1. Diggs Continues Rhodesian Hearings

Charles Diggs has conducted hearings on U.S.-Rhodesia relations on October 17, 31 and November 7. So far, 9 pro-Rhodesian or pro-government policy witnesses have appeared. Two "liberal" witnesses have testified. Additional hearings are scheduled for November 19 at 10 a.m.

Essentially two policy questions are involved.

1. Whether to maintain and/or intensify sanctions.
2. Whether to withdraw the U.S. Consul from Salisbury.

But Diggs has extended the scope of the hearings. He stated:

"We want to examine the present Rhodesian situation in the context of Africa and particularly southern Africa. We want to check on the nature of the struggle for liberation and the complexity of relations with South Africa and the Portuguese territories."

The U.S. position was explained on October 17th by Assistant Secretary Newsom. He stressed that despite pain to certain American companies, our compliance with U.N. sanctions on Rhodesia represents "a firm international obligation". Also that, "The U.S. is second to none in its conscientious observance of the sanctions restrictions." Also testifying were the Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control in the Treasury Department and someone from Commerce.

The Deputy Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness testified with the mining companies on October 31. The Vice-President of Corning Glass also testified concerning the shortage of petalite, a mineral used in glassware.

On November 7 Philip Chartrand, a Syracuse Ph.D. candidate who has recently finished a dissertation on the basis of British-Rhodesian relations, urged that the U.S. Consul be removed because its closure would be a significant gesture in a battle often fought with gestures.

He further indicated that it was not inconsistent for the U.S. to take action against Rhodesia. So-called consistency "is a false ideal for foreign policy if it leads to the absurd reasoning that a state should undertake no action unless it can undertake the same action
everywhere”. UDI made a morally consistent policy possible and necessary.

George Mouser, testifying for the ACOA, offered a 9 point program to further extend our policy against Rhodesia and in support of majority rule. In urging the strengthening of sanctions, Mouser described sanctions as “an international tax on racism”. He described the return of the U.S. Consul to Salisbury as “an outstanding example of the remarkable ability of the U.S. to lose friends and alienate people unnecessarily”. Mouser stated that three-quarters of the whites have been there less than 20 years. Therefore, Rhodesian whites represent “an alien occupation”.

Professor Charles Burton Marshall of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and Professor Walter Darnell Jacobs testified for the sanctions position. Burton, speaking in bellowed tones, put on quite a show. He disparaged the effect of sanctions, and claimed that an ineffective policy should be abandoned. At one point, he described a conversation with a former German student of his. This German, in his wide travels, praised the Rhodesians as being “revitalised Englishmen” comparable to the English in the Elizabethan times. Jacobs claimed that Rhodesia “certainly meets minimum international law standards” and “is not a racist government with fascists impulses”.

He described the liberation movements as “local extensions of the communist party” of the U.S.S.R. and China. Inspite of this “approach”, Jacobs had nothing much to suggest and indicated that any change in policy should be related to U.N. action.

Congressman Ben Rosenthal (D-N.Y.) inserted a statement on "Chrome-plated racism" in the Congressional Record on October 21, 1969.

Dean Acheson, one of the chief U.S. apologists for South Africa and Rhodesia, has canceled his November visit with his friends in southern Africa. When Acheson spoke in Milwaukee on October 10, he was picketed by the Committee of Returned Volunteers for endorsing racism in southern Africa. He will be testifying on November 19 along with G. Mennen Williams and Fred Burke.


Black Americans in government in Washington are jubilant about the report in the New York Times (21 October) which details how black scholars led a black caucus revolt against the establishment-oriented African Studies Association during the Association’s annual meeting held this year in Montreal (Oct. 15-19). According to one black American with foreign policy experience; “Now others know how we have been kept down.”

The chief charge against the ASA from the Washington point of view is that it has served as the academic link in the “Old Boy” network which has kept the determination of U.S. African policy in the hands of an old guard which is predominantly white. The African Heritage Studies group, the nucleus of the black caucus in the ASA, adopted as the negotiating document the recent Policy Paper No. 1 of the Washington Task Force on African Affairs. (This paper charged that the old boy network represented institutional racism.)
Since the black-white confrontation in Montreal, the Washington rumor circuit has produced different versions of what went on. Some, for instance, have charged that the black demands were "irresponsible." Others say that the ASA Executive is not concerned about absorbing the black caucus position so much as they are worried about "SDS-types". Since the question of more black American participation in ASA has implications for the future of the African foreign policy establishment, it is worth noting several items about the ASA confrontation.

The black caucus was essentially led by a group of black educators with the dynamic evolving from militant and informed black students. They charged that the ASA, representing "the intellectual arrogance of white people", has preoccupied itself with the "colonial heritage of Africa" and has "distorted" the study of African people. This group is centered in the African Heritage Studies Association, lead by John Henrik Clark, editor of Freedomways. They sought to redirect the ASA by creating a new Executive Board composed of six blacks and six whites. They also proposed that the criteria for allocation of funds for research and publications should be established by a committee with similar parity between black and white members.

Joy Elliott, writing in the Chronicle of Higher Education, (November 3) indicates that another major complaint concerned the fact that the Association is so loosely set up "that its committees can endorse applications for research grants and contracts of large sums without informing other committees or the Board of Directors." A good example of this charge is the workshop which ASA set up for AID in mid-November outside Washington. Not only has ASA's management of this workshop not been publicised to its members, at least one board member claimed that he had been told that ASA had nothing to do with the planning of this workshop.

A smaller group in the black caucus proposed an entirely separate black African organization with no contact at all with the white dominated ASA. Their proposal was voted down by a narrow margin in the caucus.

On the other side some of the few establishment-oreinted blacks who had previously been involved in ASA defected and joined the black caucus. These included Elliot Skinner, Columbia University Professor and former ambassador, and Robert Gardiner, Ghanaian director of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa.

A radical white caucus supported fully the demands of the black caucus. Their dynamic was fueled by the booklet: African Studies In America: The Extended Family.

The officers of ASA submitted to the business meeting at Montreal the 6-6 Board proposal. This proposal was defeated upon which the black caucus, plus some of the white caucus, walked out.

A second proposal was then offered by Fred Burke, Dean of International Studies at SUNY (Buffalo), himself an outsider of the ASA establishment. He claimed that in the process of growing older the ASA had lost much of its relevance. He said that it was misleading to think that we could study politics without including some political decisions. He proposed that the convention establish a committee of 30, 15 black and 15 white, to plan the re-structuring of the ASA along
the notion of parity. In addition, all the goals, purposes and organiza-
ations of the ASA are to be critically re-examined. This proposal
was accepted. The black caucus agreed to designate 15 of their members
with 15 whites.

Where this proposal will go is unclear. Since Montreal,
difficulties have arisen. The Burke proposals are being interpreted
very legalistically by the ASA officers; i.e. election of the 15 whites
offers difficulties. Some of the ASA leadership, rather than recog-
nizing the challenge to their own legitimacy, are dwelling on the
legitimacy of the consensus represented around the idea of the committee
of 30. Be that as it may, it is clear that some kind of re-structuring
of a Pan African Studies Association, with a predominating black member-
ship is going to emerge, one way or another. This means that the
predominate "white" African foreign policy establishment in government
and elsewhere is not going to be able to continue to draw from a
similar white counterpart in the universities. The claims of black
Americans to have a greater say in formation of African foreign policy
are going to be louder, more insistent and less easy to ignore. The
smug assertion that "Black Americans are not interested in Africa"
no longer is credible.

3. Bingham Leads Move to Re-allocate South African Sugar Quota

In a further move to prepare Congressional opinion for next
year's rewriting of the Sugar Act Congressman Jonathan Bingham intro-
duced an amendment which would not only remove South Africa's quota,
but would also re-allocate it in equal amounts among the four black
African sugar exporters of Uganda, Swaziland, Malagasy and Mauritius.
Up until now, Uganda has not had a quota at all. The State Department
has failed to initiate action establishing such a quota for Uganda.

Bingham introduced the amendment to commemorate the 7th anniver-
sary of the independence of Uganda on October 9. He emphasized that
we should not be subsidizing the developed country of South Africa at
the expense of the developing countries.

Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.) co-sponsored the legislation. He indicated
that the sugar subsidy to South Africa was "an affront both to our
own black citizens and to the nations of black Africa". Reid urged
immediate action in order to provide "a signal to black Africa that
the U.S. is willing to back its moral opposition to apartheid with
concrete actions."

In total, 17 Congressmen sponsored this amendment. These included:

Frank Brasco       William Green
George Brown       Edward Koch
William Clay       Allard K. Lowenstein
John Culver        Abner Mikva
Charles Diggs, Jr. Richard Ottinger
Don Edwards        Ogden Reid
Leonard Farbstein  William Ryan
Donald Fraser      James Scheuer
                   Jonathan Bingham
4. More on Uganda

Available from the Uganda Embassy are copies of the new Uganda Manifesto called "The Common Man's Charter". This charter, written by President A. Milton Obote, is a blueprint for social and economic development in Uganda. It emphasizes particularly an equitable distribution of income, claiming that rises in gross national product are not signs of progress unless such increases are equitably distributed.

In the New York Times (October 25) Rajat Neogy, editor of Transition, wrote on "How It Feels To Be A Political Prisoner". He had been detained in Uganda after a controversial issue of his publication charged Obote with tribalism. Neogy is now in Europe writing a book. Plans for Transition are uncertain.

5. AID Moves Towards Black America.

AID-Africa has signed its first major contract with a black American firm. On October 9, Leon Sullivan’s Opportunities Industrialization Center signed an agreement with AID to apply their experience to the solution of urban unemployment problems in Ghana and Nigeria.

Hopefully, this first step towards the use of black American expertise will be followed by others until parity is approached. This kind of AID contract provides valuable overhead support to the contracting institution and helps develop future expertise. (For instance, AID is planning to give a sizable grant to the University of Michigan’s center for Research on Economic Development just to enable them "to expand its capability to service AID's interest in Africa" in certain areas. Obviously schools like Howard University would also like an opportunity to expand its capability.)

In another development, Dr. Samuel C. Adams has been sworn in as the head of AID-Africa Division (November 7). He has degrees from Fisk and the University of Chicago. He has had foreign experience in South East Asia and was U.S. foreign director in Mali and Morocco. Most recently he was Ambassador Extraordinary to Niger. Adams has already been consulting with some black Americans to see if AID-Africa can better meet its contracting goals vis black America.

6. AID, ASA and Regionalism

The AID approach to foreign assistance to Africa has been based on a notion of regionalism. This approach has been criticized on various grounds, most recently by the ACOA Washington representative before the Foreign Affairs Committee (July 25).

AID contracted the African Studies Association to convene a workshop on regionalism in Africa at Airlie House November 14016 in order to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of this approach.

It must be noted that AID-Africa has responded with alacrity to some of the criticism leveled at it. In response to the charge of institutional racism, they invited the Washington Task Force on African Affairs to send an observer to the workshop.
The ASA organizing committee for the conference was comprised of L. Gray Cowan, Robert West, and Robert Mesgher, the latter two from the Fletcher School of Diplomacy at Tufts. They selected themselves and 12 other ASA fellows to participate, including a representative from the Ford Foundation. Included were William Nance, Daniel McCall, Carl Rosberg, Conrad Reining, Sven Hammar and Vic Dubois.

The only economists invited were Benton Massell, Carl Eicher and Elliott Berg. Harvey Glickman (who has written on military affairs in Africa) and Leonard Doob (national psychology studies) were also included.

7. Is Africa Report Alive and Well with Aaron Segal?

Aaron Segal, the new editor of Africa Report, writes from New York that the new version is to be "livelier and more controversial". He plans a dialogue section specifically intended for "polemical articles". Segal, who is known for his energy and writing ability, might well pull it off. He is actively soliciting suggestions concerning "the magazine, its format, contents, potential contributors or topics". He is also establishing a regular chain of correspondents who will be "submitting inside-dopester" material. More important, the new Africa Report will be open to critical articles whether of the "policies of external powers in Africa or of African governments".

If he can avoid the censorship which restricted Africa Report previously, Segal might be able to build a revitalized magazine which is sorely needed. We wish thee well, Aaron Segal.

8. The Mining Companies Revisited

The U.S. mining companies in Africa are indeed ubiquitous.

From October 28 until November 14 the Society of East African Artists held its first exhibition in the U.S. at the Union Carbide Exhibition Mall in New York. At a benefit held October 28 there by the Tanzania Community Development Foundation, the Tanzanian Ambassador to the U.S. urged that American business support the continuation of U.S. sanction on Rhodesia.

On October 31, the president of the Mining and Metals Division of Union Carbide testified before Diggs' subcommittee urging that the U.S. government support the approval of its license to import 150,000 tons of Rhodesian chromite ore. Likewise did the President of Foote Mineral Company ask that the U.S. ease the economic burden which sanctions has imposed on the U.S. owners of chrome mines in Rhodesia. Their testimony was vigorously challenged by John Culver (D-Iowa) who, unbeknownst to the ideologues of the New Left, is waging a continuous debate against the spokesmen of the American laisse-faire international capitalist community. Culver directed some embarrassing questions to these mining spokesmen about Africans in managerial capacities, white-black wage levels, their future in majority ruled Africa, etc. Later, his office received a request for information from Engelhard Industries based upon their reading of the unofficial transcript.

Meanwhile, Business Week (25 October) predicts Union Carbide will be allowed to import its ore stock-piled in Mozambique but that Foote Mineral, which continued operations for a year after the boycott, will
not receive permission to import its stockpiled ore.

In another report (New York Times, October 25), it was reported that one executive at the American Mining Congress in San Francisco commented: "I would rather have a 0.6 per cent (ore content) mine in South Africa than a 3 per cent mine in Zambia."

It is that kind of attitude towards the color curtain in Africa which gives some people pause.

Simeon Booker, writing in Jet (October 23), took another swipe at the mining companies. He claims that the recent "Dialogues" conference in Tunis was set up by "American businessmen...interested in clinching mineral rights in countries such as the Congo." Booker has long complained about the failure of the U.S. government to push for equal employment opportunities in U.S. private and public establishments in Africa.

The conference opened on the first day with Bayard Rustin launching a broadside against U.S. white economic exploitation in Africa. Daily reports from this conference were received by U.S. officials in Washington.

A further commentary was provided by a black American with years of service in Africa. He claims that "although I have been interested in taking a position with an American company in Africa, I find they don't want an experienced hand. They want a young Negro, naive enough to be trained to their viewpoint."

9. Bingham and Reid Lead Effort Urging Bank Break With South Africa.

Congressmen Bingham and Reid led a Congressional effort urging the ten bank consortium providing a $40 million line of credit to the government of South Africa to abstain from any further participation in such a loan.

A letter was sent to each of the Presidents of the 10 banks. It was signed by Congressmen Brademas, Conyers, Diggs, Fraser, Mosher, O'Neil and Whalen.

Other Congressmen were approached about signing the letter but were fearful about alienating the powerful American banking community.

The letter described the loan, which is about to come up for renewal, as an "unfortunate symbol of American collusion with apartheid". It also warned that the continuation of the consortium credit may tend "to further alienate many Americans who find the racial policies of South Africa repugnant."


Shafurdine M. Khan, the Frelimo representative in the U.S. and the U.N., visited Washington on October 29th and 30th. The purpose of his visit was to officially express the appreciation of Frelimo to those friends of Mozambique in the U.S. Congress who eulogized Eduardo Mondlane after his assassination. He met with Congressmen Reid, Fraser, and Brademas and with an aide of Senator Brooke.

The CRV Chapter in New York has published an action pamphlet, Mozambique Will Be Free. It is available from CRV/New York, Africa Committee, 65 Irving Place, New York, New York 10003 for $1.00.


The Bureau of Enforcement of the Civil Aeronautics Board has replied to Diggs' inquiries about South African Airways advertising. It is their position that:

"...where South African Airways advertises facilities in South Africa it should at the same time inform members of the public that these facilities are not equally available to all tourists, white or non-white."

In response to this, South African Airways is discontinuing distribution of brochures and other promotional materials which make reference to types of facilities in South Africa which may not be available to persons of all races.

Spokesmen in the CAB Enforcement Division indicated that South African Airways can not advertise South Africa in any way; they can only advertise the airline.

The issue of discrimination by South African Airways is a more thorny question since it is the consulate that performs that act in its visa-granting practices. The spokesmen agreed that the legislation amending the Federal Aviation Act might indeed be necessary.

12. Other Notes

Ghana's newly elected Prime Minister, K.A. Busia, recently visited the United States. He reported at a National Press Club luncheon that he found President Nixon sincerely interested in helping Ghana succeed at its second attempt at democracy. Although Busia has been described in the press as a mild intellectual, he is an extremely forceful speaker with much of the style of Julius Nyerere. While in the U.S., he had unproductive talks with New York members of the cocoa Exchange who, as outlined in The Money Game, make their living from the instability in world cocoa prices.

The Ghana Embassy held a reception for the Prime Minister. African embassy receptions, although warm and enjoyable, are always characterized by the complete absence of any high ranking officials of the Nixon Administration. It is too bad they can't find time to attend.
The Washington Afro-American has been running a series of articles by Ethel Minor who recently returned to the U.S. after spending three months with Stokely Carmichael and Kwame Nkrumah in Guinea. She describes their attempts to create the basis and ideology for a Pan African Freedom movement around the world.

The October issue of Progressive (Madison) has an article entitled "South Africa on Madison Avenue" which details the allocation by South Africans of $1.75 million over a three year period to propaganda in the U.S. In a similar period it is estimated that the African liberation movements spend less than $10,000. Congressman Fraser placed the article in the Congressional Record.

We have heard a report that Polaroid has declined to bid on a contract offered by South Africa for special camera for use in taking passbook photos. Polaroid indicated that it didn't particularly care for the practices of South Africa and wasn't about to do business there. This report has been denied by Polaroid.

New York - Three black Rhodesian students, in this country on student visas, were arrested last week when they tried to protest an American group's departure to participate in Rhodesia's independence celebrations.

The group "Friends of Rhodesian Independence," had chartered the flight to carry 65 members to participate in the Nov. 11 Unilateral Declaration of Independence Day festivities.

A spokesman for the demonstrators called the "Friends" an "ill-willed group of Americans who see black men only as slaves."

The Washington Task Force on African Affairs (P.O. Box 13033) is expanding rapidly. It has had two expanded organizational meetings since late October. Information on participation can be obtained by dropping a request in the mail.

The Africa Research Group (P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass.) has a number of pamphlets available as well as a reprint series. ARG seeks to "illustrate the international dimensions of racism and the need for fusing an anti-imperialist struggle with an anti-racist one."


Congressman Sikes (D-Fla.) has introduced a resolution which expresses sentiment that sanctions against Rhodesia be revoked. Congressman Blackburn (R-Ga.) introduced on the floor an amendment to the Export Control Act. (October 16). His amendment would have required the President to obtain the consent of Congress before imposing sanctions. It was defeated. Congressman Hawkins (D-Ca.) on October 15 urged that "we must seek to stem a reversal of American policy against racism in southern Africa." He requested that our Consul be withdrawn from Salisbury.

Congressman John Rarick on October 13 stated in the Congressional Record that "Tanzania is uniformly recognized as the heart of Communist East Africa." He included an article by Thomas Molnar from Triumph
magazine (October 6). Molnar urged the creation of a South Seas Anti-
communist Alliance based around South Africa. The right-wing kooks
have several southern strategies.

Congressman Nasings Keith (R-Mass.) also inserted an anti-communist
analysis of Southern Africa on October 13.

Special Note: Diggs' 179 page report on southern Africa is available
from Rm. 2170, Rayburn House Office Building or by calling 202-225-5021.

The Africa Bureau at State is beginning to consider the composition
of a new advisory council on Africa. Reports indicate that they want
all new faces.