

Foreign Relations, 1969-1976, Volume E-5, Documents on Africa, 1969-1972

Released by the Office of the Historian

Office of the Historian Bureau of Public Affairs United States Department of State

October 27, 2005

The Department of State released today *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1969–1976, Volume E–5, Documents on Africa, 1969–1972, as an electronic-only publication. This volume is the latest publication in the subseries of the *Foreign Relations* series that documents the most important decisions and actions of the foreign policy of the administrations of Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. Volume E–5 is the third *Foreign Relations* volume to be published in this new format, available to all free of charge on the Internet. Approximately 25 percent of the volumes scheduled for publication for the 1969–1976 subseries, covering the Nixon and Nixon-Ford administrations, will be in this format.

This volume documents the foreign policy of the Nixon administration toward Sub-Saharan Africa, 1969–1972, with the exception of Southern Africa, which will be covered in a *Foreign Relations* print volume to be published later. The largest chapter in this volume deals with the challenges faced by the Department of State and the Nixon administration during and after the Nigerian civil war. The principal issue was how to channel humanitarian aid to Biafrans, without undermining the U.S. policy of non-intervention in the civil war. Included in this chapter are documents that illuminate President Richard Nixon's personal views on the humanitarian crisis there. The second largest chapter is on the Horn of Africa and U.S. relations with Ethiopia and the Somali Republic. The United States became increasingly identified with Emperor Haile Selassie's Government and U.S. relations with the pro-Soviet Union Somali Republic deteriorated markedly. The chapter on Burundi highlights another humanitarian crisis: the large-scale massacres of civilians condoned by the Burundi Government in late 1972. The Department of State and the Nixon administration were slow to realize the nature of this tragedy. Given a policy of non-intervention, and the fact that the massacres were drawing to a close when the tragic nature of the events were brought to its attention, the Nixon administration decided that realistically there was little that it could do to ameliorate the situation. The downward spiral of U.S. relations with Uganda and its erratic President, Idi Amin, is covered in a separate chapter. Zaire and its President Mobutu, who was then considered by Washington a staunch friend in a key central African country and a relative success story in Africa, has its own chapter. U.S. relations and policy toward other sub-Saharan African countries not mentioned above, if significant, are covered in the first chapter on general African policy.

The volume, including a preface, list of names, abbreviations, sources, annotated document list, and this press release, is available on the Office of the Historian website (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5>). For further information contact Edward Keefer, General Editor of the *Foreign Relations* series, at (202) 663–1131; fax (202) 663–1289; e-mail history@state.gov.

<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5/index.htm>

Foreign Relations, 1969-1976, Volume E-5, Documents on Africa, 1969-1972

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Preface

The *Foreign Relations of the United States* series presents the official documentary historical record of major foreign policy decisions and significant diplomatic activity of the United States Government. The Historian of the Department of State is charged with the responsibility for the preparation of the *Foreign Relations* series. The staff of the Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, under the direction of the General Editor, plans, researches, compiles, and edits the volumes in the series. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg first promulgated official regulations codifying specific standards for the selection and editing of documents for the series on March 26, 1925. Those regulations, with minor modifications, guided the series through 1991.

Public Law 102–138, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993, which was signed by

President George H. W. Bush on October 28, 1991, established a new statutory charter for the preparation of the series. Section 198 of P.L. 102–138 added a new Title IV to the Department of State's Basic Authorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 4351, et seq.).

The statute requires that the *Foreign Relations* series be a thorough, accurate, and reliable record of major United States foreign policy decisions and significant United States diplomatic activity. The volumes of the series must include all records needed to provide comprehensive documentation of major foreign policy decisions and actions of the United States Government. The statute also confirms the editing principles established by Secretary Kellogg: the *Foreign Relations* series is guided by the principles of historical objectivity and accuracy; records should not be altered or deletions made without indicating in the published text that a deletion has been made; the published record should omit no facts that were of major importance in reaching a decision; and nothing should be omitted for the purpose of concealing a defect in policy. The statute also requires that the *Foreign Relations* series be published not more than 30 years after the events recorded.

Structure and Scope of the Foreign Relations Series

This electronic-only volume is part of the subseries of the *Foreign Relations* series that documents the most important decisions and actions of the foreign policy of the administration of Richard M. Nixon. This is the third *Foreign Relations* volume to be published in a new format, that of electronic-only publication. Approximately 25 percent of the volumes scheduled for publication for the 1969–1976 subseries, covering the Nixon and Nixon-Ford administrations, will be in this format. The decision to institute this change was taken in full consultation with the Department's Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, which was established under the *Foreign Relations* statute. The advantages of this new method of presenting documentation are evident in this volume: the format enables convenient access to more key documentation on a broader range of issues, all or any portion of which can be easily downloaded. Annotation—the value added element of documentary editing—is still present in limited form, but not to the scale of a *Foreign Relations* volume. This electronic-only publication results in substantial savings in cost and time of production, thus allowing the series to present a fuller range of documentation, on a wider range of topics, sooner than would have been possible under a print-only format. These advantages compensate for the fact that this *Foreign Relations* volume is not an actual book bound in traditional ruby buckram. The Department of State, the Historian, the General Editor, and the Historical Advisory Committee are all dedicated to publishing the great majority of the volumes in the *Foreign Relations* series in print form; these are also posted in electronic format on the Department of State's website. While the future of research in documentary publications is increasingly tied to the ease of use and availability of the Internet, the Department of State will continue to use both print and electronic-only versions to make the *Foreign Relations* series available to the widest audience possible. In that sense, this innovation is in keeping with the general principles of the series begun by President Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward and continued by subsequent presidents and secretaries of state for more than 140 years.

Focus of Research and Principles of Selection for Foreign Relations, 1969–1976, E–5

This volume documents the foreign policy of the Nixon administration toward sub-Saharan Africa with the exceptions of the Republic of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and Namibia, which are covered in print volume *Foreign Relations* 1969–1976, Vol. XXVIII, Southern Africa, 1969–1976. In addition, chapters on U.S. policy toward North Africa will be included in this electronic-only volume when they are declassified. This volume does not attempt to cover all countries in sub-Saharan Africa, but instead concentrates on those areas where U.S. interests and concerns were greatest. The chapter on general U.S. policy toward Africa provides the widest scope of coverage. The largest chapter, comprising more than half the volume, documents the Nigeria civil war and its aftermath. While the United States did not recognize the rebellion in Biafra and followed a policy of non-intervention, it was heavily involved in providing humanitarian relief mainly through the International Committee of the Red Cross and Joint Church Aid. President Nixon appointed a Special Coordinator on Relief to Civilian Victims of the Nigerian Civil War to provide guidance and direction to relief operations and to deflect some of the domestic criticism of the U.S. policy of non-intervention. Nixon himself was sympathetic to Biafran aspirations and the suffering caused by the civil war, and complained about, but did not to change, the Department of State policy of refusing to recognize Biafra as a belligerent.

The second great humanitarian crisis covered by the volume relates to the 1972 massacres of Hutus by Tutsis in Burundi. Again the Department of State followed a low-key, non-intervention policy and the Nixon administration did not make any effort to prevent the brutality and massacres beyond again expressing private dismay.

Chapters on Congo and the Horn of Africa highlight the growing U.S. relationship with President Joseph Mobutu of Zaire and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia as the Nixon administration attempted to create strong, pro-American governments in those two key African countries, especially through military assistance and sales of military equipment. On the other hand, in the Horn of Africa chapter, the volume documents the deterioration of U.S. relations with the Somali Republic. The virtual breakdown of U.S. relations with Uganda under the erratic leadership of President Idi

Amin is documented in the Uganda chapter.

Editorial Methodology

The documents are presented chronologically according to Washington time. Memoranda of conversation are placed according to the time and date of the conversation, rather than the date the memorandum was drafted. Editorial treatment of the documents published in the *Foreign Relations* electronic-only volumes follows Office style guidelines, supplemented by guidance from the General Editor and the Chief of the Declassification and Publishing Division. The original text is reproduced exactly, including marginalia or other notations, which are both visible on the facsimile copy of the document and described in the source note. There is also a text version of the document. The editors have supplied a heading, a summary, and a source note with additional relevant information, as required, for each document included in the volume. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are retained as found in the original text, except that obvious typographical errors are silently corrected in the text file. Abbreviations and contractions are preserved as found in the text, and a list of abbreviations, persons, and sources accompanies the volume. Bracketed insertions in roman type are used on the facsimile copy and in the text file to indicate text omitted by the editors because it deals with an unrelated subject. Text that remains classified after declassification review is blacked-out on the facsimile copy and a bracketed insertion (in italic type) appears in the text file. Entire documents selected for publication but withheld because they must remain classified are accounted for by a heading, a source note, and a bracketed note indicating the number of pages not declassified. These denied documents are listed in their chronological place in the volume.

Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation

The Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation reviews records, advises, and makes recommendations concerning the *Foreign Relations* series. The Historical Advisory Committee monitors the overall compilation and editorial process of the series and advises on all aspects of the preparation and declassification of the series. The Historical Advisory Committee does not necessarily review the contents of individual volumes in the series, but it makes recommendations on issues that come to its attention and reviews volumes, as it deems necessary, to fulfill its advisory and statutory obligations.

Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act Review

Under the terms of the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act (PRMPA) of 1974 (44 U.S.C. 2111 note), the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has custody of the Nixon Presidential historical materials. The requirements of the PRMPA and implementing regulations govern access to the Nixon Presidential historical materials. The PRMPA and implementing public access regulations require NARA to review for additional restrictions in order to ensure the protection of the privacy rights of former Nixon White House officials, since these officials were not given the opportunity to separate their personal materials from public papers. Thus, the PRMPA and related implementing public access regulations require NARA to notify formally the Nixon estate and former Nixon White House staff members that the agency is scheduling for public release Nixon White House historical materials. The Nixon Estate and former White House staff members have 30 days to contest the release of Nixon historical materials in which they were a participant or are mentioned. Further, the PRMPA and implementing regulations require NARA to segregate and return to the creator of files private and personal materials. All *Foreign Relations* volumes that include materials from NARA's Nixon Presidential Materials Staff are processed and released in accordance with the PRMPA.

Declassification Review

The Office of Information Programs and Services, Bureau of Administration, Department of State, conducted the declassification review of all the documents published in this volume. The review was undertaken in accordance with the standards set forth in Executive Order 12958, as amended, on Classified National Security Information, and applicable laws.

The principle guiding declassification review is to release all information, subject only to the current requirements of national security as embodied in law and regulation. Declassification decisions entailed concurrence of the appropriate geographic and functional bureaus in the Department of State and other concerned agencies of the U.S. Government. The final declassification review of this volume, which began in 2000 and was completed in 2005, resulted in the decision to withhold 4 documents in full, to excise a paragraph or more in 9 documents, and to make minor excisions in 22 documents. The editors are confident, on the basis of the research conducted in preparing this volume and as a result of the declassification review process described above, that this volume is an accurate record of the foreign policy of the first Nixon administration toward sub-Saharan Africa, 1969–1972.

Acknowledgments

The editors wish to acknowledge the assistance of officials at the Nixon Presidential Materials Project of the National Archives and Records Administration (Archives II), at College Park, Maryland, Sandra Meagher of the Department of Defense, who facilitated access to Defense records, and historians at the Center for the Study of Intelligence, who assisted in access to relevant records of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The editors also wish to acknowledge the Richard Nixon Estate for allowing access to the Nixon Presidential recordings, and the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace for facilitating that access.

Joseph Hilts did the research, initial selection, and initial annotation of the volume. Upon his retirement, David C. Humphrey revised the volume and reorganized it to make it conform to the new electronic-only format. Edward C. Keefer, General Editor of the *Foreign Relations* series, reviewed the volume.

Susan C. Weetman, Chief of the Declassification and Publishing Division, and Chris Tudda coordinated the declassification review. Chris Tudda also compiled the list of sources. Carl Ashley, Renée A. Goings, and Jennifer Walele performed the copy and technical editing.

Marc J. Susser

The Historian

Bureau of Public Affairs

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Unpublished Sources

Department of State

Central Files. See National Archives and Records Administration

Lot Files. These files have been or will be transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland, Record Group 59.

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Record Group 59, Records of the Department of State

Central Files

AID (US) Nigeria

AID (US) Somali, POL Somali-US

DEF 12-5 Nigeria

DEF 15 ETH-US

DEF 15-10 ETH-US

DEF 19 US-ETH

ORG 7 AF

POL AFR-Chicom

POL AFR-USSR

POL ETH-Somali

POL Nigeria 03

POL Nigeria-US

POL Nigeria-US, XR POL 30

POL Somali-US

POL Somali-USSR

POL UK-US

POL 1 AFR-US

POL 1 The Congo-US

POL 1 Nigeria-US

POL 1 Somali-US

POL 1 Uganda-US

POL 2 Nigeria

POL 2 Somali

POL 7 ETH

POL 7 Nigeria

POL 13 ETH
POL 17 IVCOT
POL 17 Nigeria-US
POL 17 Somali-US
POL 23 Nigeria
POL 23-9 Somalia
POL 23-9 Uganda
POL 23-10 Uganda
POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria
POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
POL 29 The Congo
POL 30 Nigeria
POL 33-4 Somali-US
POL 33-6 Somali-US
SOC 10 Nigeria, POL 23 Nigeria
STR 10 VIETN
STR VIETN XR AID (US) Somalia

Lot Files

Executive Secretariat, Conference Files, 1969-1972, 24th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) – Memcons, Vol. II, # 30, Lot 70 D 387

Executive Secretariat, Conference Files, 1969-1972, President Nixon's Trip to Europe, 9/27-10/5/70, Schedule, Memcons, Public Statements, Vol. I of IV, Lot 71 d 227

Records of the Special Coordinator on Relief to Civilian Victims of the Nigerian Civil War, February 1969-June 1970, Lot 70 D 336

Nixon Presidential Materials Project

Henry A. Kissinger Office Files, Country Files, Africa
Henry A. Kissinger Office Files, U.S.-Domestic-Agency Files, State/White House Relationship
National Security Council Files
Agency Files, Department of State
President Memoranda, 1971
Country Files, Africa, Burundi
Country Files, Africa, Ethiopia
Country Files, Africa, General
Country Files, Africa, Nigeria
Country Files, Africa, Rhodesia
Country Files, Africa, Senegal
Country Files, Africa, Uganda
Country Files, Africa, Zaire (Republic of Zaire), (Congo - Kinshasa)
Presidential Correspondence
Presidential/Henry A. Kissinger Memcons
President's Daily Briefing
President's Trip Files
VIP Visits, Congo, Mobutu Visit
VIP Visits – Ethiopia - State Visit of Emperor Haile Selassie I
National Security Council Institutional Files (H-Files)
NSC Meetings
Subject Files, HAK/Presidential Memorandums 1969-1970
Subject Files, Henry A. Kissinger/Richardson Meetings, Items to Discuss with the President
Subject Files, NIE
Subject Files, NSSMs and NSDMs
White House Central Files
Special Files, President's Office Files, Memoranda for the President
White House Tapes

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Manuscript Division
Kissinger Papers, Chronological Files
Kissinger Papers, Meetings, Staff Meetings
Kissinger Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, Presidential File

Kissinger Papers, Memoranda to the President
Kissinger Papers, NSC Committees and Panels Review Group
Kissinger Papers, NSC Meetings
Kissinger Papers, Telephone Records, Chronological File
Kissinger Papers, Telephone Records, Conversations

Central Intelligence Agency

ODDI Registry of NIEs and SNIEs
Office of National Estimates

**Washington National Records Center, Suitland, MD:
Record Group 330, Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD)**

OSD, FRC 091.112 Ethiopia
OSD, FRC 330-75-089, Ethiopia 1969
OSD, FRC 330-76-067, Ethiopia 1970
OSD, FRC 330-76-197, Ethiopia 1971
OASD/ISA, FRC 330, Ethiopia, August 1972-April 1973

Published Sources

Richard M. Nixon, *U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: A New Strategy for Peace: A Report to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 18, 1970).

Richard M. Nixon, *U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: Building for Peace: A Report to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 25, 1971).

Richard M. Nixon, *U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: The Emerging Structure for Peace: A Report to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 9, 1972).

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PERSONS

Abdirascid, Ali Shermarke, President of Somalia from June 1967 until his assassination on October 15, 1969

Achebe, Chinua, novelist, worked for Biafran Information Services and Political Orientation Committee

Adair, Edwin Ross, Ambassador to Ethiopia from July 8, 1971 to February 12, 1974

Adoula, Cyrille, former Prime Minister of the Congo until July 1964; Ambassador to the United States from January 1967

Agnew, Spiro T., Vice President of the United States, January 1969 to October 1973

Aklilu, Abte-Wold Tsahafi, Prime Minister of Ethiopia

Akpan, N. U., Chief Secretary of the Biafran government

Amachree, Godfrey, personal representative of Major General Gowon

Amin, Major General Idi, President of Uganda from January 25, 1971

Annenberg, Walter H., Ambassador to the United Kingdom from April 1969 to October 1974

Arikpo, Okoi, Nigerian Federal Commissioner for External Affairs under Gowon

Atherton, Alfred L., Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs from March 1970

Azikiwe, Chukwuma, son of the former President of Nigeria, mentioned as possible peace negotiator

Azikiwe, Nnamdi, President of Nigeria, 1963-1967

Berard, Armand, French Representative to the United Nations until February 1970

Bergsten, C. Fred, member of the National Security Council Staff, 1969-1971

Blatchford, Joseph H., Director of the Peace Corps, May 1969 to June 1971; Director of ACTION, July 1971 to February 1973

Burns, Arthur F., Counselor to the President, January 1969 to January 1970; thereafter, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board

Bush, George H. W., Republican Congressman from Texas until January 1971; Representative to the United Nations, February 1971 to January 1973

Butterfield, Alexander P., Deputy Assistant to the President from January 1969 to January 1973

Butz, Earl I., Secretary of Agriculture from December 1971

Cadieux, Marcel, Canadian Ambassador to the United States from April 1970

Caradon, Lord (Hugh Mackintosh Foot), British Representative to the United Nations until June 1970

Carter, W. Beverly, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, November 1969 to June 1972; thereafter, Ambassador to Tanzania

Chaban-Delmas, Jacques, Prime Minister of France from June 1969 to July 1972

Chafee, John H., Secretary of the Navy from January 1969 to May 1972

Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)

Chou En-lai (Zhou Enlai), Premier of the People's Republic of China

Cline, Ray S., Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, from October 1969

Cohen, Edwin S., Under Secretary of the Treasury, 1972-1973

Connally, John B., Jr., Secretary of the Treasury from February 1971 to May 1972

Cousins, Norman, Editor, *Saturday Review*

Cromer, Earl of (George Rowland Stanley Baring), British Ambassador to the United States from February 1971

Crowe, Sir Colin, British Representative to the United Nations from June 1970

Cushman, Lieutenant General Robert R., Jr., Deputy Director of Central Intelligence from May 1969 to December 1971

Davis, Jeanne W., Director, National Security Council Staff Secretariat, 1970-1971

Debre, Michel, French Foreign Minister until June 1969

DeGaulle, Charles, President of France until April 1969

De Guiringaud, Louis, French Representative to the United Nations from 1972

Denney, George C., Jr., Deputy Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State

Dent, Frederick B., Secretary of Commerce from December 1972

DePalma, Samuel, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs from February 1969 to June 1973

Dike, Kenneth, roving Biafran emissary

Dohney, Father Kevin, Holy Ghost priest, Ireland, active in Biafran relief effort

Dohney, Father Michael, Holy Ghost priest, Ireland, active in Biafran relief effort

Douglas-Home, Sir Alec, British Foreign Secretary from June 1970 to March 1974

Eagleburger, Lawrence S., member of the National Security Council Staff, 1969-1970

Effiong, Major-General Philip, Biafran Chief of Staff who conducted Biafra's surrender after Ojukwu left

Egal, Mohammed Ibrahim, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Somalia from June 1967

Ehrlichman, John D., Counsel to the President, January-November 1969; Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, November 1969-May 1973

Ekwensi, Cyprian, Director of Biafran Information Services

Eliot, Theodore L., Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary and Executive Secretary of the Department of State from August 1969 to September 1973; thereafter, Ambassador to Afghanistan

Enahoro, Chief Anthony, Federal Minister of Information in Gowon's government

Ferguson, Clarence Clyde, Jr., Special Coordinator on Relief to Victims of the Nigerian Civil War from February 1969 to June 1970; Ambassador to Uganda from June 1970 until July 1972; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from August 1972 to October 1973

Foccart, Jacques, French Secretary General for African and Malagasy Affairs

Ford, Gerald R., Republican Congressman from Michigan; House Minority Leader

Freeman, John, British Ambassador to the United States from March 1969 to January 1971

Freeman, Rear Admiral Mason, USN, Vice Director, Joint Chiefs of State

Freymond, Jacques, Vice President of the International Committee of the Red Cross from April 1969

Froehke, Robert F., Assistant Secretary of Defense for Administration from January 1969 to June 1971; Secretary of the Army from July 1971 to May 1973

Fulbright, J. William, Democratic Senator from Arkansas; Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Gowon, Major General Yakubu, Chairman of the Supreme Military Council of Nigeria from July 1966

Hadsel, Fred Latimer, Ambassador to Somalia from June 28, 1969 to July 18, 1971; Ambassador to Ghana from September 25, 1971 to July 29, 1974

Haig, Alexander M., Jr., Senior Military Assistant to the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from January 1969 to June 1970; Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from June 1970 to January 1973; thereafter, Army Vice Chief of Staff

Haile, Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia

Haldeman, H. R., Assistant to the President from January 1969 to April 1973

Hall, William O., Ambassador to Ethiopia from October 27, 1967 to May 15, 1971

Hannah, John A., Administrator, Agency for International Development from April 1969 to October 1973

Hardin, Clifford M., Secretary of Agriculture from January 1969 to December 1971

Harlow, Bryce N., Assistant to the President from January 1969 to January 1970; Counselor to the President from January 1970 to 1974

Heath, Edward, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from June 1970 to March 1974

Helms, Richard M., Director of Central Intelligence until February 1973

Hughes, Thomas L., Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, until August 1969

Hurd, John G., Ambassador to South Africa from September 10, 1970 to April 7, 1975

Hyland, William, member of the National Security Council Staff, 1970-1972

Irwin, John N., II, Under Secretary of State from September 1970 to July 1972; Deputy Secretary of State from July 1972 to February 1973

Iyalla, Joseph T. F., Nigerian Ambassador to the United States from March 1968 to April, 1972; Permanent Secretary, Nigerian Ministry of External Affairs from May 1972

Johnson, U. Alexis, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from February 1969 to February 1973

Katzenbach, Nicholas deBelleville, Under Secretary of State from October 3, 1966 to January 20, 1969

Kaunda, Kenneth D., President of Zambia

Kayibanda, Gregoire, President and Prime Minister of Rwanda

Keita, Modibo, President of Mali

Kennedy, David M., Secretary of the Treasury from January 1969 to January 1971; Ambassador at Large for Foreign Economic Development from February 1971 to March 1973; jointly, Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from March 1972 to February 1973

Kenyatta, Jomo, President of Kenya

Kinney, Edward M., Secretary/Treasurer, Joint Church Aid-USA until April 1970

Kissinger, Henry A., President's Assistant for National Security Affairs from January 1969

Kosciusko-Morizet, Jacques, French Representative of France to the United Nations from February 1970 to May 1972; thereafter, French Ambassador to the United States

Laird, Melvin R., Secretary of Defense from January 1969 to January 1973

Lake, W. Anthony, member of the National Security Council Staff, 1970-1971

Lang, William E., Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Africa and the Western Hemisphere until 1970

Lindt, August, Swiss Ambassador, served as the Commissioner General of the International Committee of the Red Cross for West Africa concentrating on relief operations in Nigeria from July 1968 to June 1969; resigned June 19, 1969 after being declared persona non grata by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria on June 14, 1969

Loomis, Henry, Deputy Director, United States Information Agency until January 1973

Lord, Winston, member of the National Security Council Staff, 1969-1971

Lucet, Charles, French Ambassador to the United States until April 1972

Lythcott, Dr. George, Associate Dean for International Medical Affairs, College of Physicians & Surgeons, Columbia University; former Regional Director in Lagos for the 19 country project of the Public Health Service/Communicable Disease Center from July 1966 to June 1969

Mathews, Elbert G., Ambassador to Nigeria from April 11, 1964 to July 26, 1969

Melady, Thomas Patrick, Ambassador to Burundi from January 31, 1970 to May 25, 1972; Ambassador to Uganda from July 30, 1972 to February 9, 1973

Melbourne, Roy M., Country Director for West Africa, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State, from June 1966

Mendenhall, Joseph A., Acting Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Vietnam, Agency for International Development until January 1970; Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic from September 1972

Messmer, Pierre, Prime Minister of France from July 1972 to February 1974

Mitchell, John, Attorney General from January 1969 to February 1972

Mobutu, Lieutenant General Joseph D., President of the Republic of the Congo (Zaire) and Minister of Defense from November 1965

Mohammed, Lieutenant-Colonel Murtala, Nigerian Commander of 2nd Division, adviser and rival to Yakubu Gowon, Nigerian Head of State

Mojekwu, C. C., Biafran Commissioner for Home Affairs

Moore, C. Robert, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs until June 1972; thereafter, Ambassador to Cameroon

Moorer, Admiral Thomas H., USN, Chief of Naval Operations until July 1970; thereafter, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Moose, Richard, member of the National Security Council Staff, 1969-1970

Morris, Roger, member of the National Security Council Staff, 1967-1971

Naville, Marcel A., President of the International Committee of the Red Cross from April 1969

Newsom, David D., Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from July 1969 to January 1974

Nixon, Richard M., President of the United States from January 20, 1969 to August 9, 1974

Njoku, Eni, Biafran delegate at peace talks and a senior emissary

Nutter, G. Warren, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs from March 1969 to January 1973

Nwakoby, Ralph, Biafran Deputy Representative in the United States

Nwokedi, Francis, special adviser to Biafra's Head of State Ojukwu

Nyerere, Julius, President of Tanganyika until country renamed in October 1964; thereafter President of Tanzania

Obote, A. Milton, President of Uganda until overthrown on January 25, 1971

Ojukwu, Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu, Military Governor of the Eastern Region of Nigeria from January 1966 until January 10, 1970

Okigbo, Pius, economic adviser to the Biafran government

Okpara, Michael I., political adviser to Biafra's Head of State Ojukwu

Packard, David, Deputy Secretary of Defense from January 1969 to December 1971

Palmer, Joseph, II, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs until July 1969

Pohér, Alain, Interim President of France from April to June 1969

Pompidou, Georges, President of France from June 1969

Resor, Stanley R., Secretary of the Army until June 1971

Richardson, Elliot L., Under Secretary of State from January 1969 to June 1970; Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare from June 1970 to January 1973; Secretary of Defense from January to May 1973; Attorney General from May to October 1973

Ritchie, A. Edgar, Canadian Ambassador to the United States until January 1970

Roberto, Holden, Angolan nationalist leader, President of GRAE, and leader of FNLA and UPA

Rodman, Peter W., member of the National Security Council Staff, 1970-1972

Rogers, William P., Secretary of State from January 1969 to September 1973

Ross, Claude G., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from August 1972

Rountree, William Manning, Ambassador to South Africa from January 1966 to June 1970

Rush, Kenneth, Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany from July 1969 to February 1972; Deputy Secretary of Defense from February 1972 to January 1973

Ryan, General John D., USAF, Air Force Chief of Staff from August 1969 to July 1973

Saunders, Harold H., member, National Security Council Staff

Savimbi, Jonas, leader of the Angolan national liberation movement UNITA

Schaufele, William E., Jr., Ambassador to Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) from October 16, 1969 to July 10, 1971

Schlesinger, James R., Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget from January 1969 to August 1971; Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission from August 1971 to February 1973; Director of Central Intelligence from February to July 1973; thereafter, Secretary of Defense

Schumann, Maurice, French Foreign Minister from June 1969 to April 1973

Seamans, Robert C., Jr., Secretary of the Air Force from February 1969 to May 1973

Senghor, Leopold Sedar, President of Senegal

Shakespeare, Frank, Director, United States Information Agency from February 1969 to February 1973

Sharp, Mitchell, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs until August 1974

Shillito, Barry J., Assistant Secretary of Defense, Installations and Logistics

Shriver, R. Sargent, Jr., Ambassador to France until March 1970

Smith, Ian Douglas, Prime Minister of Rhodesia

Smith, Robert Powell, Officer in Charge of Nigerian Affairs, from July 1966

Smith, Robert S., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, December 1969 to February 1973

Sonnenfeldt, Helmut, member of the National Security Council Staff from January 1969 to January 1974

Spiers, Ronald I., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs from August to September 1969; Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs from September 1969 to August 1973

Springsteen, George S., Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs until June 1972; Acting Assistant Secretary from June 1972 to August 1973; thereafter, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs

Stans, Maurice, Secretary of Commerce from January 1969 to January 1972

Stewart, Michael, British Foreign Secretary until June 1970

Swanstrom, Bishop Edward E., President, Joint Church Aid – USA until April 1970

Thant, U, Secretary-General of the United Nations until December 1971

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, Prime Minister of Canada from June 1967

Truehart, William Clyde, Ambassador to Nigeria from November 6, 1969 to September 1, 1971

Tubby, Roger Wellington, Ambassador, Representative of the United States to the European office of the United Nations from October 18, 1967 to September 24, 1969

Vaky, Viron P., Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from January to May 1969; member of

the National Security Council Staff from May 1969 to September 1972; thereafter, Ambassador to Costa Rica

Vaughn, Jack, Director of the Peace Corps

Waldheim, Kurt, Secretary-General of the United Nations from January 1972

Walters, Lieutenant General Vernon A., Deputy Director of Central Intelligence from May 1972

Warner, John W., Under Secretary of the Navy until April 1972; Secretary of the Navy From May 1972 to April 1974

Wheeler, General Earle G., USA, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff until July 1970

Wilson, Harold, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom until June 1970

Wright, W. Marshall, member of the National Security Council Staff from June 1970 to April 1972; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations from April to December 1972; thereafter, Acting Assistant Secretary

Yost, Charles W., Representative to the United Nations from January 1969 to February 1971

Yost, Robert Lloyd, Ambassador to Burundi from August 19, 1972 to May 26, 1974

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Abbreviations

ADB, African Development Bank

AF, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

AF/AFI, Office of Inter-African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

AFCM, Country Director for Central Africa, Malagasy and Mauritius, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

AFCW, Country Director for West Central Africa, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

AFE, Office of Eastern and Southern African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

AFL-CIO, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations

AFP, Agence France Presse

AFSE, Country Director for Southeastern Africa, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

AID, Agency for International Development

Amb, Ambassador

Amcits, American citizens

ANC, African National Congress

ANC, Congolese National Army

AP, Associated Press

ASAP, as soon as possible

BAC, British Aircraft Corporation

BNA, Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs, Bureau of European Affairs, Department of State

BP, British Petroleum

CA, circular airgram

CAE, Congolese Air Force

CAR, Central African Republic
CAS, Controlled American Source
CHMAAG, Chief, Military Assistance Advisory Group
ChiCom, Chinese Communist(s)
ChiRep, Chinese representational question
CI, Counterinsurgency
CIA, Central Intelligence Agency
CIA/DDP, Deputy Director for Plans, Central Intelligence Agency
CIB, Combined Intelligence Board
CINCEUR, Commander in Chief, European Command
CINCLANT, Commander in Chief, Armed Forces, Atlantic
CINCMEAFA, Commander in Chief, Middle East/South Asia and Africa South of the Sahara
CINSTRIKE, Commander in Chief, Strike Command

CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFA, Commander in Chief, Strike Command; Commander in Chief, Middle East, South Asia and Africa South of the Sahara
CINCUSAFE, Commander in Chief, United States Air Force, Europe
CJCS, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
CO, Commanding Officer; Commonwealth Office (Nigeria)
COCOM, Coordinating Committee on Export Controls
COMUSJTE, Commander, U. S. Joint Task Force
COREMO, Comité Revolucionario de Mocambique (Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique)
CPP, Convention's People's Party (Ghana)
CPR, Chinese People's Republic
CRO, Commonwealth Relations Office
CS, Chief of Staff
CU, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State

DAO, Defense Attaché's Office
DATT, Defense Attaché
DCM, Deputy Chief of Mission
DDP/AE, Deputy Director of Plans for Africa, Central Intelligence Agency
DefMin, Defense Minister
Del, Delegation
Depcirtel, Department of State circular telegram
Deptel, Department of State telegram
Deptoff, Department Officer
DFA, Department of Foreign Affairs
DHC, District High Commissioner (Nigeria)
DIA, Defense Intelligence Agency
DOD, Department of Defense
DOD/ISA, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs
DOS, Department of State
DRC, Democratic Republic of the Congo

E, Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
ECA, Economic Commission for Africa (ECOSOC)
EEC, European Economic Community (Common Market)
ELF, Eritrean Liberation Front
Emb, Embassy
Emboff, Embassy officer
Embtel, Embassy telegram
EST, Eastern Standard Time
ETA, estimated time of arrival

EUCOM, European Command
EXIMBANK, Export-Import Bank

FBIS, Foreign Broadcast Information Service

FMG, Federal Military Government (Nigeria)
FNLA, Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)
FonMin, Foreign Minister
FonOff, Foreign Office
FonSec, Foreign Secretary
FRC, Federal Records Center
FRELIMO, Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)
FRG, Federal Republic of Germany
FY, fiscal year
FYI, for your information

GA, United Nations General Assembly
GDRC, Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo
GNP, Gross National Product
GOB, Government of Burundi
GOC, Government of The Congo
GOF, Government of France
GOG, Government of Ghana
GOIC, Government of Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire)
GOI, Government of Italy
GOK, Government of Kenya
GON, Government of Nigeria
GOP, Government of Portugal
GOR, Government of Rhodesia, Government of Rwanda
GOS, Government of Senegal
GOU, Government of Uganda
GOUV, Government of Upper Volta (Haute Volta)
GRAE, Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile
GRC, Government of the Republic of China
GRZ, Government of the Republic of Zambia
GSR, Government of the Somali Republic
GURTZ, Government of the United Republic of Tanzania

HICOM, High Commissioner
HIM, His Imperial Majesty
HM, His Majesty
HMG, Her Majesty's Government
HQ, Headquarters

IBRD, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICFTU, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICJ, International Court of Justice
ICRC, International Committee of the Red Cross
IDA, International Development Association
IEG, Imperial Ethiopian Government
IEGF, Imperial Ethiopian Government Forces
IMF, International Monetary Fund
INR, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State
INR/DDC, Deputy Director for Coordination, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State

INR/RAF, Office of Research and Analysis for Africa, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State
IRG, Interdepartmental Regional Group
IRG/AF, Interdepartmental Regional Group, Africa
ISA, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

JANAF, Joint Army, Navy, Air Force
JCA, Joint Church AID, USA
JCS, Joint Chiefs of Staff
JCSM, Joint Chiefs of Staff Memorandum
JTF, Joint Task Force

KANU, Kenya African National Union

L, Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State
L/AF, Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for African Affairs, Department of State
LDC, Less Developed Country
LGTA, General League of Angolan Workers
L/UNA, Assistant Legal Adviser for United Nations Affairs, Department of State

M, Office of the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs
MAAG, Military Assistance Advisory Group
MAP, Military Assistance Program
MATS, Military Air Transport Service
MIG, A. I. Mikoyan I M. I. Gurevich (Soviet fighter aircraft named for designers Mikoyan and Gurevich)
MilGovs, Military Governments
MinDef, Minister of Defense
MinExtAff, Minister of External Affairs
MinInfo, Minister of Information (Ethiopia)
MOD, Minister of Defense
MPLA, Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)

NAACP, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NASA, National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NEP, North Eastern Province (Somalia)
NER, North East Region (Kenya)
NFD, Northern Frontier District (Kenya)
NIE, National Intelligence Estimate
NLC, National Liberation Council (Ghana)
NMG, National Military Government (Nigeria)
Nofor, No Foreign Dissemination
NOTAL, not received by all addressees
NPP, National Policy Paper
NSA, National Security Agency
NSAM, National Security Action Memorandum
NSC, National Security Council

OASD/ISA, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs
OAU, Organization of African Unity
OCAM, Organization Commune Africaine et Malagache (African-Malagasy Common Organization)
OCI, Office of Current Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency
ODMA, Office of the Director of Military Assistance, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

OECD, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEP, Office of Emergency Planning
ONE, Office of National Estimates, Central Intelligence Agency
OSD, Office of the Secretary of Defense

P, Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs
PAC, Pan African Congress
PC, Peace Corps
PCC/ZAPU, Peoples' Caretaker Council/Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union
P. L., Public Law
PM, Prime Minister
PNG, persona non grata
POL, petroleum, oil, lubricants
PriMin, Prime Minister

RAF, Royal Air Force
Reftel, reference telegram
Reps, representatives
RF, Rhodesian Front
RG, Record Group
RSA, Republic of South Africa
RTV, Radio and Television International, Inc.

S, Office of the Secretary of State
SA, South Africa
SAG, South African Government
SC, United Nations Security Council
SC Res, Security Council resolutions
Secto, series indicator for telegrams from the Secretary of State (or his delegation) to the Department of State
Septel, separate telegram
SIG, Senior Interdepartmental Group
SITREP, situation report
SMC, Supreme Military Council (Nigeria)
SNIE, Special National Intelligence Estimate
S/P, Counselor and Chairman of the Policy Planning Council, Department of State
SR, Southern Rhodesia
SRG, Southern Rhodesia Government
S/S, Executive Secretariat, Department of State
STRATCOM, Strategic Command
STRIKECOM, Strike Command
STRIKEOPS, Strike Operations
SWA, South West Africa
SWAPO, South West Africa People's Organization
SYG, Secretary-General
SYL, Somali Youth League

Tosec, series indicator for telegrams from the Department of State to the Secretary of State (or his delegation)

U, Office of the Under Secretary of State
UAMCE, Union for African and Malagasy Economic Cooperation
UDENAMO, Uniao Democratica Nacional de Mocambique (Democratic National Union of Mozambique)
UK, United Kingdom
UKG, United Kingdom Government

ULC, United Labour Congress (Nigeria)
UN, United Nations
UNCTAD, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP, United Nations Development Program
UNECA, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNGA, United Nations General Assembly
UNITA, Uniao Nacional para e Independencia Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
UNP, Office of United Nations Political Affairs, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, Department of State
UNRep, United Nations Representative
UNSC, United Nations Security Council
UNSYG, United Nations Secretary-General
UPA, Uniao das Populacoes de Angola (Union of Angolan Peoples)
UPC, Ugandan Peoples' Congress
UPGA, United Progressive Grand Alliance (Nigeria)
URTZ, United Republic of Tanzania
USAF, United States Air Force
USDA, United States Department of Agriculture
USIA, United States Information Agency
USIS, United States Information Service
USN, United States Navy
USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UST, United States Treaties and Other International Agreements
USUN, United States Mission to the United Nations

VOA, Voice of America
VOLAGs, volunteer agencies
VP, Vice President

WH, White House
WHO, World Health Organization

ZANU, Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union
ZAPU, Zimbabwe African People's Union
Z, Zulu, Greenwich Mean Time (for Department of State telegrams)