

PART 2

**SECRET**

Confidential File

S  
3004

Visits to Britain by President Babangida.

NIGERIA

Subsequent visits by Nigerian Presidents

Part 1: April 1980  
Part 2: March 1989

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<b>See Relations</b>							
13-3-89							
<del>27/4/89</del>							
9.5.89							
<del>15.5.89</del>							
<del>5/6/89</del>	pt						
12.6.89							

**///  
CLOSED**

**PREM 19/2791**



CFR's  
cf

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

12 June 1989

Thank you for your letter of 9 June with which you enclosed a letter for the Prime Minister from Major General I O S Nwachukwu, which has arrived safely.

C. D. POWELL

Mr. J. K. Shinkaiye





TELEPHONE: 01-839 1244

NIGERIA HIGH COMMISSION  
(POLITICAL SECTION)  
9 NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE  
LONDON, WC2N 5BX

*R/O/S*

Ref:No.BA.379

9th June, 1989

The Private Secretary to the  
Prime Minister,  
10, Downing Street,  
London SW1.

Dear Sir,

Please find enclosed herewith, letter addressed to  
the Prime Minister, the Rt.Hon.Margaret Thatcher, MP,  
by the Nigerian Minister of External Affairs, Major  
General I O S Nwachukwu.

X/ 2. I should be grateful if you would deliver the letter  
to its highest destination and acknowledge its receipt.

Yours sincerely,

*Taniy*  
*Please ack. receipt*  
*on*

*Shinkaiye*  
(J.K.Shinkaiye)  
Minister,  
for:High Commissioner.



*Samuel C. Okeiyi*

*25 Bull Road, Stratford, London E15 3AD*

CB 6/6

26/6

5 JUNE 1989

The RT. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP.  
Prime Minister to her Majesty's Government.  
10 Downing Street,  
London SW1,

Dear Mrs Thatcher,

Re: THE STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA.

---

I have the honour to express my sincere thanks to you, your able Foreign Secretary and The British High Commissioner in Nigeria for the normalisation of relations between Britain and Nigeria. Also, to thank your entire administration for the wonderful receptions organised for his visit.

I would personally pray, that God will guide you in your future administrations especially as it affects those of us living in Britain. I have equally forwarded a letter thanking Her Majesty the Queen for her receptions to the President of Nigeria.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,



SAMUEL C. OKEIYI





External Affairs  
Lagos  
Nigeria

23 May 1989

*Zi Anista*  
*COJ*

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London

*Dear Prime Minister*

May I express profound appreciation for the successful conclusion of the State Visit to Britain by President Ibrahim Babangida. We are particularly touched by the great honour bestowed on the President, his official suite and other members of his delegation by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II.

The excellent talks between the President and the Prime Minister as well as the general friendliness that characterised the visit attest to the cordial relations between Nigeria and Britain. We are pleased that this happy situation has been nurtured by the Prime Minister. It is our keen desire that these cordial ties will subsist and be further strengthened in the years ahead.

Please accept, Prime Minister, the assurances of my highest esteem.

*Yours sincerely,*

*mt*

*Ike Nwachukwu*  
IOS NWACHUKWU  
Major General  
Minister of External Affairs



RESTRICTED

073645  
MDHIAN 4827

RESTRICTED

FM LAGOS AMENDED DISTRIBUTION 16/5/89  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 445  
OF 151015Z MAY 89  
INFO ROUTINE KADUNA

## SUMMARY

1. PRESIDENT DELIGHTED BY THE WARMTH OF HIS RECEPTION. EXTENSIVE NIGERIAN MEDIA COVERAGE EXPRESSES SATISFACTION AND PRIDE OVER THE STATE VISIT BUT SOME DISAPPOINTMENT THAT A SIMILAR LEVEL OF INTEREST NOT SHOWN BY BRITISH PRESS. THE DECISION NOT TO GRANT ASYLUM TO DIKKO WELCOMED BY NWACHUKWU. A TOTAL SUCCESS IN CEMENTING THE RECENT IMPROVEMENT IN ANGLO-NIGERIAN RELATIONS.

## DETAIL

2. I MET PRESIDENT AND MRS BABANGIDA, AND THEIR PARTY, ON THEIR RETURN TO LAGOS ON 13 MAY. THE PRESIDENT WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO THANK ME PROFUSELY FOR THE ARRANGMENTS MADE DURING THE STATE VISIT. DESCRIBING IT AS WONDERFUL, HE REGARDED IT AS A GREAT SUCCESS. SIMILAR COMMENTS MADE BOTH BY THOSE NIGERIAN MINISTERS WHO HAD ACCOMPNAIED THE PRESIDENT AND THOSE AT THE AIRPORT WHO HAD REMAINED IN LAGOS. ALL WERE CLEARLY DELIGHTED BY BOTH THE POMP AND THE WARMTH OF THE RECEPTION THAT WAS ACCORDED TO NIGERIA AND ITS PRESIDENT.

3. NIGERIAN PLEASURE AT THE SUCCESS OF THE VISIT HAS BEEN ENHANCED BY THE EXTENSIVE MEDIA COVERAGE IT HAS RECEIVED HERE. DURING THE WEEK BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE THERE HAD BEEN A NUMBER OF CURTAIN-RAISING FEATURES, MOST NOTABLY THE MAXIMUM USE MADE BY THE 'DAILY TIMES' OF THEIR EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. MOST PRESS COMMENT PRESENTED THE VISIT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RECENT IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITIAN AND NIGERIA WITH EMPHASIS ON THE MUTUAL RESPECT OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER. THERE WAS ALSO MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT WHAT ECONOMIC BENEFITS THIS WOULD BRING AND CREDIT WAS GIVEN FOR THE GIFT OF DOLLARS 100 MILLION IN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SUPPORT. SEVERAL EDITORIALS CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT TO REFUTE THE PRIME MINISTER'S REFUSAL, DURING HER VISIT TO LAGOS IN MARCH, TO PRESS FOR DEBT FORGIVENESS. THE ONLY HOSTILE



EDITORIAL, HOWEVER, CAME FROM KADUNA-BASED 'DEMOCRATIC' WHICH IN A VITRIOLIC PIECE JUST BEFORE THE VISIT STRONGLY CRITICISED BRITAIN FOR ITS ALLEGED SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID.

4. WHAT TOOK NIGERIANS AT LARGE BY SURPRISE, AS THE STATE VISIT UNFOLDED, WAS THE REALISATION THAT THIS WAS MORE THAN JUST ANOTHER OFFICIAL VISIT ABROAD. EACH EVENING NIGERIAN TELEVISION SET ASIDE A FULL HOUR FOR DETAILED COVERAGE OF THE EVENTS IN LONDON, IN ADDITION TO MATERIAL IN THE NIGHTLY NEWS BROADCASTS. THOSE NIGERIANS WITH ACCESS WERE IMPRESSED AND DELIGHTED BY THE EVIDENT WARMTH OF THE WELCOME THEIR PRESIDENT HAD RECEIVED AND AWED BY THE PAGEANTRY OF THE OCCASION. HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH AT THE BANQUET AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE WAS SHOWN IN ITS ENTIRETY AND NIGERIANS WERE VERY PLEASED TO HEAR THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE VISIT NEXT YEAR BY THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES AND BABANGIDA'S INVITATION TO THE QUEEN TO VISIT NIGERIA. THE ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO THE NIGERIAN MEDIA HAS PAID OFF HANDSOMELY.

5. THE ONLY CRITICISM WAS FROM NIGERIAN CORRESPONDENTS IN LONDON WHO COMMENTED FREQUENTLY ON THE LACK OF ANY RECIPROCAL INTEREST BY THE BRITISH MEDIA. THE LACK OF COVERAGE ON BRITISH TELEVISION PARTICULARLY CLEARLY SURPRISED AND DISAPPOINTED THEM. THE BBC STRIKE, OF COURSE, DID NOT HELP. A SUMMARY OF THE COVERAGE BY THE UK MEDIA WOULD HELP US TO RESPOND TO ANY FURTHER CRITICISM ON THIS SCORE.

6. BY THE TIME THE PRESIDENT RETURNED, NEWS HAD LEAKED IN LONDON OF THE HOME SECRETARY'S DECISION TO REFUSE POLITICAL ASYLUM TO DIKKO. THIS RECEIVED FRONT-PAGE TREATMENT IN MOST NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS, WITH MANY QUOTING THE COMMENTS OF THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, MAJOR-GENERAL NWACHUKWU THAT THIS DEMONSTRATED THE BELIEF OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN THE NIGERIAN LEGAL SYSTEM. HE IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT DIKKO HAD NO REASON TO CONTINUE TO BE IN BRITAIN UNDER THE GUISE THAT HE WOULD BE SUMMARILY SENT TO JAIL IF RETURNED TO NIGERIA. ONLY ONE PAPER REFERRED TO DIKKO'S DECISION TO APPEAL AGAINST THE HOME SECRETARY'S RULING. (PRESUMABLY THE NIGERIANS WERE MADE AWARE OF THIS IN LONDON BUT WE HAVE MADE THE POINT TO OUR CONTACTS HERE WITH THE MEA AND MINISTRY OF JUSTICE).

7. AS SEEN FROM HERE, THE VISIT HAS BEEN A HUGE SUCCESS. THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ARE DELIGHTED. THE NIGERIAN



MEDIA WERE ALWAYS LIKELY TO HAVE INFLATED EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT NIGERIA MIGHT GET OUT OF THE VISIT AND THE VISIT'S RELATIVE IMPORTANCE IN THE UK. HOWEVER ANY RISK THAT THEY WOULD EXPRESS DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE OUTCOME EVAPORATED AS THE WEEK STARTED WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BRITISH GRANT AND NEXT YEAR'S ROYAL VISIT, AND ENDED WITH THE NEWS ON DIKKO. THERE IS NOW A WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT THE VISIT WAS AN ENORMOUS TRIUMPH AND THAT NIGERIA HAS BEEN DEEPLY HONOURED BY AN OLD FRIEND.

8. THE NIGERIANS ARE EXTREMELY STATUS CONSCIOUS AND SO I BELIEVE THAT THE REALISATION THAT THEY HAVE NOW RECEIVED TOP-LEVEL TREATMENT FROM THEIR FORMER COLONIAL MASTERS WILL HAVE MADE A GREATER IMPACT THAN EVEN A STATE VISIT ELSEWHERE. WE CAN NOW LOOK FORWARD TO A DEGREE OF SPECIAL WARMTH IN OUR RELATIONS THOUGH, AS PREVIOUSLY, THE NIGERIANS WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK TO US FOR SOMETHING EXTRA. I HOPE WE CAN TURN THIS NEW WARMTH AND TRUST TO BRITIAN'S COMMERCIAL BENEFIT AND ALSO USE IT TO ENCOURAGE NIGERIANS TO ADHERE TO PRESENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES.

VARCOE

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

195

MAIN 193

. MONETARY  
WAD  
OADS  
INFORMATION DEPT

CCD  
LEGAL ADVISERS  
MVD

ADDITIONAL 2

MR SANDERSON B1 DIVISION,  
(HOME OFFICE)

MR COBLEY C5 DIVISION,  
(HOME OFFICE)

NNNN



SP2AEX

SPEAKING NOTE FOR PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

By tradition, we do not have formal speeches at these No.10 lunches on the second day of a State Visit.

President Babangida made an outstanding speech at the State Banquet last night and I know he has to speak again at the Guildhall tomorrow, so we shall spare him any further work now.

But I know you would not want me to let the



opportunity pass to extend a very warm welcome indeed to President Babangida, to Mrs. Babangida and their distinguished delegation.

We were delighted when the President accepted Her Majesty's invitation to make this visit.

We are very great admirers of the strong leadership which he has given Nigeria and the courageous way he has set about

dealing with the country's economic problems.

I think I can say that, thanks very largely to his efforts, relations between Britain and Nigeria stand at a very high point and this visit is proof of that.

We are also particularly pleased that

Mrs. Babangida is accompanying the President.



She too has made a remarkable contribution to Nigeria's life including a most interesting book of advice for the wives of army officers.

And we are pleased to see so many old friends among the Nigerian delegation as well.

May I ask you all to join me in drinking a toast to the President, to Mrs. Babangida,

E.B.

to the success of everything she is trying  
to achieve and to the continued excellent  
relations of Britain and Nigeria.

CONFIDENTIAL

11



SUBJECT cc Mark



File mem  
cepc

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

10 May 1989

Dear Richard,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING  
WITH THE PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA

The Prime Minister held talks with the President of Nigeria before her lunch in his honour at No. 10 today. President Babangida was accompanied by his Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Finance, Budget and Planning, and Petroleum, as well as by the Nigerian High Commissioner. The Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and our High Commissioner in Lagos were also present.

The discussion was amicable but not very strong on substance. President Babangida appeared to have nothing on his mind which he wished to raise.

Introduction

The Prime Minister said that we were very pleased that President Babangida had accepted The Queen's invitation to make a State Visit. We greatly admired the President's courage in tackling Nigeria's financial and economic problems and appreciated the leadership which Nigeria gave in Africa. President Babangida, in return, congratulated the Prime Minister on her ten years in office and expressed Nigeria's gratitude for the support which it had received from Britain.

Economic Issues

In response to the Prime Minister's question, President Babangida confirmed that the economic recovery programme was on track. An IMF Mission had recently been in Lagos and appeared satisfied with progress. While people did not exactly relish the hardship which the recovery programme imposed, the lifting of the ban on political activity gave them something else to talk about and had been a welcome distraction. The Prime Minister referred to the recent increase in oil prices and the Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested that this gave Nigeria some margin, even if it did not solve their economic problems. The Nigerian Petroleum Minister commented that much would depend on whether the

CONFIDENTIAL



OPEC quotas were observed. The Minister for Budget and Planning recalled that the Nigerian budget had been based on an oil price of \$14 a barrel, so in a sense anything above that was a plus. But Nigeria's agreement with the IMF stipulated that any income over \$16 a barrel should be paid into a reserve.

The Prime Minister welcomed the agreement that had been reached on the disbursement of British aid. Impending State Visits seemed to have a miraculous effect on problems of this sort. The Minister for Budget and Planning said that Nigeria would shortly submit a list of imports.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed that the Nigerian Government had taken very brave steps to get the Nigerian economy on course. But it was bound to be a long haul and quite a lot remained to be done, for instance, on the exchange rate and interest rates. The Minister for Budget and Planning referred to a number of specific problems which Nigeria faced in obtaining the full range of international assistance, in the absence of agreement on whether it should be classified as a middle-income country or as one of the poorest group. Nigeria wanted to benefit both from the arrangements for the poorest countries agreed at the Toronto Economic Summit and from the Brady Plan for debt reduction. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that these were two separate issues. Nigeria's claim to qualify for assistance under the Toronto Economic Summit arrangements was under discussion. But debt reduction was mainly a matter for negotiation with the commercial banks. The Minister for Budget and Planning said that Nigeria still had no guarantee that it would be eligible for help from the IDA next year. The Chancellor undertook to look into this before their further meeting on 12 May.

#### Investment

The Prime Minister referred to the importance of an Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement for attracting foreign investment to Nigeria. President Babangida said that a draft agreement was currently with the Nigerian Attorney-General. He hoped it would be ready by the time of the forthcoming Oil and Gas Seminar, which would be attended by Mrs. Chalker.

#### Internal Political Developments

The Prime Minister enquired about progress towards restoring civilian rule by 1992. President Babangida said that authorisation would be given for the formation of two political parties by July of this year. There would be elections for local councils by the end of 1989 and elections to State Assemblies in October 1990. The Prime Minister enquired whether the political parties would be regional or national in scope. President Babangida said that the guidelines discouraged formation of parties on a regional or religious basis. He thought the two parties would be fairly close in outlook and both would support maintenance of the free enterprise system.



### Defence

The Prime Minister commented that defence co-operation appeared generally satisfactory. President Babangida agreed.

### Namibia

After giving a brief account of her visit to Southern Africa, the Prime Minister referred to developments in Namibia. SWAPO had behaved very badly by making their incursion into Namibia in contravention of the Agreement. But she believed the arrangements leading to elections and independence were now back on course. The South Africans, Angolans and Cubans had shown that they were able to work effectively together. President Babangida suggested that there might have been some problem of communication between the SWAPO leadership and its forces. The Nigerian Foreign Minister commented that Nujoma would be visiting Lagos later in the month. The Nigerians would urge SWAPO to observe the rules of the game. He wondered whether the size of UNTAG had been adequate. The Foreign Secretary said that if the United Nations Secretary-General judged that a larger force was needed, we would be prepared to consider this sympathetically.

### South Africa

The Prime Minister referred to her recent meetings with Pik Botha and Mr. du Plessis and her forthcoming meeting with Mr. De Klerk. We hoped that the elections in September would strengthen those who recognised that faster progress with internal reform was essential rather than the extreme right. That said, it was probably unrealistic to expect much progress between now and the elections. She rather doubted whether Mandela would be released before then, for fear of causing a backlash from the extreme right. International opinion should be patient until the elections, in the hope that there would be rapid progress thereafter. Overall, she thought there was more hope for South Africa than for some time. But a successful outcome in Namibia would be crucial to the prospects for progress in South Africa. President Babangida commented that things were indeed moving fast throughout Southern Africa. He made no reference to sanctions.

### Angola

The Prime Minister expressed gratitude for Nigeria's attempts to foster reconciliation in Angola. President Babangida said that Savimbi himself was ready to leave the country for two or three years. But there was still a lot of work to be done on Dos Santos. The Nigerian Foreign Minister commented that the MPLA found it difficult to cope with the notion of a two party system.

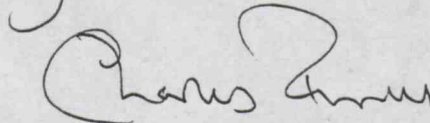
Regional Problems in Africa

There was some desultory discussion of the Sudan, Mozambique, Uganda, and the recent problems between Senegal and Mauritania.

Commonwealth Secretary-General

President Babangida did not raise the subject of the succession to Ramphal either in the talks or over lunch, although he had plenty of opportunity.

I am copying this letter to Alex Allan (HM Treasury), Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence), Neil Thornton (Department of Trade and Industry), Myles Wickstead (Overseas Development Administration) and to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,  


CHARLES POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL



STATE BANQUET FOR THE PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF  
OF THE ARMED FORCES AND MRS. BABANGIDA  
TUESDAY, 9th MAY, 1989

- 1 THE QUEEN  
1 THE PRINCE PHILIP, DUKE OF EDINBURGH  
2 THE PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE  
ARMED FORCES AND MRS. BABANGIDA
- 4
- 1 QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER  
2 The Prince and Princess of Wales  
1 The Duchess of York  
1 The Prince Edward  
2 The Princess Royal and Captain Mark Phillips  
1 The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon  
2 The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester  
2 The Duke and Duchess of Kent  
2 Prince and Princess Michael of Kent  
2 Princess Alexandra, the Hon. Lady Ogilvy and the Hon. Sir Angus Ogilvy

16

Suite of The President of Nigeria, Commander-in-Chief  
of the Armed Forces and Mrs. Babangida

- 1 Major General the Hon. I.O.S. Nwachukwu (Minister of External Affairs)  
1 Prince the Hon. Bola Ajibola (Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister  
of Justice)  
1 Alhaji the Hon. Rilwanu Lukman (Minister for Petroleum Resources)  
1 The Hon. Dr. C.S.P. Okongwu (Minister of Finance)
- 1 Alhaji the Hon. Abubakar Alhaji (Minister of State for the Budget  
and Planning, and Special Assistant to The President)  
1 Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed (Governor, Central Bank of Nigeria)  
1 Ambassador Ahmed Yusufari (State Chief of Protocol)

1 Lieutenant-Colonel U.K. Bello (ADC to The President)

1 Dr. S.S. Wali (Chief Physician to The President)

9

Specially attached in attendance upon  
The President of Nigeria, Commander-in-Chief  
of the Armed Forces and Mrs. Babangida

2 The Viscount Boyne (Lord in Waiting) and the Viscountess Boyne

2 Mr. Brian Barder (British High Commissioner in Lagos) and Mrs. Barder

1 The Lady Elton (Lady-in-Waiting)

1 Commander Timothy Laurence, RN (Equerry in Waiting)

6

Ambassadors and High Commissioners

2 His Excellency the High Commissioner for the Republic of Cyprus and  
Mrs. Panayides

2 His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and  
and Mrs. Dove-Edwin

2 His Excellency the Spanish Ambassador and Senora de Puig de la Bellacasa

2 His Excellency the Ambassador of the Republic of Cameroon and  
Madame Bol-Alima

2 His Excellency the High Commissioner for the United Republic of Tanzania  
and Mrs. Nyakyi

2 His Excellency the Indonesian Ambassador and Mrs. Suhartoyo

1 His Excellency the High Commissioner for Ghana

2 His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America and Mrs. Catto

2 His Excellency the Brazilian Ambassador and Senhora Souza e Silva

2 His Excellency the Indian High Commissioner and Shrimati Rasgotra

19

Members of the Nigerian High Commission

2 Mr. Kabiru Ahmed (Deputy High Commissioner) and Mrs. Ahmed

1 Mr. John Shinkaiye (Minister)

1 Colonel Ibrahim Gumel (Defence Adviser)

4

The Cabinet

2 The Lord Chancellor and the Lady Mackay of Clashfern

1 The Prime Minister

2 The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Lady Howe

2 The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mrs. Lawson

2 The Secretary of State for Social Security and Mrs. Moore

9



### Special Invitations

- 2 The Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Runcie
- 2 The Right Hon. the Speaker and Mrs. Weatherill
- 2 The Earl Marshal and the Duchess of Norfolk
- 2 The Lord Grey of Naunton (President, Britain-Nigeria Association) and  
the Lady Grey of Naunton
- 2 The Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos (Leader of the Opposition in the House of  
Lords) and the Lady Cledwyn of Penrhos
- 2 The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress
- 1 The Right Hon. James Molyneux, MP (Leader of the Ulster Unionist Party)
- 2 The Right Hon. Neil Kinnock MP (Leader of the Opposition) and Mrs. Kinnock
- 2 The Right Hon. Paddy Ashdown, MP (Leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats)  
and Mrs. Ashdown
- 2 The Hon. Mrs. Corsar (Chairman, Women's Royal Voluntary Service) and  
Colonel Charles Corsar
- 2 Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir David Craig (Chief of the Defence Staff)  
and Lady Craig
- 2 Admiral Sir William Staveley (Chief of the Naval Staff) and Lady Staveley
- 2 General Sir Charles Huxtable (Commander in Chief, U.K. Land Forces) and  
Lady Huxtable (Chairman, Federation of Army Wives)
- 2 Sir Patrick Wright (Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs) and Lady Wright
- 2 Sir Roger du Boulay (Colonial Service, Nigeria 1949-58) and Lady du Boulay
- 2 His Excellency the Commonwealth Secretary-General and Mrs. Ramphal
- 2 Sir Thomas Hopkinson (Director for Africa of International Press  
1963-66) and Lady Hopkinson
- 2 Sir John Milne (Chairman, Blue Circle Industries Plc) and Lady Milne
- 2 Sir Peter Graham (Chairman, Crown Agents for Overseas Governments and  
Administration) and Lady Graham
- 2 Sir Clifford Chetwood (Chairman and Chief Executive, George Wimpey PLC)  
and Lady Chetwood
- 2 Sir Peter Imbert (Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis) and Lady Imbert
- 2 General Yakubu Gowon (Head of State of Nigeria 1966-75) and Mrs. Gowon
- 1 The Emir of Kano
- 1 The Ooni of Ife
- 1 The Obong of Calabar
- 2 Mr. Gordon Wilson (Director, British Export Services Overseas) and Mrs. Wilson
- 2 Professor Thurstan Shaw (Professor of Archaeology, University of Ibadan  
1963-74) and Mrs. Shaw

- 2 Dr. John Jennings (Managing Director, Royal Dutch Shell Group) and Mrs. Jennings
- 2 The Lord Mayor of Westminster and Mr. Robert Flach
- 2 Mr. Brian Baldock (Chairman and Managing Director, Guinness Brewing Worldwide Limited) and Mrs. Baldock
- 2 Mr. Robin Biggam (Chairman, Balfour Beatty Limited) and Mrs. Biggam
- 2 Mr. Gerald Boxall (Chairman and Chief Executive, Vickers Defence Systems Limited) and Mrs. Boxall
- 2 Mr. Richard Francis (Director-General, The British Council) and Mrs. Francis
- 2 Mr. Antonios Kampanaos (Managing Director, John Holt Group Ltd.) and Mrs. Kampanaos
- 2 Mr. George Medley (Director, World Wide Fund for Nature) and Mrs. Medley
- 2 Dr. Alastair Niven (Literature Director, The Arts Council of Great Britain) and Mrs. Niven
- 2 Mr. John Quinton (Chairman, Barclays Bank PLC) and Mrs. Quinton
- 1 Mr. John Simpson (Diplomatic Editor, BBC TV)
- 2 Mr. Bernard Taylor (Chief Executive, Glaxo Holdings plc) and Mrs. Taylor

73

#### Royal Household

- 1 The Duchess of Grafton (Mistress of the Robes)
- 1 The Countess of Airlie (Lady-in-Waiting)
- 1 Mrs. John Dugdale (Lady-in-Waiting)
- 1 The Earl of Airlie (Lord Chamberlain)
- 2 The Earl of Westmorland (Master of the Horse) and the Countess of Westmorland
- 2 The Lord Denham (Captain, Gentlemen at Arms) and the Lady Denham
- 1 The Right Hon. Sir William Heseltine (Private Secretary to The Queen)
- 1 Major Shane Blewitt (Keeper of the Privy Purse)
- 1 Rear-Admiral Sir Paul Greening (Master of the Household)
- 1 Lieutenant-Colonel George West (Comptroller, Lord Chamberlain's Office)
- 1 Lieutenant-Colonel Seymour Gilbert-Denham (Crown Equerry)
- 1 Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue (Director of the Royal Collection)
- 2 Lieutenant-General Sir John Richards (Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps) and Lady Richards
- 2 Mr. Robert Fellowes (Deputy Private Secretary to The Queen) and the Lady Jane Fellowes
- 1 Mr. Robin Janvrin (Press Secretary to The Queen)
- 1 Lieutenant-Colonel Blair Stewart-Wilson (Deputy Master of the Household)
- 1 Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm Ross (Assistant Comptroller, Lord Chamberlain's Office)



- 1 Mr. John Haslam (Deputy Press Secretary to The Queen)
- 1 Captain Hon. Richard Margesson (Equerry in Waiting)
- 1 Mr. Brian McGrath (Private Secretary and Treasurer to The Duke of Edinburgh)
- 1 Mr. Roger Hervey (Vice-Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps)
- 1 The Dowager Viscountess Hambleden (Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Elizabeth  
The Queen Mother)
- 1 The Earl of Dalhousie (Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother)
- 1 Mrs. George West (Lady-in-Waiting to The Princess of Wales)
- 1 Sir John Riddell, Bt. (Private Secretary to The Prince and Princess of  
Wales)
- 1 Mrs. John Floyd (Lady-in-Waiting to The Duchess of York)
- 1 Lieutenant-Colonel Sean O'Dwyer (Private Secretary to The Prince Edward)
- 1 The Hon. Mrs. Legge-Bourke (Lady-in-Waiting to The Princess Royal)
- 1 The Lady Juliet Townsend (Lady-in-Waiting to The Princess Margaret, Countess  
of Snowdon)
- 1 Major Nicholas Barne (Private Secretary to The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester)
- 1 Mr. Andrew Palmer (Private Secretary to The Duke and Duchess of Kent)
- 1 Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Christopher Thompson, Bt. (Equerry to Prince Michael  
of Kent)
- 1 The Lady Mary Mumford (Lady-in-Waiting to Princess Alexandra, the Hon.  
Lady Ogilvy)

PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

You have already been through the meeting folder for President Babangida over the weekend, but you may like to glance at the cover note again tonight.

The talks will be in the Cabinet Room, since he is accompanied by a number of Ministers. We are arranging for a camera pool to be present for the beginning of the meeting. You will need to finish the meeting at 1250 to move upstairs to form a receiving line for lunch.

By agreement there will be no speeches at lunch, but you will no doubt want to say a few words of praise for the President. I attach a very short text.

C D P

C. D. POWELL

9 May 1989

PM2APN



PRIME MINISTER

NIGERIAN STATE VISIT

You have to attend the arrival of President Babangida at Victoria Station at 1230 tomorrow and be present for the State Banquet at Buckingham Palace in the evening. At the latter, you process in with HRH Prince Edward and are seated between Prince Edward and the Duke of Kent. You will remember, of course, that Prince Edward attended your recent lunch for Prince Aya of Japan; and you saw the Duke and Duchess of Kent at the Memorial Service in Liverpool.

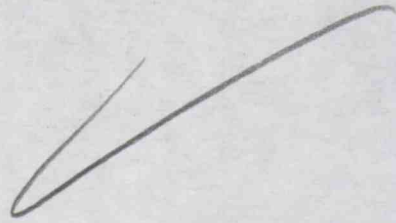
CD?

C. D. POWELL

8 May 1989

DASAVP

1

A large, handwritten mark or signature, possibly a stylized 'V' or a similar symbol, located in the upper right quadrant of the page.

SP2AEX

SPEAKING NOTE FOR PRESIDENT BABANGIDA



By tradition, we do not have formal speeches at these No.10 lunches on the second day of a State Visit.

President Babangida made an outstanding speech at the State Banquet last night and I know he has to speak again at the Guildhall tomorrow, so we shall spare him any further work now.

But I know you would not want me to let the

opportunity pass to extend a very warm  
welcome indeed to President Babangida, to  
Mrs. Babangida and their distinguished  
delegation.

We were delighted when the President  
accepted Her Majesty's invitation to make  
this visit.

We are very great admirers of the strong  
leadership which he has given Nigeria and  
the courageous way he has set about

---



dealing with the country's economic problems.

I think I can say that, thanks very largely to his efforts, relations between Britain and Nigeria stand at a very high point and this visit is proof of that.

We are also particularly pleased that

Mrs. Babangida is accompanying the President.

She too has made a remarkable contribution to Nigeria's life including a most interesting book of advice for the wives of army officers.

And we are pleased to see so many old friends among the Nigerian delegation as well.

May I ask you all to join me in drinking a

toast to the President, to Mrs. Babangida,



to the success of everything she is trying  
to achieve and to the continued excellent  
relations of Britain and Nigeria.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

PARTICIPATION

PRIME MINISTER

FOREIGN SECRETARY

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

HIGH COMMISSIONER

CHARLES POWELL

PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

FOREIGN MINISTER NWACHUKWU

FINANCE MINISTER OKONGWU

BUDGET MINISTER  
ALHAJI ABUBAKAR ALHAJI

PETROLEUM MINISTER LUCKMAN

NIGERIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER



## MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

### 1. WELCOMING REMARKS

CONGRATULATE ON LAST NIGHT'S SPEECH, SAY HOW PLEASED WE ARE TO HAVE HIM HERE. RECALL YOUR TWO VISITS TO NIGERIA.

### 2. NIGERIA INTERNAL

ASK HIM TO DESCRIBE THE PROCESS OF RESTORING CIVILIAN RULE OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS.

### 3. NIGERIAN ECONOMY

COMPLIMENT HIM ON STICKING TO IMF PROGRAMME. WELCOME AGREEMENT REACHED JUST BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE ON DISBURSEMENT OF BRITISH AID. INVITE HIM TO SAY HOW HE SEES THE PROSPECTS, THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER MAY LIKE TO COMMENT.

### 4. TRADE AND INVESTMENT

THERE ARE BOUND TO BE DIFFICULTIES OVER CREDIT IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. BUT TWO POINTS WHICH COULD HELP ATTRACT INVESTMENT ARE THE CONCLUSION OF AN INVESTMENT PROMOTION AND PROTECTION AGREEMENT AND AN END TO QUOTAS ON EXPATRIATE STAFF.

### 5. DEFENCE MATTERS

RECALL THAT WE AGREED TO WRITE OFF NIGERIA'S DEBT TO THE MOD WHEN YOU VISITED IN JANUARY 1988. UNFORTUNATELY THE DEBTS ARE NOW BUILDING UP AGAIN.

### 6. SOUTHERN AFRICA

GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF YOUR RECENT VISIT TO ZIMBABWE, MALAWI AND NAMIBIA AS WELL AS YOUR MEETINGS WITH PIK BOTHA AND DU PLESSIS. MENTION FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH DE KLERK. GIVE YOUR OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.



7. NAMIBIA

SETTLEMENT SEEMS TO BE BACK ON COURSE. SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WILL RETURN TO BASES ON <sup>13</sup>~~30~~ MAY.

8. ANGOLA

ASK FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS OF RECONCILIATION.

9. CHOGM

YOU WILL WANT TO CONSIDER THE AGENDA FOR CHOGM AND ARGUE AGAINST A PROTRACTED AND DIVISIVE DISCUSSION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.

10. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL

BEST TO LET HIM RAISE THIS AND PUT THE CASE FOR ANYAOKU. PROPOSE THAT YOU CONTINUE DISCUSSION OVER LUNCH (OUT OF EARSHOT OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTER).



LIST OF GUESTS ATTENDING THE LUNCHEON TO BE GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER  
IN HONOUR OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF  
OF THE ARMED FORCES AND MRS. BABANGIDA ON WEDNESDAY, 10 MAY 1989 AT  
1.00 PM FOR 1.30 PM  
BRITISH GUESTS TO ARRIVE BY 12.50 PM

The Prime Minister

**Nigerian Suite**

His Excellency General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida  
and Mrs. Babangida

Major-General the Honourable I.O.S. Nwachukwu Minister of External  
Affairs

Prince the Honourable Bola Ajibola Attorney General of the Federation  
and Minister of Justice

Alhaji the Honourable Rilwanu Lukman Minister for Petroleum  
Resources

The Honourable Doctor C.P.S. Okongwu Minister of Finance

Alhaji the Honourable Abubakar Alhaji Minister of State for the Budget  
and Planning and Special Assistant  
to the President

Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed Governor, Central Bank of Nigeria

His Excellency the High Commissioner for Nigeria  
and Mrs. Dove-Edwin

Ambassador Ahmed Yusufari State Chief of Protocol

Lieutenant-Colonel U.K. Bello ADC to The President

Doctor S.S. Wali Chief Physician to the President

**British Suite**

The Viscount Boyne Lord in Waiting

The Lady Elton Lady in Waiting

Mr. Brian Barder British High Commissioner, Lagos  
and Mrs. Barder

Commander Timothy Laurence Equerry in Waiting

**HM Government**

Rt. Hon. George Younger, MP  
and Mrs. Younger

Rt. Hon. Tom King, MP

Rt. Hon. John MacGregor, MP  
and Mrs. MacGregor

Rt. Hon. John Major, MP

The Lord Glenarthur



**Conservative MPs**

Mr. Tony Speller, MP  
and Mrs. Speller

Chairman, Conservative Party  
West Africa committee. Director,  
Atlas Ltd. Nigeria 1953-62

Mr. Ivor Stanbrook, MP  
and Mrs. Stanbrook

Former Colonial Administrator  
in Nigeria (1950-60) Retains a  
strong interest in Nigeria

**Labour MPs**

Rt. Hon. Gerald Kaufman, MP

**Industry**

Mr. Michael Angus  
and Mrs. Angus

Chairman, Unilever. United  
Africa Company (UAC) of Nigeria  
is owned by Unilever and has  
had a long manufacturing and  
trading association with the  
Nigerian market

Mr. Rodney Little  
and Mrs. Little

Director and Investment Manager, Blue Circle  
Industries plc. Own two companies in Nigeria  
which produce most of the country's cement

The Lord Kindersley  
and The Lady Kindersley

Chairman, Commonwealth Development  
Corporation (CDC are interested  
in investing in Nigeria)

The Lord King of Wartnaby  
and The Lady King of Wartnaby

Chairman, British Airways

Mr. Adrian White  
and Mrs. White

Chairman, Biwater Ltd. Biwater were involved  
in the completion of a major supply project  
in Kwara State and are presently working  
on the completion of a similar project in  
Niger State. The Prime Minister announced  
the provision of ECGD cover for this in  
Lagos in January 1988.

Sir Peter Holmes  
and Lady Holmes

Chairman, Shell International Petroleum Co.Ltd

Mr. Ralph Oppenheimer  
and Mrs. Oppenheimer

Chairman, Stemcor UK Ltd. Involved in the  
rural electrification of River State.  
Recently received a firm contract worth  
£37 million from the Calabar Cement  
Company for the refurbishment of a cement  
plant

Rt. Hon. Lord Prior  
and Lady Prior

Chairman, The General Electric Co. plc  
GEC are bidding for a contract with the  
Nigerian Electricity and Power Authority



**Others**

- Mr. Chris Oti  
Rugby player for England of Nigerian parentage
- Mr. Alan Hill  
and Mrs. Hill  
Consultant to the Heinemann Group of Publishers. Chairman: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria 1969-83. Closely involved with Commonwealth literature and education - both of interest to Mrs. Babangida
- Chief Emeka Anyaoku  
and Mrs. Anyaoku  
Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth (Political). A Nigerian. Nigerian Foreign Minister Nov-Dec 1983.
- Mrs. Angela Rumbold, MP  
and Mr. Rumbold  
Co-Chairman of Women's National Commissioner and Minister of State, Department of Education and Science. Mrs. Babangida is very involved in women's issues in Nigeria
- Professor David Grahame-Smith  
and Mrs. Grahame-Smith  
University Department of Clinical Pharmacology. Recently appointed Head of the Advisory Council on Misuse of Drugs (set up under the 1971 Misuse of Drugs Act). Mrs. Babangida takes a keen interest in drugs issues.
- Mr. John Fashanu  
and Mrs. Fashanu  
A leading footballer, Fashanu, whose parents are Nigerian, visited Nigeria in 1988. Has met the President
- Mr. Ben Okri  
Nigerian poet and novelist. Poetry Editor of West Africa Magazine 1987 winner of Commonwealth Writers' Prize for Africa
- Mr. Alan Shelley  
and Mrs. Shelley  
Chairman, West Africa Committee. The West Africa Committee which has about 160 member firms, has close links with Nigeria and has a resident representative there).

**Ministry of Defence**

Sir Peter Levene  
and Lady Levene  
Head of Defence Sales

**10 Downing Street**

Mr. Charles Powell  
and Mrs. Powell



PRIME MINISTER

HE GENERAL IBRAHIM BADAMASI  
BABANGIDA

MRS. BABANGIDA

Rt. Hon. George Younger

Rt. Hon. Tom King

Major General The Hon. I.O.S. Nwachukwu

Prince the Hon. Bola Ajibola

Rt. Hon. John MacGregor

Mrs. Younger

The Hon. Dr. C.P.S. Okongwu

Rt. Hon. John Major

The Lord Glenarthur

Alhaji The Hon. Rilwanu Lukman

Mrs. Angela Rumbold

Alhaji the Hon.  
Abubakar Alhaji

Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed

Mrs. MacGregor

HE Nigerian High Commissioner

Lady Holmes

The Lady King of Wartnaby

Rt. Hon. Lord Prior

The Lady Prior

The Lord King of Wartnaby Chief Emeka Anyaoku

Mrs. Dove-Edwin

Ambassador Ahmed Yusufari

Mrs. Barder

The Lady Elton

Rt. Hon. Gerald Kaufman

The Lady Kindersley

The Viscount Boyne

The Lord Kindersley

Mrs. Anyaoku

Sir Peter Holmes

Mrs. Shelley

Mr. Michael Angus

Mr. Brian Barder

Mrs. Angus

Sir Peter Levene

Lady Levene

Mr. John Rumbold

Mr. Ivor Stanbrook

Mrs. White

Mr. Ben Okri

Mr. Adrian White

Mrs. Little

Mr. Alan Hill

Mr. Rodney Little

Mrs. Speller

Mr. Tony Speller

Mrs. Stanbrook

Mrs. Hill

Mr. Alan Shelley

Mrs. Grahame-Smith

Lt-Col. U.K. Bello

Prof. David Grahame-Smith

Mr. Chris Oti

Mr. Ralph Oppenheimer

Mr. John Fashanu

Mrs. Oppenheimer

Mrs. Fashanu

Mrs. Powell

Commander Timothy Laurence

Dr. S.S. Wali

Mr. Charles Powell

ENTRANCE



## PRIME MINISTER

## PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

You have an hour of talks with President Babangida on Wednesday before your lunch in his honour. He will be accompanied by several of his Ministers. I suggest that you hold the talks in the Cabinet Room and let television and photographers in at the beginning. This will help to boost his standing which is the main reason we are having him here.

The talks themselves are more of a problem. Frankly there is not a lot new to say since you talked to him in Lagos at the end of March. On the economy there is a risk of sounding preachy if we continue to tell them how important it is to stick to their IMF programme. They seem to be doing their best. We have given all the practical help we can with our \$100 million grant. We have now put detailed proposals to the Nigerians for disbursing this. In short, I do not think there is much to be said for making a great issue of the economy.

He may want to talk about trade and investment opportunities. But once again there is not a lot in it for us. With Nigeria's appalling re-payment record and the difficulty of remitting dividends, it is unlikely that many British firms will be prepared to invest in Nigeria at present. But you might helpfully urge a conclusion of an Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement and an end to quotas on expatriate staff. Both steps would help attract investors. But it is no good having unrealistic hopes: until the Nigerians have sorted out their economy, investment will be slow to come forward.

Similarly there is nothing we can offer on credit at this stage. The most important step is to complete the negotiation of a bilateral debt rescheduling agreement. There is a major project - the OSO oil condensates project - for which we could provide cover, but only on quite strict conditions, including setting up a special offshore escrow account for revenues from the project, to ensure we get paid.



We would need the agreement of other Parish Club members for this privileged arrangement.

You may, therefore, prefer to devote most of the conversation to international topics. You might report to President Babangida on your visit to Southern Africa as well as your meetings with Pik Botha and Mr. du Plessis. You will want to tell him that Mr. de Klerk is coming in June and give him your assesment of the prospects of securing Mandela's release and political progress. You will also want to talk about the situation in Namibia and the need to urge restraint on SWAPO. The signs are that South African forces will return to their bases on 13 May having verified SWAPO's departure. You might ask him about Angola where the Nigerians have aspirations to play a role in achieving reconciliations between the government and UNITA. Another topic might be the prospects for CHOGM. We do not want a protracted and divisive discussion on Southern Africa and suggest focussing on other issues: the shape of international relations in the 1990s and the environment.

This seems bound to lead on to a discussion of the Commonwealth Secretary General post. When you last met, you urged the Nigerians to campaign more effectively for their candidate, and Babangida will probably want to report to you on that. You will recall that there are differences between Babangida and his Foreign Minister on this with Babangida apparently less concerned to promote the candidature of Anyaoku. You will certainly not want to expose these differences in front of others and you might propose that the two of you discuss this question during lunch when you are out of the earshot of Nwachuku. You might then tell Babangida that you have reason to believe that Ramphal would be ready to continue for a period and this might be the best way to avoid a damaging and divisive campaign in the Commonwealth. But you will want to make clear that we have not yet made up our mind.

One other issue which may come up is the problem of Major Yusufu, the Nigerian intelligence officer imprisoned for 12



years for his part in attempting to kidnap Dikko. The Nigerians know what the position is: that it would run counter to policy towards violent offenders to grant early parole. They also know that procedures are not yet in place to permit consideration of Yusufu's repatriation under the Commonwealth Scheme for the Transfer of Convicted Offenders. Nonetheless, Babangida may feel honour-bound to raise the matter.

You will find in the folder the note on your last meeting with Babangida in Lagos and a scene-setting telegram from our High Commissioner.

THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL  
RETAINED UNDER SECTION  
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

C. D. P.

(C. D. POWELL)

5 May 1989



CONFIDENTIAL

cell  
2/5/89



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

13 May 1989

Additional points

for the Babangida visit. N.B. Mrs. Babangida is expecting a baby in September (no. 4). (attached)

Dear Charles,

State Visit by President Babangida

CDP  
5/5-

Further to my letter of 3 May, there are a few additional developments of which the Prime Minister may like to be aware.

\$100 million aid grant

The Nigerians have not yet signed the agreement for disbursing this grant. Our High Commission was expecting signature on 4 May. Disappointingly, the Nigerians queried at the last minute a point of detail they had not earlier questioned (they have had several weeks to examine the documentation): their lack of recent experience as an aid recipient makes for unusual stickiness, particularly over opening their books for inspection. We should urge that signature take place as soon as the Nigerian Finance Minister, Okongwu, returns to Lagos after the State Visit.

Visit by Their Royal Highnesses The Prince and Princess of Wales, March 1990

Our High Commission in Lagos was instructed this week to put to the Nigerians a proposed visit by Their Royal Highnesses in March 1990. The President's Head of Protocol has told BHC Lagos that Babangida has warmly welcomed the idea. The Prime Minister might wish to refer to it.

Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA) Treaty

We learned last week that the Nigerians had hoped to use the occasion of the State Visit to sign an MLA Treaty to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug trafficking and serious crime; and that for this reason the Nigerian Justice Minister, Prince Ajibola, would be replacing the Agriculture Minister in the President's suite. Although considerable progress has been made in the negotiations on this Treaty, there are still outstanding points to be settled. The Home Office are

CONFIDENTIAL





not in a position to agree to sign the Treaty at such short notice. We have informed the Nigerians of this. But they may nevertheless seek to draw attention to it. If so, the Prime Minister might want to stress that we too are keen to finalise this Treaty; that we foresee no serious difficulties in doing so; and that the Home Office will be in touch with the Justice Ministry to take matters forward as swiftly as possible.

#### Dikko

The Home Secretary decided on 4 May to turn down Dikko's second application for political asylum. Dikko is certain to appeal against this to an independent tribunal. (He appealed successfully against the decision to turn down his first application in 1984.) It will take many months before his appeal can be heard, and in the meantime he has a right to remain here. The Nigerians were granted leave to commence extradition proceedings against Dikko in February 1988; and the Home Office are still waiting for them to submit a properly documented request. The ball is therefore firmly in the Nigerians' court.

#### Biwater Water Supply Project

The Chairman of Biwater, Adrian White, will be attending the lunch at No 10. The Prime Minister announced in Lagos in January 1988 that ECGD were prepared to extend cover for this project to be completed. Though the loan agreement was signed in December, it is not yet effective. The Finance Ministry has not yet given its guarantee, and has also questioned a previously agreed condition in the loan documents.

#### Wimpey Construction Ltd: International Arbitration Award

Wimpey have been pursuing since March 1987 the payment of an international arbitration award they secured against a Nigerian parastatal, Ogun Oshun River Basin Authority, for costs incurred in a construction project. The company subsequently made a number of concessions in order to reach a settlement agreement with the Nigerians whereby the \$21 million award was to be repaid in monthly instalments beginning in January 1989. But so far the Nigerians have made only one payment of \$5 million. Despite repeated efforts by Wimpey and our High Commission to extract further payments, the Nigerians are now \$7.5 million in arrears. Meanwhile Wimpey have told us this week that they intend to institute enforcement proceedings in the UK and US courts



CONFIDENTIAL



which will allow them to attach Nigerian assets. Sir Clifford Chetwood, Chairman of Wimpey, is attending the State Banquet, and is likely to want to raise the matter. Against this background, the Prime Minister may wish to impress upon the President the seriousness of this case, and urge that the arrears are paid immediately.

President Babangida announced on 3 May a new Constitution based on recommendations put to the Government by the Constituent Assembly which has been sitting in the new capital, Abuja. The Constitution incorporates provisions for the transition period to civilian rule in 1992. As expected, he also announced the lifting of the ban on the formation of political parties. The way is now clear for associations to compete to become one of the two parties which will be allowed to fight elections over the next three years.

Finally, it was announced in Nigeria on 4 May that Mrs Babangida is expecting her fourth child in September. You should also be aware that the Nigerians have informed us that Mrs Nwachukwu, the wife of the Foreign Minister, is not now coming on the visit.

I am copying this letter to Alex Allan (HMT), Neil Thornton (DTI), Colin Walters (Home Office) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

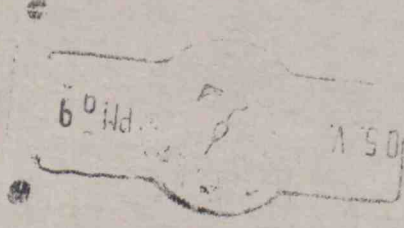
*James*  
*Stephen Wall*  
(J S Wall)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



NGERIA: with to AS by Pres Sabangda





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 May 1989

Sean Charles.

State Visit by President Babangida: Talks and  
Lunch with the Prime Minister, 10 May

This occasion provides the opportunity to continue the useful discussion the Prime Minister had with President Babangida in Lagos on 28 March. (I enclose a copy of your reporting telegram.) The President will be accompanied for the talks by Foreign Minister Nwachukwu, Budget Minister Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, Finance Minister Okongwu - all of whom attended the lunch in Lagos - Petroleum Minister Lukman and the Nigerian High Commissioner, George Dove-Edwin. Short personality notes on all the party and on Mrs Babangida and Mrs Nwachukwu, who will attend the lunch, are enclosed.

On Nigeria's economic programme a recent IMF mission reports that the Budget Minister appears to have kept a tight control on public spending in the early months of this year. Fund Staff, however, are concerned that - although the Central Bank has tightened liquidity requirements on banks - lack of action to raise interest rates has allowed domestic credit to rise too rapidly. The authorities' intervention in the foreign exchange market has also led to the official naira rate being significantly higher than the black market rate. This is incompatible with the IMF programme which enjoins a single market-determined rate.

Meanwhile the domestic economy has been growing relatively strongly. Food shortages, however, have developed and inflation is now running at 40-50 per cent. The rise in world oil prices - if sustained - should benefit both exports and budget revenues. The Nigerians budgeted for \$14 a barrel: the price is currently around \$19. Much of the benefit to the balance of payments, however, may be offset by higher world interest rates and by larger than expected payments to foreign creditors. On private sector debt the banks have agreed to a two-month extension for signature of their rescheduling agreement, due to a technical dispute over the precise figures owed.





The IMF Staff is adopting a sensible 'wait and see' approach but will want action on interest rates and the exchange rate before recommending approval of the programme at the first review at the end of May.

There is some suggestion that a lack of early results and the relief felt at the rise in the oil price are reducing support in the Armed Forces Ruling Council for the economic programme and is undermining the Budget Minister's position. We should impress on President Babangida the need to stick to the IMF programme in the months ahead if present hard-won gains are to be sustained: no flagging and no finagling.

The Nigerians may ask how they may benefit from the Brady Plan, which is still under discussion in the IMF and IBRD. If so, the Prime Minister may wish to point out that an important condition for eligibility is likely to be a good record of adjustment and a current IMF programme.

On the bilateral economic front detailed proposals have been put to the Nigerians for disbursing as effectively and quickly as possible our \$100 million grant. Our High Commission is pressing for signature before the State Visit. The grant will increase the foreign exchange available to the Nigerians for the purchase of essential imports. Channelling the bulk of the funds through the foreign exchange market should speed up disbursement. £10 million of the total is tied to British goods and services.

Our Technical Cooperation programme for Nigeria is large: spending last year was £3.3 million and will rise over the next few years. It covers training of Nigerians in Britain as well as projects in Nigeria in education, agriculture and the environment. We are ready to assist in public administration reform and police training (both of special interest to the President) and to work closely with the World Bank in sectors such as energy (our expertise, their finance).

President Babangida is likely to want to discuss trade and investment opportunities in Nigeria. The Nigerians have placed great emphasis on their wish to attract overseas investment, and appear keen to sign a bilateral Investment Protection and Promotion Agreement (IPPA). Major disincentives to investment remain. These include a poor debt repayment record, expatriate quotas, limitations on share ownership of existing Nigerian enterprises, difficulties in remitting dividends,





inefficient entry procedures, and the generally uncertain business climate. Without becoming embroiled in the detail, it would be as well to explain to the President frankly that these disincentives inevitably influence British businesses' investment decisions.

Meanwhile, ECGD are in the process of negotiating a further bilateral debt rescheduling agreement with the Nigerians, following the successful Paris Club meeting on 2-3 March. This should be completed by the summer. The Export Guarantee Committee (EGC) however has decided that there should be no general resumption of ECGD medium term cover at this stage of Nigeria's recovery.

The only exception is the OSO oil condensates project. This project, for which the contract is due to be awarded in June, is widely regarded as the best candidate for cover. Bechtel UK are in the running for a share of the contract, worth over \$800 million. The EGC has agreed that there should be up to \$100 million ECGD cover made available for the OSO project as part of a multilateral package of support from the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), other Export Credit Agencies and commercial banks. The ECGD cover would be for sovereign risk only.

There are, however, a number of risks which will need to be addressed. These including growing doubts as to whether OSO production will fall outside Nigeria's OPEC quota; borrowing for the project might breach IMF targets; repayments might be caught by any future Paris Club rescheduling; other export credit agencies or banks might not provide their share of finance leading to pressure on the UK to pick up the very substantial balance; and the Nigerians might expropriate the facilities or the revenues.

For these reasons, our support for the OSO project cannot be unconditional at this stage. The Prime Minister might therefore point out that while we want to help Nigeria develop new natural resources that genuinely add to her foreign exchange earnings, even if the condensate falls outside Nigeria's OPEC quota we will still want to protect any new investment from any future rescheduling. That means putting the revenues into a special escrow account offshore, and securing the agreement of the other Paris Club creditors to this privileged treatment. That will take time. We shall also look for explicit IMF endorsement of the borrowing arrangements. Meanwhile Nigeria will need to honour its obligations to ECGD under the present and future Paris





THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS  
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 5  
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

Club agreements and continue to observe its IMF programme. The Prime Minister might add that we hope very much these conditions can be met, so that the UK can help in developing these important new resources. Bechtel are exceptionally well placed to do so, in partnership, and we trust the President will ensure that their bid is given close consideration.

The British High Commission are also organising a major oil and gas seminar to be opened by Mrs Chalker in Lagos at the end of June. It is designed to give a boost to the UK's share of supplies to these important sectors in Nigeria. A mission from the Export Industries Council will take part.

The Prime Minister should be aware that one of the guests at the lunch, Mr Oppenheimer of Stemcor Ltd, has been lobbying both here and in Nigeria for ECGD cover for a cement factory project. Since there is no early prospect of cover for this, the Prime Minister should avoid being drawn.

On other bilateral issues, the Prime Minister might like to mention that from this financial year we have increased substantially the amount of defence assistance to Nigeria. The Prime Minister told Babangida in January 1988 that we were planning to do this, along with writing off Nigeria's debt to the MOD. Some of the money ~~will be used to fund counter-terrorist~~ and special protection training which the Nigerians have requested, and on which we know the President himself is keen (he is to visit after the official programme has ended on 12 May). Unfortunately, debts to the MOD for training are building up again - the Nigerians currently owe over £800,000 - and we are having to press them to settle this as quickly as possible. Failure to do so threatens to sour this key element in our overall relationship.

President Babangida may raise with the Prime Minister the prospects for the early release of Major Yusufu, the Nigerian military intelligence officer sentenced to 12 years in 1985 for his part in the attempt to kidnap Dikko. The Home Office have made clear, however, that it would run counter to policy towards violent offenders to grant early parole; and the full procedures are not yet in place to permit consideration of Yusufu's repatriation under the Commonwealth Scheme for the Transfer of Convicted Offenders. The Nigerian High Commission is aware of this. But they are keen to have Yusufu return to Nigeria; and President Babangida, as Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian armed forces, may





plead his case: in a sense Yusufu is one of his constituents.

On international issues, the Prime Minister will want to bring President Babangida up to date on our view of the situation in Namibia. The Nigerian Ministry of External Affairs issued in early April an unbalanced statement criticising UNTAG and silent on SWAPO's incursion. Mr Barder has since gone over the background to recent events with the Foreign Minister, Nwachukwu, who took a more balanced view, but clearly resented the UN authorisation of the use of South African troops. The US Ambassador in Lagos (please protect) has told our High Commissioner in confidence that in a meeting with him Babangida made no attempt to defend SWAPO's actions or to criticise the UN. But there would be no harm in reminding him of the realities of UNTAG's role in the transition period. President Babangida also told the US Ambassador that he intends to invite Nujoma to Lagos in an effort to get him back in line.

It would also be worth urging President Babangida to do all he can to try to bring an end to the conflict in Angola. President Babangida has also told the US Ambassador that Savimbi's latest peace proposals, including his offer to refrain from political participation for two years of transition, offered a significant opening for negotiations.

Other areas where the Prime Minister might wish to follow up on her discussion in March are South Africa and the prospects for CHOGM. President Babangida (or Nwachukwu) might well put in another bid for Anyaoku's candidacy for Secretary-General and describe how he is responding to the Prime Minister's advice to campaign more strongly. We know that the Nigerians discount the possibility of a further term for Ramphal, not least because they believe that we see our interests best served by not having him serve again, propounding his pro-sanctions line on South Africa.

I am copying this letter to Neil Thornton (DTI), Alex Allan (HMT), Brian Hawtin (MOD), Myles Wickstead (ODA), Stephen Haddrill (Department of Energy) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

*Jan.*  
*Stephen Wall*  
 (J S Wall)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
 10 Downing Street



CONFIDENTIAL

120150  
MDHOAN 8531

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO

TO DESKBY 051030Z LAGOS

TELNO 217

OF 050912Z APRIL 89

INFO PRIORITY UKDEL IMF/IBRD WASHINGTON, CAPE TOWN, BLO WINDHOEK

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT BY PS/NO 10 FROM PRIME MINISTER'S AIRCRAFT  
ON 28 MARCH TO CABINET OFFICE, ONLY NOW RECEIVED IN FCO.

CONFIDENTIAL

FM AIRBORNE

TO CABINET OFFICE

TELNO 4

OF 281650Z MARCH 89

RFI LAGOS, NEW DELHI (FOR S OF S PARTY)

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BABANGIDA, 28 MARCH

1. THE PRIME MINISTER HAD A USEFUL AND CONVIVIAL MEETING WITH  
PRESIDENT BABANGIDA OVER LUNCH AT LAGOS AIRPORT TODAY, AND SUB-  
SEQUENTLY GAVE A SHORT PRESS CONFERENCE. THE LUCHD WAS ALSO  
ATTENDED BY THE NIGERIAN FOREIGN AND FINANCE MINISTERS, BY ALHAJI  
ABUBAKAR ALHAJI, BY THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE NIGERIAN  
GOVERNMENT AND BY THE LOCAL MILITARY GOVERNOR.

2. PRESIDENT BABANGIDA EXPRESSED GREAT APPRECIATION FOR BRITAIN'S  
ECONOMIC HELP. THE PRIME MINISTER CONGRATULATED THE PRESIDENT  
ON TAKING SOME DIFFICULT DECISIONS. HE WOULD INEVITABLY FACE  
MUCH CRITICISM IN APPLYING TOUGH MEASURES, BUT IN THE LONG TERM  
WOULD FACE EVENMORE IF HE FAILED TO DO SO. SHE HAD FACED  
SIMILAR CRITICISM IN 1981: BUSDT FROM THE MOMENT THAT 364  
ECONIMISTS HAD WRITTEN TO THE TIMES TO SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENTS  
POLICIES THREATENED DISASTER, THE ECONOMY HAD NEVER LOOKED BACK.  
THE PRIME MINISTER CITED MR. OZAL'S EXPERIENCE IN THE RECENT  
MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN DTURKEY AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE POLITICAL  
CONSEQUENCES OF FAILING TO STICK TO A PROGRAMME. THE PRESIDENT  
AND HIS MINISTERS SHOULD CONSTANTLY EXERT THEMSELVES SDTO EXPLAIN  
THE NEED FOR DIFFICULT MEASURES TO THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE. THE  
PRIME MINISTER ADDED THAT WE WERE ANXIOUS TO AGREE ON HOW OUR  
100 MILLION DOLLARS OF ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE USED. IF POSSIBLE  
THIS SHOULD BE WRAPPED UP BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S STATE VISIT.

PAGE 1  
CONFIDENTIAL



3. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT SHE WAS ENCOURAGED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY OVER NAMIBIA. MORE PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE THAN SEEMED POSSIBLE ONLY A YEAR OR TWO AGO AND THE AMERICANS IN PARTICULAR DESERVED GREAT CREDIT. SHE WAS GLAD THAT BOTH BRITAIN AND NIGERIA WERE PARTICIPATING IN UNTAG. GENERAL NWACHUKU EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS WHETHER THE ELECTIONS WOULD BE FAIR, AND ALSO ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN INTENTIONS OVER WALVIS BAY. MR. BARDER RECALLED THAT THE RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS SAID THAT THE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY WAS SOMETHING WHICH SHOULD BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AFTER INDEPENDENCE. GENERAL NWACHUKU ADDED THAT NUJOMA HAD TOLD HIM RECENTLY THAT SWAPO WOULD WORK WITH OTHER PARTIES AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

4. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT SHE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THERE WOULD BE A CHANGING OF THE GUARD LATER IN THE YEAR. SOME OF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY DE KLERK AUGURED WELL FOR FURTHER REFORM. HOWEVER, SHE HAD MADE CLEAR THAT SHE WOULD NOT HERSELF VISIT SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL MANDELA HAD BEEN RELEASED AND THERE WAS A PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO TRY TO INFLUENCE SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTERS RATHER THAN ISOLATE THEM. THIS WAS WHY SHE HAD RECENTLY INVITED PIK BOTHA TO LONDON, AND WOULD ALSO BE INVITING OTHERS INCLUDING DE KLERK. PRESIDENT BABANGIDA MADE NO SIGNIFICANT COMMENT ALTHOUGH SOMEONE (I THINK AAA) WONDERED WHETHER DE KLERK WOULD REALLY BE VERY DIFFERENT FROM PRESIDENT BOTHA. THERE WAS NO MENTION OF SANCTIONS.

5. THE PRIME MINISTER ELECTED FROM PRESIDENT BABANGIDA THAT HE WOULD ATTEND CHOGM IN KUALA LUMPUR AND EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT THIS. SHE ALSO SPOKE IN PRIVATE TO HIM ABOUT THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL POST, WARNING THAT MALCOLM FRASER WAS RUNNING A VERY ACTIVE CAMPAIGN WHICH THE NIGERIANS SHOULD MATCH IF THEY WANTED TO KEEP ANYAOKU IN THE RUNNING. SHE THOUGHT THAT HE WOULD MAKE A GOOD ADMINISTRATOR AND WOULD CERTAINLY BE PREFERABLE TO FRASER. HOWEVER, THERE WERE REPORTS THAT RAMPHAL MIGHT SEEK AN EXTENSION.

6. BABANGIDA COMMENTED QUOTE THAT WOULD SOLVE A LOT OF PROBLEMS UNQUOTE, GIVING A CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS NOT COMMITTED TO ANYAOKU. ON THE OTHER HAND, NWACHUKU, WITH WHOM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND I DISCUSSED THE ISSUE SEPARATELY, WAS MUCH MORE EVIDENTLY COMMITTED TO ANYAOKU, EXPRESSING GRATITUDE FOR OUR



ADVICE THAT NIGERIA SHOULD CAMPAIGN MORE ACTIVELY ON HIS BEHALF. HE SEEMED CONFIDENT OF THE SUPPORT OF OTHER AFRICANS EXCEPT KAUNDA AND OF MANY OF THE CARIBBEANS. WE LEFT HIM IN NO DOUBT THAT WE WERE NOT OPPOSED TO ANYAOKU BUT WOULD NOT DECLARE A FORMAL POSITION UNTIL ALL THE CANDIDATES WERE KNOWN.

7. OTHER SUBJECTS MENTIONED INCLUDED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN AFGHANISTAN. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT WE WERE LOOKING FORWARD VERY MUCH TO THE PRESIDENT'S STATE VISIT.

8. THE PRIME MINISTER INFORMED THE PRESIDENT PRIVATELY AND IN STRICT CONFIDENCE OF HER POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL TRAVEL PLANS. HE WAS ENTHUSIASTIC.

9. I AM AFRAID THAT WE NEGLECTED TO MENTION THE FLAGSHIP SCHOLARSHIP AWARD. THE HIGH COMMISSION SHOULD ANNOUNCE IF SEPARATELY MAKING A POSTHUMOUS LINK WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT.

10. THE SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE WAS A VERY MILD AFFAIR WITH NO QUESTIONS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA OR SANCTIONS. PRESIDENT BABANGIDA MADE SOME VERY GRACEFUL REMARKS ABOUT THE EXCELLENT STATE OF ANGLO/NIGERIAN RELATIONS AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THEM.

HOWE

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

179

MAIN 174

.MONETARY	CCD
WAD	CRD
OADS	

ADDITIONAL 5

PS/NO TEN DOWNING ST  
H OF S COMMS CENTRE  
(CAB OFFICE)

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

GENERAL IBRAHIM BADAMASI BABANGIDA CFR

President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, since August 1985.

Born 17 August 1941, at Wushishi, Niger State. A Moslem.

His background is modest. He is believed to have a Gwarri mother, a tribe looked down on by most Northerners.

Joined the Army 1962. Trained overseas at Indian Military Training Academy (1964), Royal Armoured Centre (1966-67), and Army Armour School, Fort Knox (1972-73).

First came into the public eye in 1974 when as a Lieutenant Colonel he was a leading figure in the 1975 coup against Gowon. Became a member of the Supreme Military Council (SMC) (a position he retained until the return to civilian rule in 1979).

Appointed Chief of Army Staff and a member of the Buhari SMC following the 31 December 1983 coup, in which he played a leading part. Promoted to full General 1 October 1987.

A very intelligent and extremely able man, with a flexibility of mind and a developed sense of duty. A natural leader, good under pressure, his popularity in the Army is legendary. In private, his ready smile and engaging

CONFIDENTIAL

PN5AAY



CONFIDENTIAL

manner are disarming, but he is less at ease on formal occasions. He can nevertheless be firm to the point of ruthlessness where he considers it necessary, as the execution of coup plotters in 1986 demonstrated.

Recognises the UK's importance for Nigeria, and has played a key role in improving relations over the past years.

The Babangidas have a daughter, Aishatu, and two sons, Mohammadu and Muhammed. Babangida's hobbies include tennis, cricket and reading, although since a back operation in 1987 he has had to curtail his sporting activities.

CONFIDENTIAL

PN5AAY

CONFIDENTIAL

MAJOR GENERAL IKE OMAR SANDA NWACHUKWU

Minister of External Affairs since December 1987.

Born 1 September 1940 in Port Harcourt. A Christian.

Enlisted in the Army in March 1963 after four years in journalism. Various military posts, most recently Adjutant General and Custodian of Discipline at Army Headquarters. Appointed Minister of Employment, Labour and Productivity in October 1986. Major General June 1987. Transferred to External Affairs December 1987.

A quiet but pleasant man, widely respected for his performance both as Minister of Employment, Labour and Productivity and as Foreign Minister.

Visited the UK for bilateral talks in March 1988.

UK-Nigerian relations have improved significantly since he took office. Unlike his predecessor, Akinyemi, he places more emphasis on a Nigerian foreign policy which reflects current economic realities than on grand rhetorical gestures.

Married to Gwendolyn Tonyesia, with four children. He plays golf, when he can afford the time, and a little tennis.

CONFIDENTIAL

PN5ABA



CONFIDENTIAL

ALHAJI RILWANU LUKMAN

Minister for Petroleum Resources.

Born Zaria, Kaduna State, 1939. A Moslem.

Mining Engineer. Trained at the Royal School of Mines.

General Manager of the Nigeria Mining Corporation (NMC) from 1975 until his appointment as Minister for Mines, Power and Steel in January 1984. Moved to Petroleum Resources March 1986. Appointed President of OPEC in July 1986, in which capacity he has shown considerable diplomatic skills.

Sharp, bright, energetic. Recently invested as a Fellow of Imperial College, London. Has been mentioned as a possible Presidential candidate in 1992.

Soft spoken, always polite and courteous. He knows the oil industry, both domestically and internationally, very well, and is well regarded by the senior expatriate oil company staff in Nigeria. Since his appointment as OPEC President in 1986, he has taken these duties very seriously, and travels widely in their pursuit. Although he never shows any personal animosity, he holds strongly to the view that the non-OPEC oil producers, especially Britain, are taking unfair advantage of OPEC's production quotas by sharing the benefits on price without sharing in the sacrifices.

Nevertheless, he enjoys frequent visits to London, when Shell invariably look after him very well.

Married with three children.

PN6AAS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

DR CHU S P OKONGWU

Minister of Finance and Economic Development.

Born 23 September 1934 in Enugu. Ibo. A Christian.

First Degree in Economics, Boston University 1961. PhD Harvard, 1965. Resigned from the Civil Service in 1975 to head Multivar System, a consultancy firm.

Appointed Minister of National Planning September 1985; became Minister of Finance January 1986, and kept his position when the Ministers of Finance and National Planning were amalgamated in December 1987, despite indications that the President was becoming disenchanted with his performance.

He has been an unimpressive Finance Minister. Insofar as progress has been achieved, much of the credit belongs to Alhaji Ahmed , Governor of the Central Bank and Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, Minister of State in the Office of Budget and Planning. His retention as Minister of Finance in the March 1989 reshuffle was surprising. In his dealings with Western creditor nations he has proved to be duplicitous, failing to honour his undertakings.

Now the only Ibo in the Government (which may explain his survival, along with his allegedly close ties to the President and especially Mrs Babangida, his fellow-Ibo).

Married with four sons.

CONFIDENTIAL

PN5ABE



ALHAJI ABUBAKAR ALHAJI

Minister of State, Office of Budget and Planning since June 1988. (First Alhaji is his title, second his surname.)

Hausa/Fulani, a devout Moslem. Born Sokoto 1938. A descendent of the first Sultan of Sokoto, Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, and a cousin of the last Sultan (who died on 1 November 1988). Took BA (Political Economy) in UK. Joined Federal Public Service 1964. Deputy Permanent Secretary (External Finance), Federal Ministry of Finance 1971-75. Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministries of Trade 1975-78, Industries 1978-79, Finance 1979-84, and National Planning 1984-88. June 1988, promoted to Minister of State in the Office of Budget and Planning in the President's Office.

Was close to Shagari, but survived the Buhari coup unscathed. Distantly related to Buhari by marriage and is said to have been one of his inner circle.

One of the most powerful and capable decision makers in Nigeria. He has become acknowledged as the most important Nigerian Minister dealing with economic and financial matters. Since his promotion to Minister of State in the Director Generals' reshuffle in June 1988, he has completely overshadowed his nominal superior, the Minister of Finance. He clearly enjoys Babangida's confidence.

Popularly known as "Triple A", but not to his face.

Married (to several wives).

PN5ABD

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

MR GEORGE DOVE-EDWIN

High Commissioner for Nigeria since April 1986.

Born 30 July 1928 in Cross Rivers State, South Eastern Nigeria.

Studied at Leeds University (Bachelor of Law and Diploma in Social Studies).

Joined Government service in 1948. Joined Nigerian Foreign Service in 1958. Attached to British Embassy, Washington, 1958-60; High Commissioner, New Delhi, 1966-68; Ambassador, Tokyo, 1968-73; Deputy Permanent Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1973-76; Ambassador, Stockholm, 1976-77; Ambassador, Paris, 1977-81; Director General (Regions), Ministry of External Affairs, 1981-84; Permanent Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1984-April 1986.

Dove-Edwin, who holds the formal title of Ambassador in the Nigerian Diplomatic Service, is one of its longest serving and most able members. A large, jovial man, he is friendly, frank and straightforward, with balanced views. Generally regarded as pro-British, he has been an invaluable asset in bringing about the substantial improvement in bilateral relations since 1986. He has also done much to try to improve the efficiency and the public image of the Nigerian High Commission.

CONFIDENTIAL

PN6AAT



CONFIDENTIAL

MRS MARYAM IBRAHIM BABANGIDA

First Lady, Wife of President Babangida

Born 1 November 1948 at Onitsha, Anambra State

Despite being of Ibo origin and having attended a convent primary school, Mrs Babangida is a Moslem. She was brought up in Bida, Niger State, and attended secretarial college in Kaduna. She also has a secretarial diploma from La Salle Extension University, Chicago, and a (Nigerian) certificate in computer science. She married the then Major Babangida in 1969. They have one daughter, Aishatu, and two sons, Mohammadu and Muhammed.

Mrs Babangida is charming, charismatic and stylish. She is the first wife of a Nigerian President to treat her position as a public office and to play such a high-profile role in the Administration. In addition to serving as President or Patron of various social and charitable organisations (including the Nigerian Army Officers' Wives Association, the National Council of Women's Societies and the Planned Parenthood Federation) she has launched campaigns of her own to complement Government policies in the fields of education, health and development.

In 1987 she organised a National Workshop on Better Life for Rural Women which she followed up by encouraging women

CONFIDENTIAL

PN5AAZ

CONFIDENTIAL

prominent in Nigerian society to promote cottage industries in rural areas. Her "Better Life Fair for Rural Dwellers" held in Lagos was one of the major social events of 1988. She also campaigns for Women's Education and against drug abuse and trafficking. The FCO are organising, as part of her programme for the State Visit, a presentation on the drug abuse prevention campaign in the UK.

She has published a successful autobiographical book on the life of Army wives called "The Home Front", a copy of which she sent last year to the Prime Minister.

Her hobbies are listed as gardening, home decoration, badminton, table tennis, squash and reading (mostly women's issues). She is a nature lover, especially interested in birds, and has an aviary at home.

CONFIDENTIAL

PN5AAZ



CONFIDENTIAL

MRS GWENDOLYN TONYESIA NWACHUKWU

Born 31 August 1947 at Port Harcourt. A Christian.

Wife of the Minister of External Affairs.

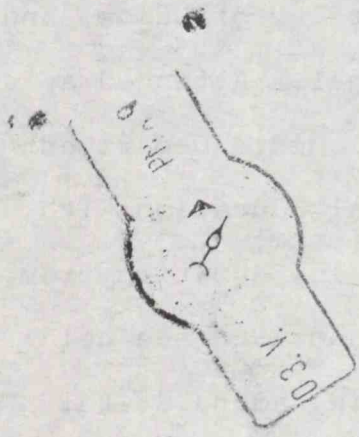
Studied French and English at the University of Lagos, and French at the Universite de Dakar, Senegal. Attended a four month course in the British Council Media Department in 1979 and a diploma course in Technical Education with the ILO in Turin, Italy. She has a MSC in Education from Indiana University, USA. Between 1972 and 1980 she held various jobs as an Educational Officer in Kaduna State. For the last nine years she has worked in the Technical and Vocational Division of the Federal Ministry of Education, in Lagos.

Her hobbies are reading, listening to music and photography. She has four children.

CONFIDENTIAL

PN5ABC

Mrs. Gwendolyn Tom Yasia (Machburn)





CONFIDENTIAL  
FM LAGOS  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 399  
OF 021415Z MAY 89

ADVANCE COPY

FROM BARDER

NIGERIA BEFORE THE STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT BABANGIDA

SUMMARY

1. THE ECONOMY AND TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN RULE PROGRAMME DOMINATE BOLD ECONOMIC DECISIONS TAKEN BUT PROSPECTS UNCERTAIN. NIGERIANS HAVE WARMLY ACKNOWLEDGED OUR ROLE IN MOBILISING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. ANGLO-NIGERIAN RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED MARKEDLY UNDER BABANGIDA. DISAGREEMENTS, INCLUDING THE SOUTH AFRICAN SANCTIONS ISSUE ARE NOW MORE MANAGEABLE. RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE IN 1992 STILL ON COURSE BUT DIFFICULT TO KEEP CORRUPT OLD GUARD POLITICIANS SIDELINED. BABANGIDA MERITS OUR CONTINUING SUPPORT.

DETAIL

2. TWO THINGS DOMINATE THE NIGERIAN SCENE: THE DIRE STATE OF THE ECONOMY, AND THE TRANSITION FROM MILITARY TO CIVILIAN RULE, DUE TO BE COMPLETED BY 1992.

THE ECONOMY

3. NIGERIAN OVER-DEPENDENCE ON OIL EARNINGS IN THE BOOM YEARS OF THE 70S AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE OIL PRICE REDUCED THE ECONOMY FROM PROSPERITY TO SLUMP ALMOST OVERNIGHT. FROM BEING ONE OF THE RICHEST COUNTRIES IN AFRICA NIGERIA HAS NOW BECOME ONE OF THE POOREST, EVEN ELEGIBLE FOR SOFT LOANS FROM THE IDA. COPING WITH POVERTY IS HARDER FOR THE ONCE RICH THAN FOR THOSE WHO HAVE NEVER KNOWN BETTER TIMES AND THE ADJUSTMENT IS STILL PAINFUL FOR PROUD AND INSTINCTIVE EXTRAVAGANT NIGERIANS. THEY ARE STILL HAVING TO LEARN HOW TO ACCEPT INTERNATIONAL AID AND SUPPORT GRACEFULLY AND EFFICIENTLY. THIS MAKES THEM DIFFICULT AND SOMETIMES IRRITATING PEOPLE TO HAVE TO HELP.



4. PRESIDENT BABANGIDA'S MILITARY REGIME HAS NEVERTHELESS EMBARKED ON A CREDITABLE AND COURAGEOUS PROGRAMME OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON BROADLY CLASSICAL IMF LINES, ALTHOUGH NOT WISHING TO BE BEHOLDERS THEY HAVE SO FAR DECLINED TO TAKE LOAN MONEY FROM THE IMF ITSELF. AFTER A BAD WOBBLE LAST YEAR, ECONOMIC POLICY IS NOW BACK ON COURSE, AND WON THE HOUSEHOLD SEAL OF APPROVAL FROM THE IMF, IBRD, PARIS AND LONDON CLUBS AND THE MAIN DONOR AND CREDITOR GOVERNMENTS IN THE EARLY PART OF THIS YEAR. BRITAIN HAS PLAYED THE LEADING ROLE IN MUSTERING INTERNATIONAL APPROVAL AND SUPPORT, EARNING GENEROUS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND GRATITUDE FROM THE NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP. OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS GRANT OF DOLLARS 100M THIS YEAR AND OUR INITIATIVE IN RAISING A FURTHER DOLLRS 500 M FROM OTHER SOURCES FOR NIGERIA, TOGETHER WITH SUCCESSFUL VISITS BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN JANUARY 1988 AND MARCH 1989, HAVE RAISED OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS TO A LEVEL WHICH IS UNPRECEDENTED IN RECENT YEARS. THE STATE VISIT SHOULD PUT THE SEAL ON THIS STRIKING IMPROVEMENT.

5. ECONOMIC PROSPECTS ARE UNCERTAIN. THERE IS STRONG PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME, WHICH HITS HARDEST AT THE URBAN POOR AND (FOR OTHER REASONS) THE WELL-TO-DO MIDDLE CLASS - THE LATTER VOCAL AND POLITICALLY POWERFUL. BABANGIDA WANTS TO GET THE ECONOMY BACK ON THE RAILS BEFORE HE HANDS OVER TO THE CIVILIANS IN 1992. HE MAY BE UNDER-RATING THE TIME REQUIRED FOR THE BENEFITS OF HIS AUSTERITY PROGRAMME TO BEGIN TO BE FELT.

#### THE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

6. WITHIN WEEKS THE BAN ON PARTY POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS TO BE LIFTED. PARTY-BASED LOCAL AND STATE ELECTIONS ARE TO FOLLOW, LEADING UP TO THE PRESIDENTIAL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF A CIVILIAN REGIME IN 1992. BABANGIDA IS DETERMINED TO KEEP THE CORRUPT OLD-GUARD POLITICIANS FROM TAKING OVER THE COUNTRY AGAIN AND REPEATING THE MIS-MANAGEMENT AND GREEDINESS OF THE PAST, BUT THIS WILL BE HARD TO ACHIEVE IN PRACTICE. THE TRANSITION PERIOD FOR THE NEXT 3 YEARS WILL BE BUMPY AND UNPREDICTABLE. IT WILL INTENSIFY PUBLIC PRESSURES FOR RELAXATION OF TOUGH ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND MAY EVEN INVOLVE THREATS TO LAW AND ORDER. BABANGIDA AND HIS SENIOR COLLEAGUES WILL NEED STRONG NERVES: BUT THEY HAVE SHOW EVIDENCE THAT STRONG NERVES ARE PART OF THEIR ARMOURY ALREADY.



## THE STATE VISIT

7. THE TEXTURE AND TEMPER OF BRITISH-NIGERIAN RELATIONS HAVE CHANGED DRAMATICALLY FOR THE BETTER IN THE PAST 18 MONTHS. VARIOUS CRISES, TRIGGERED BY MAINLY RELATIVELY MINOR AND UNPREDICTABLE EPISODES, HAD PRODUCED A LONG COOLNESS. A SERIES OF MINISTERIAL AND OTHER VISITS BEGAN TO THAW THE ICE, AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT IN EARLY 1988 MUCH ACCELERATED THE WARMING PROCESS. THE SUCCESS OF THAT VISIT, FOLLOWED AS IT WAS BY MANY MORE HIGH-LEVEL VISITS IN BOTH DIRECTIONS (INCLUDING THAT OF HRH THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD WIDE FUND FOR NATURE IN FEBRUARY ) HAVE FURTHER PROMOTED THE IMPROVEMENT, AND BRITAIN'S GENEROUS SUPPORT FOR THE ECONOMY IN RECENT MONTHS SEEMS TO HAVE REMOVED MANY OF THE OLD SUSPICIONS AND ANTAGONISMS. EVEN ON THE OLD ISSUE OF BRITAIN'S POLICY REGARDING SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, ABOUT WHICH THE NIGERIANS CONTINUE TO FEEL STRONGLY AND EMOTIONALLY, THERE IS NOW A CIVIL ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED TO DIFFER, AND MUTUAL RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S POINTS OF VIEW. SOME ISSUES STILL RANKLE AND PERIODICALLY DISRUPT RELATIONS, BUT UNDER THE PRESENT PRAGMATIC, MODERATE AND FRIENDLY LEADERSHIP OF NIGERIA, THESE HAVE BECOME MUCH MORE MANAGEABLE THAN HITHERTO.

8. SO THE PRESIDENT HAS EARNED THE HONOUR OF AN INVITATION TO MAKE A STATE VISIT ON SEVERAL COUNTS: HIS COURAGE IN PURSUING UNPOPULAR POLICIES TO GET THE ECONOMY STRAIGHT, HIS DETERMINATION TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN, AND HIS APPRECIATION OF THE MAJOR EFFORT WHICH BRITAIN HAS MADE ON NIGERIA'S BEHALF. HE IS GENUINELY TRYING TO HAND OVER NIGERIA TO A NEW DEMOCRATIC REGIME IN BETTER SHAPE THAN THAT IN WHICH HE FOUND IT. HE DESERVES OUT CONTINUING SUPPORT AND GOOD-WILL.

VARCOE

YYYY

ADVANCE

128

.NIGERIA/UK RELATIONS

PS

PS/MRS CHALKER

PS/PUS

~~MR TOMKYS~~

MR FAIRWEATHER

HD/WAD

HD/NEWS

PS/NO.10 DOWNING ST

RESIDENT CLERK



NNNN



*me mlw*

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

27 April 1989

*Dear Chief Okubanjo,*

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you very much for your kind letter which she much appreciated. We are greatly looking forward to the forthcoming State Visit of President Babangida to the United Kingdom. I am sure that it will be a great success.

*Yours sincerely,*  
*C. D. Powell*

C. D. POWELL

Chief Dotun Okubanjo

*fm*



# Chief Dotun Okubanjo

Honourary Life Vice President Lagos Chamber of Commerce  
Honourary Life Vice President National Association of Chamber,  
of Commerce, Industry Mines & Agriculture.

Second Floor  
Western House  
8 - 10 Broad Street,  
G. P. O. Box 1973  
Lagos, Nigeria.

14th April 1989

Mrs Margret Thatcher  
The Prime Minister of  
Great Britain  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

*(Handwritten initials)*

Dear Madam Prime Minister

I will like to refer to my letter of June 7 1987, in which I congratulated you on your election as Prime Minister for a third time and at the same time I implored you to consider and change your attitude towards Africa and its affairs.

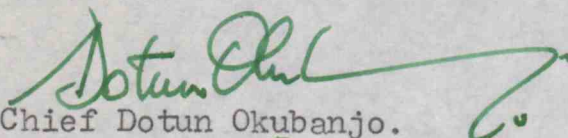
I will like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on the steps which you have been taking in recent times starting with your visit to Nigeria in January 1988 during which again I had opportunity to make a small presentation to you on behalf of the Nigeria - British Chamber of Commerce.

It is note worthy now that your leadership role in African affairs is bound to affect the tide of things and it is also fair that I should let you know that your efforts are being noted, and hope that you will continue in this manner so that peace and progress can emerge on our continent.

No nation can be an island to itself hence the highly developed nations need the less developed ones and vice versa. It is the understanding of our situation by the type of the leadership you are giving now that will build bridges of confidence and cooperation for the future.

I want to wish you God speed and continued success as you continue to make history.

Yours sincerely

  
Chief Dotun Okubanjo.

Phone: Office 637051, 637676, 871645, 876185.

FAX: (2341) 618878 NG; TLXS: 23426 COSEBU NG; 20117 TDS Box 159; 21616 NACC NG; CABLE DOTOKU LAGOS.



Kno

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

13 March 1989

This is just to acknowledge your letter of 8 March to the Prime Minister and to let you know that we have noted the information concerning the State Visit of President Babangida which you give.

The Prime Minister will be driving to Victoria Station from 10 Downing Street and will be at Hudson's Place by not later than 1210 hours.

I look forward to receiving the windscreen label nearer the time.

Amanda Ponsonby (Mrs)

Lt.-Col. George West, C.V.O.

144





AP for action

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

8th March, 1989

WA3

State Visit of  
The President of Nigeria, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces  
and Mrs Babangida

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Arrival - Tuesday, 9th May 1989

Dear Prime Minister,

I have the honour to inform you that The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh will meet The President of Nigeria and Mrs Babangida upon their Arrival at Victoria Station at 12.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 9th May next.

The Queen wishes you, as Prime Minister, to be present on this occasion and to arrive at Victoria Station, Hudson's Place by not later than 12.10 p.m.

Day Dress and hat will be worn.

I shall be grateful if I may please be provided with the address from which you will start your journey to Victoria Station in order that a route and a windscreen label may be provided to facilitate your arrival.

Yours sincerely  
A. W. George

Comptroller  
Lord Chamberlain's Office

WEST CVO

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, MP.,  
10 Downing Street,  
London  
SW1.

● PART \_\_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_\_ ends:-

Pm to Pres Babangida 8.12.88  
1187/88

PART 2 \_\_\_\_\_ begins:-

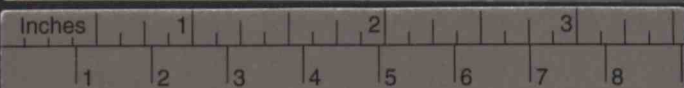
LT Col George West to Pm 8.3.89  
(Buckingham Palace)



# Grey Scale #13



**A** 1 2 3 4 5 6 **M** 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 **B** 17 18 19



## Colour Chart #13

Blue      Cyan      Green      Yellow

