

FOR LIMITED CIRCULATION

WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA

February 1969

1. Eduardo Mondlane

The news of the assassination of the President of FRELIMO, Eduardo Mondlane, staggered the community of Africans and Africanists in Washington. It is true to say that all who knew Eduardo Mondlane in Washington, including State Department types, regarded him with admiration, and anticipated a successful conclusion of the liberation struggle in Mozambique under his leadership.

On February 14 we were able to hold a memorial service for Mondlane at Lincoln Temple through the courtesy of Rev. E. Channing Phillips. A number of people spoke, including representatives for Congressman Charles Diggs and Senator Edward Brooke. Gordon Hagberg read the statement which Congressman Diggs entered into the Congressional Record. Among other things, Diggs wrote:

"Adherents of the cause of African freedom have suffered a staggering blow. The news from Dar es Salaam tells us that Eduardo Mondlane has been assassinated by unknown assailants. For we Americans who are committed to the liberation and independence of Africans still suffering from white colonialism, the news is tragic indeed. Eduardo Mondlane, the president of FRELIMO, was Africa's outstanding liberation leader in southern Africa. The war which he led against Portuguese oppression was a war for independence which has the support of many Americans who have been committed to the independence of the African peoples.

"We regret this severe blow to the liberation struggle. Assassins have now claimed the life of Mondlane just as the life of Patrice Lumumba was also claimed by the enemies of black Africa. The death of Mondlane, as with the deaths of President John Kennedy, Senator Robert Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. have brought perverse cheer to all those who have opposed the struggle of black people in both America and Africa.

"As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa in the House Foreign Relations Committee, I want to express the deep regrets of many Americans that this champion of freedom has been assassinated. The freedom of black people everywhere is always shattered when one of our leaders is destroyed."

Statements were also entered into the Congressional Record by Congressman Ogden R. Reid and Congressman Donald M. Fraser. Congressman Reid described Dr. Mondlane "as one of those leaders in Africa who is generally committed to the notions of freedom, human liberty, and the rights of man as we Americans know them." Congressman Fraser inserted the resolution adopted by the Board of World Missionaries of the United Church of Christ in which they described Mondlane as an example of a brave leader whose service to his country and to all mankind was a significant example. Senator Strom Thurmond entered some remarks from a North Carolina newspaper in which Eduardo Mondlane was described as a leading Communist and his death, according to Senator Thurmond, was a blow against Communism, just as the death of Castro would be a blow against Communism.

At this time, the investigation into the death of Mondlane has not produced any conclusive evidence. Among observers in Washington, suspicion centers on two possible sources for the assassins bomb. One group obviously casts the blame upon the Portuguese who were reacting in this violent fashion to the renewed offensive in Tete Province where the Cahora Bassa Dam is being constructed. Others blame the assassination upon dissidents outside the FRELIMO movement. Their motivation would have been to disrupt the FRELIMO leadership to such an extent that they would be able to take it over at a later date.

## 2. Biafra

In February two initiatives in the Nigerian-Biafran tragedy were taken. First, a number of Congressmen took advantage of the Lincoln Birthday recess to journey to Nigeria and Biafra. Allard Lowenstein (D-N.Y.) went for a second time. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.) led an official delegation consisting of himself and J. Herbert Burke (R-Fla.). (Lester Wolff (D-N.Y.) was scheduled to go with Diggs also but was snowed-in in New York). Senator Goodell led a five man study mission of experts. Second, President Nixon appointed Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr. as his Special Coordinator on "relief to civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war."

President Nixon's appointment of a relief co-ordinator came after a lengthy review of the situation in the State Department. The announcement issued by the President carefully drew a sharp distinction between "our moral obligations to respond effectively to humanitarian needs" and "involving ourselves in the political affairs of others."

This distinction was reiterated throughout the statement. It was further stated that Ferguson "will not seek and will not accept a charge to negotiate issues other than those directly relevant to relief."

Claiming that Ferguson is to be seen as a "civilian" representative, the State Department has indicated that its African Bureau personnel bent over backwards to avoid influencing his views before his initial trip to Nigeria-Biafra on March 9.

The Nixon statement concluded by indicating that the U.S. "earnestly hopes for an early negotiated end to the conflict and a settlement that will assure the protection and peaceful development of all the people involved." The U.S. government has not indicated however, what initiative it is pursuing to help achieve the beginnings of such a mediation. President Nixon did discuss Biafra with the heads of government, including General DeGaulle, on his European trip but the nature of these discussions remain undisclosed.

It is interesting to note that the first head of state to visit Washington since January was the President of Dahomey, Emile-Cevlin Zinsous. The Washington Post indicated that this "honour" may have been a reward for opening the Dahomey air facilities to the relief missions.

Fortunately the New Administration does now seem to have a policy of active diplomacy towards the Nigerian-biafran conflict. This is about midway between the former position of deploring but still accepting the status quo, and the extreme position of advocating full self-determination for Biafra come what may.

Congressman Diggs was sanguine about the prospects for mediation. He indicated that "all parties are now interested in negotiating an end to the civil war." He has proposed to the State

Department that we encourage leading African statesmen to serve as "Honest Brokers" in attempting to bring about the beginnings of reconciliation.

Congressman Burke, in his report, felt that our administration must proceed with extreme caution so as to avoid an "African-style Vietnam." He urged that our administration find means to end the rapid arms buildup. Burke describes General Gowan as a "modern day Lincoln" trying to keep Nigeria together. However, he implicitly concluded from the bombing evidence which he saw in Biafra that Gowan may not be well informed or well in control of all events.

Congressman Lowenstein made a strong call for relief while discounting the prospects for mediation. He feels that each side will want to try yet another military offensive. He thinks that it is irresponsible to suggest that there is no need to press for emergency relief efforts pending military developments.

He states:

"We are at the point where the next fortnight will tell whether the appalling spectre of enormous additional numbers of people needlessly dead from, and crippled by hunger and disease is to hang over the rest of this century...The world will be waiting to see which side if either fails, by delay, pretext or evasion to live up to their assurances."

Congressman Lowenstein also indicated that Senators Goodell and Kennedy and Congressman Lukens and himself are agreed that if either side puts insurmountable obstacles in the way of the relief effort that it may be necessary for them to denounce that side which has so placed obstacles in the path of the humanitarian efforts.

Senator Goodell has issued a lengthy report of his study mission which details the extent of the relief problem. He too calls for a cease-fire and an effort to bring about an arms embargo.

Congressman Lukens (R-Ohio) has put forth proposals which are much stronger in seeking American action. His proposals are as follows. First, the United States must immediately utilize all of its diplomatic and economic resources for the purpose of bringing about a cease-fire between the Nigerian and Biafran forces. Second, the United States should sponsor the construction of a new airfield inside Biafra which would be operated by neutral international authorities. Third, the United States should accelerate sharply its role in the international relief operations. Fourth, the United States should take immediate steps to insure its military neutrality by insisting that neither side use U.S. made weapons of war. Fifth, the United States should adopt the policy of diplomatic neutrality giving neither side in this war a favored diplomatic status. Sixth, the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees should immediately appoint a special subcommittee to conduct an on-sight inspection of the situation in both Nigeria and Biafra. Seventh, the Nixon administration should conduct a sharp reappraisal of attitudes and policy regarding the situation in western Africa. This policy should be consistent with our devotion to self-determination. Eighth, a relief coordinator should be responsible for stimulating private relief efforts.

In support of his analysis, Congressman Lukens included some quotations from the newsletter of Fulton Lewis who accompanied him on his trip to Biafra. Much of the analysis offered by Fulton Lewis seems to be just an attempt to have a crack at the "fuzzy-mindedness" of the State Department and to criticize American

policy makers for their supposed reliance on British initiatives in Africa. He goes on to attack our Rhodesian policy as well. These are conventional Republican themes.

The Lukens-Lewis approach sees the Nigerian-Biafran conflict in stark terms. To them, there is no ambiguity. Not having a commitment to the independence and unity of black Africa, they have no necessary cause for regret at the tragedy which the Nigerian-Biafran conflict represents to the many American Africanists who do want to see a prosperous and united Africa.

### 3. Congress

Bernard Coleman, Assistant to Assistant Secretary Joseph Palmer has compiled a record of which Congressmen presented material on Africa in the 1968 session. The Chairman of the African Subcommittee, Barratt O'Hara, led with 43 insertions or presentations. The right-winger, John Rarick (D-La.) was second with 40. Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) had 10 insertions. Senator Harry Byrd (D-Va.) had 25 insertions. Senator Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.) had 9 insertions. Senator Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) also had 9 insertions. Senator George Murphy (R-Calif.) had 6 insertions.

In total, 89 Democrats and 59 Republicans had insertions; 104 of these were Representatives and 44 were Senators. Most had just one or two insertions and a few Congressmen like Rosenthal, Scheuer, etc. had 4 or 5.

The frequency of insertions by known right-wingers indicates a degree of activity on the part of the South African and Rhodesian lobbies. How significant these kinds of insertions are remains to be seen. Interestingly enough, already in this session of the new Congress, a number of the right-wingers like Rarick and John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) have begun to insert material in support of recognition for Ian Smith's Rhodesia. One Congressman, Joe Waggonner (D-La.) inserted material presented by the Executive Vice-President of the Southern States Industrial Council, who declares that a good way for Nixon to begin to clean-up the "catalog of errors" made in the last eight years would be to rescind the Executive Orders issued by former President Johnson authorizing economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Such a step on the part of President Nixon, he declares, would let the world know that the U.S. will give anti-communist nations the support and solidarity they deserve.

Other news from Congress includes the fact that Congressman F. Bradford Morse (R-Mass.) was denied the ranking position on the House Subcommittee on Africa. His progressive views were obviously too liberal for the more conservative members of the Republicans on the House Foreign Relations Committee. Therefore, they installed Representative J. Irving Whalley (R-Pa.) in the ranking position ahead of Brad Morse who will continue to sit, however, on the African Subcommittee. Morse has an A.D.A. quotient of 67; Whalley's is 0.

### 4. South African Airways

The Civil Aeronautics Board has indicated that it has "the matter" under study. "The matter" is our request that the case granting South African Airways a route and landing permit from Johannesburg to JFK Airport in New York should be reopened. At this writing, the prospects of getting a chance to testify before the CAB are dim.

We would like an opportunity to show that such landing rights are not in the public interest. In the past, the CAB has held

that the existence of a bilateral agreement is sufficient but not conclusive evidence of the public interest. Since the bilateral agreement was initiated in 1947, antedating apartheid, we would hold, among other things, that the current prohibitions in South Africa mitigate against the public interest since facilities granted to South Africa by the CAB action are not available to Americans on a non-racial discriminatory basis.

So far, in discussions with the CAB, they are attempting to indicate that nothing more can be done, that it is a matter for the State Department which concluded the original agreement and its current amendments. But one of the questions asked by the CAB examiner was: "Will the foreign air transportation proposed in the application be in the public interest?" He seemed to claim jurisdiction which the CAB is now trying to deny it has.

Supporting our request for a chance to testify have been a number of members of Congress. Congressman Rosenthal (D-N.Y.) undertook a full analysis of the situation as did Congressman Fraser (D-Minn.). Congressman Diggs cites this matter as yet another reason to reopen the 1966 hearings on American-South African relationships. Also offering support were Allard Lowenstein, Henry Reuss (D-Wis.), Phillip Burton (D-Calif.), Donald Rumsfeld (R-Ill.), and Senator James B. Pearson (R-Kan.) and Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) among others. It is to be hoped that these expressions of interest might provide an opportunity to present evidence against the CAB.

If denial of the permit is not achieved, there is still a possibility of getting the permit made conditional.

#### 5. Other Notes

The Washington, D. C. office of the ACQA is helping the African Studies Program of Howard University to set up a teach-in on Friday, March 21, to help commemorate Sharpville.

A film on Mozambique will be presented to interested people on April 9.

An organizational conference to examine U.S. policy options in Southern Africa is tentatively scheduled for Wednesday, May 7 or May 16.

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