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This issue commences the second year of the Washington Notes On Africa, and is the first of the series edited by Charles Hightower, the new Washington Director of the American Committee on Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA'S 'PEACEFUL' NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT

The Johannesburg Star reports that South Africa may soon be employing nuclear explosives "in engineering projects." According to an article in the January 17, 1970 issue of that Johannesburg newspaper, the Pretoria regime is "keeping abreast of the latest developments in the use of nuclear explosives in civil engineering projects."

To underscore the South African allegation of peaceful intent in nuclear research and development, government scientists of the Atomic Energy Board say their findings will be "made available to nuclear research institutions elsewhere."

Could the "elsewhere" destination of South African nuclear investigation and discovery be the U.S.A., whose Atomic Energy Commission entered into agreement with the Government of the Union of South Africa in 1957 on what was called "the civil uses of atomic energy"?

Signed in Washington on July 8, 1957 for the U.S. by William M. Rountree, then Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, and by Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the AEC, for 10 years, the agreement was renewed in 1967.

According to a report in Scientific Progress, the quarterly review of the South African Scientific Advisory Council, the South Africans began operation last November of a cryogenic loop, a device used with a nuclear reactor to study radiation damage to metals. Mr. A.J.A. Roux, chairman of the South African Atomic Energy Board, proudly announced at that time that the device was the first on the African continent.

The cryogenic loop, reported Mr. Roux, was designed and constructed exclusively by engineers and scientists of the National Nuclear Research Centre, located at Pelindaba.

Meanwhile, a leading South African engineer, M. L.D. Hobbs, managing engineer of the Department of Water Affairs, is completing a one-month visit in this country. According to Pretoria, Mr. Hobbs is in the United States to attend an international symposium on water engineering held in Las Vegas and to familiarize himself with American progress in tunnelling, excavations for dam sites, and the release of underground water supplies.
The South African quarterly, Scientific Progress, also reported with pride the success of a project by scientists at the National Nuclear Research Centre to modify its cyclotron into a variable energy machine, boosting the maximum energy of protons and helium-3, increasing the scope for research and the production of radioisotopes.

Said the report: "Although it is nearly 17 years old, the cyclotron remains one of the most versatile of its generation..."

DR. C. L. R. JAMES IN HARLEM

In Harlem, the newly organized Pan African Solidarity Committee sponsored a Book Fair on Sunday, January 25, to present Dr. C.L.R. James' new book to the New York black community.

Dr. James, the author of Black Jacobins, a historical study of the Haitian revolution, was born in Trinidad. He is now a member of the faculty of Federal City College in Washington.

Drum and Spear Press has published his History of Pan African Revolt. This book represents an updated account of Pan Africanism taken mainly from material he published in 1938.

During the 1930's, Dr. James worked with George Padmore and Jomo Kenyatta to set up the International African Service Bureau for African Independence. Later, Dr. James edited the bureau's journal, International African Opinion.

During the Harlem reception, held at the Studio Museum, Dr. James expressed his gratification that "the ideas we held with such determination 30 years ago and worked for with such dedication have now begun to bear fruit."

The black Africanist said that the work of black organizations with a Pan African perspective, such as the Pan African Solidarity Committee in New York and Drum and Spear in Washington were the spearhead of an accelerating "African awareness" among Afro-Americans.

"RHODESIAN" NEWSPAPER REACTS

An article in the January 10 issue of the "Rhodesia" Herald notes the presence of black staff personnel in the American Committee On Africa, referred to as "a deliberate policy to draw the American Negro community into action against South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal..."

Written by the Washington-based correspondent for Argus, a news chain in South Africa and "Rhodesia," the dispatch surmises "that with Negro lieutenants in Washington and Chicago, the Committee can become a channel for organized pressure -- backed up by 22 million Negroes -- on American legislators and policy makers."

ACOA IN THE '70S

Simultaneous with the staff change in the Washington office of
ACOA where Hightower replaced Gary Gappert as Washington Director, Prexy Nesbitt, a black teacher in Chicago has begun work to mobilize interests and programs concerning Africa within black communities in the Midwest.

Mr. Nesbitt comes to ACOA after extensive travel and study of conditions in East Africa. He lived in Dar es Salaam in 1967 and 1968.

In New York, Mrs. Ella M'Timkulu, ACOA's New York field organizer, has inaugurated a series of ACOA-sponsored seminars and conferences in the black community on Africa-oriented issues. On January 24, Mrs. M'Timkulu presented a discussion meeting on Afro-American and African liberation at the Countee Cullen Library in Harlem.

A panel discussion culminated the meeting that expressed the prevailing point of view that cultural ties between Afro-American, Afro-Caribbean and the African peoples were part of political relations as members of the Third World.

Members of the panel were Peter Molotsi, Pan African Committee; Evelyn Kawona, a student from Zimbabwe; Lydia Williams of the Pan African Solidarity Committee who is also a member of ACOA's Executive Board; and Bill Scott, a graduate student at Princeton and also a member of the ACOA Board.

**FRIEDEL PROMISES TO PUSH HEARINGS ON SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS**

Rep. Samuel N. Friedel (D-Md) has promised to push for public hearings by his transportation and aeronautical sub-committee on a proposal to deny passenger rights to South African Airways and other foreign carriers whose home countries practice racial discrimination that would involve American visitors.

Friedel said that the proposed hearings had been held up by the failure of the State Department to submit its advisory report to the subcommittee.

Congressman Friedel whose 7th Congressional District in Baltimore is more than 30 percent black was a member of an all-white group of U.S. officials and private citizens who accepted an all-expense paid week-long vacation in South Africa in April 1969. Travel arrangements, of course, were provided by South African Airways, and the Baltimore Congressman took Mrs. Friedel along for the ride.

Also included in the trip to racist South Africa were Fred Lorman, staff director of the Senate Commerce Committee; and retired Army Generals S.L.A. Marshall and Mark W. Clark, and their wives.

After the South African vacation trip made by Friedel and the group of white Americans, a coalition of black organizations began a campaign to revoke South African Airways' landing rights in this country.

"South African Airways is not welcome here. The tourism it promotes is racist," declared the statement signed last year by a large number of Afro-Americans which included National Urban League head Whitney Young; H. Rap Brown; tennis champion Arthur Ashe; James Forman; the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and others.
What seems to have escaped the attention and coverage of most Western correspondents writing on the cessation of the Nigerian Civil War was the dignity and warm fraternity with which the surrender ceremonies were conducted between General Yakubu Gowon and the vanquished officer cadre of the secessionist Eastern province.

The nations who supported "Biafra" -- France and Portugal, and the two white-minority ruled, police state regimes, "Rhodesia" and "The Union of South Africa" could hardly be cast in the role of friends of African sovereignty. They rightly share in the defeat inflicted by the Nigerian federal troops. And Lagos is holding firm on the demand that relief aid from foreign sources be coordinated and supervised by the federal government.

"Blood money of those involved with the rebellion will not be accepted," General Gowon affirmed.

Andrew Borowiec, correspondent for the Washington Evening Star, reported from Owerri, a town in the former breakaway Eastern province that someone had scrawled on the wall of a building: "Nigeria is one."

MILITARY BUILD-UP IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

On August 3, 1968, a report published in the British journal, The Economist, discussed the possibility of a pre-emptive strike against Zambia to be launched by the Ian Smith regime of "Rhodesia."

A month earlier, Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda visited London and reportedly renewed his request for a defensive arsenal, including missiles, in a statement of growing anxiety about armed clashes along the Zambezi.

Guerilla attacks against "Rhodesia" meanwhile stepped up, as Zimbabwean nationalists scored three raids during July 1968. And Mr. Ian Smith who initially had dismissed earlier guerilla activity as insignificant was forced to make a trip to Pretoria to ask for increased South African military aid.

According to the Central Africa Research Office (CARO) in London, President Kaunda wrote President Lyndon Johnson for military assistance even before his trip to London. But Kaunda's plea to both London and Washington have apparently fallen on deaf ears, while the sounds of an approaching armed confrontation in Southern Africa, apart from the liberation war underway in Mozambique and Angola, are steadily increasing in volume.

The liberation campaigns in operation by nationalist units in Angola and Mozambique spill over into Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania regularly. However, a good part of the Western press, particularly in the U.S., continues to ignore the military build-up condition in Southern Africa.

In question and, to a large extent, the dictator of a likely military campaign is the nature of the terrain of much of Southern Africa. While many Americans think of rain forests and thick bush in their African fantasies, most of the probable fighting terrain is open country.
A report on the comparative military strengths in Southern Africa by the London-based CARO stated: "The Americans in Viet Nam must wish that the country looked more like Southern Africa."

Included in this area are the Zambezi river which cruises through Angola and Zambia, the Kariba Dam, and the Cabora Bassa area of northern Mozambique where the Portuguese promise to build a dam great enough to generate power for the whole of Southern Africa. But FRELIMO is actively engaged in a concerted campaign to frustrate Portuguese plans for the future. And watchful observers of the Southern African scene are speaking of fighting which may go on for the next ten years and which will inevitably include all of the area comprising Southern Africa.

ROGERS WILL BE FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE TO TOUR AFRICA

Liberian Ambassador Peal has announced that he is returning to Monrovia, February 10, in order to be on hand to welcome Secretary of State Rogers when he arrives in Liberia to begin an African tour.

A State Department spokesman reports that the Secretary prefers to avoid formal ceremonies and receptions during official visits and regards the forthcoming Africa trip as an opportunity to gain first-hand information about the Continent.

Secretary Rogers' trip, which begins on February 7, will be the first African tour by an incumbent Secretary of State. It is expected that the Secretary will include in his itinerary Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia, Congo-Kinshasa, the Cameroons, Ghana, Nigeria and Liberia.

ASHE DENIED VISA

The South African government has denied the visa application of Arthur Ashe, the Afro-American tennis champion, who sought to play in the South African tennis championship games.

The South African Minister of Sports announced January 28 that Ashe had been refused an entry visa because he had taken part in the movement to have South Africa banned from the international athletic competition, and had made strong statements against the policies of the South African government (apartheid).

The ban on Ashe by the racist government in South Africa came in the aftermath of the black tennis star's stunning triumph in winning the Australian tennis championship to become the first U.S. player to capture the Australian tournament since 1959.

Last year, the South Africans denied a visa to Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich) because he is black. After this denial, Congressman Diggs, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, distributed copies of a news dispatch from Cape Town to the London Daily Telegraph that aired a South African government prohibition to travel agencies against booking nonwhite U.S. and British tourists.

Commenting on the denial of a visa to Ashe, George M. Houser, Executive Director of ACOA, said in New York: "The importance of this decision on Arthur Ashe's application for a visa to partic-
ipate in the South African tennis championships is not confined to the sports field. It is a dramatic demonstration of the commitment of South Africa to a racist position. Arthur Ashe is not just a tennis player. He is black. Therefore the denial of this visa is symbolic of a denial of a visa to any black man to enter South Africa."

The ACOA head contended that South Africa looks upon any nonwhite who criticizes apartheid as a threat. "This denial, then, is a statement of intention to maintain the exploitative, police state regime indefinitely," he stated.

A South African diplomat told Washington Notes that Pretoria decided it could not permit Ashe to enter the country, despite some recommendations to do so from athletes such as Gary Player and tennis player Cliff Drysdale as well as some of the Washington-based embassy officials, because of the April national elections.

The theory is that the right-wing challenge posed by the 'Reconstituted National Party', led by former cabinet minister Dr. Albert Hertzog, made any display of "liberalism" impossible.

But while this theory sounds good when smoothly stated in a dimly-lit Washington restaurant at noon, it does not adequately speak to the consistent nature of a racist regime in South Africa or elsewhere. For apartheid does not simply mean 'separation' as the spokesmen for the "Republic of South Africa" would have us believe. It means white supremacy and white domination. And it results in black slavery and black death.

In bread-and-butter terms, the average white worker's monthly wage last year was $275, while that of the black worker performing the same job was $36. For the skilled workers in the electrical industry, for example, the average monthly wage for whites was $300, the black wage was $46.

Beyond tennis, then, and more important than the personality of Arthur Ashe or his athletic capacity are the black-and-white realities of apartheid which is what South Africa and her agents are all about.

AFRICA'S BELT OF 'BLACK GOLD'

Gulf Oil operates the off-shore oil deposit adjacent to the coastal town of Warri in the midwest region of Nigeria. The off-shore oil 'field' produces an average of 160,000 barrels a day for the Gulf firm. But a recent oil discovery at Lokele and Rio del Rey off the coast of the Cameroon by a French national petroleum agency, the Societe de Recherches et d'Exploitation Petrolieres au Cameroun, confirms what has been a suspicion for some time, that a solid 2,000-mile oil belt sweeps around the West African coast from the Ivory Coast to Angola.

During his celebrated African tour in 1964, Malcolm X addressed an assembly held in the Great Hall of the University of Ghana. He chided the whites in the audience, most of whom were embassy personnel, teachers, and business representatives. Malcolm told them that he noticed how pleasant they were in Africa.

"Never have I seen so many whites smiling at so many Africans," said Malcolm X. "But you don't really like these black Africans any more than you like the black people in the United States," he told them. "What you do like are the minerals under the ground of Africa."

It would seem that Africa's immense natural wealth remains
very popular indeed and this popularity seems certain to increase as reports of the colossal oil discovery become better known.

BLACK PANTHERS IN ALGIERS

Probably no other Afro-American individual since Malcolm X has had the impact on Africans as is the case with Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther Minister of Information, who is reportedly still in Algeria.

Received as an official representative to the African cultural festival last year in Algiers, Cleaver and his Panther entourage including Mrs. Cleaver and Doug Emory, Cultural Officer, have established a permanent Panther information there. Consequently, the Panther program and the resulting analysis of the American system is coordinated abroad from Algiers to Panther supporting organizations in Paris, Copenhagen, Stockholm, etc., and to student groups in Libya and the UAR. Ironically, according to reports to Washington Notes from informed sources close to the Black Panthers, the Cleaver charisma and message have not had a corresponding delivery to student circles in sub-Saharan Africa.

While Emory has recently returned to the U. S., there are contested rumors concerning Cleaver's plans to return, stay in Algeria, or go elsewhere. But the most consistently accurate sources maintain that the Black Panther officer is still in Algiers, doing his thing.

UGANDA MILITARY LEADER ASSASSINATED

An Associated Press dispatch from Kampala reports the assassination of Brigadier Pierino Okoya, commander of the 2nd Infantry Brigade on January 24. Okoya and his wife were shot to death in their northern Uganda residence at Gulu.

The assassination comes just five weeks after an attempt on the life of Uganda President Sir Milton Obote, who is still recovering from gun shot wounds.

The attempt on the life of the President remains a mystery. The assailant has not been found, and no official announcement from Kampala has supplied even the rationale for the attacks.

AFRO-AMERICAN JOURNALIST REPORTS ON GUINEA VISIT

Ethel Minor, Washington-based journalist, returned to D.C. last November after three months in Conakry where she met with Stokely Carmichael and former Ghana government head Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Writing in the journal, Third World, Miss Minor reports: "In my discussions with Dr. Nkrumah, he pointed out and made very clear to me how he saw the world moving, and what he felt that we must really do to free ourselves from Europe and Europe's daughter -- the United States."

Miss Minor said she was struck by the close relationship that exists between Dr. Nkrumah and Mr. Carmichael.
"Because this man belongs to all black people," she said in reference to Dr. Nkrumah, "and to the entire Pan African world, I feel obligated to share my experiences, information and discussions with all of my brothers and sisters..."

SOUTH AFRICA'S SUGAR QUOTA

Congressman Jonathan Bingham (D-NY) does not think hearings on the sugar quota for South Africa and other countries will be held until late in this session of Congress or early next year. Bingham and Senator Kennedy (D-Mass.) have co-sponsored an amendment to revoke South Africa's sugar quota and allocate this quota to the neighboring black sugar-producing countries. The amendment was introduced on April 18, 1959.

THE HONORABLE DEAN ACHESON, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE

Reading the Congressional Record, while never a popular pastime in this country, can become a fascinating occupation from time-to-time. Former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson's testimony before Rep. Diggs' House Subcommittee on Africa hearings on "Rhodesia and United States Foreign Policy" is a case in point.

Acheson opposes the policy of sanctions against the racist regime in Salisbury. His commentary on foreign policy strategy, however, are far more expansive.

"We can do almost anything with force; as long as we are trying to overcome opposing force. Once that opposing force has been overcome, one must go back to the elemental rules and necessities involved in dealing with the external realm." (Wednesday, November 19, 1969. Hearings, page 124).

On sanctions against "Rhodesia," the former Secretary said: "If one is going to interfere in the internal affairs of a country by economic sanctions, not only is one going to be unsuccessful, but also one is doing something basically wrong, if not indeed wicked. That is to say, one engages in an attempt to foment civil disturbance, uprisings, revolution and violence within a friendly state." (Same date, page 127).

And a larger view from the man who is a partner in the law firm, Covington and Burling, that represents South African Airways:

"Let me speak now briefly about the importance of southern Africa, all of southern Africa, to the United States."

"An important aspect, yet the one I regard as the least important of the three, concerns our economic interest in all of southern Africa. There are great mineral deposits in which there are various substantial American investments. They are a proper source of interest. If we proceed with such hostility as we are now proceeding with, the course must inevitably lead to the loss of those investments."

Thank you, Mr. Acheson.

GARY GAPPERT AT UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Gary Gappert, former Washington Director of ACOA and editor of
Washington Notes On Africa, is now a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

Gappert directed ACOA's Washington office for 16 months. The Executive Board of ACOA, meeting in New York on January 13, expressed its gratitude to Mr. Gappert for his major contribution in establishing the Committee in Washington.