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# WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA

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AMERICAN  
COMMITTEE  
ON AFRICA

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Room 700, 711 14th St., NW  
Washington DC 20005

Vol. I, No. 11  
August 1969

## 1. U.S. Policy Developments in Africa

The review of American policy in southern Africa is proceeding. It is still unclear as to what its conclusions will be. The aide for Africa on the staff of the National Security Council is being quoted as saying that U.S. rhetoric is likely to be scaled down to better coincide with actual policy. This means that if no firm steps are taken to disengage from South Africa, the U.S. government is also likely to sit mute in the United Nations and elsewhere when the issues of southern Africa are debated. We have already seen an indication of this in the refusal of the U.S. delegation to participate in the fact-finding mission of the U.N. Committee on Colonialism. Another indicator is the U.S. abstention on the Security Council Resolution censuring Portugal for bombing Zambia.

President Nixon sent a message to the meeting of the Organization of Africa Unity in Addis Abbaba. He pledged "fullest support" of efforts to bring about peace in Nigeria, and promised to continue to respond to humanitarian needs in the Nigerian-Biafran crisis.

Further, President Nixon expressed some mild interest in efforts toward eliminating all colonialism in Africa. He said:

"...We know you have no easy task in seeking to assure a fair share of Africa's wealth to all her people. We know that the realization of equality and human dignity throughout the Continent will be long and arduous in coming. But you can be sure as you pursue these difficult goals that the United States shares your hopes and your confidence in the future."

The Department of State has indicated support for the appointment of ambassadors to Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. In a letter to the Washington office of the American Committee on Africa, Waldemar Campbell, Acting Country Director for Southern African Affairs wrote:

"The Department shares your interest in seeing ambassadors appointed to these countries as we believe this would provide visible evidence of the United States interest in their development as independent, non-racial states, despite the substantial influence of the Republic of South Africa."

However he also stated:

"Budgetary limitations present a difficult hurdle, particularly at a time when significant personnel reductions are planned."

The President has appointed Rudolph A. Peterson, president of the Bank of America to head yet another task force to reappraise foreign aid policy. It is unlikely however that a panel comprised of academics, bankers and industrialists will be able to impartially evaluate U.S. policy. It is these groups which represent the vested interests benefiting from the current configuration of foreign aid.

Over at State, Assistant Secretary Newsom is searching for an Afro-American to become his Special Assistant. As of now, the African Division at the policy level in Washington remains lily white. Jet (Sept. 11) reports however that Dr. Samuel Adams is slated to become the new AID administrator for Africa. He was previously Ambassador to Niger and served as AID Mission Director to Morocco. Bev Carter, now in Nigeria and formerly with the Pittsburgh Courier, is also being mentioned for a high level post.

## 2. Travelling to Southern Africa

The Congressional visits behind the Color Curtain in South Africa were spiked by the stipulation by the South African regime that only conditional visas be issued to Ogden Reid (R-NLY.) and Charles Diggs (D-Mich.). Their visa applications were to be approved if they promised not to make public speeches or statements during their visits. Radio South Africa declared that these stipulations were because Diggs and Reid were "agitators, not impartial observers."

With these conditions imposed Reid cancelled his trip to South Africa and went to East and Central Africa instead.

Reid, announcing his cancellation, said:

"It is a cause for genuine regret and sadness that, at a time when our world grows smaller, any nation should act to restrict communications between peoples..."

"I am grateful to our government for having made clear from the outset and at the highest levels in Washington and Pretoria that the refusal of unconditional visas would have an effect on relations between our two countries..."

Elliot Richardson, Under-Secretary of State, expressed disapproval of the South African position to the South African Ambassador. However, Nora Beloff, writing in the Observer (7 Sept.), claims that the White House felt that the matter was "hardly worth an international row". Another report indicates that Nixon's foreign policy advisors do not think that the visa row has "closed any options". This insensitivity has alarmed some members of the Africa Bureau at State.

Diggs also issued a statement in which he stated a number of things:

"Mr. Speaker: On August 5, 1969, at a Cabinet meeting presided over by the Prime Minister, the Government of South Africa finally and unalterably affirmed its intention to bar from South Africa an official delegation of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa unless its members would agree to submit to severe restrictions of their basic freedoms.

"After the meeting the South African government restated to the State Department its earlier position that I and other members of the Subcommittee would be admitted to South Africa only on the condition that we do nothing, by word or deed, which might constitute interference in South African affairs, and that we abstain absolutely from addressing any public meeting.

"At the same time, the Cabinet decided to grant unonditional visas to Congressmen Burke of Florida and Wolff of N.Y. also members of the delegation. This difference in treatment was been explained to our Embassy as resulting from the fact that neither Mr. Burke nor Mr. Wolff is a member of the Subcommittee on Africa, and thus there is no presumption that their individual visits would constitute interference in the Republic's domestic affairs.

"Of course both Messrs. Burke and Wolff are members of the Full Foreign Affairs Committee....

"....Only last year Mr. O'Hara, my predecessor in the Subcommittee Chair, included South Africa in a study mission. He was received by the South African government, and no restrictions were placed upon his visit.

"South Africa's differential treatment of my visa request naturally raises the question of ethnic considerations, and indeed it may be that South Africa's leaders feel that the visit of a racially mixed group of American legislators would de facto prove so embarrassing to them that they are willing to risk the goodwill of the United States to avoid it.

"The United States has always encouraged parliamentarians from other countries to visit the U.S. without such restriction. Indeed, a group of South African Members of Parliament conducted a tour of the United States just last December in which they appeared before public gatherings, the press and television.

"An unfortunate result of the limitations imposed upon my visa could be the imposition of reciprocal restrictions upon the future visits of South African parliamentarians or members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the South African Nationalist Party. For my part, I cannot accept these restrictions, and I regret that the mission will thus be unable to visit the Republic of South Africa."

Congressman Lester Wolff (D-N.Y.), who traveled with Diggs was given an unrestricted visa but refused to accept it. Another Congressman, scheduled to travel with Diggs, J. Herbert Burke

(R- Fla.) also refused to accept an unrestricted visa and went to Greece instead.

Congressman Lowenstein and Morse spoke out in Congress against South Africa's action.

### 3. Ogden Reid and His Speech of Affirmation

Reid, denied an opportunity to deliver the Affirmation of Academic and Human Freedom address to NUSAS in person, taped the speech which was played on a recorder in an empty chair at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg on August 18.

The speech was a somewhat general but eloquent statement on the struggle to achieve freedom in society.

In his speech Reid stated:

"My role here today is to confirm the universality of your beliefs, and to take note of the solidarity among millions of young men and women, in your country and mine, who are determined to transform unjust societies into just ones...

"In place of tyranny...you must also proclaim: Hereafter, let the greatness of each nation be measured by its compassion and by its progress toward the goals of a just society...

"Let us have then a new global agenda for humanity...

"When some men reach the moon, and young men at that, how can others think of their fellows as mere creatures to be confined in ghettos or sequestered on reserves..."

Unfortunately Reid waxed a little strong on the American experience as reflected in quotations from Lincoln, Jefferson, King, etc. He ignored our contemporary black separatism movement. This development is what he would have been closely quizzed about if he had indeed gone to South Africa. A quote from the late Chief Luthuli had to be cut from the speech as he is still "banned" in South Africa two years after his death.

In an informal session in his office upon his return, Congressman Reid cited a number of experiences about his trip to East and Central Africa.

He has already made a report to the State Department and hopes to have a chance to report to the President and Secretary of State. Reid thinks that our policy in southern Africa lacks credibility. He would like to see more elements of firmness and clarity but did not spell out exactly what he had planned to do to achieve this goal. But he did indicate that the U.S. should take more initiatives in the United Nations, especially about South West Africa. He also thinks we should have voted for the U.N. Security Council Resolution censuring Portugal for its bombing attacks on Zambia.

Reid also indicated a high level of concern with the prospects for majority rule in Angola and Mozambique. He did visit with



FRELIMO representatives in Lusaka and has been in contact with Janet Mondlane who recently was briefly in New York. He feels that the Lusaka Manifesto could provide for the opening of talks and that we should use diplomacy to achieve such a beginning.

Generally Reid feels that our "passivity" on the issue of majority rule and peaceful change in southern Africa is "an invitation to Chinese involvement".

Beides visiting with FRELIMO, the Congressman also saw representatives of ZAPU, ZANU, and SWAPO. He had meetings with Presidents Obote, Nyerere, Kaunda and Vice President Moi in Kenya. Reid reports that there was much more concern with continual U.S. support for South Africa than there was with the low level of American foreign aid.

With respect to aid he felt that there is scope for more aid, especially in the fields of agriculture, science and medicine.

#### 4. Nigeria-Biafra

With the September meeting of the OAU in Ethiopia, U.S. diplomacy in pursuit of a settlement remains inert. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee remains inactive. The Brooke-Pearson Resolution remains tabled in Committee..

"The Nigeria-Biafra Conflict", the report of the conference sponsored by the Center for Strategic Studies at Georgetown University is out. It is available through Mike Samuels at the CSS. Of particular interest for some will be the list of participants including representatives from the U.S. investment-institutional complex.

In our last newsletter we cited the fact that the Washington Afro-American had printed an "expose" article on the American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive. We also mentioned without comment that some questions have been raised about the ACKBA. Our failure to provide commentary to this citation has been interpreted by some as an innuendo against the ACKBA.

To clear up the misinterpretation about the ACKBA, we asked Paul Connett, the President of the ACKBA, to write us a letter with its comment and a description of the role of the American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive.

In his letter he wrote:

"I was very disturbed to see your reference to the American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive, Inc., in your July Newsletter.

"For some reason you chose to highlight the so-called 'expose' of the Washington Afro-American of August 2nd. I will not dwell on the motives of this particular newspaper, suffice it to say that their vitriolic editorial position which goes as far as advocating the shooting down of any plane bound to Biafra, makes it clear that they regard even the most humanitarian concern shown for the Biafrans as an anathema. Thus it is not difficult to see why they regard a group like ourselves as sufficiently evil to be destroyed one way or another.

He went on to explain:

"..We are not a relief agency; we have never pretended to be one, and that as such one would hardly expect to find us registered as one.

"We are, in fact, incorporated as an information agency rather like yourselves..."

Connett further clarified with these words:

"While we endorse all the efforts to get food to the Biafran people we are trying to make it clear, to those who will listen, that you can't stop genocide with milk powder and that the real answer to this problem lies in an end to the war and an acceptance of the reality of Biafra's separate existence.....This task is not made any easier by those who, while failing to analyse in any depth the fundamental issues and principles involved, take time out to question the motives of those who do..."

He went on to deplore the lack of serious analysis concerning the significance of Biafra in Africa.

He indicated quite clearly where the money goes:

"Our money goes to the many different ways of getting information to the public. These have included local and nation wide vigils (October 25-26, 1968), demonstrations, fullpage advertisements, a twice-weekly newsletter on the war, political and relief situations, manning a research department, sending a fact finding team to Biafra, an international conference, media appearance, and the writing, reporting and distributing of literature.

"Of necessity we have to have a paid staff. But I am sure our salaries rival any comparable organization. For the record, my own personal salary as Executive Director is \$43.50 a week and the rent of my room (\$26.50 a week).

And:

"..I am sure that every penny we have spent on our campaign has generated many more for relief - and I am sure that relief agencies will support this claim."

##### 5. The Demise (?) of Africa Report

The last issue (May-June 1969) of Africa Report in its present format is now on the newsstands. Changing directions for this magazine have been predicted ever since Helen Kitchen retired last fall after 8 years of service.

At the May 1969 meeting of the Board of the African-American Institute, it was decided to remove Africa Report to AAI headquarters in New York City. Major changes in the magazine will be made by the time it reappears in October 1969. These changes, reflecting a budgetary cutback, will include a 50 percent reduction in editorial

staff and the elimination of "News-in-Brief". The magazine will be smaller and will have more of a newsy character. Characterisations of the new format range from "a cross between Time-Atlas" and "sort of a Weekly Reader".

According to some the new Africa Report will be easier to read, aimed at the high school level, and will attempt to reflect the growing Afro cultural interest in Africa. The ubiquitous Aaron Segal is slated to be the new editor, after John Marcum declined the position.

Mutterings have been heard in Washington about the way in which Africa Report was abruptly cut down and redirected. An explanatory editorial by acting editor, James Farrell, was cut from the last issue by the order of the New York office. James Farrell has resigned and is now working at Brookings.

It is to be hoped that the new Africa Report will not neglect serious, detailed analysis of events in Africa.

#### 6. AID-Africa and Black America, Part II

The Acting Assistant Administrator for AID-Africa, Robert S. Smith has replied to our testimony ("The Insufficiency of Aid to Africa") before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

He felt that "tokenism" was the wrong word to apply to the number of black Americans in AID. He wrote:

"As of August 1, 1969 of 119 Africa Bureau employees in grades GS-12 (and its Foreign Service equivalent of R-5) or above, 18 positions were held by Black Americans --15%-- of 89 positions below GS-12/R-5, 46 were held by Black Americans - 52%. Overseas, the percentage of Black Americans is over 11%. "

We replied that "The absence of black Americans as such in not the issue. Even if AID was entirely staffed by Black Americans, Black America as such might not be a determinant of policy. As long as AID-Africa only receives about 10 percent of the funds available under AID, black America as a significant policy issue will not be realized."

Smith went on to point out that AID does indeed have contracts with predominantly Negro Colleges and universities, including Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, Florida A & M, Maryland State College, Lincoln University and 4 others.

We however, did discover that none of the larger contracts have gone to these colleges. Instead they have been given the "chunk-change".

Smith did agree that with respect to the participation of black Americans among AID contractors, the "minorities are poorly represented". William S. Gaud, former AID director, tried in 1968 to alter this condition by sending a letter to all contractors urging that minority groups be "adequately represented" especially on technical teams sent abroad.

With respect to the bibliographic contract given to Boston University and not to the Afro-managed African Bibliographic Center, Smith admitted that the ABC was indeed invisible: -

"..The ABC was not known to the Africa Bureau until quite recently. Our contract with Boston University goes back ten years...."

We replied that we felt he was fundamentally wrong:

"The continuation of such a contract, based upon the original contract, is a prime example of institutional racism....Should trade unions still only hire white Americans because skilled black labor wasn't available 10 or 16 years ago? We do feel very strongly that institutional arrangements, especially in the area of African studies and African development, must be fundamentally revised to take into consideration the new articulation of interest in Africa by black Americans."

In the meantime JET (28 Aug.) reports that two hundred black employees in AID have protested to AID director John Hanna that he should revamp promotion policies and career development programs.

#### 7. Friends of Rhodesia Become Unfriendly

According to a dispatch filed by John Jordi, Argus correspondent, the Friends of Rhodesia (FOR) have experienced a split. Rival offices have been set up in Washington and both are competing in planning rival tours to Rhodesia for the November 11 anniversary of U.D.I.

At the same time John Acord, the Chairman of the parent group - American-Southern African Council, has been mysteriously dismissed. He is reported to be running a commercial organization in Los Angeles called The American Southern African Company.

The new Director of the American Southern African Council is a Mr. Lake E. High. Their new activity is arranging for the dispatch of medical supplies to Rhodesia which is permissible under sanctions.

The rival group is called the National Coordinating Committee for Friends of Rhodesian Independence. This group is linked to the notorious Liberty Lobby headed by Willis Carto. The late Drew Pearson reported last spring that Carto had led the neo-Nazi takeover of "Youth for Wallace".

The chairman of the National Coordinating Committee for Friends of Rhodesian Independence is the novelist Taylor Caldwell. Listed as co-chairman is Dr. Robert John of New York, a right-wing activist.

The Rhodesian Information Office is reported to be steering clear of this dispute. One fascist is as good as another.

#### 8. Other Notes

The new Peace Corps Director, Joe Blatchford, has sent letters to returned volunteers from Africa in which he indicated that Congressman Diggs has requested the assistance of returned volunteers



in reviewing various reports dealing with Africa. The focus of this effort is not just to get reviews of voluminous materials but to get the reactions of Peace Corps-types to events affecting U.S. policy in Africa.

The coup in Libya, like the coup in Mali, came as a surprise to observers in Washington, even to some recently returned from these countries. The rapidity of the success of such coups illustrates the dichotomy in developing countries between the manipulation of technological power in the urban/modern sector by a few and the continuation of the integral processes of life in the hinterland. How the Libyan coup will affect U.S. oil interests and the continuation of the Wheelus Air Base is unclear. All the public statements by U.S. government and industry have been cautiously optimistic but that has come to be the expected pattern in these matters.

The ten bank consortium providing a \$40 million revolving credit to the government of South Africa faces a decision to renew their participation by the end of 1969. Efforts are being made currently to organize a campaign against the banks concerned. More information on this will be available soon from our New York office, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

Emory Bundy, an old Africa hand, who has been working with Lowenstein has left to return to Seattle, where he hopes to contest Senator Jackson (D-Wash.) in next year's primary. Bundy is supported by the New Democratic Coalition.

According to a report in U.S. News and World Report (August 18) South Africa's border industry policy is beginning to involve U.S. firms. The Hoover Company, with one plant in Johannesburg is prohibited from expanding there. Therefore, Hoover has plans for construction of two plants in the East London area where they will be able to draw workers from the Transkei and Ciskei Reserves.

The Nation (August 11) had two articles on Africa. One was by Stanley Meisler entitled "After Tom Mboya". The other article, entitled "Ethiopia's Unknown War", was by Jack Kramer who recently spent time with the Eritrean Liberation Front.

In Negro Digest for August Lindsay Barrett writes on "Should Black Americans be Involved in African Affairs?" Among other things he writes:

"....The African will to self determination can infect and sustain the Afro-American will to uncompromising survival only if and when the Afro-American community establishes itself as an integral part of the African community in spirit and direction."

The Ghana Embassy plans celebrations to note the return to civilian rule.

New Frontiersman Bill Brubeck is now Director for the new Regional Desk of Nigeria in State's Africa Division. George Sherry remains country director under this setup which reflects the Administrations workload and not a special policy priority. Robinson McIlvaine, one of the Chief Strategists on Africa, will become Ambassador to Kenya.

On 15 August the U.S., France, United Kingdom and Finland abstained from a U.N. Security Council Resolution (11,0,4) which called upon South Africa to withdraw its administration from Namibia by October 4, 1969.

Barrett O'Hara, who was the distinguished Chairman of the African Subcommittee for many years, died on August 11, 1969. Born in 1882 he was 87.

According to a report in the Wall Street Journal (Aug. 28) Anglo American Corp. of South Africa will receive a great lift in profits this year from the gold mines in its group. The cause is the high price of gold sold on the free private market.

Subscriptions to Z Magazine, a monthly published by the Zambian Information Services, is available for \$1.70 a year from the Zambian Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Senator Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) testifying on behalf of bills on Afro-American history and culture, urged actions against "those pockets of indifference which themselves contribute to the frustrations" which lead to "civic confrontations".

Patrick Keatley writes in the Guardian (Aug. 14):

"The moment of our African Munich is already past. When the equivalents of D-Day and V-E Day arrive in the Battle for Africa, it is reasonable to presume that the Churchill role - and the glory - will be taken by Chou or his successor.

"When Eloff Street in Johannesburg has been renamed in honour of Chairman Mao, and Cecil Square in Salisbury has become the Taiping People's Gardens, there may be responsible leaders in black Africa to the north of the Zambezi who will say we stood at the gate to southern Africa and gave the key to communism. And they will be right."