
WASHINGTON
NOTES ON
AFRICA



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AMERICAN
COMMITTEE
ON AFRICA

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1. Return of U.S. Consul to Rhodesia Signals Ominous Policy Change.

Paul O'Neil, in charge of the American Consulate in Salisbury, has returned to Rhodesia after a brief visit here on personal matters. According to one GOP Congressman, a former classmate of O'Neil's, O'Neil was very surprised to be returning at all since he and the State Department had assumed their recommendation that the Consul be closed would have been acted upon by President Nixon.

A Times editorial (Sept. 25) entitled "Wanted: A Rhodesian Policy" claimed that "The British are astonished that the U.S., while agreeing that the Smith regime is illegal, maintains its Consulate in what seems to be a fundamental break with London." The editorial has been inserted in the Congressional Record by Congressmen John Culver (D-Iowa) and Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis.).

Kastenmeier stated:

"Apparently, our State Department, in a rare and laudable display of decisiveness, has taken the correct position that there is no point in encouraging the illegal, racist regime in Rhodesia by maintaining our mission there."

Congressman Diggs plans to convene his African Affairs Subcommittee in order to hold extensive hearings on the Rhodesian situation. These hearings, which may last up to 4 or 5 days, will probably begin October 17 and continue in late October.

Some people in the African Bureau at State are a little apprehensive about arousing too much Congressional concern about the Rhodesian situation. They fear that any Congressional interest may arouse the right-wingers and that any anti-Rhodesian resolution would be defeated. The number of right-wing insertions in the Congressional Record urging recognition of the "White, Christian nation" has increased.

Congressman Pelly (R-Wash.) has introduced a pro-Rhodesian resolution. State is equally fearful that the White House will give in to the growing pressure from the U.S. business interests in Rhodesia, including Union Carbide. Meanwhile, the right-wing mail advocating recognition and support of the "Christian" government of Ian Smith pours in.

There are essentially two issues at state. One concerns the tight maintenance of sanctions. The other concerns the removal of our Consul now that the last British Governor has resigned in order to avoid de facto recognition of the regime. Such a removal would also further isolate the illegal government of Rhodesia which is, after all,

the purpose of sanctions. This would also be consistent with the British initiative with respect to their colony. Indeed, U.K. Foreign Minister Michael Stewart pressed this issue with Secretary of State Rogers in private talks in New York.

Unfortunately, these arguments are unlikely to have much weight with moderate Republican Congressmen. For one thing, Midwestern Republicans have always held a visceral resentment against following British initiatives on anything. For another, there is a new interest in maintaining "communications" with irregular regimes. The office of Senator Brooke, for instance, claims that since the Senator would like to see a U.S. Consul in Red China, he is only being consistent in supporting the continuation of our Consul in Rhodesia.

This line of argument is in superficial conformity with the Cranston Resolution (S.R. 205) which was passed by the Senate September 25 by a vote of 77 to 3.

The Resolution states:

"That it is the sense of the Senate that when the U.S. recognizes a foreign government and exchanges diplomatic representatives with it, this does not of itself imply that the U.S. approves of the form, ideology or policy of that foreign government."

According to Adrian Fisher, former legal advisor to the State Department, this Resolution means that recognition should be a reflection of national interest only. He stated in the hearings on this Resolution that:

"...when you recognize the importance of recognition as a political act, you really come down to the decision that recognition should be extended only when the totality of U.S. interests would be advanced by such actions. You do not have to do it automatically."

The meager opposition to this Resolution was led by Senator Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.) who felt that the Resolution confused matters by seeming to be a justification of open communications etc. with all nations at all times. He mentioned Rhodesia in these words:

"I fear that if this Resolution is agreed to, there will be those who want to recognize Rhodesia for their own reasons, and they will say, that is what the Resolution means, even though it may be contrary to the national interest to do so."

With a dichotomy between "no implication and approval and/or disapproval", and "national interest" it becomes clear that the Cranston Resolution is not a call for open communications with all governments at all times. Instead, the burden of discussion must be whether it is or is not in our national interest to recognize government x, y or z, or the government of Rhodesia. As Dodd predicted, some Senators, naive in international relations, are confused.

The national interest in the case of continuing de facto recognition of the Smith regime by the maintenance of our Consul in Salisbury must reflect the repercussions in the rest of Africa, the mandatory

sanctions voted by the Security Council of the U.N., the residual British colonial authority and the NIBMAR policy of No Independence Before Majority Rule.

As Afro-American Carl Rowan recently wrote in his syndicated column (Sept. 27), "A U.S. that pursues this kind of policy cannot possibly have good relations with Black Africa." He claims that Nixon's plea to the 126 nations of the U.N. to pressure Hanoi into a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam war will therefore be ignored by the African nations. But then Rowan goes on to say that "morality-- racial, social or otherwise--ought to be a big ingredient in foreign policy". So we are back full circle to another confusion of the real politik of the issue. But then again "race" in international relations is no longer a question of morality. It is fast becoming part of the real politik.

Rowan also attacked the need for an "observer" in Salisbury by writing that "The odor wafting out of Rhodesia would make it clear what is going on."

2. Aiken on Rhodesia.

During the same debate George Aiken (R-Vt.) ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee and co-sponsor of the Cranston Resolution said:

"Rhodesia has been mentioned. I think it is ironic for the United States to discontinue its purchases of precious minerals--titanium, platinum, and chromium from Rhodesia, thus forcing Rhodesia to put those minerals on the world market, where they can be purchased by Russia and sold to us at a substantial profit...In private business that would not be considered good business at all."

The right-wingers have gotten to George.

3. Rhodesia and U.S. Chrome

Right-wingers have focused on the fact that sanctions against Rhodesia have forced us to buy chrome from the "dirty commies" at higher prices. It is easy to clear this one up. During the 4 years prior to UDI the U.S. imported 30% of our chromite from the USSR. Currently, we have been importing slightly more than 50% from them. Soviet ore has traditionally brought premium prices because it is superior ore. Also, the current price of Soviet ore cannot be compared with the 1965 price of Rhodesian since there has been an overall rise in world mineral prices generally in the last few years.

It is also worth noting that all U.S. chromite imports are analyzed by U.S. customs officials to prevent the importation of Rhodesian chrome under false labels.

Strategically, metallurgical chrome supplies in the U.S. are adequate for several years to come. Further, chrome deposits in Turkey only need an investment of capital to be a strategic reserve

for the future.

It is also alleged that rising chrome ore prices have rendered U.S. production of ferrochrome alloy incompetitive with foreign alloy imports. This was true before UDI when U.S. ferrochrome producers, including Union Carbide, were lobbying hard for import quotas.

4. Diggs' Trip to Southern Africa

The report of Congressman Diggs' study trip to Southern Africa is ready and is available from the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Room 2170, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D. C. It is voluminous because appended to the report is quite a bit of material, gleaned from all sources, about the current situation in Southern Africa. A list of U.S. investors in South Africa is also included.

Diggs had lengthy conversations with representatives of most of the liberation movements. He stated at one press conference in Dar es Salaam that "I am much impressed and encouraged by the spirit of my fellow freedom fighters." Diggs also reported that black African leaders fear new Viet Nams in southern Africa if the U.S. intervenes on the side of white governments to protect American investments.

It was generally felt that Diggs conducted a masterful tour of Southern Africa. His press conferences were regarded by some reports as real tours de force of diplomacy.

It is anticipated that Diggs may be returning to Eastern and Southern Africa again, perhaps to visit portions of the liberated territories.

Diggs has also discovered that there is a U.S. mail contract with South African Airways. He has written to the Postmaster General protesting this contract which began in April 1969 after the official inaugural flight of South African Airways.

In a column in the Johannesburg Star (Aug. 18) Marais Steyn, a United Party MP, described the restrictions on visas for Diggs and Reid as "unfortunate insults". Steyn visited the U.S. in late 1968 and debated George Houser on William Buckley's Firing Line.

4. Diggs and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland

One result of his trip is going to be an effort by Diggs to try to encourage U.S. investment in the three countries surrounding South Africa which are part of the Southern African Co-prosperity Sphere. He is recommending to President Nixon that a trade mission visit Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland. He is also going to give priority to making personal contact with the heads of major industries which have investments in South Africa. At a press conference in Gaberones he stated that he wanted the three countries to have "a piece of the action" in order to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa. He will begin his efforts with talks with the automobile companies in Detroit. Diggs also wants to push for full Ambassadors to be appointed to these countries. The obstacle here is Senator Fulbright who is resisting the appointment of any ambassadors to the mini-states.

5. Preserving the American Empire

The members of the new Presidential Task Force on International Development have been announced. They represent the U.S. International-Institutional-Investment Complex. Notice the absence of any blacks, Puerto Ricans, returned Peace Corps volunteer types, or non-establishment academics. Can their conclusions be predicted?

In a letter to the New York Times (Oct. 12), Maynard Catchings of the United Church of Christ, attacked the composition of the Task Force as not including anyone familiar with the aspirations of the poor.

Africa-AID administrator wrote in a U.S. commerce publication last September that "AID has provided a wedge into the African market for American contractors and exporters."

The members of the Task Force are:

Earl L. Butz, Vice President,
Purdue University

Gottfried Haberler, Professor of
International Relations, Harvard

William J. Casey, Hall, Casey,
Dickler, and Howley, New York

William A. Hewitt, Chairman of
Board, Deere & Co.

Terence Cardinal Cooke,
Archbishop of New York

Samuel P. Huntington, Professor of
Government, Harvard University

John E. Countryman, Chairman of
the Board, Del Monte Corporation

Edward Mason, Professor,
Harvard University

Thomas B. Curtis, Vice President,
Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.

Rudolph A. Peterson, Chairman,
Bank of America

Ralph Burton Gookin, President,
H.J. Heinz Co.

David Rockefeller, Chairman,
The Chase Manhattan Bank

William T. Gossett,
American Bar Association, Mich.

Robert Roosa, Brown Brothers,
Harriman, Harrison, New York

Walter A. Haas, Jr., President
Levi Strauss and Co.

General Robert Wood,
Research Analysis Corporation

6. Nigeria-Biafra

When President Nixon spoke at the U.N. on September 17, he was picketed by Dwight MacDonald, Stanley Diamond, Robert Lowell and others. They carried on their placards copies of his September 1968 speech in which candidate Nixon referred to genocide and called for President Johnson to "give this crisis all the time and attention and imagination and energy he can muster." The pickets urged Nixon's full support of unconditional negotiations.

The text of the Congressional Breakfast Symposium on the Nigeria/Biafra Crisis sponsored by the Coalition of Citizens Committees on the Nigerian/Biafra Crisis is now available from 1528 Locust Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63103.

John Conyers (D-Mich.) has become exasperated by the inertia of the State Department. He feels they should be more active in pursuit of a political settlement. Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis.) also scored the State Department for not being more inventive in pursuit of a ceasefire and the beginning of unconditional negotiations.

7. The Congressional Group on Africa.

Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.), recently back from Africa, has been elected chairman of the Anglo-American Conference on Africa. The Ford and Carnegie Foundations have given grants to Professor Vernon McKay of the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins to bring enlightenment about Africa to members of Congress. The grants are used for three types of meeting. First, there is an annual meeting of American and Anglo parliamentarians. The last conference was in the Virgin Islands. The next will be May 14-18 in Guernsey Island. Second, monthly luncheon/dinner meetings by the "Africa Group" with prominent African visitors such as Prime Minister Egal of Somalia and the Foreign Minister of Uganda. Third, meetings between Members of Congress and Africans are held. The most recent of these was held at Airlie House, September 12-13. These meetings are always kept private.

Attending the Airlie House Conference were:

Dr. Aklilu Habte	Rep. John Brademas
Professor H.A. Oluwasanmi	Rep. John Conyers
Mr. Arthur Wina	Rep. John C. Culver
Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira	Rep. Charles Diggs, Jr.
Dr. Mamoudou Toure	Rep. Donald M. Fraser
Mr. Christopher Kahangi	Rep. William Hathaway
Professor Absolom Vilakazi	Rep. F. Bradford Morse
H.E. John J. Akar	Rep. Ogden Reid
H.E. Rupiah B. Banda	Rep. Charles W. Whalen
H.E. E.M. Debrah	Professor Joseph Applegate
H.E. Rachid Driss	Mr. Frank Ferrari
H.E. L.O. Kibinge	Mr. J. Wayne Fredericks
Sen. Frank Moss	Dr. Robert Good
Sen. Charles McC. Macthias	Mr. Roger Morris
Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton	Mr. Frederic Mosher
Rep. Jonathan Bingham	Mr. David Newsom
	Mr. Robert S. Smith
	Professor Robert Lystad
	Professor Harlan Robinson

Other Congressional members of the Africa Group include:

Rep. E. Ross Adair	Sen. Gale McGee
Sen. Edward W. Brooke	Re. Charles A. Mosher
S n. Clifford Case	Sen. Edmund Muskie
Sen. Frank Church	Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill
Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen	Sen. James Pearson
Sen. Edward M. Kennedy	Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal
Rep. William S. Mailliard	Rep. John V. Tunney
Sen. George McGovern	

The African-American Institute runs monthly seminars for the aides of some of these members.

8. Situation Reports

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has written a long brief to the Civil Aeronautics Board concerning the South African Airlines situation. The State Attorney's office of New York State has begun an investigation of what action it might be able to take against the airline and the South African Tourist Corporation. Meanwhile, Friedel's subcommittee still has not scheduled hearings on the amendment offered by Diggs and others. There was a report in the Times of Zambia that black militants in the U.S., in response to reports that Arthur Ashe was considering a tour in South Africa, had threatened to cut off his hands if he went. However, it is clear that the South African Government will not permit his visit. They have recently prevented South African teams from participating in multi-racial meets in Swaziland.

The U.S. Navy sees an important role for Southern Africa in its contingency planning. A naval base in northern Mozambique has been suggested. With the retirement of six oil tankers, U.S. Naval ships may be once again permitted to call at South African ports. Diggs has protested to the Secretary of Defense that this would expose members of the American Armed Forces to discrimination. Write your Senator protesting this relaxation of American policy towards discrimination in South Africa. Strom Thurmond has recently inserted a piece in the Congressional Record outlining the "strategic" significance of South Africa to U.S. naval power.

At our airbase in the Azores, Lajes Field, seven members of the Afro-American Culture society were involved in a brawl with Portuguese military officers and two white American advisors. The attack on these black GI's arose when the Portuguese would not leave a local bar which had been reserved for a private party. Write your Congressman asking him to look into this incident and urging him to consider ending all aid to Portugal as long as they continue to wage colonial wars in Africa.

The special subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Senator Stuart Symington, has begun its hearings on U.S. overseas bases. These hearings will be held in Executive session. A censored transcript will be printed later. Write to Symington urging that he extend his hearings into public sessions.

Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.) is circulating a letter to a bipartisan group of Congressmen. The letter is addressed to each of the 10 consortium banks urging them to decline to participate in the loan to the South African government when it comes up for renewal in the next month or so. Write to your Congressman asking him to support Bingham's initiative against the continuation of the consortium loan to South Africa.

A new amendment to the Sugar Act is being offered by Bingham and Lowenstein. This amendment would drop the South African sugar quota and re-allocate the amount of it to the black African sugar exporters including Uganda which, up until now, has been a have-not quota country. Uganda has a new export surplus because its chief customer, Kenya, now produces most of its own needs. The State Department has resisted the efforts of Uganda to get the Administration to initiate its own amendment establishing a quota for Uganda. Write to the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa asking him to initiate an amendment establishing such a quota.

9. Other Notes

The Washington Task Force on African Affairs, (P.O. Box 13033, Washington, D. C. 20009) a newly established research and action group which intends to go "beyond liberalism" in its analysis of affairs concerning U.S. African policy, has published its first policy paper entitled "A Black Paper: Institutional Racism in African Studies and U.S.-African Relations"

This first paper picks up the theme of "institutional' racism which influenced Gary Gappert's testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. It describes how links between ASA, AAI and AID have operated to keep black Americans from full participation in the U.S.-African foreign policy establishment. The WTFAA is said to be planning further analysis of the role of U.S. institutions involved in U.S.-African policy. (Perhaps they will next analyze the ACOA?) Another critical analysis of U.S. Africanists has been published by the African Research Group (P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass.). This is called "The Extended Family: A Tribal Analysis of U.S. Africanists". This second effort by the ARG (their first was published in Ramparts) takes a radical New Left view, purporting to show how the senior membership of the ASA are children of the American Empire, Africa Division. Both studies should be critically examined.

A representative of ZANU was recently in Washington. Discussions concerning U.S.-African policy towards Rhodesia were held with a number of Republican Congressmen. The current Ramparts has an article by a Zimbabwe freedom fighter supplied by the African Research Group.

Congressional lunches were recently held for Mary Benson and Helen Suzman hosted by Lowenstein and Diggs.

Thomas Patrick Melady, professor of Afro-Asian Affairs at Seton Hall University, has been nominated as Ambassador to Burundi. Melady, a Republican, was for some years President of the Africa Service Institute, now defunct. He is deeply involved in Catholic lay affairs.

Ogden Reid during his trip to South Africa claimed that the U.S. government fully approved the Zambian take-over of its copper mines. He also proposed that the U.S. government should instruct its businessmen not to continue their activities in South Africa. Ian MacGregor, Chairman of the American Metal Climax, in a letter to Time (Oct. 3) criticized Time's unfair reporting and quoted figures that a "very considerable capacity" existed for Zambia to pay compensation to the present owners of the mines. He indicated that net income last year for Roan Selection Trust (held by Climax) totaled \$69 million. The dividends for the first nine months equalled \$21 million. That money could build a lot of schools.

One thing which Adam C. Powell continues to do as a part-time Congressman is to make insertions in the Congressional Record hailing each of the African states as its independence anniversary falls due.

Diggs and Senator Gale McGee have saluted Ghana's return to civilian rule.

It is said in Washington that the African Ambassadors are not amused by the absence of a Nixon policy on Africa. The President's address to the U.N. contained not one word on Africa. Secretary of State Rogers did host a dinner for the heads of the U.N. African delegations. Rogers is planning a February trip to Africa. He will meet with the American ambassadors in Congo and then go on to East Africa. He will be chiefly concerned with aid, trade and investment policies.

When President Julius Nyerere recently spoke at the University of Toronto, there was some attempt to arrange a visit to Washington. This fell through and he was met briefly at the New York Airport by Assistant Secretary Newsom. Newsom was recently at a dinner at the South African Embassy attended by "Eastland-types". When a toast to Rhodesia was proposed, he conveniently found his glass empty.

SPECIAL NOTE
4 Bedroom Bungalow For Rent.

With the departure of Gary Gappert from Washington, a 4 bedroom house is now available for renting. It is located in the Catholic University area. It rents for \$180.00 a month. Call 638-0835 or 832-3078.

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I (do/do not) wish to continue to receive Washington Notes on Africa.

I have written my Congressman _____ times during the last year about issues raised in WNOA.

I would like to see more of the following in WNOA: _____

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For _____

Address _____

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