

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AFRICAN TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS,
and the
ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

African-American Institute

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May 22, 1976

I am honored to play a small part in this important conference on Africa which is being held as a tribute to our beloved Cecil Newman.

My friendship with Cecil goes back many, many years. He made me aware more than any other man of discrimination and injustice. He allowed me to look through his eyes at the world of segregation which our nation had permitted to exist for too many years.

Cecil Newman was a great leader of our community. To me, he was a friend, a counselor, an educator, an inspiration and an unusual human being. I owe much of my success to his wisdom and ability to communicate it to others.

Cecil recognized the important bonds between Africa and black America. He wanted to strengthen them. He saw in Africa as he saw in America what happens to human potential when poverty dominates a society.

Cecil Newman understood that when black Americans have an opportunity to discover their great culture and heritage in Africa, their struggle for human rights will be founded on a strong base of black awareness and consciousness. Cecil Newman's hope for greater American awareness of Africa by blacks and whites is coming true.

At long last the United States has been awakened from its many years of inattention and indifference to the nations of Africa.

It has taken a massive human disaster in the Sahel and the threat of racial bloodshed in southern Africa to turn the attention of the American people and their policymakers towards the needs and hopes of that great continent.

After years of drift and lost opportunities, the United States is again beginning to forge a more coherent African policy.

I say "again" because our nation was once in the vanguard of Western concern toward Africa.

Under the Administrations of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson the United States played a critical role of support of post-colonial independence.

In those years our idealism was great, our expectations high and no challenge seemed too great.

But our progressive policies of the early 1960's were slowly but inevitably reversed by three factors.

First, the war in Vietnam diverted our attention and our energy from the frontiers of change in Africa.

Second, the immense problems of that continent resisted the grand designs of American policy makers.

And, third, the American commitment to independence and nationalism was deliberately reversed by an Administration that placed its weight behind those elements which constituted the last vestiges of the colonial era.

The tremendous goodwill that the United States had accumulated in Africa during the early 1960s was lost in the late 1960s and 1970s.

America was no longer regarded as committed -- or even sympathetic -- to the aspirations of the majority of Africans.

But there are now signs that the United States is beginning to reverse these policies and regain the momentum of years past. There are now signs that we are beginning to recognize our great stake in Africa's future.

-- The Congress has taken a number of steps which will aid Africa by reorienting the thrust of American foreign assistance away from political giving and toward direct assistance to the poorest of the poor.

-- This shift in bilateral assistance was accompanied by U. S. support for such multilateral institutions as the African Development Fund and the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

-- And the Congress has forcefully caused a redirection in the Ford Administration's political priorities in southern Africa.

-- The Secretary of State's recent trip to Africa and the vitally important policy statements he made there are another critical sign of change.

But let us not fool ourselves. The policy of non-attention has just begun to change. And there are now serious obstacles in the way of actual implementation of a new African policy by America.

I want to discuss some of these problems with you in the context of a brief review of current trends in Africa.

Africa is so immense and so diverse that in speaking of current trends one must use a primarily geographic rather than an economic or political orientation.

-- The states of North Africa are preoccupied with Arab political matters and territorial disputes which brought Algeria and Morocco close to war over the Spanish Sahara issue.

-- West Africa's continued development depends on the ability of those nations to build national unity and at the same time form lasting arrangements for regional economic cooperation.

-- The Sahel continues to benefit from international concern and an easing of the drought. However, its problems are still enormous, and there is a critical need for international cooperation on a recovery and rehabilitation plan to prevent a recurrence of the disaster.

-- Central Africa is beset by severe economic difficulties as a result of the fall in key commodity prices. Zaire has been unable to recover from serious economic mismanagement despite the infusion of outside aid.

-- In Ethiopia, the civil war and economic difficulties continue to rage out of control, severely impairing the functioning of this critical nation.

-- A small but significant arms race fueled by great-power competition continues to inflame relations among the nations of East Africa. Their economies are still affected by the recent drought. The future of Kenya after Kenyatta is very much in doubt. Tanzania's economic experiments are encouraging examples of rural development, but they have been unable to begin to lift the nation out of its extreme poverty.

-- The southern part of the continent remains politically explosive. The economies of the black ruled nations are in trouble. I want to deal with this area in greater detail in just a few moments.

These trends demonstrate Africa's diversity. But beneath the incredible diversity of each region are some basic factors which pose serious choices for an American foreign policy anxious to escape the suspicions and hostility of African leaders and their people.

First, are we willing to do our part in tackling systematically the poverty of Africa which affects every aspect of life and restricts the economic and political independence of a supposedly free people?

Poverty is pervasive in Africa. The continent contains 18 of the world's 28 least developed countries. Twenty-six of those nations designated as most seriously affected by food and fuel cost increases are found in Africa. The other indices of deep seated poverty are equally revealing.

-- Life expectancy: 43 years.

-- One physician for every 15,000 people.

-- 83 per cent of the people are illiterate.

-- Food production is way behind population growth.

-- The raw material producer economies of Africa are subject to wild, disruptive fluctuations of world markets.

Despite these facts, the United States has yet to make a realistic commitment to economic progress in Africa which could begin to lift the burden of poverty and disease from its millions of people.

Yes, we have a modest aid program in Africa. But it lacks the innovation, the resources and the will to alter significantly the basic conditions of poverty.

Yes, we provide assistance to multilateral agencies doing serious development work in Africa. Yet we have been unwilling to lead the industrially advanced and the oil-rich nations in a coordinated effort to target their activities in Africa so that their aid could make a difference in the lives of the poor.

Yes, American policy makers have made important commitments to a new international economic system which embraces new trade, income and commodity practices for industrialized countries. Yet we have been able to make only very slow progress toward implementing these policies and achieving the goal of making the international economic system more equitable.

It is difficult for Americans to understand that Africans can easily see beyond grand rhetoric to the meager commitments.

I recognize our own domestic needs. But I am also convinced that with the proper leadership we could do more, we could do better, and we could ask others to join us to share in the burden.

Do you know that right now the President's Office of Management and Budget is delaying approval of funds needed for the Sahel in coming fiscal years?

Despite the fact that Ronald Reagan has termed aid to this region as "an investment in a spread of unfertile land," I believe our nation has a moral obligation to the afflicted people of this region.

If some American leaders are unwilling to see a moral imperative in an attack on poverty in Africa, they should at least understand that such acts are in our own national interest. Our economy needs the minerals of Africa, the markets of Africa, the finished exports of Africa to remain strong.

Let's not kid ourselves. Other nations recognize the potential wealth which is in Africa. Our ability to compete with others on an equitable basis may depend on our willingness to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the African people for greater development.

In another important area affecting development, the United States has an obligation not to divert the scarce resources of Africans to the purchase of expensive arms not legitimately needed for self-defense.

Arms are the "heroin" of poor nations. Addiction is costly--often fatal.

The time has come for the United States and others to show restraint and stop pushing arms on those who do not need them.

It should be noted that the nations of the developing world devote as much public revenue to military programs as to education and health care combined.

This type of misplaced priority must stop. We have a definite role to play. We have only to look at Ethiopia, where precious foreign currency reserves were recently depleted to buy expensive American jet aircraft, as an example of the phenomenon which must be prevented.

The second great choice for the United States in Africa concerns developments in the southern part of the continent.

Is the quest for human freedom now occurring there going to be supported wholeheartedly by the United States, or are we going to let special economic interests and the right wing determine our foreign policy?

We have finally given a clear signal to all of the contending parties in southern Africa as to how we would like to see the political future of that part of the world evolve. This was the great import of the speech which Secretary Kissinger recently delivered in Lusaka.

But the Ford Administration has yet to decide exactly how or whether it will actually implement its policy statements.

I have an uneasy feeling that the progress which Secretary Kissinger made in reversing the policies of the early Nixon years may not receive the full support of the White House.

There are many unanswered questions left in the wake of the Secretary's trip which indicate that the Ford Administration may be willing to let election-year politics obstruct the American commitment to human rights in southern Africa.

-- How hard will the United States press Ian Smith for rapid negotiations toward majority rule in Rhodesia? Will we use our influence with the South Africans and others to bring greater pressure on Smith to speed up a process he wants to drag out for a fifteen-year period?

-- Is the President willing to put the full weight of his Administration behind the Congressional battle to repeal the Byrd amendment affecting chrome imports so that we may be in compliance with the U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia? Such an effort will place him in direct confrontation with the right wing of his own Party and powerful domestic interests.

-- Will President Ford actively work to obtain Congressional authorizations to carry out the aid commitments made by his Secretary of State in Africa -- commitments which would strengthen the hand of those already fighting against minority rule? There are already strong indications that elements within the Ford Administration are backtracking on these pledges.

-- If the Administration has announced to the world that it opposes minority rule based on racial domination, what steps is it prepared to take to have the Republic of South Africa change its apartheid policy? No sooner had the Secretary returned from Africa when it was informally announced that the United States was preparing a gigantic nuclear reactor deal with the South Africans through our Export-Import Bank. I don't consider giving the South African government \$250 million in U. S. credit guarantees to build a reactor to be a signal to them that we disapprove of their policies.

It should be clear to one and all that the Ford Administration has a long way to go before its policies become reality.

It does little good to raise expectations for the drama of the moment and then fail to carry through at a later date. This is the type of diplomacy that is unbecoming to a great nation.

The Ford Administration must not succumb to election-year pressure and abandon the policies it has enunciated. If this happens, more than American prestige in Africa will be damaged. Our inaction could increase tension and lead to racial bloodshed.

And it is clear to me that unless we act soon, we should not be surprised or offended if the Africans, once more ignored and abandoned by the Americans, accept material and moral support from whoever offers it.

We will have only ourselves to blame if the Cubans and the Soviets gain further positions of influence in Southern Africa.

I have always believed that the way to defeat the Cubans and Soviets in Southern Africa is to move boldly to deny them the political opportunities which they seek.

It is very late and we have made many mistakes. Let us not make another through timidity or inaction. In effectively carrying out our own policy pronouncements we would not simply be responding to the challenge of the Communists.

Much more importantly, we will be taking our stand for what is right and decent in the cause of human freedom.

Let me conclude this brief overview with the following thought. If we base our African policy on the principles of helping the poor and aiding the speedy transition to majority rule, we would be aligning ourselves with the dominant political forces of the future and, at the same time, doing what is right.

There is, after all, no reason why we cannot have a foreign policy which is both pragmatic and moral.

Such an approach would yield practical dividends not only in Africa, but throughout all the rest of the world as well.

We need not be isolated and defensive as we face the challenges of the future.

The United States still has many potential friends and allies among the emerging nations. To redeem their trust and confidence we have only to act affirmatively on the basis of the principles upon which our own nation was founded two hundred years ago.

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ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

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Cong Diggs

MAY 22, 1976

- Clarence Jones (Amsterdam
News)

- Etta Barnett (Wife of Claude
Barnett of Negro
Press Assoc)

- Frank Ferraci - William Cotter
ex President

(Amb from Zambia here
Pres Kuanda
no gene trans)

May 22 African Liberation Day

I AM HONORED TO PLAY A SMALL PART IN THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE ON AFRICA WHICH IS BEING HELD AS A TRIBUTE TO OUR BELOVED CECIL

NEWMAN.

(Senora Newman here)

MY FRIENDSHIP WITH CECIL GOES BACK MANY, MANY YEARS.

HE MADE ME AWARE MORE THAN ANY OTHER MAN OF ^{Racial} DISCRIMINATION AND

INJUSTICE. HE ALLOWED ME TO LOOK THROUGH HIS EYES AT THE WORLD OF SEGREGATION WHICH OUR NATION HAD PERMITTED TO EXIST FOR TOO MANY YEARS.

CECIL NEWMAN WAS A GREAT LEADER ~~OF~~ OUR COMMUNITY. TO ME, HE WAS A FRIEND, A COUNSELOR, AN EDUCATOR, AN INSPIRATION AND AN UNUSUAL HUMAN BEING. I OWE MUCH OF MY SUCCESS TO HIS WISDOM AND ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE IT TO OTHERS.

L CECIL RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANT BONDS BETWEEN AFRICA AND BLACK
AMERICA. L HE WANTED TO STRENGTHEN THEM. L HE SAW IN AFRICA AS HE SAW
IN AMERICA WHAT HAPPENS TO HUMAN POTENTIAL WHEN POVERTY DOMINATES
A SOCIETY.

L CECIL NEWMAN UNDERSTOOD THAT WHEN BLACK AMERICANS HAVE AN
OPPORTUNITY TO DISCOVER THEIR GREAT CULTURE AND HERITAGE IN AFRICA,
 THEIR STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE FOUNDED ON A STRONG BASE OF
BLACK AWARENESS AND CONSCIOUSNESS. ^{and} L CECIL NEWMAN'S HOPE FOR GREATER
AMERICAN AWARENESS OF AFRICA BY BLACKS AND WHITES IS COMING TRUE.

L AT LONG LAST THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AWAKENED FROM ITS MANY
YEARS OF INATTENTION AND INDIFFERENCE TO THE NATIONS OF AFRICA.

(so much to know - we are so poorly
informed)

IT HAS TAKEN A MASSIVE HUMAN DISASTER IN THE SAHEL AND THE
THREAT OF RACIAL BLOODSHED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO TURN THE ATTENTION
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR POLICYMAKERS TOWARDS THE NEEDS AND
HOPE OF THAT GREAT CONTINENT.

AFTER YEARS OF DRIFT AND LOST OPPORTUNITIES, THE UNITED STATES
IS AGAIN BEGINNING TO FORGE A MORE COHERENT AFRICAN POLICY.

I SAY "AGAIN" BECAUSE OUR NATION WAS ONCE IN THE VANGUARD
OF WESTERN CONCERN TOWARD AFRICA.

UNDER THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHN KENNEDY AND LYNDON
JOHNSON THE UNITED STATES PLAYED A CRITICAL ROLE OF SUPPORT OF
POST-COLONIAL INDEPENDENCE.

*(my travel in
Africa) speech
at Addis Ababa organized
by African*

L IN THOSE YEARS OUR IDEALISM WAS GREAT, OUR EXPECTATIONS
HIGH AND NO CHALLENGE SEEMED TOO GREAT.

L BUT OUR PROGRESSIVE POLICIES OF THE EARLY 1960'S WERE
SLOWLY BUT INEVITABLY REVERSED BY THREE FACTORS.

(1) L FIRST, THE WAR IN VIETNAM DIVERTED OUR ATTENTION AND OUR
ENERGY FROM THE FRONTIERS OF CHANGE IN AFRICA.

(2) L SECOND, THE IMMENSE PROBLEMS OF THAT CONTINENT RESISTED THE
GRAND DESIGNS OF AMERICAN POLICY MAKERS.

3 L AND, THIRD, THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO INDEPENDENCE AND
NATIONALISM WAS DELIBERATELY REVERSED BY AN ADMINISTRATION

THAT PLACED ITS WEIGHT BEHIND THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH CONSTITUTED THE
LAST VESTIGES OF THE COLONIAL ERA.

L THE TREMENDOUS GOODWILL THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD ACCUMULATED
 IN AFRICA DURING THE EARLY 1960s WAS LOST IN THE LATE 1960s AND 1970s.

L AMERICA WAS NO LONGER REGARDED AS COMMITTED -- OR EVEN
 SYMPATHETIC -- TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE MAJORITY OF AFRICANS.

L BUT, THERE ARE NOW SIGNS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS BEGINNING
 TO REVERSE THESE POLICIES AND REGAIN THE MOMENTUM OF YEARS PAST.

L THERE ARE NOW SIGNS THAT WE ARE BEGINNING TO RECOGNIZE OUR GREAT
 STAKE IN AFRICA'S FUTURE.

-- THE CONGRESS HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS WHICH WILL AID
 AFRICA BY REORIENTING THE THRUST OF AMERICAN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
 AWAY FROM POLITICAL GIVING AND TOWARD DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO THE
 POOREST OF THE POOR.

(3 yrs Ago - African Policy Rhodessa Chrome Development)

Emphasis on Food Production, Health,
6 Educ. Family Planning
+ Ec. Development.

-- THIS SHIFT IN BILATERAL ASSISTANCE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
U. S. SUPPORT FOR SUCH MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS AS THE AFRICAN
DEVELOPMENT FUND AND THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT.

-- AND THE CONGRESS HAS FORCEFULLY CAUSED A REDIRECTION
IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S POLITICAL PRIORITIES IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA.

L -- THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S RECENT TRIP TO AFRICA AND THE
VITALLY IMPORTANT POLICY STATEMENTS HE MADE THERE ARE ANOTHER
CRITICAL SIGN OF CHANGE.

L BUT LET US NOT FOOL OURSELVES. L THE POLICY OF NON-ATTENTION
HAS JUST BEGUN TO CHANGE. AND THERE ARE NOW SERIOUS OBSTACLES
IN THE WAY OF ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF A NEW AFRICAN POLICY ~~BY~~ ^{By}

AMERICA.

L I WANT TO DISCUSS SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS WITH YOU IN THE
CONTEXT OF A BRIEF REVIEW OF CURRENT TRENDS IN AFRICA.

L AFRICA IS SO IMMENSE AND SO DIVERSE THAT IN SPEAKING OF
CURRENT TRENDS ONE MUST USE A PRIMARILY GEOGRAPHIC RATHER THAN
AN ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL ORIENTATION.

L-- THE STATES OF NORTH AFRICA ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH ARAB
POLITICAL MATTERS AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES WHICH BROUGHT ALGERIA
AND MOROCCO CLOSE TO WAR OVER THE SPANISH SAHARA ISSUE.

L-- WEST AFRICA'S CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT DEPENDS ON THE ABILITY
OF THOSE NATIONS TO BUILD NATIONAL UNITY AND AT THE SAME TIME
FORM LASTING ARRANGEMENTS FOR REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

L-- THE SAHEL CONTINUES TO BENEFIT FROM INTERNATIONAL
 CONCERN AND AN EASING OF THE DROUGHT. HOWEVER, ITS PROBLEMS
 ARE STILL ENORMOUS, AND THERE IS A CRITICAL NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL
 COOPERATION ON A RECOVERY AND REHABILITATION PLAN TO PREVENT A
 RECURRENCE OF THE DISASTER.

L-- CENTRAL AFRICA IS BESET BY SEVERE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES
 AS A RESULT OF THE ^{drop} FALL IN KEY COMMODITY PRICES. ZAIRE HAS BEEN
 UNABLE TO RECOVER FROM SERIOUS ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT DESPITE THE
 INFUSION OF OUTSIDE AID.

L-- IN ETHIOPIA, THE CIVIL WAR AND ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES
 CONTINUE TO RAGE OUT OF CONTROL, SEVERELY IMPAIRING THE FUNCTIONING
 OF THIS CRITICAL NATION.

L-- A SMALL BUT SIGNIFICANT ARMS RACE FUELED BY GREAT-POWER
COMPETITION CONTINUES TO INFLAME RELATIONS AMONG THE NATIONS OF
EAST AFRICA. THEIR ECONOMIES ARE STILL AFFECTED BY THE RECENT
DROUGHT. THE FUTURE OF KENYA AFTER KENYATTA IS VERY MUCH IN
DOUBT. TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS ARE ENCOURAGING EXAMPLES
OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO BEGIN TO LIFT
THE NATION OUT OF ITS EXTREME POVERTY.

L-- THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE CONTINENT REMAINS POLITICALLY
EXPLOSIVE. THE ECONOMIES OF THE BLACK RULED NATIONS ARE IN TROUBLE,
I WANT TO DEAL WITH THIS AREA IN GREATER DETAIL IN JUST A FEW
MOMENTS.

THESE TRENDS DEMONSTRATE AFRICA'S DIVERSITY. BUT BENEATH
 THE INCREDIBLE DIVERSITY OF EACH REGION ARE SOME BASIC FACTORS
 WHICH POSE SERIOUS CHOICES FOR AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ANXIOUS
 TO ESCAPE THE SUSPICIONS AND HOSTILITY OF AFRICAN LEADERS AND
 THEIR PEOPLE.

(1) FIRST, ARE WE WILLING TO DO OUR PART IN TACKLING
 SYSTEMATICALLY THE POVERTY OF AFRICA WHICH AFFECTS EVERY ASPECT
 OF LIFE AND RESTRICTS THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE
 OF A SUPPOSEDLY FREE PEOPLE?

POVERTY IS PERVASIVE IN AFRICA. THE CONTINENT CONTAINS
18 OF THE WORLD'S 28 LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. TWENTY-SIX OF
 THOSE NATIONS DESIGNATED AS MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED BY FOOD AND
FUEL COST INCREASES ARE FOUND IN AFRICA. THE OTHER INDICES OF
 DEEP SEATED POVERTY ARE EQUALLY REVEALING.

L -- LIFE EXPECTANCY: 43 YEARS.

L -- ONE PHYSICIAN FOR EVERY 15,000 PEOPLE.

L -- 83 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE ARE ILLITERATE.

L -- FOOD PRODUCTION IS WAY BEHIND POPULATION GROWTH.

L -- THE RAW MATERIAL PRODUCER ECONOMIES OF AFRICA ARE

SUBJECT TO WILD, DISRUPTIVE FLUCTUATIONS OF WORLD MARKETS.

L DESPITE THESE FACTS, THE UNITED STATES ^{and other industrialized nations} HAVE YET TO MAKE

A REALISTIC COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AFRICA WHICH

COULD BEGIN TO LIFT THE BURDEN OF POVERTY AND DISEASE FROM ITS

MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

L YES, WE HAVE A MODEST AID PROGRAM IN AFRICA. L BUT IT LACKS
 THE INNOVATION, THE RESOURCES AND THE WILL TO ALTER SIGNIFICANTLY
THE BASIC CONDITIONS OF POVERTY.

L YES, WE PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO MULTILATERAL AGENCIES DOING
SERIOUS DEVELOPMENT WORK IN AFRICA. L YET WE HAVE BEEN UNWILLING
 TO LEAD THE INDUSTRIALLY ADVANCED AND THE OIL-RICH NATIONS IN A
 COORDINATED EFFORT TO TARGET THEIR ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA SO THAT
THEIR AID COULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE LIVES OF THE POOR.

L YES, AMERICAN POLICY MAKERS HAVE MADE IMPORTANT COMMITMENTS
 TO A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM WHICH EMBRACES NEW TRADE,
INCOME AND COMMODITY PRACTICES FOR INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. L YET,
 WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE ONLY VERY SLOW PROGRESS TOWARD
IMPLEMENTING THESE POLICIES AND ACHIEVING THE GOAL OF MAKING THE
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM MORE EQUITABLE.

IT IS DIFFICULT FOR AMERICANS TO UNDERSTAND THAT AFRICANS
 CAN ~~ONLY~~ ^{can} SEE BEYOND GRAND RHETORIC TO THE MEAGER COMMITMENTS.

I RECOGNIZE OUR OWN DOMESTIC NEEDS BUT I AM ALSO
 CONVINCED THAT WITH THE PROPER LEADERSHIP WE COULD DO MORE, WE
 COULD DO BETTER, AND WE COULD ASK OTHERS TO JOIN US TO SHARE IN
 THE BURDEN.

Do you know ~~that~~ RIGHT NOW THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE OF
 MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET IS DELAYING APPROVAL OF FUNDS NEEDED FOR
 THE SAHEL IN COMING FISCAL YEARS?

DESPITE THE FACT THAT RONALD REAGAN HAS TERMED AID TO THIS
 REGION AS "AN INVESTMENT IN A SPREAD OF UNFERTILE LAND," I
 BELIEVE OUR NATION HAS A MORAL OBLIGATION TO THE AFFLICTED PEOPLE
 OF THIS REGION.

L IF SOME AMERICAN LEADERS ARE UNWILLING TO SEE A MORAL
 IMPERATIVE IN AN ATTACK ON POVERTY IN AFRICA, THEY SHOULD AT LEAST
 UNDERSTAND THAT ~~SUCH IS~~ *aid to africa is* IN OUR OWN NATIONAL INTEREST. L OUR
 ECONOMY NEEDS THE MINERALS OF AFRICA, THE MARKETS OF AFRICA, THE
 FINISHED EXPORTS OF AFRICA TO REMAIN STRONG.

L LET'S NOT KID OURSELVES L OTHER NATIONS RECOGNIZE THE POTENTIAL
 WEALTH WHICH IS IN AFRICA. L OUR ABILITY TO COMPETE WITH OTHERS ON
 AN EQUITABLE BASIS MAY DEPEND ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO RECOGNIZE
 THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE FOR GREATER
 DEVELOPMENT.

L IN ANOTHER IMPORTANT AREA AFFECTING DEVELOPMENT, THE UNITED
 STATES HAS AN OBLIGATION NOT TO DIVERT THE SCARCE RESOURCES OF
 AFRICANS TO THE PURCHASE OF EXPENSIVE ARMS NOT LEGITIMATELY NEEDED
 FOR SELF-DEFENSE.

L ARMS ARE THE "HEROIN" OF POOR NATIONS. ADDICTION IS COSTLY--
OFTEN FATAL.

L THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE UNITED STATES AND OTHERS TO SHOW
RESTRAINT AND STOP PUSHING ARMS ON THOSE WHO DO NOT NEED THEM.

L IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE NATIONS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD
 DEVOTE AS MUCH PUBLIC REVENUE TO MILITARY PROGRAMS AS TO EDUCATION
AND HEALTH CARE COMBINED.

L THIS TYPE OF MISPLACED PRIORITY MUST STOP. WE HAVE A DEFINITE
 ROLE TO PLAY. L WE HAVE ONLY TO LOOK AT ETHIOPIA, WHERE PRECIOUS
FOREIGN CURRENCY RESERVES WERE RECENTLY DEPLETED TO BUY EXPENSIVE
AMERICAN JET AIRCRAFT, ~~AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE PHENOMENON WHICH MUST~~
~~BE PREVENTED.~~

(2) L THE SECOND GREAT CHOICE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN AFRICA
 CONCERNS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE CONTINENT.

IS THE QUEST FOR HUMAN FREEDOM NOW OCCURRING THERE GOING TO
 BE SUPPORTED WHOLEHEARTEDLY BY THE UNITED STATES, OR ARE WE GOING
 TO LET SPECIAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND THE RIGHT WING DETERMINE
 OUR FOREIGN POLICY?

gambian Politics

L WE HAVE FINALLY GIVEN A CLEAR SIGNAL TO ALL OF THE CONTENDING
 PARTIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS TO HOW WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE
POLITICAL FUTURE OF THAT PART OF THE WORLD EVOLVE. L THIS WAS THE
 GREAT IMPORT OF THE SPEECH WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER RECENTLY
DELIVERED IN LUSAKA.

L BUT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION HAS YET TO DECIDE EXACTLY HOW OR
 WHETHER IT WILL ACTUALLY IMPLEMENT ITS POLICY STATEMENTS.

(Kissinger statement in OSLO)

L I HAVE AN UNEASY FEELING THAT THE PROGRESS WHICH SECRETARY
 KISSINGER MADE IN REVERSING THE POLICIES OF THE EARLY NIXON YEARS
MAY NOT RECEIVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

↳ THERE ARE MANY UNANSWERED QUESTIONS LEFT IN THE WAKE OF
THE SECRETARY'S TRIP WHICH INDICATE THAT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION
MAY BE WILLING TO LET ELECTION-YEAR POLITICS OBSTRUCT THE AMERICAN
COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

-- HOW HARD WILL THE UNITED STATES PRESS IAN SMITH FOR
RAPID NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA? ↳ WILL WE
USE OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND OTHERS TO BRING
GREATER PRESSURE ON SMITH TO SPEED UP A PROCESS HE WANTS TO DRAG
OUT FOR A FIFTEEN-YEAR PERIOD?

L-- IS THE PRESIDENT WILLING TO PUT THE FULL WEIGHT OF HIS
ADMINISTRATION BEHIND THE CONGRESSIONAL BATTLE TO REPEAL THE
BYRD AMENDMENT AFFECTING CHROME IMPORTS SO THAT WE MAY BE IN
COMPLIANCE WITH THE U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA? < SUCH AN
 EFFORT WILL PLACE HIM IN DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE RIGHT
WING OF HIS OWN PARTY AND POWERFUL DOMESTIC INTERESTS.

L-- WILL PRESIDENT FORD ACTIVELY WORK TO OBTAIN CONGRESSIONAL
AUTHORIZATIONS TO CARRY OUT THE AID COMMITMENTS MADE BY HIS
SECRETARY OF STATE IN AFRICA -- COMMITMENTS WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN
THE HAND OF THOSE ALREADY FIGHTING AGAINST MINORITY RULE? < THERE
 ARE ALREADY STRONG INDICATIONS THAT ^{Some} ELEMENTS WITHIN THE FORD
ADMINISTRATION ARE BACKTRACKING ON THESE PLEDGES.

South Africa is a constant
Dilemma & Challenge to the U.S.
Its neighbors such as ~~Lesotho~~ ^{Läsotho} ~~Swaziland~~ ^{Swaiziländ}
are dependent upon it for access
to their own Country. Läsotho
Does not have an international
Airport. For example Cong Deygo
was kept by the South African
authorities in Johannesburg
airport enroute to Lesotho -

Läsotho

{ How can we help the border
States develop their Economies -
& Keep their men at Home -
Botswana, Mozambique,
Läsotho, Swaziland &
Malawi (SWAH-ZEE-LAND.)

-- IF THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ANNOUNCED TO THE WORLD THAT
 IT OPPOSES MINORITY RULE BASED ON RACIAL DOMINATION, WHAT STEPS
 IS IT PREPARED TO TAKE TO HAVE THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA CHANGE
ITS APARTHEID POLICY? NO SOONER HAD THE SECRETARY RETURNED FROM
 AFRICA WHEN IT WAS INFORMALLY ANNOUNCED THAT THE UNITED STATES
 WAS PREPARING A GIGANTIC NUCLEAR REACTOR DEAL WITH THE SOUTH
 AFRICANS THROUGH OUR EXPORT-IMPORT BANK I DON'T CONSIDER
 GIVING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT \$250 MILLION IN U. S. CREDIT
GUARANTEES TO BUILD A REACTOR TO BE A SIGNAL TO THEM THAT WE
 DISAPPROVE OF THEIR POLICIES.

← IT SHOULD BE CLEAR TO ONE AND ALL THAT THE FORD ADMINISTRATION

HAS A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE ITS POLICIES BECOME REALITY.

(Conquest - and its attitude)
 For Rel. Comm. - yes -

L IT DOES LITTLE GOOD TO RAISE EXPECTATIONS FOR THE DRAMA
 OF THE MOMENT AND THEN FAIL TO CARRY THROUGH AT A LATER DATE. THIS
 IS THE TYPE OF DIPLOMACY THAT IS UNBECOMING TO A GREAT NATION.

L THE FORD ADMINISTRATION MUST NOT SUCCE~~ED~~ TO ELECTION-YEAR
 PRESSURE AND ABANDON THE POLICIES IT HAS ENUNCIATED. IF THIS
 HAPPENS, MORE THAN AMERICAN PRESTIGE IN AFRICA WILL BE DAMAGED.

L OUR INACTION COULD INCREASE TENSION AND LEAD TO RACIAL BLOODSHED.

L AND IT IS CLEAR TO ME THAT UNLESS WE ACT SOON, WE SHOULD NOT
 BE SURPRISED OR OFFENDED IF THE AFRICANS, ONCE MORE IGNORED AND
 ABANDONED BY THE AMERICANS, ACCEPT MATERIAL AND MORAL SUPPORT FROM
 WHOEVER OFFERS IT.

L WE WILL HAVE ONLY OURSELVES TO BLAME IF THE CUBANS AND THE
SOVIETS GAIN FURTHER POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

L I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT THE WAY TO DEFEAT THE CUBANS AND
SOVIETS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS TO MOVE BOLDLY TO DENY THEM THE
 POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES WHICH THEY SEEK.

L IT IS VERY LATE AND WE HAVE MADE MANY MISTAKES. LET US NOT
 MAKE ANOTHER THROUGH TIMIDITY OR INACTION. IN EFFECTIVELY CARRYING
 OUT OUR OWN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS, WE WOULD NOT SIMPLY BE RESPONDING
 TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE COMMUNISTS.

L MUCH MORE IMPORTANTLY, WE WILL BE TAKING OUR STAND FOR WHAT IS
 RIGHT AND DECENT IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN FREEDOM.

Conclusion

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↳ LET ME CONCLUDE THIS BRIEF OVERVIEW WITH THE FOLLOWING THOUGHT.

IF WE BASE OUR AFRICAN POLICY ON THE PRINCIPLES OF HELPING THE POOR AND AIDING THE SPEEDY TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, WE WOULD BE ALIGNING OURSELVES WITH THE DOMINANT POLITICAL FORCES OF THE FUTURE AND, AT THE SAME TIME, DOING WHAT IS RIGHT.

↳ THERE IS, AFTER ALL, NO REASON WHY WE CANNOT HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH IS BOTH PRAGMATIC AND MORAL.

↳ SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD YIELD PRACTICAL DIVIDENDS NOT ONLY IN AFRICA, BUT THROUGHOUT ALL THE REST OF THE WORLD AS WELL.

↳ WE NEED NOT BE ISOLATED AND DEFENSIVE AS WE FACE THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE.

THE UNITED STATES STILL HAS MANY POTENTIAL FRIENDS AND ALLIES
AMONG THE EMERGING NATIONS. TO REDEEM THEIR TRUST AND CONFIDENCE
WE HAVE ONLY TO ACT AFFIRMATIVELY ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES
UPON WHICH OUR OWN NATION WAS FOUNDED TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

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