting American performers, the Academic Specialist program proved an invaluable tool for the post to "establish an important cultural link between U.S. society and the black majority."

NIGERIA, WITH USIS ASSISTANCE, LAUNCHES  
ANTI-DRUG PROGRAMS

4. (U) USIS Lagos is actively assisting the Government of Nigeria in its national campaign against drug abuse launched by First Lady Maryam Babangida on October 14. Her participation demonstrates both highest level commitment and the inspiration of Mrs. Nancy Reagan's leading role in U.S. efforts. In his speech at the opening, the Minister of Health expressed particular appreciation to the U.S. Government for its cooperation and support. USIS Lagos provided public education and awareness materials to be adapted to the Nigerian audience. In addition, Houston Rockets star Akeem Olajuwon is appearing on Nigerian TV in a public service anti-drug spot shot by a Nigerian TV producer with an assist by USIA/TV.

AGENCY COVERS UGANDAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT

5. (U) Calling both VOA and wireless file coverage "fantastic", Kampala PAO Greta Morris reports that USIA was practically the sole source of news about the visit of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni to the U.S. Both TV news and radio Uganda cited VOA as the source of their lead reports on meetings with President Reagan and other administration officials. The PAO praised writer Yaro Bihun's WF piece as "balanced, comprehensive, and right on target". AF coordinated coverage, including photos and rapid delivery of videotape to Kampala

"AMERICA WEEK" AT MAURITIAN FESTIVAL OF THE SEA

6. (U) Port Louis PAO John Quintus organized the American contribution to the month-long "Festival of the Sea", an annual event, making imaginative use of local resources as well as Agency support. Wishing to emphasize serious developmental issues, the program included donations of VCRs and books to local schools, an address on American Education by Ambassador Palmer, coverage of AID-funded health centers, and community work projects by visiting Seabees. The post also provided two feature films ("Mutiny on the Bounty" and "Moby Dick") for local TV, sponsored two jazz concerts, and exhibited two shows by American-trained artists.

AGENCY GETS WESTERN PRESS INTO TANZANIA

7. (U) Alerted by correspondents in Nairobi that only Soviet, East German, North Korean, Chinese and other east-bloc press had been accredited to the Tanzanian ruling party conference, Dar-Es-Salaam PAO Mike Braxton worked with the Ambassador to ensure that Western press were also allowed to enter the country to cover the event. As a result of high-level demarches, Reuters and the New York Times covered the story, and a "furious" President's office rapped the knuckles of party ideologues.

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II. LOOKING AHEAD

November 1-3	Official visit by Nigerian Attorney General Ajibola to Washington.
November 17-20	(C) Official working visit of Nigerian President Babangida to Washington (includes meeting with President Reagan )
November 19-23	African Studies Association annual meeting, Denver, Colorado
November 23-24	(L) Visit of SADCC delegation to Washington.
November 30- December 1	OAU Extraordinary Summit on debt.
December 6-11	Sub-Saharan Africa AID Mission Directors Conference in Kenya.

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<ORIG>FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

<TO>TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9131

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: BABANGIDA AND THE POLITICS OF OPTIMISM

<TEXT>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LAGOS 13697

FOR AF/W FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, NI, US

SUBJECT: BABANGIDA AND THE POLITICS OF OPTIMISM

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PRESIDENT BABANGIDA, IN HIS ANNUAL ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC STUDIES (NIPSS), SAID THAT HE SAW THE TIDE TURNING IN NIGERIA, AND THAT HE WAS MOVING FROM THE FAITH HE HAD EXPRESSED LAST YEAR TO OPTIMISM. LAST YEAR HE HAD EMPHASIZED THE PROBLEMS THAT HAD LED TO DESPAIR, NOW IT WAS TIME TO PASS BEYOND DESPAIR. HE STRESSED SOCIAL MOBILIZATION AND INDIVIDUAL CREATIVITY AS THE MEANS TO A BETTER TOMORROW AND TO THE THREE GOALS OF POLITICAL

EMANCIPATION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SELF-RELIANCE. IN A PARTICULARLY STRONG PASSAGE, HE DENOUNCED THE RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT IN NIGERIA AS ONE CHARACTERIZED BY BIGOTRY AND HYPOCRISY AND EXCORIATED THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP FOR PUTTING THEIR RELIGIOUS AMBITIONS ABOVE THE NATION.

3. BABANGIDA ALSO USED SPEECH TO DEFEND HIS POLITICAL PROGRAM. HE SPOKE OF THE PUBLIC DEBATE BEHIND THE POLITBURO REPORT AS BEING UNIQUE IN NIGERIA'S HISTORY, BUT DEFENDED HIS DECISION TO REJECT ITS RECOMMENDATION FOR SOCIALISM. HE SAID THERE WERE ADEQUATE PRINCIPLES IN THE 1979 CONSTITUTION FOR ANY PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY BUT THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE PAST HAD NEGLECTED THEM. HE DREW THE ONLY SPONTANEOUS APPLAUSE DURING THE SPEECH WHEN HE SAID THAT FMG WOULD TAKE ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO KEEP THE OLD POLITICIANS FROM MANIPULATING THE TRANSITION PROCESS.

4. SOCIAL MOBILIZATION WAS EMPHASIZED REPEATEDLY IN THE SPEECH, A DEFENSE OF THE FMG'S MOBILIZATION PROGRAM (MAMSER). PEOPLE MUST BE TAUGHT HOW TO USE THE BALLOT BOX FOR SOCIAL ENGINEERING, AS A MEANS OF ATTAINING TRUE AUTONOMY. FOR THAT REASON, THERE WOULD BE NO PARTIES IN THE FIRST SET OF LOCAL ELECTIONS THIS DECEMBER. "THE BALLOT BOX," HE SAID, "IS THE LAST HOPE FOR SURVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY."

5. COMMENT: NIPSS (SOMETHING LIKE A COMBINATION OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY AND SENIOR SEMINAR) GRADUATION CEREMONY HAS BEEN THE OCCASION IN RECENT YEARS FOR MAJOR POLICY SPEECHES BY BABANGIDA. SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DR. OLAGUNJU TOLD AMBASSADOR BEFORE THE SPEECH THAT THIS YEAR AGAIN IT WOULD BE USED TO SET THE TONE FOR THE COMING YEAR. EVIDENTLY, THE TONE IS CONFIDENCE IN THE PATH THE GOVERNMENT HAS CHOSEN AND OPTIMISM ABOUT NIGERIA'S ABILITY, IF THIS PATH IS FOLLOWED FAITHFULLY, TO ACHIEVE ITS POTENTIAL. THE SPEECH REFLECTS WHAT SEVERAL WESTERN DIPLOMATS HAVE NOTICED LATELY, AN INCREASED AIR OF CONFIDENCE IN THE

*File: Babangida  
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Authority DOS WRITER  
BY LM NARA DATE 3/7/24

PRESIDENT. NOTABLE TOO WAS PERHAPS THE STRONGEST  
DENUNCIATION YET BY THE PRESIDENT OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS  
IN NIGERIA, A STERN WARNING TO THOSE LIKE ISLAMIC LEADER  
GUMI IN THE NORTH AND CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OKOGIE IN THE  
SOUTH THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE COWED BY  
RELIGIOUS AURA FROM CRACKING DOWN ON DIVISIVE  
ACTIVITIES. THE APPLAUSE REGARDING BANS ON OLD  
POLITICIANS REFLECTED THE UNDERLYING POPULARITY OF THAT  
ACTION, EVEN IF NIGERIANS ARE NOT/NOT YET SURE  
THEMSELVES HOW TO GET OUT FROM UNDER THEIR PERVASIVE  
INFLUENCE. END COMMENT  
LYMAN

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CONFERENCE ON NIGERIA IN THE 1990s  
4-5 November 1987

Radisson Park Terrace Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, November 4

6:00 p.m. Reception and Cash Bar

7:00 p.m. Dinner and Keynote

Larry Diamond, Hoover Institution  
"Nigeria: Key Issues for the 1990s"

Thursday, November 5

8:30 a.m. Gather; Coffee, Juice, Pastries

9:00 a.m. Welcome and Orientation

Walt Voskian, Chief, African Division, ALA

9:15 a.m. Panel 1: Regionalism, Religion and Politics

Panelists: Pauline Baker, Carnegie  
Endowment

John Paden, George Mason  
University

Moderator: Vaughn Bishop, Deputy Chief,  
African Division, ALA

10:30 a.m. Coffee Break

10:45 a.m. Panel 2: Prospects for Economic Stability

Panelists: Millard Arnold, Nigeria - U.S.  
Business Council

Carol Lancaster, Georgetown  
University and Institute for  
International Economics

Zachary Teich, Treasury  
Department

Moderator: Mary McCarthy, Chief,  
West African Branch

12:00 Break

12:15 p.m. Lunch

1:30 p.m. Panel 3: The Military and Politics

Panelists: Larry Diamond, Hoover  
Institution

Claude Welch, SUNY at Buffalo

Moderator: Stanley Shaloff, Department  
of State

2:45 p.m. Coffee Break

3:00 p.m. Panel 4: Whither Nigeria?

Panelists: Millard Arnold, Nigeria - U.S.  
Business Council

Larry Diamond, Hoover Institution

John Paden, George Mason  
University

Zachary Teich, Treasury  
Department

Claude Welch, SUNY at Buffalo

Moderator: Pauline Baker, Carnegie  
Endowment

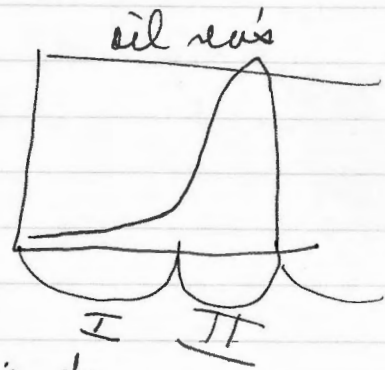
4:15 p.m. Closing Remarks

# Regionalism, Religion & Politics

John Paden  
megatrends

## Price of oil

- Phase I 1945-70 decoloniz. period
- Phase II 1970-80 rapid modernization
- Phase III military; austerity  
- expectations up, realities down
- Phase IV battle of ideologies - western vs. Islamic



## Regionalism - federalism vs. local -

- Phase I - clumsy region
- Phase II - unique resources to link up city w/ infrastructure  
high degree of centralization
- Phase III - turning back → privatization
- Phase IV - local focus will be key

## 6 key zones

emirate states 40% of states;

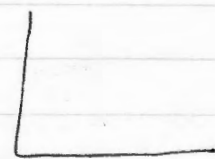
can't rule w/o them

middle belt

Yoruba states

two areas

mindset of coalitions



They are salient elements for polit. coalition. as  
also zones of cultural values - e.g., hierarchical  
~~emirate hierarchical~~ independent & different  
decision-making processes

## Religion & Politics

Worldwide trend of religious <sup>sentiment</sup> in politics

Relations betw. muslim & western world going thru period of tension & adjustment

Radical Islam is diff from fundamentalism  
Post-modern Islam is more sophisticated

## Religion & the state

4 constitutional options:

1-anti-religion

2-establishmentarianism - nat'l religion

3-disestablishmentarianism - no religion in govt

4-non-preferentialism - ~~no~~ religion OK as long as you're even-handed

current  
debate  
focused  
on these

Issues: role of govt in supporting <sup>religious</sup> activities/instit's  
Gov't response to violence  
Census on religious identity  
Legal systems

## Megatrend politics

Phase II - emergence of middle class. Corruption was massive tof. payment for pub. to pub. sector  
(didn't lv. country)

Phase III - disillusion of middle class. Will continue to seek scapegoats S.A. US

Presidential model will work, but evolution emph. on local level

Long-term process. Dead cooling-off period.



Pauline Baker

Endorses Bader's emph. on Nigeria as coalition-building society.

But shouldn't assume various groups/categories are monolithic. Depends on who they're competing w/at the time.

Drawing importance of religion.

But marked most important division: regional (no. no. no.)

Disparity of oil rents

Failed Democratic experiment

Under 2-party system, cl'd. have roughly equal no.-so competition, w/ key being the west (Yorubas) who is the most uncertain

Transition into the 1990s will depend on:

- 1) Success of the economic program/austerity program. Will be harder for civilian govt (successor govt) to implement than military govt.
- 2) Babangida's prohib. ag. candidacies. Ineligible will compete in polit. sector, "respectable" behind younger polit. front men. Danger = polit. class who is not accountable
- 3) Public perceptions - hardest to manage but essential to observe. Nigeria is one of few African states where pub. opinion counts. Important pub perceptions include: fairness (question has gone for distrib. of econ. gain to distrib. of econ. pain)  
 Measures of fairness - 1) distrib of econ. gain (replaced gain)  
 2)  
 3) mgt. of elections / electn. commission



- 4) Whether Babangida sticks w/ commitment to 2-party system. Open question if no.-so., Christian-Muslim competition continues. Prev. republic was multi-party.
- 5) Youth surge. Majority of voters have no experience w/ civil war or 1st republic. Generational divisions could rival no-so conflict.
- 6) Muslim resurgence is not necessarily anti-western. Is, rather, search for way to enter ~~late~~ 1990s & deal w/ west but on own terms. Search for new formulas based on spiritual, value-laden framework. Avaricious pursuit of western solutions to ~~at~~ its probs. Much more introspective abt. failed promises of past & what they did wrong. Crash of expectations. For time when Nigeria wld. be great African nation to lead the region.

Q+A ~~7/9/91~~ <sup>7/9/91</sup> Paden: youth/muslim ↑: Violence has not been preferred mode of change. Streamlining of relig. practices. Pragmatists. Status of elders has not ↓.

## Prospects for Economic Stability

Carol Lancaster

- Econ. experience - extreme example of that of other Afr. cties.
- agricultural
  - exports of primary products
  - ↑ reliance of for. exch. (away fr. import substit.)

Impact of "go-go" period: ↑ investment. Expansion of soc. sec. (non-revenue). Food price controls. Exch rate controls. ↑ imports. Almost total dependence on oil rev. (in Zambia & copper).

1980s - adjustment problem & cash flow problem.

Econ. challenges:

- 1) Adjustment to ↓ oil rev. Debt. svc. mtd be 60% of import earnings, <sup>so seeking to</sup> ~~that~~ ~~was~~ reached. debts IMF.
- 2) Restructuring. Oil revenues projected to ↓ in early 1990s. Need to find substitute to earn for exch. to maintain import-dependent lifestyle.

Beginning of business failures, unemp. ↑.  
↓ of investment and consumption.

Future: stresses

Zachary Teich

Restructuring will be very difficult.

Need to identify investment areas.

" " create policy environment to attract pub. inv.

Structural reform and growth both need to be fostered,

- not necessarily compatible. Must offer hope.

Deficit has been 1.5B, will reach 2B this yr.



To its credit, govt has recognized quick fix isn't answer.  
Dealing w/ IMF London Club etc. on struc. adj.  
plan & short-term standby.

Growth environment that is internally sustainable  
means turning away from import-dependence  
and primary products

Millard Arnold

Need for cap. inflows — new foreign inv<sup>t</sup> / new bank loans  
View of potential investor/lender:  
SAB is fragile.

Investment incentives: Devalued naira. Abolished  
many import licenses, tariffs, exch. controls,  
reduced some company taxes.  
To encourage diversification, incentives & ↓ barriers  
for other exporters.

To address inefficiencies:

Industrial Development Coord. Committee,  
shld - be one-stop shopping, but located  
in Abuja  
Liberalizing allowable foreign shares.

~~Confidence~~  
Confidence factor ("it's Nigeria") lags behind  
liberalization.

Little progress on privatization.

Q + A Corruption. Devaluation has eliminated many opportunities. Tightening licensing procedures has eliminated major oppor<sup>t</sup>s. Consensus: corruption is probably now at an acceptable level.

## The military and Politics

Claude Welch

Lower military visibility over next 5 yrs.

~~Differences w/ military~~

Army is not seen as instrument of popular repression,

Larry Diamond

### Encouraging factors:

- 1) Berengides's popularity
- 2) Transition plan ~~seems~~ imaginative. Well staged, stretches out elections - not one crucial by itself. Buys <sup>some</sup> time for dev. of parties etc.
- 3) Resistance to implementing sweeping polit. changes. Kept some good features of 2nd repub. const. Rejected dictatorship (permanent share of power of military).
- 4) Local govt will be strengthened. Will give new depth + vitality to democracy.
- 5) Some new measure of hope / optimism.
- 6) Fortunate aspect of naming candidates: prevent ability of old pubs to congeal + re-group. Possibility to transcend ethnicity + forge new alliances.
- 7) Legacy of punishment of corruption
- 8) Underlying strength of pluralism
- 9) Progress of 2nd republic: <sup>beginning of</sup> emergence of 2 <sup>national</sup> party bases (conserv. + liberal)

### Negative factors:

- 1) 2 party system → no. - so. cleavage; exclusion of maj. polit. forces ~~not~~ associated w other parties ~~not~~



- 2) Bel on former jobs - excludes 5-50K experienced people were corrupt etc. but know how far ~~can~~ push w/o pushing govt over the brink. New jobs are not necessarily better jobs.
- 3) ~~Not~~ Not enough time between now + 1992 to develop new kind of political culture, new parties, structures.
- 4) Regulatory agencies won't have enough autonomy after 1992, unless successful at enforcement. By then Code of Conduct Bureau, census bureau, election com. Debengila can't solve ag. corruption in the military.
- 5) Risk of mil. repression.
- 6) Econ. deter. ~~the~~ - will threaten transition.

### Key crisis points in transition:

- 1) Registration for gov. elections (now). Fraud will discredit whole transition
- 2) Recognition of parties - will key groups be excluded
- 3) Sub. elections
- \* 4) Census
- 5) Pres. election.

Sum: Relatively optimistic betw. now + 1992. Not so after 1992.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8165

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 6, 1987

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM: HERMAN J. COHEN *HJC*

SUBJECT: Cancellation of Babangida Official Working Visit  
Scheduled for November 18, 1987

The State Department informs us that President Babangida of Nigeria is unable to accept the President's invitation for an official working visit on November 18, 1987. The Department's memorandum (Tab I) indicates that the Nigerians apparently had some internal communication problems which caused confusion and delay. Babangida has asked for the visit to be rescheduled to early 1988.

It is unfortunate that the precious time slot has to go to waste, but I assume preparations for the Gorbachev summit will easily fill up the time. As for rescheduling, I do not believe the Nigerians should be punished for this snafu which has no anti-American connotations. This development affects our recommendations for African visits for next year. They should be revised as follows:

Babangida -- State Visit  
Mwinyi of Tanzania - Official Working Visit  
Habyarimana of Rwanda is still a worthy candidate, but we recommend that he be kept in reserve in case another slot for an official working visit frees up.

I do think a request for a State Visit for Babangida is justified. Nigeria is the most important country in Africa outside of South Africa, and should receive appropriate recognition. Babangida is also one of the most reasonable and pro-Western leaders Nigeria has had in a long time. FYI: Mrs. Babangida has started an anti-drug campaign in Nigeria similar to that of the First Lady's.

The incoming State Department communication does not require a response.

Marybel Batjer concurs.

Attachment:  
Tab I - Incoming State Department Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NSA DOS WAIVERS  
BY LM NARA DATE 3/7/24

NSC/S PROFILE

CONFIDENTIAL

ID 8708165

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED EVIDENCE

RECEIVED 05 NOV 87 19

TO

CARLUCCI

FROM LEVITSKY, M

DOCDATE 05 NOV 87

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA

AP

BABANGIDA, IBRAHIM B

SUBJECT: CANCELLATION OF BABANGIDA OF NIGERIA OFFICIAL WORKING VISIT ON 18 NOV

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CARLUCCI DUE: 09 NOV 87 STATUS S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COHEN

BATJER

COMMENTS

REF# 8731938

LOG

NSCIFID

( CM )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)





8731938

8165

45

## United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 5, 1987

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI  
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Cancellation of Babangida Official Working  
Visit Scheduled for November 18

President Babangida of Nigeria in a meeting with Ambassador Lyman in Lagos November 5 said that he would not be able to travel to Washington for an official working visit scheduled for November 18. Babangida indicated that he would very much like to make an official working visit as early as convenient in 1988. He asked that we work with his government to reschedule the visit at a mutually convenient date. Babangida also expressed sincere regret that gaps in communication within his own government had created confusion over his intention to visit Washington in November and the question of whether the visit to the U.S. should be an official working or state visit.

Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(DECL: OADR)

DECLASSIFIED  
Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
BY LM NARA, DATE 3/7/24

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8165

*Cohen*  
*Cohen*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 6, 1987

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen

FROM: HERMAN J. COHEN *HJC*

SUBJECT: Cancellation of Babangida Official Working Visit  
Scheduled for November 18, 1987

The State Department informs us that President Babangida of Nigeria is unable to accept the President's invitation for an official working visit on November 18, 1987. The Department's memorandum (Tab I) indicates that the Nigerians apparently had some internal communication problems which caused confusion and delay. Babangida has asked for the visit to be rescheduled to early 1988.

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Mwinyi of Tanzania - Official Working Visit  
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I do think a request for a State Visit for Babangida is justified. Nigeria is the most important country in Africa outside of South Africa, and should receive appropriate recognition. Babangida is also one of the most reasonable and pro-Western leaders Nigeria has had in a long time. FYI: Mrs. Babangida has started an anti-drug campaign in Nigeria similar to that of the First Lady's.

The incoming State Department communication does not require a response.

Mary *Bel Batjer* concurs.

Attachment:  
Tab I - Incoming State Department Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority *NSC/DCS WAIVERS*  
BY *LM* NARA DATE *5/7/24*



System # 8165  
Package # 8165  
DOCLOG 4/12 A/O

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Courtney	2		II
Marybel Batjer	1	2nd	Concurred
Grant Green	2	G	I
Colin Powell	3	OK	I
Frank Carlucci			
Grant Green			
Lou Michael			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	4		N
NSC Secretariat			

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

**cc:**      **VP**      **Baker**      **Other** \_\_\_\_\_

**Should be seen by:** \_\_\_\_\_  
*MW 7+2* (Date/Time)

Gov. - Mr. -  
 African visits next year - I will  
 receive our 6 mo. rec. today to  
 reflect Hanks request - it will follow  
 this package 12B.



## United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 5, 1987

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI  
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Cancellation of Babangida Official Working  
Visit Scheduled for November 18

President Babangida of Nigeria in a meeting with Ambassador Lyman in Lagos November 5 said that he would not be able to travel to Washington for an official working visit scheduled for November 18. Babangida indicated that he would very much like to make an official working visit as early as convenient in 1988. He asked that we work with his government to reschedule the visit at a mutually convenient date. Babangida also expressed sincere regret that gaps in communication within his own government had created confusion over his intention to visit Washington in November and the question of whether the visit to the U.S. should be an official working or state visit.

Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(DECL: OADR)

DECLASSIFIED

Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
BY LM NARA, DATE 3/7/24

<DIST>SIT: VAX

49

<PREC> PRIORITY<CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED<OSRI> RUEKJCS<DTG> 061418Z NOV 87  
<ORIG>FM JCS WASHINGTON DC  
<TO>TO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 4591  
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 9230

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: USIS AND NIGERIAN ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN

*File: Babangida visit*

<TEXT>  
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 LAGOS 13939  
USIA

FOR AF, P/G MEYER; STATE FOR INM  
E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: USIS AND NIGERIAN ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN  
REF: LAGOS 0912 (1/15/87)

~BEGIN SUMMARY~

1. SUMMARY. POST'S YEAR-LONG PUBLIC AWARENESS CAMPAIGN ON DRUG ABUSE CULMINATED WITH OCTOBER 14 LAUNCH OF NATIONAL "YES TO LIFE, NO TO DRUG ABUSE" CAMPAIGN BY NIGERIA'S FIRST LADY, MARYAM BABANGIDA. MINISTER OF HEALTH, IN CEREMONIES OPENING CAMPAIGN, SINGLED OUT U.S. MISSION FOR SPECIAL PRAISE, THE ONLY FOREIGN MISSION SO MENTIONED. CAMPAIGN ORGANIZERS DREW HEAVILY ON RESOURCES SUPPLIED BY USIS, INCLUDING ANTI-DRUG BROCHURES, AN ANTI-DRUG TV SPOT WITH U.S. BASED NIGERIAN BASKETBALL STAR AKEEM OLAJUWON, THE LAUNCHING OF A NIGERIAN CHAPTER OF PRIDE BY AN IV GRANTEE SENT TO THE US TO LEARN ABOUT COMMUNITY-BASED ANTI-DRUG GROUPS. MEDIA COVERAGE FOR THE PERIOD SHOWS CONSISTENT GAINS BOTH IN QUANTITY OF COVERAGE AND IN FAVORABLE SLANT, AS WELL AS IN USIS PLACEMENT. IN SUM, WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED OUT PROGRAM DETAILED IN REFTEL, AND WILL CONTINUE OUR PROGRAM THROUGH FY 88.  
END SUMMARY.

~END SUMMARY~

2. IN REFTEL, POST PROPOSED A DRUG STRATEGY GEARED TO IDENTIFYING AND WORKING WITH LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DEVELOP AND DISTRIBUTE ANTI-DRUG MESSAGES WITH THE WIDEST POSSIBLE ACCEPTANCE. THE SAME REFTEL LISTED A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS WE WOULD UNDERTAKE TO CARRY OUT THIS STRATEGY. WE ARE PLEASED TO REPORT THAT THESE PROJECTS HAVE BEEN LARGELY CARRIED OUT AND THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN POSITIVE. PRESS COVERAGE OF THE DRUG PROBLEM, WHICH AVERAGE 3.3 ARTICLES PER MONTH IN THE PERIOD OCTOBER - DECEMBER, 1986, BEFORE WE BEGAN OUR PROGRAM, AVERAGED 22 ARTICLES PER MONTH FOR THE LAST AVAILABLE QUARTER, JULY - SEPTEMBER, 1987. USIS PLACEMENT, WHICH TOTALLED TWO ARTICLES IN THE OCTOBER - DECEMBER PERIOD, TOTALLED 23 IN JULY - SEPTEMBER. THOUGH THE "SLANT" HAS ALWAYS BEEN HEAVILY FAVORABLE, IN THE LATTER THREE MONTHS ONLY THREE NEGATIVE ARTICLES HAVE APPEARED. FURTHER, WITH STRONG POST ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT, A NUMBER OF NEW ANTI-DRUG ORGANIZATIONS HAVE FORMED WHILE OTHER ORGANIZATIONS HAVE TAKEN UP ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGNS. THESE INCLUDE A NIGERIAN CHAPTER OF P.R.I.D.E. ESTABLISHED BY AN IV GRANTEE SENT TO THE U.S. TO OBSERVE THE WORK OF THAT AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE LAUNCHING OF AN ANTI-DRUG PROGRAM BY THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN



LAWYERS, (FIDA), WHO HAVE BEGUN REPRINTING AND DISTRIBUTING NATIONWIDE SEVERAL PAMPHLETS WHICH THEY HAVE ADAPTED FROM MATERIALS WHICH WE HAD SUPPLIED.

3. BELOW FOLLOWS A DETAILED LIST OF DRUG PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN WITH THEIR CURRENT STATUS.

IN COOPERATION WITH THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH, NIGERIAN TELEVISION AUTHORITY, AND USIA/TV, WE SENT A FILM PRODUCER TO THE U.S. TO TAPE A SPOT WITH NIGERIAN BASKETBALL STAR AKEEM OLAJUWON. THE 30 - SECOND SPOT, THE FIRST OF THREE PLANNED FOR TV, IS ALREADY RUNNING ON NATIONAL TELEVISION. THE SECOND AND THIRD SPOTS, TO BE SHOT LOCALLY, ARE IN PRODUCTION.

THE POST HAS GIVEN A GRANT TO FIDA FOR THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF A SERIES OF ANTI-DRUG RADIO JINGLES. THE JINGLES ARE ALREADY AIRING ON RADIO AND ARE TO BE TRANSLATED INTO THE THREE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES.

THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH HAS REWRITTEN AND REPRINTED TWO PAMPHLETS WHICH WE SUPPLIED THEM, "JUST SAY NO TO INDIAN HEMP" (MARIJUANA), AND "WHY YOU SHOULD SAY NO TO DRUG ABUSE," AN AMALGAM OF SEVERAL PAMPHLETS PRODUCED BY THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG ABUSE. IN ADDITION, FIDA HAS PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED TWO PAMPHLETS, "DANGERS OF DRUG ABUSE," AND "A GUIDE FOR THE FAMILY OF THE DRUG ABUSER," CULLED FROM MATERIALS DEVELOPED BY THE WASHINGTON STATE PHARMACISTS ASSOCIATION AND WASHINGTON SUBSTANCE ABUSE COALITION. THESE ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED IN A SIX-STATE AREA.

MRS. AZIZAT A. GBADAMOSI, PRESIDENT OF THE LAGOS CHAPTER OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S SOCIETIES ATTENDED THE 1987 PRIDE CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA AS AN IV GRANTEE. UPON HER RETURN, SHE ORGANIZED A PRIDE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 LAGOS 13939

USIA

FOR AF, P/G MEYER; STATE FOR INM

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: USIS AND NIGERIAN ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN CHAPTER IN LAGOS AND WAS ONE OF THE FEATURED SPEAKERS WHEN MRS. BABANGIDA LAUNCHED THE FEDERAL DRUG CAMPAIGN. IN ADDITION, WE TOOK ADVANTAGE OF A VOA ANTI-DRUG TRAINING PROGRAM FOR RADIO PRODUCERS AND SENT A RADIO NIGERIA REPORTER WHO HAS SINCE GIVEN US CONSISTENT COVERAGE ON NIGERIA'S MOST IMPORTANT MASS MEDIUM. THIS HAS INCLUDED A FULL HOUR TELEPRESS CONFERENCE WITH FEDERAL PROSECUTOR STERLING JOHNSON, AND A SECOND HOUR WITH COMMUNITY DRUG CAMPAIGN ORGANIZER LEE DOGOLOFF.

MR. MOSES AZUIKE, A MEMBER OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH'S NATIONAL DRUG POLICY COMMITTEE, PARTICIPATED IN THE DRUG ABUSE CONTROL MRP. LAST SUMMER, AFTER HE RETURNED, HE WAS DESIGNATED THE CHIEF ACTION OFFICER FOR THE MINISTRY'S NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, AND HAS BECOME OUR MOST IMPORTANT CONTACT ON THIS SUBJECT.

WE HAVE OBTAINED INFORMAL CONCURRENCE FOR A WORLDNET FEATURING MRS. REAGAN AND NIGERIA'S FIRST LADY. WE AWAIT CONFIRMATION AND SCHEDULING.

WE HAVE DONATED SPECIAL COLLECTIONS OF TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE RELATED TO NARCOTICS, TOXICOLOGY AND COUNSELING TECHNIQUES TO THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH, THE NIGERIAN INSTITUTE OF SUBSTANCE ABUSE, AND FIDA.



4. WE ARE POUCHING SAMPLES OF LOCALLY PRODUCED MATERIALS TO AF.

5. WHEN SOMETHING WORKS IN NIGERIA, IT WORKS BY CONSENSUS. OVER THE PAST NINE MONTHS, A CONSENSUS HAS FORMED THAT DRUG ABUSE AND ILLEGAL TRAFFICKING ARE BAD FOR NIGERIA AS A NATION, AND FOR NIGERIANS. THE POST HAS DEMONSTRABLY PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN HELPING TO FORGE THAT CONSENSUS, AND IN AIDING INTERESTED NIGERIANS IN ORGANIZING TO FIGHT AGAINST THIS THREAT. MONBLATT

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02<SSN> 3939<STOR> 871106091745 MSG000184497465  
<SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02<SSN> 3939<STOR> 871106091851 MSG000184497531  
<TOR>871106092520

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8165  
chron  
52  
REVISED

Cohen

11/9/87

MEMORANDUM

TO: FRANK CARLUCCI

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: The Working Visit of President Babangida  
of Nigeria, previously scheduled for  
November 18, 1987, is cancelled.

DATE:

TIME:

DURATION:

LOCATION:

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED:

MEDIA COVERAGE:

FIRST LADY  
PARTICIPATION:

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

M. Archambault  
W. Ball  
J. Courtemanche  
E. Crispen  
R. Dawson  
F. Donatelli  
D. Dellinger  
A. Dolan  
J. Erkenbeck  
L. Faulkner  
C. Fuller  
M. Fitzwater  
T. Griscom

Advance Office  
J. Hooley  
J. Kuhn  
J. Lamb  
J. Manning  
J. McKinney  
N. Risque  
D. Johnson  
R. Shaddick  
G. Walters  
WHCA Audio/Visual  
WHCA Operations

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

RECEIVED 12 NOV 87 11

DOCDATE 10 NOV 87

TO

CARLUCCI

FROM LEVITSKY, M

KEYWORDS: NIGERIA

HS

BABANGIDA, IBRAHIM

SUBJECT: LTR FM NIGERIAN PRES BABANGIDA &amp; SUGGESTED REPLY

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CARLUCCI DUE: 17 NOV 87 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COHEN

GSG  
WHC

COMMENTS

REF# 8732379

LOG

NSCIFID

( TC )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

11/18/87 No action req'd - Answered by American Ambassador  
Director Lymon in recent visit with Pres. Babangida.  
Ltr fm Pres. Reagan w/d req'd if/when a new visit  
date is established. pme

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)



## United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

8306


November 10, 1987

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter from Nigerian President Babangida and  
Suggested Reply

Attached at Tab 2 is the original of a letter, dated October 14, to the President from Nigerian President Babangida regarding his proposed official working visit to the United States. Babangida has not been able to accept the proposed November 18 date and we are now trying to reach agreement on a new one.

Attached at Tab 1 is a suggested reply.

  
Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Suggested Reply.
2. Letter from President Babangida.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(DECL: OADR)

DECLASSIFIED  
Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
BY *hM* NARA DATE 3/7/24



55  
Department of State

Suggested Draft

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of October 14 concerning my invitation to you to meet with me in Washington, D.C. I look forward to discussing with you bilateral and international issues of concern to both our countries.

I understand that the original date proposed, November 18, is not possible. I am asking my Ambassador in Lagos, Princeton Lyman, to be in touch with you regarding a possible alternative date as soon as your schedule and mine for the coming year become clearer.

As Ambassador Lyman conveyed, an "Official Working Visit" is the format we use most often, providing an opportunity not only to welcome you warmly to the United States but also for extensive discussions between us. I very much look forward to our meeting and hope we can agree to a mutually satisfactory date.

Please accept my wishes for continued success in your efforts to restore both economic health and effective democracy to your country.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency

Ibrahim B. Babangida,

President of the Federal Republic

of Nigeria,

Lagos.



State House  
Lagos, Nigeria

/4 October, 1987.

His Excellency,  
Mr. Ronald Reagan,  
President of the United States of America,  
The White House,  
Washington D.C

*Mr President,*

It is my great pleasure to acknowledge receipt of your kind invitation to me to pay an official working visit to your country as from 18th November this year. I appreciated your good gesture for I entirely agree with the sentiments expressed in the invitation that the visit would afford a unique opportunity to assess, first hand, the gains made so far in our relations as they relate to bilateral and international issues.

It is common knowledge that in recent times, the relationship between our two countries has become so substantial and so full of promise that a visit to your great country by me should further consolidate this beautiful development. However, it is my considered opinion and I hope that you will agree with me, that it is only within the framework and ambiance of a State Visit that a full opportunity could arise for such in-depth discussions and appraisal of bilateral and multilateral issues which I would like to take up with you.



- 2 -

My Administration is very desirous of strengthening relations with your country and it is therefore our wish to enter into discussions through normal diplomatic channels with a view to finding mutually convenient dates for the State Visit.

May I seize this opportunity to extend my good wishes for your personal wellbeing and continued good health.

(General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida)  
President, Commander-In-Chief of the Nigerian  
Armed Forces.

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

11/18/87

PMC -

Chas and I discussed the attached and agreed that it has been OBE'd and no reply is necessary. Amb. Princeton Lyman essentially answered it in his recent meeting with Bahangida.

When/if a new date is approved for a visit, the Pres. can send a new letter.

Ple<sup>just</sup> keep a copy in our files for the record.  
ABR



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

59  
8468

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 17, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR GRANT S. GREEN

FROM: ALISON P. ROSENBERG *AR*

SUBJECT: President Babangida Official Working Visit

At Tab I per your suggestion is a memorandum for Fred Ryan justifying an Official Working Visit for President Babangida of Nigeria.

Marybel Batjer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for Fred Ryan at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I Your Memorandum to Fred Ryan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2001  
BY NARA *LM*, DATE *3/7/24*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8468

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR., Director  
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

SUBJECT: Official Working Visit for President Babangida of  
Nigeria

We strongly recommend an Official Working Visit for President Babangida in 1988.

Nigeria is the most important country in Africa outside of South Africa, and should receive appropriate recognition. The Nigerians often play a leading role on major African political and economic matters. Babangida is one of the most reasonable and pro-Western leaders Nigeria has had in a long time. For example, he is being helpful behind the scenes in our efforts to promote Jonas Savimbi as a legitimate leader in Angola. He is leading the country on a course of market-oriented economic reforms of the kind advocated by the U.S. He is restoring democracy to Nigeria.

Babangida and his wife are young, very attractive, and articulate. Mrs. Babangida has launched a "Yes to Life, No to Drug Abuse" campaign similar to that of the First Lady's in cooperation with USIA. A visit would not only be helpful for our foreign policy interests in Africa, but would be well-received in the American black community.

An OWV approved for Babangida for November 18 fell through because of some serious internal communication problems with Babangida's aides. He has apologized, taken steps to remedy the situation, and hopes that the visit can be rescheduled.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority NSC/DOS WAIVERS  
BY LM NARADATE 3/7/24

1) Pmc - APR cleared  
5:52 11/20

2) file: Babengide  
visit (see  
p.2)

WASHFAX RECEIPT  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES  
Am 3/17/21

12:26  
IN ROOM

MESSAGE NO. **022092** CLASSIFICATION **SECRET** No. Pages **2**  
FROM: **Richard W. Mueller** S/S **647-8448** **7224**  
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)  
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION **TELEGRAM TO ISLAMABAD: Possible Travel by First Lady**

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
NSC	WILLIAM COURTNEY	456-6534	GPWW
NSC	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT	456-6534	GPWW
<b>ROSENBERG</b>	<b>GRANT GREENE</b>		
<b>COBB</b>	<b>TAHIR-KHEL</b> 1 clears "4" (Dg)		
<b>Bayer</b>	<b>ROSS</b> clears "5" (Dg)		
	<b>OAKLEY</b> clears "12" (Dg)		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: **PLEASE CLEAR BY: 11/20**

S/S Officer: **Richard W. Mueller**

CROSSHATCH

RETURN TIME-STAMPED COVERSHEET TO S/S

~~SECRET~~

1992F

INN:ABUROBLESKI  
11/20/87 EXT. 78464  
INN:ABUROBLESKI

S/S:0:  
S/S:  
NSCS:  
NEA:RPECK

EUR:JWILKINSON  
EAP:WCLARK  
AF:CFREEMAN  
ARA:RGELBARD

INN ONLY

IMMEDIATE ISLAMABAD LAGOS IMMEDIATE, MADRID IMMEDIATE,  
BRASILIA IMMEDIATE, HONG KONG IMMEDIATE  
IMMEDIATE WHITE HOUSE

MODIS  
STADIS FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY FROM INN AS WROBLESKI

DECL: OADR

SNAR. OVIP

POSSIBLE TRAVEL BY FIRST LADY

WHITE HOUSE PASS TO FIRST LADY ONLY

REF: (A) STATE 327997 (B) ISLAMABAD 22146 NOTAL (C) LAGOS  
13100 (D) BRASILIA 12401

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE. SEE PARAGRAPH 6.

3. SUMMARY: THE WHITE HOUSE HAS GIVEN THE "GREEN LIGHT"  
FOR A SHORTENED "JUST SAY NO" MISSION IN MARCH 1988 FOR  
MRS. REAGAN AND ACCOMPANYING EXPERTS. DEPARTMENT  
REQUESTS COM'S TO APPROACH HIGHEST LEVELS OF HOST  
GOVERNMENTS TO DISCUSS PROPOSED TRIP. END SUMMARY.

4. REPTTEL REQUESTED THE VIEWS OF FIVE COM'S ON A ROUND-  
THE-WORLD GOODWILL, "JUST SAY NO" MISSION FOR THE FIRST  
LADY, AS PROPOSED DURING THE 1986 AMBASSADOR'S  
CONFERENCE. DEPARTMENT THANKS MADRID AND HONG KONG FOR  
THEIR RESPONSES; UNFORTUNATELY, THE TRIP WILL HAVE TO BE  
SHORTENED. SINCE MRS. REAGAN HAS PREVIOUSLY PARTICIPATED

ABW  
RP  
JM  
WC  
CF  
RG

DECLASSIFIED

Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA LM, DATE 3/7/24

~~SECRET~~



63  
~~SECRET~~

2

IN ANTI-DRUG MISSIONS IN EUROPE AND EAST ASIA, THIS TRIP WILL BE LIMITED TO ISLAMABAD, LAGOS AND BRASILIA -- IN THAT ORDER.

5. THE WHITE HOUSE HAS NOW AUTHORIZED COM'S TO DISCUSS VISIT WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS. TENTATIVE DATES ARE MARCH 8 THROUGH MARCH 18, 1988. UPON RECEIVING POSITIVE RESPONSES FROM HOST GOVERNMENTS, THE WHITE HOUSE IS PREPARED TO SEND AN ADVANCE TEAM TO CAPITALS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

6. ACTION REQUESTED:

{A} ISLAMABAD: WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TRAVEL TO THE NMPP, YOUR PROPOSALS IN REF B LOOK GOOD. THE WHITE HOUSE IS VERY INTERESTED IN THE SAARC MEETING. PLEASE EXPLORE BOTH IDEAS WITH GOP.

{B} LAGOS: GIVEN THE NEWLY LAUNCHED AWARENESS PROGRAM, THE WHITE HOUSE AGREES THAT A REGIONAL MEETING IS UNNECESSARY. PROGRAM DESCRIBED IN REF C IS ON TARGET.

{C} BRASILIA: WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TRAVEL OUTSIDE BRASILIA, YOUR PROGRAM, REF D, IS IN LINE WITH WHITE HOUSE THINKING. THE GOVERNOR'S WIVES MEETING IS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST. PLEASE EXPLORE BOTH IDEAS WITH GOB.

7. ALL ADDRESSEES: AS NOTED PREVIOUSLY, THE WHITE HOUSE IS VERY SENSITIVE TO ANY NEWS LEAK ON THE TRIP. RELEVANT WASHINGTON AGENCIES HAVE NOT, REPEAT NOT, BEEN BRIEFED. IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS AT POST AS WELL AS CONSULTATIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS, PLEASE STRESS THE TENTATIVE NATURE AND SENSITIVITY OF THE TRIP. PLEASE REPORT RESULTS OF YOUR MEETINGS TO INM AS WROBLESKI BY NOVEMBER 30, 1987.

YY

~~SECRET~~