Dear Friend,

There are reports now circulating in Washington (Washington Post, July 8) that President Nixon has rejected the recommendation of the State Department to withdraw our consulate from Rhodesia following the resignation of the British Governor-General. This failure to withdraw our consulate implies de facto recognition of the Smith regime.

The Nixon administration has placed a "hold" on the recommendation of its African advisers.

In another report (Business Week, June 28) it is claimed that Union Carbide and the Foote Mineral Company have joined in a drive to get White House permission to resume importing chrome ore from Rhodesia. They also have the support of the American Iron and Steel Institute. The former president of Union Carbide, Kenneth Rush, has recently been confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to West Germany and has great influence in the White House.

Support for the withdrawal of our consulate from Rhodesia and the rigorous maintenance of sanctions on all Rhodesian imports should be telegraphed to President Nixon at the White House.

Sincerely yours,

Gary Gappert
Washington Director
The Congressional breakfast seminar on the Nigerian-Biafran conflict was well attended. This was a conference set up to explore the current situation between Nigeria and Biafra and to discuss American policy options. A large number of Congressmen appeared initially and left after the keynote address by Floyd McKissick. Staff members stayed on until the program concluded at noon. Floyd McKissick's keynote address was a very emotive appeal on behalf of Biafra which distressed a number of Congressmen attending. Congressmen wanted a serious discussion of issues and options and not appeals to their emotions. The panel discussion was moderated by Fulton Lewis, III. The panel consisted of Howard Volpe from Michigan State, Mrs. Audrey Smock, George Orrick, Robert West from Tufts and George Axinn. The overall direction of the topics considered was based on the assumption that neither the cry of one Nigeria nor the cry of an independent Biafra were particularly appropriate any longer. It was felt that some kind of solution involving both Nigeria and Biafra together had to be reached. Most of the discussion was directed at illuminating some of the problems and difficulties involved in such a settlement. There was no serious discussion of possible American policy options.

Bob West, formerly of Rockefeller Foundation and with experience in the Congo at the time of the Stanleyville Airlift, had some interesting remarks to make. He said, "We must only seek to act in a way consistent with our national interest and not on the basis of our friends in Biafra or Lagos or wherever." Further, he said, "African affairs are not a part of our personal conscience." From these remarks, it seems as if one old African hand has laid down the White Man's Burden.

The one policy option which is still open to the United States is the use of a Presidential envoy to seek support for some kind of negotiated settlement between both sides. Such a Presidential envoy would have responsibilities for seeking a solution consistent with African unity and working with those African leaders who are seriously concerned about the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. He would also work towards and arms embargo. This kind of policy option, however, involves laying the prestige of the White House on the line. This the White House is unprepared to do. They are unwilling to stake their prestige on an action which is essentially open-ended and whose consequences are unpredictable. Furthermore, there is no reservoir of credit towards America in Africa which such an envoy could draw upon. This is a commentary upon American policy in Africa over the past 8-10 years. Since there is no existing credit for such an envoy to draw upon, any action involving such an envoy would have to be concurrent with other actions which would seek to build up a store of credit in Africa so as to mitigate against any criticism of such an American diplomatic initiative. One possible credit-gathering action would be strong American initiatives in disengaging from the white regimes in southern Africa. A strong stance against those regimes would better enable an American envoy and, for that matter, all American diplomats to better operate in independent Africa.

The reports by Clyde Ferguson, the President's relief coordinator were able to get both sides to agree to a water-land corridor so as to facilitate relief supplies going to Biafra seem to have been over-optimistic. At first report the Biafrans were refusing to use such facilities, but now the Nigerians too have found fault with it. Negotiations over it are continuing.

On June 19th Senator James Pearson (R-Kans.) and Senator Edward Kennedy responded to the plea of the American members of Joint Church Aid. Joint Church Aid had sent a telegram to the President urging the U.S. to take the strongest possible action to obtain from both Nigerian and Biafran leaders the necessary.
safeguards to insure completion of relief flights at their former nightly levels immediately. Kennedy, in supporting this plea, urged three things. First, he urged the President to seek the support of other governments in appealing to the Secretary of the United Nations to use the power and prestige of his office to gain an immediate resumption of the mercy airlift to Biafra. Second, he urged that the U.S. government seek the cooperation of other governments and the parties to the conflict in urgently requesting the Secretary General of the UN to convene in Geneva as soon as possible an international conference on Nigerian-Biafran relief. Third, he urged the President to take an initiative in calling for early consultations among the nations concerned on the question of an arms embargo and a general de-escalation of the Great Power's involvement in the Nigerian conflict. Kennedy stated:

Let us act with others to pursue peace and relief in a troubled area - because it is right to do so, because it is unconscionable to remain silent, and because the hope of all mankind for a better world will be strengthened.

Pearson also called for support for allowing the relief flights to resume at their previous nightly levels. He stated:

We have some measure of diplomatic leverage. Let us use it. Let us act to stop this senseless game of political bluff and bluster and bring to bear the concerted weight of world opinion...Hopefully we will also work towards a ceasefire and a permanent peace settlement.

One of the many stories out of Africa which are poorly reported was a story on the fact that the new so-called leftist government in Sudan recently granted regional autonomy to its southern provinces which have been in a state of rebellion for a good number of years. It remains to be seen exactly how this regional autonomy will work out in the Sudan and whether or not it will give a sizable amount of satisfaction to the black population of the southern Sudan which have been chafing under Arab rule. But the story, I think, indicates that at least some Africans are able to find reasonable and practical solutions to their own difficulties without destroying the fabric of their unity and independence.

2. SAA and FAA

Congressman Diggs has introduced an amendment to the Federal Aviation Act which would have the net effect of restricting the landing rights of South African Airways in this country on the basis of their discriminatory practices. The Amendment would have the effect of holding "in suspension the foreign air carrier permit to such a carrier and its government until such time as the government and foreign air carrier exhibit an understanding that American visitors will not be hindered in their commerce and passage for reason of race, religion or creed."

The bill was co-sponsored by a number of Congressmen who do not normally participate in anti-South African campaigns. Besides Diggs the co-signers were:

The Amendment has not yet been introduced in the Senate.

The Amendment applies a civil rights principal to foreign air commerce legislation. It only indirectly applies to South Africa. However, the Amendment is seen as a device to get something going in the Congress against South Africa at this particular time. It is an unsatisfactory amendment if one is advocating a more massive disengagement from South Africa. However, the amendment does provide a legislative angle around which it may be possible to arouse some Congressional interest. In so doing the amendment and discussion around it may serve an educative function which is important with this Congress at this particular time.

The bill now goes to committee. Samuel Friedel (D-Md.) has already promised to hold hearings on the bill. He is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aviation. The bill number is HR12042. Interest in the bill should be expressed to Congressman and to the Transportation and Aviation Subcommittee chaired by Friedel.

3. The Sugar Quota

The Kennedy-Bingham amendment to revoke the South African sugar quota-subsidy is tied up in committee. The bill was referred to the Senate Finance and House Agriculture Committees. They are chaired respectively by Russell Long (D-La.) and Bob Poage (D-Tex.). Neither have expressed any willingness to even hold hearings on the bill. It is unlikely that the bills will be reported out of committee. It has been suggested by some that a similar amendment be tied on as a rider to another bill on the floor of the Senate. Others suggest working with the domestic sugar interests. The effect of the amendment in revoking South Africa's sugar quota would be to re-allocate automatically the sugar quota among domestic areas. Thus, domestic sugar interests would benefit from the bill's passage, although not by much.

Senator Kennedy has expressed some degree of surprise that he has not received expressions of interest and support in his effort in introducing the sugar amendment in the Senate. Where is the African constituency?

4. Congressman Diggs and His Subcommittee

Congressman Diggs has sent a letter to all Executive Departments requesting information on any existing and pending relationships between their department and South Africa. He is also requested information from the Department of Agriculture on the fact that South Africa, in early June, shipped by sea its first export shipment of oranges to the United States. Diggs opposes this intrusion into the American market of South African oranges, especially when ample supplies of oranges are provided by the California and Florida growers. It seems that in this particular time of the year that Florida oranges are not particularly good. Therefore, eastern orange buyers must import oranges from elsewhere or else ship them from California. It would seem that shipping them from South Africa is not much more expensive than shipping them from California. Diggs hopes that the Florida and California Congressmen will support him in his efforts to prevent future shipments of South African oranges to this country.

Diggs is trying to organize an August trip to Africa for his African Affairs Subcommittee. At this point Congressman Culver (D-Iowa) and Congressman Whalley (D-Fla.) and Congressman Burke (R-Fla.) are planning to go with him on a tour of some of the smaller, less visited countries in Africa. Whalley is the ranking Republican member on the Subcommittee. He is interested in traveling to some of the larger countries including Rhodesia and South Africa.

Currently the full Foreign Affairs Committees are holding hearings on foreign aid. Once these hearings on foreign aid are completed Diggs plans to resume the O'Hara hearings on South Africa and American relationships with it. He also plans to initiate full-scale hearings on Portugal in Africa and U.S. foreign policy at some later date.

5. Portugal, Pell and others

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) a conventional liberal, has been doing some interesting pro-Portuguese things lately. On June 5th he placed "a very telling and interesting article" in the Congressional Record which concerned our Air
Force base in the Azores. In the article, written by Walter Hackett, a free lance writer from Newport, R.I., the struggles for self-determination in Angola and Mozambique are described as wars of communist aggression. These countries are described as Portuguese West Africa and Portuguese East Africa. The writer writes as follows:

When the war in Vietnam stops the Communists will try to take over completely the new African countries now in a state of political flux. Red targets will include the overseas provinces of Angola and Mozambique, two tremendously rich provinces.

The main portion of the article, however, concerns the bases in the Azores and describes them in some detail.

The falsity of the article was called to Pell's attention. (Pell previously had participated in a tennis match honoring the Portuguese Ambassador at the Hilton Racket Club along with another liberal Senator, Jacob Javits).

Pell in replying wrote:

As you suggest I am a liberal Senator and also one who is fond of Portugal and its people, having once lived there off and on for four years.

I do not understand what you mean when you said I honored the Portuguese Ambassador recently at the Hilton Racket Club. If you mean that he is an old friend of mine whom I like and with whom I am always glad to talk you are quite correct. I do like him and am always glad to talk with him.

Javits in replying to a similar letter wrote:

I can well understand your concern with Portuguese involvement in African and can only assure you that I did not intend by participating in this opening to endorse any such policies.

In a recent Africa Report (March-April 1969), John Marcum has an article entitled "A Martyr for Mozambique" which discusses Eduardo Mondlane and the significance of his death for Americans and Africans. One of the interesting things which Marcum points out is that Mondlane found, in the early 60's, a sympathetic listener in then-Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. He indicates that the Kennedy administration was considering the possibilities of supporting a UN arms embargo designed to force Lisbon to negotiate with the African nationalists. However, Kennedy gave in to diplomatic blackmail when Lisbon threatened to deny the U.S. use of the air and naval bases in the Azores. Marcum also indicates that the Portuguese subsidary of the Ford Motor Company, Ford Lusitania, forced the Ford Foundation to promise to consult the Salazar government on any future grants relating to Portuguese Africa. Subsequently Ford Foundation withdrew its financial support of the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam. These events are interesting because they do indicate that the Kennedy administration was at least willing to consider the contradiction in our African policy presented by our support of Portugal through NATO. The viability of an arms embargo to Portugal is underscored by these revelations.

Checking back in Sorenson's Kennedy he writes on page 599 of Kennedy's "bold support of the Angolans against Portugal". Later, in a footnote on page 605, indicates that the Portuguese tried every form of diplomatic blackmail to alter our position on Angola. Sorenson writes "the President finally felt that, if necessary, he was prepared to forego the base entirely rather than to permit Portugal to dictate his African policy."

In Schlesinger's A Thousand Days he also discusses Kennedy's attempt to change policy with respect to Portugal and its colonies in Africa. Schlesinger indicates that John Galbrath for one suggested to Kennedy that we were trading off Africa for a few acres of asphalt in the Atlantic. He indicates that our policy was never enough for the nationalists in Africa and always too much for the Pentagon and Dr. Salazar. Thus, in 1961, we worked at the UN in making "self-determination" the UN goal rather than "independence". Schlesinger indicates that without the Azores problem, "we would have unquestionably moved faster in our policy towards the Portuguese colony."
Today, with much less, if any, need for the bases in the Azores, and with a new Administration, perhaps this contradiction in American foreign policy towards Africa can begin to be removed.

6. The Lusaka Manifesto

The Lusaka Manifesto, the statement signed by the nations of East and Central Africa in Lusaka in April, on southern Africa has received some attention in Congress. It has been placed into the Congressional Record by Diggs, Brooke and Kennedy.

Kennedy placed the Lusaka Manifesto into the Record along with a copy of the new constitution for Rhodesia under the general title, "Who Speaks for Western Man in Africa?" He declared that the striking juxtaposition between the proposed constitution of Rhodesia and the Lusaka Manifesto on southern Africa raises a profound question as to who speaks for Western man in Africa today. He said, "The Lusaka Manifesto issued by African nations governed by African majorities is a convincing plea for the basic principles of human dignity and equality, principles long associated with liberal tradition of the West and the noblest aspirations of man."

The Washington Evening Star published a long letter by a local resident from Virginia attacking Kennedy for his statement and supporting both Rhodesia and South Africa.

7. Nixon and Africa

The options for American policy in southern Africa continue to be reviewed by the Inter-Departmental Group. The final and conclusive consideration of the options probably will not occur until sometime in late August or early September. Sometime after that a policy statement might be issued.

David D. Newsom, who has been designated as the new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has not yet appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Newsom has been serving as Ambassador to Libya since August 1965. Previous to his appointment as Ambassador to Libya, Newsom was director of the Office of North African Affairs in State from 1963-65, where his responsibilities extended from Somalia to Morocco. Previous to this he had covered Near Eastern Affairs at our Embassy in London. He has also served in Baghdad and at various posts in charge of Middle Eastern Affairs in the State Department. He is 51.

Until Newsom takes over, the present Assistant Secretary, Joe Palmer, is staying in office. By the time Newsom takes over, the Africa Bureau in State may well be lily-white. A number of the ranking black Americans in the Africa Bureau are being assigned as Ambassadors to African nations or are going elsewhere in the Washington Bureaucracies. There was always an absence of black America in our Africa foreign policy. Now there seems that there will be an absence of black Americans as well.

In noting the number of people with African experience in the Nixon administration, one must not forget to look at Secretary of Commerce and Mrs. Maurice Stans. The Evening Star recently did a spread on their plush Watergate apartment which has been decorated with African artifacts gathered on their numerous safaris to Eastern Africa. Most of the animals and trophies he has taken on safari have been donated to the children's nature museum in Rockhill, South Carolina where they are housed in what is called the Stans African Hall. In the article Mrs. Stans is quoted as referring to a wall covered with carvings and drums and weapons: "To me", she said, "this is Africa."

8. Super Dip Goes to Chad.

Terrence Todman, 43, has been nominated as Ambassador to Chad by President Nixon. Todman has been director of East African Affairs since June 1968. Todman is one of the more incredible foreign service officers in the State Department. He began his career as a desk correspondence officer and has risen very rapidly in the hierarchy. Todman is from the Virgin Islands and speaks a number of languages fluently including French, Spanish and Arabic. He has a masters degree in public management and has been with the State Department since 1952. Todman has been described by a number of people as being alert, intelligent, personable,
candid, etc. Within 12 years he has moved from a Class 6 officer to the rank of Ambassador. The Ambassador’s post in Chad is regarded as a good training place for diplomats. Every other Ambassador who has ever been appointed to Chad has subsequently received one of the more prestigious Ambassadorships elsewhere in Africa.

9. Union Carbide Gets West Germany. Is Rhodesia Next?

Kenneth Rush, President of Union Carbide, has been appointed as the new U.S. Ambassador to West Germany. Rush was an old friend of Nixon and was one of his professors at Duke University Law School in 1936. Rush is a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and a trustee of the Foreign Relations Association. His nomination is considered by diplomatic sources as a recognition by Nixon of the increasingly global nature of American business.

Union Carbide has been one of the companies putting great pressure on the administration to lift the sanctions on imports of chrome from Rhodesia. Union Carbide, along with the Foote Mineral Company, are the two big American alloy producers which own mines in Rhodesia.

An article in Business Week for June 28 entitled "The Rhodesian Chrome Caper" discusses the chrome import problem in some detail. The political argument is that unless we can import chrome from Rhodesia, we are forced to pay higher and higher prices for chrome from Russia which is the only other major producer. The article mentions that "Britain has pushed Rhodesia further out of the colonial fold." Other expressions of pro-Rhodesian sentiment have appeared elsewhere. The Wallace Congressman John Rarick continues to get pro-Rhodesian stuff to be inserted into the Congressional Record. The Evening Star ran a pro-Rhodesian article by James J. Kilpatrick which maintains that Rhodesia was forced to accept apartheid by British and American insensitivity. Dean Acheson had a pro-Rhodesian letter in the Washington Post.

In spite of these expressions of pro-Rhodesian sentiment and in spite of the fact that the White House has received more pro-Rhodesian mail than anti-Rhodesian mail, the U.S. position so far on Rhodesia since the referendum on June 20th has not been bad. A State Department spokesman described the referendum in Rhodesia as "a travesty." Now that Britain has taken the lead in withdrawing its own diplomatic representatives in Rhodesia, the U.S. is expected to follow suit by withdrawing its consulate which previously had been accredited to the Queen's representative, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, who is resigning. The U.S. however has abstained from a UN resolution calling for a UN blockade on the sanction-busting ports in Mozambique and South Africa.

In a statement in the House of Representatives Congressman Diggs called for support of such a UN action. Diggs also is advocating that we use all our diplomatic resources to force France, West Germany, Switzerland and Japan to quit violating the UN-voted mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia. (The Business Week article pointed out that Japanese imports of chrome ore from South Africa jumped from 67,000 tons in 1966 to 179,000 tons last year. Much of that chrome obviously comes from Rhodesia.)

Willard Edwards, the head of the Washington bureau of the Chicago Tribune, has written an article in which he stated that "intelligence sources" reported that the Russians were buying Rhodesian chrome and selling it as their own. The State Department has investigated this claim and reports that none of the intelligence sources in Washington are willing to confirm that finding. It would seem that the Edwards article was probably a plant by the pro-Rhodesian lobby.

10. South Africa and Legal Overkill

There is considerable interest in Washington in recent judicial events in South Africa. These include the removal of Joel Carlson's passport, the death by torture of James Kenkoe, and the continuing trial of the editor of the Rand Daily Mail. Congressman Lowenstein, Bingham and Culver have placed material into the Congressional Record concerning these events. They are illustrative of the fact that South Africa is being driven to more and more extreme measures in order to maintain the facade of stability. Some people in the State Department are using these events to support their case that some reduction of American involvement in South Africa might be prudent at this time.
The resolutions of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church which favor selective withdrawal of Episcopal portfolio investments in companies which are heavily engaged in South Africa have also recently been cited in Congress by Episcopal churchmen Henry Reuss (D-Wis.) and Senator Edward Brooke.

11. The Senate and Foreign Policy

The Senate is reclaiming its role in foreign policy. The Senate recently passed by a vote of 70-16 the Fulbright-Cooper resolution warning Presidents not to involve the U.S. in overseas commitments which could lead to war without first consulting Congress. The resolution was a sense-of-the-Senate and is not binding on the President. It states that:

...a national commitment results only from affirmative action taken by the Legislative and Executive branches... by means of a treaty, statute or concurrent resolution specifically providing for such commitment.

A national commitment was defined by the resolution to mean "use of the armed forces on foreign territory or a promise to assist a foreign country, government or people by the use of the armed resources or financial resources of the U.S., either immediately or upon the happening of certain events."

It was felt by some of the opponents of the resolution that it prevents such "decisive" action such as that taken by President Eisenhower in Lebanon in 1958 and by President Johnson in the Stanleyville airdrop in 1964.

The resolution implies nothing about the "invisible" commitment being created in certain countries by Executive procedures which facilitates foreign investment and exploitation.

12. The Cranston Resolution

The "liberals" in the Senate are also thrusting towards a national international policy of "open communications". The Cranston Resolution is an example of that thrust. It provides that future acts of recognition by the U.S. will not imply approval of either "the form, ideology or policy" of a foreign government. The sole criterion for recognition should be U.S. self-interest. The resolution does not compel recognition however.

The U.S. at present has refused to recognize eight regimes: China, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam, Albania, Mongolia, Rhodesia and Biafra.

13. Foreign Aid for Africa

Bob Smith, the Acting Assistant Administrator for the AID Africa Bureau testified before the Foreign Relations Committee on June 19, 1969.

The AID request for Africa in Fiscal Year 1970 is $186.3 million. $73 million is in technical assistance, $92 in development and $21 million in supporting assistance. The level of technical assistance remains high. It's slightly more than 50% of the total compared to less than 25% worldwide. However "the need for development loans for capital investment is becoming relatively more important."

Regional and multi-donor programs will be doubled in FY 1970. Much of the increase will go to the Horn of Africa and to the non-white states in southern Africa. One project involves a road link between Zambia and Botswana.
We are ending our "supporting assistance" to Congo (K) and it is to become a "developmental emphasis" country.

Nigeria, according to AID, "will continue to be of major importance to the U.S. and to the future of the entire continent". So the Cornerstone Theory prevails in spite of the Nigerian-Biafran conflict.

Also, according to the report, "We are considering closer ties with the African Studies Association and the University of Michigan." The purpose of these ties are "to deepen our knowledge of African economic and social affairs and our links with African scholars in the U.S."

Smith also stated that:

Americans have a deep interest in the climb up from poverty of the peoples of Africa. While this involves the prevailing religions and humanitarian concerns of all Americans, there is a special U.S. interest in Africa at this particular time. Here in America, a new generation of people of African descent is seeking to lift itself from poverty and develop... There is a significant affinity between the experiences of Black Americans and the newly emerging African nations. What the U.S. does in Africa therefore affects us domestically.

He also indicated that the reduced aid levels are still low and jeopardize the success of the "new" policy (The Korry Report). This, he indicated, has led the Africans to believe that the policy change was nothing more than a mechanism for withdrawing from Africa and engaging in "tokenisms" in aid policy.

14. Other Notes

The ACOA workshop on American policy and southern Africa on June 17th was well attended. One of the areas of discussion which aroused the most interest concerned the development of grass roots programs and constituency action. It was felt by some that the whole question of southern Africa problems as they involved American interests will soon be taken up by some of the more radical groups as examples of American imperialism.

Seagrams Distillers have closed down their distributing subsidiary in South Africa. It was supposedly closed for "business" reasons. But Seagrams, which has a large black market in the U.S. and publishes the Negro History Calendar, has been impressed by the demonstrations against South African Airways and decided to get out while the getting was good.

A Wisconsin Committee on Southern Africa has been formed at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Further information is available from Dave Wiley, Department of Sociology, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

Glenn Ferguson, the "dashing" American Ambassador to Kenya, has been appointed as Chancellor of Long Island University. The student government has instigated a court action against the appointment on the grounds that they were not consulted. They don't object to Ferguson but to the procedure by which he was selected. He was the first director of VISTA and the first Peace Corps Director in Thailand. The previous Chancellor, George Stoddard, was responsible for a study of the future of the University of East Africa.

Ghana continues to be the most active African Embassy in Washington. They recently sponsored a Ghanaian art exhibition which was put together by First National City Bank, Mobil Oil Corporation and the Arts Council of Ghana.
15. **Book Notes**

Sechaba, the publication of the South African National Congress, has become a very popular magazine at a number of places, including Los Angeles. Subscriptions to it are available from ANC, 16 Rathbone Street, London W.1, England. Surface for £3.00; air for £4.00.

An ACOA background paper, entitled *U.S. Policy and Portuguese Colonialism: the United Nations Facade* is now available from ACOA, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

Foreign Affairs, July 1969 has an article entitled "Elements of a Nigerian Peace" written by Joseph C. McKenna. It is a review article of events in Nigerian leading up to the Civil War. The article is interesting but naive. It says nothing about corruption, foreign investment or Great Power involvement. It presumes that Humpty Dumpty can be put back together again just the way it was.

The Goodell Report on the Biafran Study Mission is available from *Africa Today*, Denver University at $1.00.

An interesting paper entitled "The University in a Transnational World" is available from Fred G. Burke, International Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York. He discusses the need for the development of a transnational university in an age where "the distinction between foreign and domestic policy is increasingly a rhetorical legacy of an earlier period."

**A Ripple of Hope**

When in South Africa, Robert F. Kennedy, in addressing university students, said:

Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope...and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples to build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of resistance and oppression.

This quotation has turned up twice recently. It is one of the themes of the Eduardo Mondlane Memorial Lectures on Race, Revolution and Resolution established at Syracuse. It was also the theme of the Francis Biddle Award Dinner sponsored by Amnesty Internations of the USA. One of the Biddle awards went to Wole Soyinka, imprisoned in Nigeria. It was accepted for him by Rajat Neogy, editor of *Transition*.

A revised issue of "An Africanists' Guide to the 91st Congress" will be available about August 1 for $1.25 a copy

---------------------------------

American Committee on Africa, Woodward Building
Room 527 733 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Please send me copies of "An Africanists' Guide to the 91st Congress" for $1.25 a copy.

NAME

ADDRESS

Cheque or Money Enclosed □ Bill Me □