

Approved For Release 2000/08/16 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000400140001-5

# Nigerians Hail Russia's Help, Criticize U.S.

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Foreign Service

LAGOS, Jan. 28—Two giant U.S. C-141 cargo planes landed here today carrying trucks, blankets and electric generators donated by the United States to the victims of the Nigerian civil war.

The planes' Air Force markings were covered over with silver paint and the crews were dressed in civilian sports shirts and slacks. Off the first one came Capt. Campbell Kidd and his crew, who stepped from the Starlifter aircraft into the middle of international politics.

The United States agreed to a civilian appearance for the plane and crew to placate the Nigerian government, which is sensitive about allowing foreign military personnel in their country.

As the Americans stood in bright tropical sunshine, a Soviet-made Mig jet fighter of the Nigerian air force swept overhead in a thundering farewell tribute to Congo President Joseph Mobutu. Mobutu was holding a sort of airport press conference—from which foreign newsmen, threatened with arrest for showing up, were barred.

These midmorning scenes sum up, to some extent, the moods of Nigerian foreign policy statements, and privately expressed views of officials, in the wake of Nigeria's victory over Biafra.

## Soviet Praised

The Soviet Union, which provided arms like the Mig, is being praised effusively by official spokesmen. Britain and the United States, providing the bulk of relief thus far, are being pointedly criticized in government media.

Analysts here are not prepared to portray the change in outlook as a permanent one for Nigeria, which has been one of the West's strongest allies in the past and which

Kurubo, said last week that "the important thing" is that the Soviet Union "made, no noise about the assistance it has rendered Nigeria."

Kurubo asserted that the victory over Biafra was the result, "more than any other single thing, more than all other things together," of Soviet assistance.

Neither the Soviet nor Nigerian government has disclosed any details of the hardware, which the Nigerians are believed to have paid for in cash.

The best estimates are that the Russians sold Lagos six Il'yushin bombers, a half-dozen Mig-15 fighters and 18 Mig-17s.

Last September, a secret shipment of 24 122-mm artillery guns arrived in Nigeria, accompanied by Soviet gunnery trainers.

It is widely assumed here by Nigerians that official statements about the invaluable nature of Soviet aid refer to the aircraft and heavy artillery. In fact, some analysts think these had little military value per se for the Nigerians.

## Not Much Good

The mercenaries who flew the bombers and Migs never knocked out Biafra's Uli airstrip. Their bombing and strafing of civilians cost Nigeria in world opinion and seemed to solidify the Biafran population.

There appeared to have been little artillery damage done to the last towns of Biafra, such as Owerri and Orlu, in the final phase of the war.

The planes and guns were good for the big bang—a terrifying experience for people who live in forests and know nothing about airplanes, said one source. "That was their chief value."

Much more important were the large quantities of AK-47 automatic rifles and ammunition that the Soviets sold, in the view of some observers.

The big question that remains for Western diplomats is how the Russians will attempt to cash in on the gains they have made here. Their ships have already begun to use the harbor at Lagos, which could become a key point in expanding the range of the Soviet fleet.

The two countries also have worked out some barter arrangements, and the Russians can hardly be expected not to show interest in the vast oil deposits in Nigeria.

has a great many Anglophiles among its leaders.

But Western observers do admit that the Soviet Union has made what may be its first significant diplomatic gain in Independent Black Africa.

A few hours before the C-141s arrived, the government-controlled Nigerian radio said that it "is thanks to the Soviet Union more than any other nation that the rebellion was crushed."

This was a reference to the Soviet agreement in the summer of 1967 to provide Nigeria with arms at a time when the Biafrans were threatening to march to Lagos.

The United States refused throughout the war to sell arms to either side. The Nigerians accuse the British of having delayed arms shipments until they saw that Nigeria would withstand the Biafran advance.

"While the American government was piously saying it could not sell arms to either side," the government radio said today, "the CIA was freely and lavishly pouring arms and money into the rebel camp." The radio offered no evidence to back up this charge.

## Rogers Attacked

This followed an editorial attack by a government-owned newspaper on Secretary of State William P. Rogers' plan to visit Nigeria next month. (The attack was later disavowed by the Nigerian Embassy in Washington). Relief shipments coming from the United States have received scant attention in the local media.

"We don't mind," said one American official. "We're not making much noise here about our role."

Such discretion has been the key to the Soviet success, Nigerian officials claim. Nigeria's ambassador to Moscow, G. I.

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CIA - Nigeria

CIA - Diagram

## Lagos Radio Assails

## U.S., Britain, Holland

Exclusive to The Times from Reuters

LAGOS, Nigeria—Radio Nigeria Tuesday criticized the United States, Britain and the Netherlands as fair weather friends and said the Soviet Union had done more than any other nation to help Nigeria crush its rebellion.

In a commentary, read after news bulletins, the station said the United States had adopted a policy of negative neutrality while the Central Intelligence Agency was pouring weapons and money into the rebel camp.

The commentary singled out for greatest criticism the Netherlands, which did not "give a damn" over what happened in Nigeria as long as its oil interests were not affected.

Britain developed cold feet at the crucial moment in the early stages of the war, the commentary said, when the rebels had appeared to be gaining strength. However, it had changed later, the statement added.

The commentary said the Soviet Union, toward which Nigerian relations had been cool in the past, had stepped in like a true friend when fair weather friends had failed.

Russia sold arms and equipment for "raw cash," the commentary said.

"Thanks to the Soviet Union, the federal government succeeded in crushing the rebellion," it concluded.

Hall, William O.  
CIA - Biafra  
O. u Kwaf Odumegwu

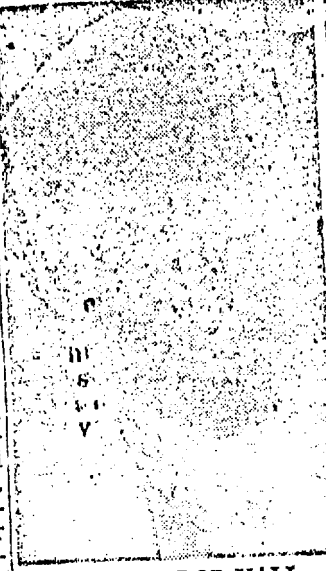
# Envoy To Ethiopia Expects Nigeria To Solve Problem

Biafra's desperate hunger may be alleviated and a feared genocide averted, the United States ambassador to Ethiopia said in Portland Thursday.

William O. Hall, who was reared in Prineville and who has been ambassador to Ethiopia since 1967, said he believed Nigeria's head of state, Maj. Gen. Yakubu Gowon, was correct in refusing immediate outside offers to help feed starving Biafrans.

"There is enough local food available to handle the immediate problem," Hall said. "I realize, of course, that Gen. Gowon prefers that his administration take the credit for easing the situation but I believe the immediate situation will be alleviated."

Hall, a 1936 graduate of the University of Oregon, said it was acknowledged there would



AMBASSADOR HALL

be a long-term recovery period.

"Outside assistance will be necessary," Hall said, "but the problem is not insurmountable."

He said the United States role in the 30-month Biafran war had been one of supporting efforts by the Organization for African Unity in seeking a peaceful settlement.

"We have taken the position," he said, "that this is an African problem that should be solved by Africans. Our role has been only supportive in the cause of peace."

He said rumors that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had helped spirit Biafran leader Gen. C. Odumegwu Ojukwu to safety ahead of advancing Nigerian troops was false.

"This is just a rumor somebody is circulating for reasons of their own," Hall said. "The CIA would not have access to planes — and the general had his own private plane, anyway."

### Genocide Ruled Out

The Biafran leader, now in hiding, has charged Nigeria is erecting an iron curtain

around the country in order to carry out systematic genocide.

Hall said he did not believe this was Nigeria's intention.

"I believe Gen. Gowon will be successful in bringing the Ibo (tribesmen) back into the government councils. The major difficulties will rest with the troops at the front but I do not believe genocide will result."

Hall said the unrest and in direction that has beset developing nations in Africa contrasted to the relative peace that prevails in Ethiopia.

"Ethiopia has been independent for 2,500 years," he said. "The country, unlike the developing nations, has its identity and its objectives defined."

### Success Explained

He said Ethiopians "accepted the idea of a monarchy" and said the constitutional regime of Emperor Haile Selassie had been one of progress and concrete development.

"Although the emperor is a man of 79," Hall said, "he is still vigorous and in good health. He has been an engine of progress in the nation and kept ahead of the demands for change."

"The monarchy," Hall said, "is a stable institution. Ethiopia has its aristocratic class and the support of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in maintaining its continuity."

Hall said he feared "some turbulence" within the country, but Prince Asfaw Wossen was

his 5th successor, the emperor, as provided in the constitution.

"But no more unrest or turbulence," Hall said, "than is present in any change of administration."

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P. Foley, Tom

Chau - Biafran

Ojukwu, C. Odumegwu

Orig - under Biafran

# CIA airlifts Biafran millionaire and auto

By TOM FOLEY  
Daily World Foreign Department

Former Biafran leader Major-General C. Odumegwu Ojukwu was flown out of Biafra last Saturday in a flight arranged by "U.S. Intelligence," a United Press International story by Jon A. Callcott reported on Thursday. The reference in the story presumably was to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Ojukwu, together with his aides, their wives and families, and the Biafran leader's white Mercedes-Benz automobile, all were loaded into a U.S. Super-Constellation cargo plane called a "Grey Ghost" from its paint-color. The UPI story noted that "there was some confusion in Washington when it became known that Ojukwu also wanted to take his automobile."

An Associated Press story of Jan. 12 from Libreville, Gabon, which appeared Jan. 13 in the New York Times, said the "Grey Ghosts" were the planes which flew the secret airlift of munitions into Biafra from Lisbon, Portugal. The planes were flown by American pilots, from the Portuguese colonial island of Sao Tome, 400 miles off the Biafran coast. Sao Tome is also where most "relief" flights to Biafra departed from.

### Portugal munitions source

The AP reporter in Libreville talked to the U.S. pilots, who said they had refused to land at Uli airstrip in Biafra, and that they were flying back to Lisbon, where they had originally picked up their load of munitions.

News that the CIA has been running guns into Biafra and was responsible for spiriting away rebel leader Ojukwu seems certain to cause an international furor and to place the whole Nigerian civil conflict in a different light in public opinion.

Ojukwu is an extremely wealthy man — his father was a multimillionaire — and is known to have half his fluid assets in London and the other half in Geneva, the UPI story said. It did not mention when he put them there.

Aid to Biafra during the 30 month-long civil war, in which two million died, came not only from the CIA but also from France, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia. A Nigerian radio broadcast on Thursday made it known that further "aid" from the four latter countries would not be accepted, because they had been "studiously hostile" to the Federal Nigerian government. The broadcast also stated that "relief" organizations which had been helping Biafra would not be allowed to participate in aid either.

Biafra formally surrendered in Lagos, the Nigerian capital, on Thursday. A five-man delegation, headed by former Biafran chief justice, Sir Louis Mbanefo, signed the agreement pledging loyalty to Federal Nigeria. Ojukwu, who is now believed to be in Lisbon, Portugal, issued a statement Thursday in which he raised the issue of "genocide" and "atrocities" and said that Nigeria planned to seal off Biafra from the outside in order not to expose "the enormous crimes she plans to commit against our people."

### Genocide evidence lacking

But two Canadian military officers, part of the international observer force in Nigeria, reported

Wednesday that they found no evidence of atrocities in Nigeria and that the charge of "genocide" was unfounded.

Brig-Gen. Charles Hamilton, who spent six months in Nigeria as an observer, said: "There is much evidence that the accusation of genocide has no foundation."

"During my tour of duty I talked to hundreds and saw thousands of Ibo refugees cared for by Federal military forces. If starvation does in fact exist, responsibility rests with the Biafran leadership and not with the Federal military government," Gen. Hamilton said.

"Troops throughout the East-Central State, formerly rebel Biafra, are confined to barracks," the Nigerian radio said, "and any case of molestation by soldiers should be reported at any military or police station for immediate action."

Observers noted that rebel Biafra had received strong support from Portugal, a country which has a 100,000-man army fighting African liberation movements in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, and from South Africa and Rhodesia, both racist regimes. France supported Biafra for the

same reasons it favored Katanga during the civil war in the former Belgian Congo.

Nigeria, independent in 1960, was Africa's most heavily-populated country (55 million), with vast untapped resources of coal, iron ore and petroleum to create a powerful industrial economy in the future. It had the biggest army in black Africa. The secession of Biafra led to tremendous weakening of Nigeria and practically halted its economic development.

The Organization of African Unity, created in 1963 and now composed of 41 independent African states, supported Federal Nigeria, as did the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Fear of growing Soviet influence led Britain finally to come down on the Fed-

The U.S. position seemed ambiguous until news broke that the CIA was giving arms and other support to the rebel Biafran regime. The object, African observers believe, was to prolong the civil war as long as possible in order to destroy as much as possible of the potential strength of the African nation. This objective seems to have been only partially attained.