
WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA



Edited By
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AMERICAN
COMMITTEE
ON AFRICA

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

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NB. The Washington Office of the American Committee on Africa has moved to new offices which are located in Suite 700, Seven-Eleven Building, 711 14th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005. The phone number remains 638-0835.

1. The Toast of Rhodesia

According to a report by WETA-TV, Washington (broadcasted on the 10 p.m. news on 31 July) President Nixon has become the toast of the white settlers in Rhodesia. The continuation of the presence of the U.S. consulate in Rhodesia despite the resignation of the last British Governor-General, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, has inspired the feeling among supporters of the white minority Smith regime that they have a friend in the White House.

The State Department maintains however that the White House delay in approving their recommendation to withdraw our consulate is routine. Nixon, it is said, just did not get to it before leaving on his Asian tour. Now that he is back, let us see what happens. The State Department also says that there is no special need to remove the U.S. consulate until a republic has been formally declared (expected in November on the UDI anniversary). Even without a Queen's Representative, the Queen is still recognized in Rhodesia. Therefore, our consulate remains accredited to the Queen's image. Be this what it may, our continued presence there has brought cheer to the regime and disgust to the supporters of majority rule.

2. South Africa Tourism

The promised hearings on South African Airways by the Transportation and Aviation Subcommittee have not yet been scheduled. According to Bill Townsend, staff aide to Subcommittee Chairman Sam Friedel, "The departments of cognizance still have not filed their requested reports on the bill. We have sent an additional request to State, CAB, the Department of Transportation, and the Bureau of the Budget to get their official reaction."

In the meantime, H.W. Graff, the ad agency handling the account of South African Airways has dropped it. The new agency is Gaynor and Ducas, which also holds the account of SWAKARA (South West African Korakui Association). The campaign against South African Airways, it seems, has been effective; passenger traffic has been low. It is rumored that two major U.S. magazines have declined to carry SAA ads, and that SAA has been unable to rent prime ground floor space at Rockefeller Center.

In another development a case of discrimination by South African Airways and the South African Consulate has been filed with the New York and U.S. Commissions on Human Rights by a black American who was denied a visa to travel to South Africa on South African Airways. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund is also pressing a case.

Preliminary investigations into the reservation practices of the New York-based worldwide Holiday Inn Center are continuing. The question is whether this Center will be allowed to book black tourists into the new Holiday Inns scheduled for construction in South Africa.

Ultimately the visa-denial practices of the South African consulates will have to be recognized as the main instrument of de facto discrimination. These visa-denial practices are a violation of the consular agreement between the U.S. and South Africa. These violations by South Africa cut across racial lines in the case of Americans. But the State Department remains silent about the continued validity of the consular agreements. South Africa has, through its visa denial practices, violated an international agreement with the U.S. What should the appropriate U.S. counter-action be?

4. South African Sugar

It has been discovered that B. Dyer and Company, 120 Wall Street, New York are the only recent importers of record of South African sugar. B. Dyer and Co. are described as "sugar brokers". Further investigations are proceeding into how they dispose of South African sugar.

5. Congressional Visits Behind the Color Curtain

Charles Diggs, the Chairman of the African Subcommittee, is planning a trip to South Africa during the August recess. He leaves August 9 and will be accompanied by Congressman Lester Wolff (D-N.Y.) and J. Herbert Burke (R-Fla.) and staff consultant Mel Benson.

They have been given 3 day transit visas to South Africa. Because they have been denied a lengthened stay in South Africa, they will begin their trip with a stop-over in Angola. From South Africa they will visit Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland (and perhaps Lesotho), Zambia and Tanzania. They will also stop in Israel on their way back to the States.

Mel Benson, the staff aide on the House Foreign Affairs staff for Africa, hopes that the report of the study mission will be a comprehensive account of Southern Africa and the problems facing U.S. policy there.

Diggs hopes to meet with the leaders of the liberation movements in Zambia and Tanzania. He is also trying to arrange a visit to some of the Zambian villages bombed by the Portuguese.

Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.) the liberal Republican from Westchester County, has been invited to deliver the annual address on the Affirmation of Human and Academic Freedom in South Africa. The address is sponsored by the National Union of South African Students. NUSAS represents about 27,000 students in the English speaking universities and non-white educational institutions. A NUSAS invitation in 1966 was the occasion for Robert Kennedy's visit to South Africa.

All the Congressmen have been awarded visas with the proviso that they do not give speeches or public statements while in South Africa. This proviso could make Reid's trip meaningless. Some also feel that this proviso was made by the South African Government so that all the Congressmen, including Diggs, would refuse to go to South Africa. This provisosal was denounced on August 4th in the Congress by Congressmen Lowenstein and Morse.

On August 6 Congressman Reid announced that he was canceling his trip to South Africa because the visa granted to him prohibited him from making any public statements.

6. AID, Africa and Institutional Racism.

The AID request for foreign assistance to Africa for Fiscal Year 1970 totals \$186.3 million. This is less than 10 percent of the total AID request for 1970. This is an increase from about \$153 million for FY 1969.

The AID Africa request is to be distributed as follows:

Regional and multidonor	\$69,563,000
Nigeria	23,750,000
Nigeria-Biafra Relief	10,000,000
Ghana	17,535,000
Morocco	14,716,000
Tunisia	11,015,000
Congo (K)	10,975,000
Ethiopia	10,900,000
Kenya	7,070,000
Liberia	5,254,000
Tanzania	3,072,000
Somalia	2,375,000
Uganda	2,165,000
Senegal	225,000
Self-Help Projects (divided over more than 20 countries)	1,750,050

On July 25th the Washington representative of the American Committee on Africa testified in support of more aid for Africa before the Foreign Affairs Committee. In his testimony he emphasized several things.

First, he stressed that there was an absence of "Black America" in the determination of aid policies. In this AID-Africa can be seen as a victim of institutional racism.

Second, the "Korry approach" to aid for Africa was severely criticized. This approach, with its preoccupation with regionalism and limitations on bilateral aid to only 10 countries, was seen as a failure in several respects. Although an "economically sound gimmick", it was nevertheless a gimmick, interpreted by Africans as a device to only provide token assistance to Africa. Some of the African nation states were described as requiring pre-regional aid. In other cases the arbitrary limitation of "development emphasis" to ten countries has distorted our ability to effectively maintain bilateral relations with several important countries.

Third, the dimensions of a more dynamic policy of economic assistance was outlined. Aid to besieged Africa (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, and Swaziland) and threatened Africa (Zambia, Tanzania and Congo (K)) was emphasized. There was also an emphasis on aid for a more sophisticated regionalism. There was a call for a Radio Free Africa, and educational services for Africans in the southern African territories controlled by racist regimes.

Finally, a suspicion of "institutional racism" was raised about AID-Africa itself. In a supplementary statement prepared after some additional analysis of the funding practices of AID-Africa, a number of items were cited:

- (a) AID is funding Boston University to produce a monthly bibliography on development literature relevant to Africa. This funding is in direct competition to the existing bibliographic activity of the African Bibliographic Center located in Washington. The ABC is one of the more successful African related organizations initiated and managed by Americans of Afro descent.
- (b) A grant was also made to the African Studies Association at a time when the ASA has been challenged to broaden black American participation in its operations.

Of the many universities which have been awarded AID contracts, none have gone to any of the predominantly Negro colleges and universities.

- (d) It is unclear how many black Americans will be participants in the implementation of the programs of the total number of AID-Africa contractors.

Rev. Leon Sullivan's group, Opportunities Industrialization Center, in Philadelphia has been given a much-vaunted AID contract. Rev. Sullivan campaigned for President Nixon last fall.

The discussion following the ACOA testimony centered on the definition of "institutional racism", and whether or not charges of overt racism were being leveled against AID. We tried to show that "institutional racism" consisted of those arrangements of institutions through which conditions of racial disadvantage were maintained even in the absence of covert and overt racism on the part of the officers of those institutions and even in spite of the liberal support for equality felt by those officers.

AID-Africa does claim to have a significant percentage of black staff but in the case of institutional racism that is not the most relevant point. The point is not the absence of black Americans but the absence of black America as an effective policy factor. This is the problem irrespective of the conditions inside AID-Africa.

This problem has recently been expressed by two writers.

Franklin Williams, formerly Ambassador to Ghana, has written:

"Ralph Ellison has characterized the plight of the black American as that of the 'invisible man'. He is simply ignored as a living, breathing sentient person. This tendency to treat black people as if they weren't there also seems to apply to Africa, and to the problems of race in international affairs generally.

And Peter Edelman, ex-aide to Bobby Kennedy, in the Washington Monthly said:

We would do well, just in our own self-interest, to be nurturing black self-respect in America by embracing black nations abroad.

7. The Alvin Wolfe Bibliography on U.S. Interests in Southern Africa.

At a time when interest in reviving in U.S.-South Africa relations it might be useful to note the work of Professor Alvin Wolfe, of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. (Wolfe struggled for a long time to get some of these materials published with their emphasis on the unique role of U.S.

economic interests.) His articles should be noted again at this time.

- 1962 "The Team Rules Mining in Southern Africa", Toward Freedom, Vol. 11, No. 1, January.
- 1963 "The African Mineral Industry: Evolution of a Supranational Level of Integration", Social Problems, Vol. II, pp. 153-164.
- 1964 "The Responsibility of Students as Scholars", PASOA Newsletter, April 1964. Pan African Students Organization in the Americas.
- 1966 "The Place of Anthropology in the Future of Africa", Human Organization 25:93-95 (co-authored with P. Chike Onwuachi).
- 1966 "Capital and the Congo", in Southern Africa in Transition, edited by John A. Davis and James K. Baker. New York, Praeger.
- 1966 "The South African Trade and International Sanctions" Statement before Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, May 17, 1966, Hearings 89th Congress, pp. 419-428.
- 1967 "Economics of Bondage: An Essay on the Mining Industry in Africa", Africa Today, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 16-20.

8. The New York Times

Besides being peevisish about Ted Kennedy's refusal to articulate all the details of his accident, the editorial page of the New York Times has been exasperated by the problems of two African states, Kenya and Zambia.

A Times editorial called for an impartial, external investigation into the assassination of Kenyan leader Tom Mboya. That call for an outside investigation is certainly unprecedented gall, even for the Times. Perhaps they would also support an Organization of African Unity investigation into the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

In another editorial the Times felt compelled to chastise President Kaunda for his actions against the European judiciary in Zambia. Kaunda, outraged by the failure of a European judge to treat the territorial violations by the Portuguese military seriously, had spoken out strongly about the need to defend the interests of the people against foreign interests.

The Times believes that Kaunda's statements placed him in the same class as the Greek junta. That is as unperceptive as placing the violated maiden in the same class as her violator.

8. Nigeria-Biafra

The Pope's visit to Uganda has ended without any diplomatic result with respect to the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. This does not surprise Washington observers who had doubts about the credibility of His Holiness' effectiveness in African diplomacy.

Senator Kennedy held additional hearings in mid-July on the relief problems. At those hearings an effort was made to learn what our government is now doing. The witnesses from the State Department summarized their past efforts but avoided making explicit estimates of the gravity of the crisis or the number of people starving. A number of diplomatic efforts were described.

Senator Goodell in a speech on July 11th called for the following:

- (1) The administration must make clear its concern only with humanitarian objectives.

(2) The U.S. should warn Nigeria that it will not supply any economic aid to any regime using starvation to achieve military objectives.

(3) The U.S. must use "strong pressure and persuasion" to keep relief aid moving.

(4) The U.S. should "insist" that the United Kingdom, USSR and France terminate all arms shipments to both sides.

On July 18 President Nixon sent five letters to two relief organizations, General Gowan, the Ivory Coast, and Canada. The letters were termed as "major appeals" to do "all" to relieve the sufferings. Is the U.S. doing "all"?

The July issue of Negro Digest has a poem on Nigerian unity dedicated to brothers Chris Okigbo and Wole Soyinka.

The August 2 issue of the Washington Afro-American had an "expose" article on the American Committee to Keep Biafra. The ACKBA is not one of the registered relief agencies, and questions have been raised about where its money comes from and where it goes.

"One Nigeria" bumper stickers are available from the office of Congressman Diggs. Larger quantities are available from Art Display Services, Detroit, Michigan.

9. The Portuguese Threat to the Peace

The Zambian Representative to the U.N., His Excellency V.J. Mwaanga, addressed the U.N. Security Council about recent Portuguese aggression against Zambia on July 18.

He reported that there have been no fewer than 60 Portuguese military incursions into Zambia. 35 have been on land and 25 by air.

In his statement he said:

"Mr. President, when we come to this council to tell Western countries that a real threat exists in Southern Africa, instructions are rushed to our friends here not to support our call for collective effective preventative measures. Our arguments that their investments are protected better in a peaceful Democratic and independent Southern Africa appear not to be heeded. When we ask them whether they at least mind about the fate of their nationals in Africa, North of the Zambezi, they bury their heads in the sand. Instead, our Western friends would rather believe the sordid propaganda that the Portuguese, the South Africans and the Rhodesians are the champions of Christianity and Western civilization in Southern Africa. I wonder what they will say after hearing what their so-called champions are doing out there. Will they continue to support militarily and economically a Nation with so bad a record as the Portuguese? Do they derive any pleasure from all these murders, kidnappings, robberies and rape? Is this what Western Civilization stands for?"

The Security Council passed a resolution censuring Portugal. The U.S., Britain and France abstained. The U.S. position was that there was insufficient evidence, and would have supported an investigative team to ascertain what actually happened. But where is our Ambassador in Zambia?

10. Liberia Honors Diggs and McGee.

On July 22 the Liberian Embassy hosted a reception for the Chairman of the African Subcommittees in the House and Senate.

At that occasion Senator Gale McGee (D-Wy.) announced that he would return to Africa sometime late this year. He has not been there since a trip in 1960 with Senators Frank Church and F. Moss. (Ted Kennedy also joined that trip as a private citizen.) McGee wants to see more attention paid to constructive developments in Africa. He feels that the Nigerian-Biafran conflict has pre-occupied U.S. attention.

Diggs used the occasion to stress how he wants to use the work of his subcommittee to bring about a shift in U.S. relations with South Africa and to bring about a broader concept of togetherness with the great countries of the rest of the African continent.

Later that week Liberia held another reception for the observation of its 122nd anniversary.

11. Other Notes

Among the bibliographies currently available from the African Bibliographic Center (P.O. Box 13096, Washington, D. C. 2009) are:

Black Gold in Africa: A Selected Reading List on the Petroleum Industry

Nigeria and the Problem of Biafra: A Selected and Introductory Bibliographic Guide

In a recent monthly issue of their Current Bibliography, the ABC examined the issue of Rhodesia and some of the more relevant literature on nationalism in Zimbabwe.

The visit of Emperor Haile Selassie to Washington was marked by disturbances caused by Ethiopian students. One group demonstrated peacefully outside the White House while another stormed the Ethiopian Embassy. There have also been some attempts to discourage a group of Peace Corps trainees in Washington for Ethiopia from going on their assignments. The Emperor's visit to Atlanta to lay a wreath on the grave of Martin Luther King, Jr. was somewhat more noteworthy.

An analysis of changing directions for the Peace Corps by Gary Gappert entitled "Will the Peace Corps Last Forever?" is available in the print of recent hearings on the Peace Corps. Copies of the Hearings or S.2041 (Peace Corps Amendments) are available from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

A memorial service for Tom Mboya was held at Howard University and organized by Gordon Hagberg.

ACOA WANTS YOU

The American Committee on Africa is beginning to interview people interested in becoming their Washington representative. The current representative will be leaving in January 1970 to take up a post at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. People interested should contact either George Houser or Gary Gappert.

ACOA is also looking for one or two field representatives who can do some educational and organizational work in various communities including the black community and universities.



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House of Representatives

Allegations of Torture in South African Prisons

Hon. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN
of New York

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, not long ago, the South African Government released from political imprisonment one of South Africa's most distinguished citizens, Robert Sobukwe, the leader in happier days of the Pan African Congress.

The civilized world, so long accustomed to dark tidings from South Africa, blinked at the unfamiliar flicker, and hoped for better things to come, perhaps even for a return toward the minimal standards of a rule of law so long banished from that troubled land.

Now comes the Lenkoe affair and with it, apparently, the early end of fragile hope.

A Lesotho citizen named James Lenkoe was suddenly taken from his home near Johannesburg by the special branch of the South African police. A day later he was found hanging in a cell in a prison in Pretoria. He had been questioned all day, and his wife was told that he had then hanged himself.

During the subsequent postmortem, however, the eminent American pathologist, Dr. Alan Moritz, testified that an injury on Mr. Lenkoe's body had been caused by electric shock. The suspicion that Mr. Lenkoe was in fact electrocuted has grown with the odd behavior of the South African Government since the body was discovered.

Allegations of torture in South African prisons are, of course, not new, but the South African Government has always professed indignation at these allegations.

Now that Government has, among other things, seized the passport of Mr. Joel Carlson. Mr. Carlson is the lawyer who represented Mr. Lenkoe's widow and who developed evidence of torture in the Lenkoe case. Dr. Moritz said he is "very distressed" by the action against Mr. Carlson, but "not at all surprised."

My experience in Johannesburg made me feel that Mr. Carlson was living dangerously by crusading for human rights—that he was regarded by the government as a public enemy.

Many Members of this House are also very distressed—distressed by the renewed evidence of mistreatment of South African political prisoners, and distressed by the harassment of those who seek to show up such mistreatment and whose efforts one would think would be hailed by the South African Government if its professed indignation about such charges was an indication of a desire to correct such conditions where they exist.

The harassment of Mr. Carlson has provoked a protest from the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, a group whose members include many of

the most distinguished leaders of the American bar. The statement of the lawyers' committee follows:

The Lawyers' Committee has been advised that the South African government has taken away Mr. Carlson's passport, thereby restricting his movements outside the country. The Lenkoe inquest, as a result of the diligence of Mr. Carlson, associated counsel, and the testimony of Dr. Moritz and medical colleagues in South Africa, has cast doubt on the manner of Lenkoe's death. This case has over the past few days received considerable publicity, which has not been favorable to the police and prison officials.

In the opinion of the Lawyers' Committee, any interference with and harassment of an attorney who has, under instructions from others, carried out his duties in the highest tradition of the legal profession, would be totally unwarranted. The Lawyers' Committee intends to continue to instruct and support Mr. Carlson in carrying out his professional responsibility. We hope that he will not be interfered with, and that his freedom to travel, particularly while engaged in counseling clients, will not be infringed. The Lawyers' Committee will seek to continue its interest in the above matters, and its established professional association with Mr. Carlson in the interests of the preservation of the rule of law, which includes the right of any counsel to carry out his duties in dignity and to protect the rights of his clients without intimidation.

The Anglo-Saxon bar has an ancient tradition that lawyers have a duty to defend in court persons accused of crime, no matter how unpopular or dangerous, and to be protected in their exercise of this responsibility by the bar, the courts and, indeed, all arms of a civilized government. We hope that this tradition can and will be preserved by our South African brethren at the bar.

At the same time that these sad events have been taking place, two reporters of the leading Johannesburg newspaper, the Rand Daily Mail, are being brought to trial on charges of publishing false information about prison conditions. In Parliament, the Government has proposed legislation that would add to the immunity from legal procedure of the security police. The New York Times editorial of June 17 summarized the situation as clearly and fairly as anyone could:

SOUTH AFRICAN "JUSTICE"

While trying to maintain the trappings of proper legal procedure, South Africa's Nationalist Government adds steadily to its arsenal of police-state laws and practices. Legislation now in Parliament would make the country's notorious security police immune from any effective public scrutiny.

The Bureau of State Security is already shrouded in secrecy, but the new bill provides severe punishment for any disclosure of a "security matter," specifically including any matter related to security police activities. No evidence could even be given in court if the Prime Minister or anyone designated by him declared it prejudicial to state

or public security.

The timing of this move to give security police even greater immunity is not accidental. It is unquestionably related to the Government's seizure last week of the passport of Joel Carlson, an eminent white civil rights lawyer, and to the trial of Laurence Gandar and Benjamin Pogrud of The Rand Daily Mail on charges of publishing false information on prison conditions.

Mr. Carlson is involved in a case which has produced sensational evidence of the use of electric shock torture by security police. This corroborated one Rand Daily Mail disclosure as well as some testimony at the Gandar-Pogrud trial.

James Lenkoe, a Lesotho national, was seized by security police at his home near Johannesburg and his wife was later notified that he had hanged himself in his cell. She contacted Mr. Carlson, who obtained a second post-mortem which aroused the suspicion that Mr. Lenkoe had been electrocuted. Now an eminent American pathologist, Dr. Alan Moritz, has told an inquest that beyond reasonable doubt an injury on Mr. Lenkoe's body was caused by electric shock.

However the court cases turn out, this much is clear: Mr. Carlson has lost his passport because he was too skilled, even when up against monstrous laws and the apartheid system, in protecting the rights of Africans and exposing police barbarism. Messrs. Gandar and Pogrud have been brought to trial not because their disclosures were false but for serving as alert and courageous critics of a tyrannical regime—and thus serving the cause of press freedom everywhere.

The South African Government would be wise to cease its harassment of Mr. Carlson, and to cooperate fully in investigating the circumstances attending Mr. Lenkoe's death. If it is found that Mr. Lenkoe was tortured, one would hope that the government would want to bring those responsible to justice.

The South African Government should also be aware that the trial of the two journalists will be closely watched, that the impression abroad is that those responsible for appalling prison conditions should be punished, not those who expose such conditions.

In the most precise sense of the word, it is the South African Government that is now on trial, not those who are in its political prisons, not those who seek to make more humane the conditions in those prisons.

The questions of the sugar quota for South Africa and of the continuing permission for South African Airways to land in this country are now under public scrutiny. It is thus both appropriate and inevitable that the behavior of the South African Government should be observed carefully by Americans concerned about how their landing fields are used and how their money is spent.