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EMERGENT AFRICA: CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE

Remarks Prepared for Delivery
by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
(D., Minn.)
In the Senate of the United States
August 12, 1959

Mr. President, within the past week a little-noticed but significant conference took place in Monrovia, Liberia. It was the first meeting of the foreign ministers of African Independent States.

The nations taking part in the conference were the United Arab Republic, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Ghana, Guinea and Liberia. The fact that this meeting was held, the fact that it could be held, is a dramatic symbol of the new and dynamic Africa with which we must come to terms.

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The American people cannot afford to be amused or frightened, unimpressed or hysterical by the fast-moving events in this vast continent which stretches from Algiers to Cape Town and from Ghana to Kenya.

The United States Government must take Africa seriously. The free world must understand the aspirations of emergent Africa and respond to these aspirations with patience, imagination and, if I may say so, humility.

In Africa today we see thrown into bold relief all the complexities of world politics. All the

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human longings for freedom and justice are rolled together in a mighty drama in which the classic distinctions between domestic and foreign policy have lost their meaning.

I propose today to speak of the challenge of emergent Africa as that challenge confronts the United States. After a panoramic survey of the situation, I will venture to suggest some guidelines for American foreign policy.

I am not going to speak of the "sleeping giant" awakened, of the "dark continent" jet-propelled into the floodlights of the twentieth century, or of the

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bewildering variety of African climate, peoples, topography, languages, flora and fauna. We can dispense with anecdotes about the strange and the exotic. The fact that Mangbetu girls in the Congo bind their heads to acquire elongated skulls may be interesting, but it is no more pertinent to my theme than the fact that our own ladies are teetering about on spike heels and pointed toes, and experimenting with white lipstick.

Revolutionary change is the rule rather than the exception throughout much of that continent. We know of the startling contrast between tall modern buildings -- such as those in Johannesburg or Nairobi --

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and clusters of mud and wattle huts in their shadow.

It would seem that Africa has been sufficiently "rediscovered," ⁱⁿ /vague general terms. What we need now is solid information about political, economic and social trends in Africa so we have an accurate yardstick to take the measure of our policies. As a prelude to responsible action, we must make a greater effort to see the significance of Africa and its peoples in a global context.

I do not pretend to be an expert on Africa.

Indeed, outside of a handful of our academic and other

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private organizations, and a few places in the government, I suspect one would not find many persons in this country claiming real competence as African experts. This is a measure of our unpreparedness for the sudden emergence of a new Africa on the world scene. All the more reason then for us to make an effort together toward educating ourselves, not in terms of expertness, but with the aim of giving African affairs the same degree of intelligent consideration we accord other, more familiar areas of the world.

I want Africa: Unity and Diversity

I want to launch a discussion about Africa, and I intend to speak of the continent as a whole. Valid objections can be raised against this approach.

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Unquestionably, the differences between the largely Arab and Moslem countries of the North and the rest of Africa below the Sahara are hardly less than those between North and Central America. The Union of South Africa is a case unto itself -- a nation whose political leaders collectively are behaving like King Canute in the legend, walking stubbornly in the face of a rising tide. But at least Canute had the good sense to modify his position before the waves of reality engulfed him.

Acknowledging the difficulties in viewing Africa on a continental basis, I believe the attempt must be

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made. There is a deeper unity underlying the diversity. Communication of all kinds is constantly increasing in Africa, as in the rest of the world. Moreover, surely no one believes that the impact of events in Algeria and the Union upon the rest of the continent will lessen with time. It would seem highly unrealistic to look only at the area south of the Sahara just after a conference of the foreign ministers of the independent African countries in Liberia in which the Algerian problem was the main item on the agenda. In fact, the nine independent

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states urged France to withdraw her troops from Algeria, to end hostilities, and to enter into negotiations with the Provisional Government of Algeria.

The Richness of African History and Culture

But before we try to catch up with the fast-moving African developments and examine our not so fast-moving American policy response, let me say something about Africa's past. I am not interested only in paying tribute to Shakespeare's words -- "What is past is prologue" -- which are carved on our Archives Building. More important, if we are to understand the aspirations

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of the African peoples, we must recognize that the search for a historical base is an essential ingredient in the various nationalist movements. This highly self-conscious scrutiny of the past in many areas, and particularly in West Africa, is both an expression of developing pride in being a Negro and an effort to create national identity and cohesiveness by invoking records and traditions of great kingdoms and empires of earlier times.

I scarcely need remind my colleagues that our Western civilization had its beginnings in Egypt, along with Sumeria, at least one thousand years before

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a comparable culture arose on the islands of the Aegean Sea and roughly two thousand years before one was formed on the European mainland. It is probably still an open question whether the Queen of Sheba reigned in Ethiopia or in the southwestern extremity of the Arabian peninsula, but it is clear that a civilization of some consequence existed on both sides of the entrance to the Red Sea almost a thousand years before Christ. It is also worth remembering that, perhaps 400 years later, Carthaginians traveled from what is now Tunis to explore the West African coast, that Ethiopia received Christianity before England did, and that St. Augustine was a native North African.

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These matters are fairly well known. Startling data developed by research and discoveries in the prehistorical period, on the other hand, have either been little known or ignored. It is a fact, for instance, that the early peoples of eastern Africa possessed stone tools some hundred thousand years before inhabitants of Europe are recorded as having had them. Indeed, many anthropologists consider that findings in the southern part of the continent strongly suggest that Africa, rather than India or the Far East, was the first home of mankind.

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The absence of documentary materials for the period prior to European exploration and settlement admittedly has left a gap which new interest and new methods of historical research in Africa have only begun to close. Archaeological discoveries, much greater use of Arabic sources, and increasing evidence of the unusual reliability of African oral traditions have combined to lift at least a corner of the veil of our ignorance about Africa in medieval and modern times. We are learning more and more about the great Negro and Arab empires -- of Mali, Songhai and Ghana -- that covered much of West Africa in that period.

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We know that caravan routes, as well as territorial struggles, linked the North Africans with Negro peoples south of the Sahara throughout the Middle Ages. During much of that time the southern Mediterranean shore was transmitting the highest of cultural achievement. Knowing that even today northern Nigeria retains its ties with the Sudan to the east, it comes as less of a surprise to find a Fulani possessing the chain mail of a crusader knight.

There remains much more that we do not yet know -- ~~including~~ ^{including} the origin of the great ruins at Zimbabwe in Rhodesia. But enough has been revealed to permit one of our foremost American scholars to state that:

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"...the stereotype of African societies as static entities has little validity; ...the modern dynamic of Africa, so widely regarded as the result of contact with Europe, is in reality the continuation, in intensified form, of something that has marked the flow of African experience from very early times... We are learning that Africa was an integral part of the Old World, that it was culturally a donor as well as a recipient; in short, that it played a full role in the drama of the development of human civilization in general..."

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These are the reasons why African Negro leaders are gaining a new pride and confidence from their antecedents. These factors give added strength to just demands for equality of treatment among other peoples, and the vehement rejection of any presumption that the color of a man's skin makes him inherently inferior or superior. At the same time, these factors in large measure are responsible for the new interest in Africa shown by many of our 16 million Americans of African ancestry, who for years deprecated or ignored their supposed savage origins.

Let us move on to a consideration of what has been happening throughout the African continent.

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The Independent States of North Africa

First of all, we should note that, with the very obvious exception of Algeria, every North African country bordering the Mediterranean has gained its independence since World War II. These four are Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt, whose nominal independence became real with the overthrow of the monarchy and the withdrawal of British influence.

The case of Libya, given its freedom by the United Nations in 1950, has been of the utmost significance. Here was a completely artificial melding of three distinct areas and some other desert lands into a nation, based upon the boundaries of

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earlier Italian colonization, rather than prior existence as a county. Furthermore, Libya in 1950 was possibly the poorest and most barren independent nation on earth; a title now perhaps to be relinquished following discoveries of oil. Small wonder then that people throughout Africa asked if their own territories were not ready for independence if Libya was. A postscript, significant on several counts, should be added. The Kingdom of Libya, with quite a few million dollars of aid annually -- predominantly from the United Kingdom at first, but now largely from the United States -- has held together and made considerable progress toward internal consolidation.

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A Total of Ten Independent States

The addition of the Sudan, Ghana and Guinea to the ranks of independent states makes a total number of ten, including the four North African countries, Ethiopia, the Union of South Africa, and Liberia. Along the way the former Italian colony of Eritrea has virtually lost its identity through federation with Ethiopia. Also, a popular plebiscite in British Togoland, held under United Nations supervision, joined that area to Ghana in 1957. Thus, in effect, the European colonial powers have withdrawn from no less than nine African areas since World War II.

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Four New States Scheduled for 1960

This trend is still gathering momentum. In 1960, four more countries will be granted independence, and yet another territory is likely to merge with one of those four. First and foremost of those states is the Federation of Nigeria. Nigeria's roughly 35 million peoples give it the largest population of any African country, and great power potential if its three self-governing regions devote the utmost effort toward supporting and improving their federal institutions. The neighboring French Cameroons will also become an independent republic, and the little strip of British Cameroons territory between it and

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Nigeria will probably elect to join one of the
two larger states. The tiny autonomous
Republic of Togo on Ghana's eastern border, and
the territory of Somalia (formerly Italian Somaliland)
in the eastern Horn of Africa complete the list.

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Three factors are noteworthy in connection with this list.

First, all these areas but Nigeria are United Nations Trust Territories; their achievement of independence will leave the U.N. with direct responsibility for only two territories; Tanganyika, in British East Africa, and Ruanda-Urundi, adjoining and administered in conjunction with the Belgian Congo.

Second, despite the best efforts of all concerned, Somalia and Togo, because of poverty and size respectively, perhaps are less "ready" for independence than a number of territories still under colonial control. Let those who will bewail the liberal nature of U.N. standards and actions, the hard fact remains that ultra-conservative policies regarding readiness for independence have been made extremely difficult to justify.

Third, all these candidates for 1960 possess a common problem in terms of the differences between the more politically active peoples of the coast and the traditional and tribal authorities

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of the interior; in Nigeria and the French Cameroons in particular this is compounded by the religious elements in those differences. It is this common problem that Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana has felt it necessary to attack so vigorously.

The French Community

The most dramatic policy shift by a colonial power in recent times was the creation last year of the French Community. Added proof -- if any were needed -- of President de Gaulle's broad vision. While Guinea voted for full independence the 13 other tropical African territories of France (including Madagascar) have chosen to become autonomous republics -- that is, fully self-governing on a local basis -- within the French Community. It is likely that the territories of the former French Equatorial Africa will be content with their present status for a while to come, especially since they so greatly need the French financial aid which would likely be forfeited by a choice of independence.

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Satisfaction with the current situation is much less likely to endure in the republics of former French West Africa, some of which already are being attracted by ideas for a consolidation of the emerging independent West African states.

The Belgian Congo

Another dramatic event has been the recent reversal of Belgium's policy, resulting in the promise of eventual independence for the Belgian Congo. Progress in readying neighboring Ruanda-Urundi for independence is likely to be speeded up by this development.

British Africa

In British Africa, both Sierra Leone and Tanganyika are now making steady progress toward self-government, and Uganda will be granted independence whenever an unquestioned majority of its inhabitants clearly demand it. Two points are worth noting here. First, in Tanganyika, where a liberal British policy has resulted

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in national elections and much improved relations between the African nationalists and the colonial administrators, the encouraging situation contains a valuable lesson for neighboring Kenya.

Second, the highly complex and confused situation in Uganda shows that colonial policy is not always the most significant barrier to the achievement of independence by an African territory. Indeed, where a colonial power withdraws too gracefully or suddenly from an area which has no history as a nation, it may preclude its use as a target of hostility which helps to promote national solidarity.

The Darker Side of the Picture

Most of what I have described presents a fairly encouraging picture. The situations in Kenya and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland are a good deal less promising, although not entirely without hopeful elements. The general British policy of relaxing

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colonial controls as quickly and steadily as possible has run up against the white settler problem in both Kenya and the Federation.

In Kenya a few thousand estate owners in the so-called "white highlands", who admittedly have worked hard and suffered much to hold their properties, have greatly inhibited the growth of African political representation and responsibility. London has agreed to review Kenya's constitution, and thus the proportion of Africans in government, but demands for greater political independence continue to outpace concessions by a wide margin and consequently detract merit from the concessions. Strict controls are still maintained against the formation or extension of African political movements. All experience in recent years shows that if moderate nationalists do not receive recognition and cooperation, they must either become more immoderate themselves or give way to extremist successors. Yet reasonable and talented African leaders in Kenya, such as Mboya and Kiano, are given little or no help to retain their prestige among their followers. There is also the problem

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of Kenya's weak economy. Its solution conceivably might be federation with Uganda and Tanganyika, but this seems out of the question until African predominance is established in the three territories. The conclusion appears inescapable that not only a promise, but a timetable of independence, is the only real alternative to future unrest and disorders in Kenya.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland regards the question of independent status in quite a different light. Here, Southern Rhodesia, the dominant member of the Federation with two-thirds of its white citizens, hopes to obtain complete independence within the Commonwealth at a constitutional conference next year. Most Africans in the Rhodesias, for their part, fear that loss of protection from the U.K. would mean the end of their relative political and economic advances in the Federation. The grouping of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in 1953 was intended to provide economic benefits for the latter -- which it has done -- and to solve the race problem through a policy of racial partnership --

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which it has not done. It is too much too soon to say that the experiment, and thus the Federation, has failed. It is also too early to make a valid assessment of the origin and the significance of the Nyasaland riots earlier this year, even though it has become clear that the local official reaction was disproportionately severe. However, it is possible to state that strong British policies and a greater degree of Rhodesian cooperation will be needed to hold the Federation together and give it a real chance of eventual success.

Portuguese Territories

The African scene becomes a great deal more gloomy as we turn to the Portuguese territories, primarily Angola and Mozambique. Portugal has prevented any close examination of the consequences of its colonial policies by declaring its African territories integral parts, or provinces, of the colonial government, thereby obviating the need to report on its colonies to the U.N. There is no question, however, about the actual status

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of the natives, who are exposed to repressive measures as severe as any employed on the continent. The few thousands of Africans who have risen in status have done so by completely losing touch with their fellows as a result of becoming assimilated Portuguese.

For the Portuguese, in company with the Spanish, and the Arabs are happily free of racial prejudice and have a long history of intermarriage with subject peoples, but they practice an acute form of cultural segregation. To date, the Portuguese territories have largely been sealed off from external liberalizing influences. Nevertheless, they too inevitably will soon be feeling the impact of African nationalist fervor on their borders.

The Union of South Africa

All that can be said about the Union of South Africa is that no honest observer can escape a sense of impending tragedy. There is no possibility of the 3 million whites leaving their land, and economic considerations make it extremely unlikely that there will ever be more of a separation of the races than is currently ~~existing~~

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envisaged in the partial degree of apartheid now being enforced.

In this situation, there appears little prospect of anything but increased mutual hostility between the races. One can only hope that there will be no explosion before the futility of present policies is made evident and the leaven of other African influences can reach South Africa.

On the other hand, something more positive can be said about the territory of South West Africa. The Union of South Africa was given a League of Nations mandate over the area after it was captured from Germany during the First World War. Unlike every other country with mandate responsibilities, the Union refused to acknowledge the U.N. Trusteeship Council as the inheritor of the League's obligations. The Union remains adamant on this score, and governs South West Africa much as it does its own territories. It can be positively stated that vehement international protests are entirely justified; there is no question of intervening in a

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country's domestic affairs, and the situation is an affront to the dignity and conscience of the world community.

The Problem of Algeria

The problem of Algeria is also the most complex, influential and heart-rending one. Almost five years of guerilla war have drained France of men and money, reduced already low Algerian living standards to the starvation point, produced well over 100,000 refugees to become a charge on neighbors already waging an uphill fight to achieve political and economic stability after independence, encouraged extreme Arab nationalist tendencies, and promoted even stronger anti-colonial sentiments in much of Africa as a whole.

All the evidence points to the conclusion that the great majority of both the French and the Algerian peoples are thoroughly fed up with the conflict and would accept a compromise settlement. But the major antagonists, the National Liberation Front rebels and the approximately one million settlers of European descent

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backed by the French Army, are equally adamant in insisting on their respective terms for an end to hostilities. President de Gaulle still appears to be the main source of hope, yet even that expectation has been fading.

The Nature of African Nationalism

Now it is time to ask, what is the nature of African nationalism and where is it leading the continent? A few years back what we now call nationalism was carefully defined as the movement for self-government. This distinction was made because there were, and there still are, many areas where agitation for self-determination had no national basis. Yet it has become obvious that there can be "nationalists" without a nation, and before the cultural and political preconditions for nationhood are present. In fact, inasmuch as politically-minded Africans feel the urge to throw off foreign domination and have full self-expression they can more properly be considered part of a pan-African movement rather than a strictly nationalist movement.

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Words such as freedom, equality, independence and pan-

Africanism have enormous emotional pull in Africa today. The slogan of anti-colonialism is a veritable call to action within an incipient nationalist movement. Many of the most vocal African political leaders assert that the people would rather govern themselves badly than live under an efficient and even enlightened government imposed by foreigners, and that the "African personality" cannot really emerge until foreign rule is eradicated from the entire continent.

At the same time, to paraphrase a not unfamiliar quotation, "Perhaps never have so many been led by so few." For, as in most revolutionary situations, the masses in Africa have tended to remain inert or aimless until roused by a strong, dynamic personality, such as Nkrumah or Sekou Toure.

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In this connection, the several Accra Conferences, which have brought together national leaders as well as representatives of political groupings from many of the African territories, have played the key role in spreading nationalist doctrines and enthusiasm throughout the continent. Even an old established independent country such as Ethiopia has been affected by the new spirit running like an electric current through Africa.

The Central Role of Prime Minister Nkrumah

African nationalism to a considerable extent has been personified by Prime Minister Nkrumah. His pronouncements and actions are an authentic clue to the aspirations and possible future course of the newly independent African states. We have already implicitly noted his leadership in the pan-African movement, which wants the whole continent free and independent. But an important additional factor which shapes his views about how that is to be accomplished,

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as well as his foreign policy position, is his clearly expressed

admiration for the leaders of India and their example on both counts.

Thus, he advocates a non-violent fight against colonialism and foreign

policies based upon non-alignment and vigorous support of purely

African interests.

In this latter connection, the greatest mistake that external powers could make in the future would be to expect that the newly independent African countries will adopt anything but a neutral attitude toward the conflict between the Sino-Soviet bloc and the West. The attention of these new states will inevitably be riveted on African developments and all their capacities will be strained to the utmost in trying to "cultivate their own gardens." I personally see no reason whatsoever why our country should not be perfectly satisfied if the nations of Africa south of the Sahara choose to adopt a policy of non-alignment in the so-called cold war.

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Another critical mistake that we and other observers could make would be to anticipate that the new African states will be able to adopt our version of democracy which is the most complex and difficult system of government to sustain of any in the world. The existing independent African countries include a wide variety of governmental systems: absolute monarchy, oligarchic republic, military dictatorship, constitutional monarchy, authoritarian republic, and so on. Undeniably there are certain democratic elements in African societies, but they will be reflected in ways peculiar to Africa. Indeed, it is most likely that entirely new political systems will evolve as African leaders not only seek out and adopt the best and most suitable of their traditions and values, but also adapt their rule to the difficult problems to be faced.

Need for Economic Development

A final, and certainly not the least important point stressed by Prime Minister Nkrumah is the urgent need for economic development.

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This need is so obvious that it requires no elaboration. Nevertheless,

a few facts and figures will help to drive the point home. Three-quarters of Africa's 220 million people -- the highest proportion in any continent --

are engaged in subsistence agriculture. Yet most of Africa's soil is

not fertile, and its agricultural productivity is the lowest of all the

continents, whether measured as production per person or per acre.

The raw materials picture is considerably brighter, but -- as evidenced

by the fall of prices in 1957 -- Africa cannot achieve economic growth

without sustained world demand for its primary products.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that significant mineral production takes place only in certain areas, most of which are under colonial or South African control. The plight of a country like Somalia, with virtually no competitive export commodities, would be little short of desperate without external aid.

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The need for economic development is also vital to the newly independent countries on political grounds. As the economies of the African territories have shifted to a money basis, the people have come increasingly into contact with the material goods produced by modern industrial societies and naturally have wanted similar benefits. The nationalist movements are regarded by the African peoples, with encouragement from their leaders, as the logical means of gaining such benefits. If they are not forthcoming after independence, the political leadership can look forward to a short tenure of power.

Trade and Investment

It is in this connection that the future relationship of Africa with Western Europe should be considered. For it is extremely important to both continents that close and mutually profitable trade ties be maintained. Western European imports from, and exports to, Africa amount to some \$4 billion annually each way.

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In spite of Africa's relative poverty, it is a better market for Europe than is the United States. Moreover, the colonial powers until recently have been investing almost \$600 million annually in their African territories, with France making the largest contribution. In addition, the Common Market countries in 1957 created a joint five-year development fund of \$581 million for the African territories as a part of the Eurafrica concept. This was not been pure gain, even insofar as West Germany's portion is concerned, since the level of regular investment, as expected, has fallen as the fund has come into effect. Nevertheless, these data illustrate the size of the gap that would result if European investment were stopped or seriously curtailed. There is no question but that the Soviet bloc would be quite ready to step into that gap, and probably in a dramatic way.

Dangers of Communist Penetration

Soviet interest in Africa clearly has been increasing at a fast rate, and Africa's economic weaknesses and racial conflicts provide ample

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opportunities for Communist penetration. Yet there appears to be little likelihood that any African country will adopt Communism in the foreseeable future. On the other hand, it seems probable that the influence of the U.S.S.R. as a great power will carry increasing weight with the independent African states. Soviet bloc penetration is being intensified through diplomatic measures, trade missions, economic credits and educational grants. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. gains a substantial propaganda advantage from its free-wheeling blasts at racial discrimination or prejudice wherever it exists in Africa, or where it is directed against Negroes in Western nations like the United States. These are serious developments, but I consider it unlikely that the U.S.S.R. will gain a dominant influence over any African country in the future so long as we do not default on our responsibilities and opportunities.

There are many observers who believe it more likely that Communist China would serve as an example to the emergent African states.

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Here again, if the United States continues its efforts to ensure the success

of India's economic experiment, we need not fear Communist China's

powers of attraction, for Nehru and his great country currently have

far more prestige and influence in Africa than any other Asian state.

Against this background, Mr. President, I would like to say a few words about United States policy toward the African continent.

America's Interest in Africa

Let me briefly summarize some of the reasons for America's interest in Africa. First, Africa is second only to Europe as the historical source of our population. This alone should insure our special interest in Africa. It is of utmost importance that our natural friendship and influence with Africans should not be dissipated by our failure to move steadily toward the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in our country.

Second, our humanitarian interests toward Africa have been expressed by large numbers of our missionaries, educators, doctors and private

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foundations. These people have built a large reservoir of goodwill

which we can draw upon.

Third, the economic importance of Africa as a supplier of raw materials to the U.S. in future years is only just beginning to emerge.

Fourth, Africa is becoming an increasingly significant independent force in world affairs as more and more of its new states are brought into being.

Fifth, we should also mention our strategic interests, involving not only military facilities in North Africa, but also the relationship between Europe and Africa.

Sixth, it is incumbent upon us to make certain that the "have-not" countries of the world have no grounds for believing that the most fortunate nations will hoard wealth and power in the face of widespread poverty and misery. Seventh, we have a vital interest in preventing Communist bloc enslavement of the African peoples.

Beyond these reasons -- which do not constitute an exhaustive list -- lies the fact that whatever the United States does, or what it does not do, will inevitably have great influence on Africa's future.

Needed: A Total Approach Toward Africa

Mr. President, at this point I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a recent article by the Asian-African editor of Business International, Mr. William Persen. Among his many acute observations, Mr. Persen says that "Africa is the only continent where, by and large, the United States is not hated. Despite the dastardly history of our treatment of the Negro, the African still looks to the U.S. as his support against the continuance of foreign imperial control. He looks to the U.S. as a bountiful helper in the war against disease, poverty and backwardness. He does not suspect that American aid is merely a screen for economic imperialism, as most Asiatics do, nor does he think it a payment for political

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services rendered in the struggle against Communism. Anti-American feelings are fashionable so far only in the Arab north."

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Mr. President, I request that the full text of Mr. Persen's article, "Africa in Transition," which appeared in the July number of Worldview, be printed at the close of my remarks.

I have frequently heard Administration spokesmen enumerate United States objectives toward Africa. They are not couched in inspirational prose, but I have no quarrel with them. The important point is the character of the policies designed to achieve our objectives. These policies have been pretty much of a mixed bag.

We are, indeed, beginning to use in Africa on an increasing scale all the regular methods and instruments for the conduct of international relations which we employ elsewhere in the world. We are increasing our diplomatic representation in Africa, but it is still small compared to the need or to the number of American officials serving other areas of the world.

Emergent Africa presents us with an opportunity not only to increase the volume of our representation, but also the quality of our approach. Here is a new and fresh opportunity to develop from the beginning a comprehensive and positive strategy, a total approach, if you will. In addition to the traditional diplomatic officers we should immediately send qualified labor,

educational, economic and medical attaches who will assist in the important development efforts of these new states. These persons representing the breadth of our interests should also reflect the diversity of our population.

In this era of total diplomacy, food, medicine and books, along with economic aid and technical assistance, are vital foreign policy instruments. In some cases these less traditional instruments may be decisive.

Economic Aid to Africa

Our economic assistance to Africa under the Mutual Security Program has been gradually rising. It will amount to roughly \$110 million for the coming fiscal year; almost \$21 million is slated for technical cooperation, and the much larger portion will provide special assistance for development projects. Through this program schools have been established to provide badly needed agricultural and vocational skills. Better use of scarce water supplies is being demonstrated; and health measures to eradicate debilitating diseases are being instituted. The U.S. Government is actively assisting private investors to find favorable investment opportunities in African countries. In addition, the Development Loan Fund has approved

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loans totaling about \$29 million to five African countries, and the Export-Import Bank is also doing somewhat more in this area.

Even counting U.N. assistance programs and the International Bank's activities -- both of which, of course, involve United States participation -- the requirements of the independent African countries for development aid and investment capital are being met only in the most minimal fashion. We are, in effect, extending assistance on a "keeping the head above water" basis.

Educational Approach Should Be Strengthened

The same observation holds true with respect to Africa's other most urgent requirement -- the need for education. We are performing a great many extremely worthwhile tasks in the educational field through our State Department programs, including those of I.C.A. and the International Educational Exchange Service. But because of the restricted amounts of money available, and the consequent lack of scope and flexibility in such programs, Africans receiving assistance in recent years have numbered only in the hundreds.

There has been some improvement. During the last academic year,

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1958-1959, a total of 1,154 students from African countries south of the Sahara were enrolled in American universities. This compares with only 114 African students just ten years ago. Last year, there were more than a hundred each from Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and the Union of South Africa. Thirteen countries sent less than ten students to the United States. I do not know how many African students are studying in the Soviet Union, but from what I saw at the Moscow airport last winter, I would guess that it is significantly larger than the number who are here.

The volume of our student exchange program should be increased ten-fold. The benefits from such a program would be mutual. Let me cite an example of the educational requirements of a newly independent state. President Sekou Toure of Guinea told Claude Barnett of the Associated Negro Press recently that his country would like to send several hundred students to the U.S. right now, and would be glad to receive 500 American teachers in Guinea if it were possible.

Few people realize the enormous efforts and sacrifices the Africans themselves are making to deal with their educational problem. For example, 40 percent of Nigeria's Eastern Regional government budget is

devoted to education, and yet the people are required to pay school fees in addition. Frankly, I wish we had something of the same spirit in our own system of education.

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New Sense of Urgency Needed

All our measures to assist Africa, while heading in the right direction, have been insufficient to do the job that needs to be done. Our response has not been adequate to the challenge.

On the other hand, our diplomatic activities and our voting record on African problems in the U.N. cannot very well be going in the right direction, so far as I can see, because they appear to be stalled on dead center. Somehow we seem to have mislaid our enthusiasm for traditional American principles when confronted with a U.N. vote on the Portuguese territories, the Union of South Africa, or South West Africa. In the case of Guinea's request for assistance following the French withdrawal, I have heard no explanation of our behaviour that does not indicate excessive caution and legalistic delay.

I can only draw the conclusion that we Americans are being made into a nation of unimaginative conservatives. The rail-splitters of the 1850's have become the fence sitters of the 1950's. I don't like this one bit.

~~The Algerian Dilemma~~
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The problem of Algeria is a dramatic example of the dilemma we face. We have a strong anti-colonial tradition, but we have never advocated independence at any price. We believe in the principle of self-determination for peoples, but we also believe this principle must be applied with great care. During the second half of the last century a number of states in this Union invoked the principle of self-determination, and we fought a bloody war to prove that the principle was not applicable in this situation.

The American people and their government are sympathetic to the aspirations of all Africans, including the Moslems in Algeria, for independence. We are also sympathetic to the problems of an old and close ally, France. We need France in our defensive coalition against the U.S.S.R. in Europe.

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This dilemma cannot be resolved by easy slogans or by threatening France with an "agonizing reappraisal". We want to help France, We want to honor the legitimate aspirations for freedom.

Although I have no pat answer to the dilemma, I am regretfully convinced that the Administration has permitted itself to become paralyzed by it. We have not made full use of our diplomatic resources in coming to grips/~~in~~ ^{with} the problem in concert with our NATO allies.

We must explore new avenues, new possibilities. Let me make a concrete suggestion. Many Africans are concerned about the possibility that France will experiment with nuclear tests in the inland deserts of Algeria. They are concerned both about the physical and political fallout from such experiments. Should we not in our deep concern for Africa and for France explore the feasibility of inviting France to make her tests in one of our

own atomic test sites. I am not recommending that we do this;
I am only recommending that we consider such a proposal which
may help contribute to an ultimate solution to the Algerian
problem.

Perhaps an even wiser course would be to invite France
to participate directly in any future tests deemed necessary for
the defense of the free world. If the members of the Western
atomic club combined their efforts we could reduce substantially
the total amount of radioactive fallout resulting from tests.

Toward A Unified Approach to Africa

Recognizing both the diversity and underlying unity of
Africa, we must fashion a program which serves both. We must
be sensitive and imaginative enough to understand the
opportunities and problems of particular countries without losing
sign of the continent as a whole. We cannot deal with emergent
Africa on a piecemeal basis. This is particularly true as far
as our economic aid program is concerned. It would be most

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unsatisfactory if each newly independent territory were to hasten to us for aid on an ad hoc basis. The prolongation of such a trend would involve us in national rivalries and competitive bidding, greatly reduce the efficiency of the aid operation and compel us to forfeit initiative and long-range planning in that field. The distinguished Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee had such considerations in mind when he recently urged the Administration to take all possible steps to encourage the creation of regional political groupings among the independent African states.

An African Development Organization

The conclusion I draw from these propositions is that we should concentrate on helping Africa in terms of economic requirements, which will remain constant under any political conditions. Moreover, a multi-lateral regional organization would be most likely to promote sound regional development.

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But let me spell out more of what I mean by a multi-

lateral assistance organization. Such an organization could be constituted directly under the aegis of the United Nations, perhaps in conjunction with the recently created U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. The important thing would be to have as members the United States and other industrialized countries which are able to provide loan or grant capital. Such an organization might well include the full membership of O.E.E.C. and perhaps Japan. The organization would not be confined to providing economic assistance, but would survey requirements and assist in drawing up sound plans and projects. It could also include the vital fields of education and health. Finally, it would be devoted entirely to helping Africa, and would be set up and financed on a long-term basis. I must add that this is not a new proposal, but it might just as well be for all the attention that the executive branch has given it.

Such a marshaling of free world resources would fulfill

Africa's needs and our responsibilities in a way impossible of achievement on an ad hoc and unilateral basis. The organization would benefit both the independent African states and the territories still under colonial control, and its membership would be sufficiently broad and varied to obviate African fears of colonial domination.

Another extremely important point is that such a plan would draw Africa and Europe closer together, and might contribute much toward solving some of the difficult problems that now divide them. It is conceivable that steady progress toward an Algerian settlement would take place under such circumstances. I believe that there has not yet been a serious attempt to deal with such problems in the broadest political and economic context.

In this connection, I am hopeful that the forthcoming meeting between President de Gaulle and President Eisenhower will yield good results in a series of complicated and inter-related questions. It is noteworthy that President de Gaulle recently indicated his strong interest in promoting a multi-lateral approach to the underdeveloped areas.

Mr. President, in closing, I wish to say, as emphatically as I can, that this nation cannot afford to sit on the fence any longer. We must have action, and we must have it soon. Now, lest I seem overly impatient about the Administration's protracted delay in making up its mind about Africa, I want to quote two perceptive sentences by a Frenchman. Father Bruckberger, in his recently published Image of America, has this to say: "Innately, America has the slowest pulse in the world. If Americans seem obsessed by the need for haste, it is because they are always slow to start."

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