



DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN AFRICA

Honorable G. Mennen Williams

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Reviewed by Col R. W. Bergamyer, USAF on 17 May 1964.

INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE OF THE ARMED FORCES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Development Trends in Africa

6 April 1964

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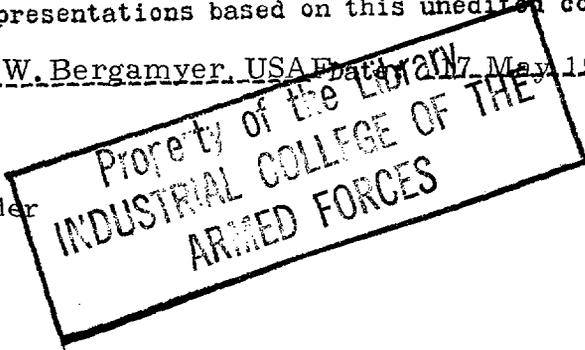
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Reporter: Albert C. Helder



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GENERAL SCHOMBURG: Governor Williams, I'm sure you know Mr. Freers of the State Department, our State Department Adviser here. And you know Professor Dreier who this morning gave us a very fine talk on South America. Since you know both of them perhaps you will indulge me if I finish a little story that started this morning.

Mr. Freers was on his way to work and he ran out of gas on one of the main arteries of traffic. He was rather out of breath when he came up to introduce Professor Dreier, said so, and then went ahead. When Professor Dreier took the podium he said that he was rather surprised that an incident such as this would occur here; that^{at}/an Industrial College of the Armed Forces like this one we would certainly emphasize logistics and he just couldn't see how this could happen to someone on our Staff and Faculty. Later, however, I found out what it was all about. I talked to Mr. Freers and he told me that for about the last week he'd been looking at this instrument on the panel which shows how full the gas tank is, and for the last week he has been mistaking the E for the F.

Governor Williams, we have something in common here. This is the first time you'll address an audience in this particular building, and this is the first time I will have introduced a speaker here. Actually, I graduated from the college here 11 years ago, and since that time I've had rather narrow assignments; I've had just Army assignments, nothing else. And, of course, the college broadens all of us. I think, really, they sent me back last week to get broadened somewhat and I'm rather

pleased with this.

We have a nice occasion this evening in that we have with us the ladies. They attended one of these lectures earlier this year and they're looking forward to this, I know. Of course, we're looking forward to hearing the ladies ask questions; I know all of us will appreciate this and I think you will. So, we hope the ladies will do that.

Governor Williams is going to talk tonight on Africa. He is the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Governor Williams.

SECRETARY WILLIAMS: Thank you very, very much, General Schomburg.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

You know, there is one thing the General and I don't have in common. He said he spent all of his time in the Army. Up until the time I became Governor I had so many different jobs people wondered whether I'd ever be able to hold one. But I must say that I'm very fortunate indeed to have the opportunity to be here while the ladies are in attendance. And if I haven't mistaken the audience I've even found some of the children here. I'm delighted with that because I know when it comes to questions they may be even better than the wives who are here.

As a matter of fact, it was just Saturday that I went down to the State auditorium. They had the "Pee-Wee" Hockey Players there. Michigan had a team in the finals and so they thought it would be appropriate if I chatted with them a little bit about Africa. And I made the great mistake when I got through, of submitting to questions. One fellow said, "Is it really true that they do swing from tree to tree in Africa?" I said, "No, not very often." But then a fellow really asked me a question that stumped me. He said, "Is it true that Africa is divided into

two parts - dark and darkest Africa?"

Well, I think by the time I get through tonight you'll know whether we've been through dark, or darkest Africa.

I'd like to begin the talk this evening by asking ourselves the question, "Why is the United States interested in Africa?" Because, I find from time to time that people have either a very definite idea that we needn't be interested in Africa, and others are not very sure why we should. Well, I think in an audience like this the first reason ought to be a reason of security. And I am quite confident that those who have studied the matter will understand immediately that we are concerned about Africa or any other such land-mass to deny it to the communists so that they won't have succeeded that far in reaching their desire to bury us or to see that our children become communists.

Africa, as the last war indicated, is a strategic flank to the soft under-belly of Europe, and more than that it lies athwart most of the communication and trade routes around the world. During the Cuba crisis you might think that we in Africa were a long way away from the center of the problem - but not a bit. Africa was the closest land-mass for a plane takeoff to the Western Hemisphere, and it was a matter of some importance that we have sufficiently good diplomatic relations with the countries of Africa so that the Soviets be denied the landing and over-flight rights through Africa.

We do have in this day and age another reason for concern in Africa from a strategic security point of view, and that is military communications and scientific facilities. Those of you who watched the first space vehicle will remember that there were two stations in Africa which re-

ported this operation. One was Kono in Northern Nigeria, and the other - and I must say it in a whisper tonight - was Zanzibar. Therein, of course, lies a particular tale which we may get into later on.

But I think we have an interest perhaps a little broader, although it comes to much the same thing, and that is, in our world today stability is essential anyplace and everyplace throughout the world. Because, you might say a sparrow doesn't drop anyplace but what the United States is concerned. And so, we do have a national interest as we seek to build peace and security, particularly for our children, that we do get the countries on the Continent of Africa developing strongly into a mold where they will be sympathetic to a world of free choice, such as we believe is essential to the kind of living we want to have.

Today too we have a new interest in many parts of the world, and that is, what's going to happen in our approach to the "Parliament of Man." In other words, what effect does this country or these countries have in the United Nations General Assembly. And, of course, Africa, which today has some 35 votes there - almost a third - what they're doing and what they think, has some importance. For example, if it weren't for the fact that we have a favorable majority in Africa the Red Chinese might today be in the United Nations. So, the sheer numbers of the countries in Africa does have importance.

Then, we have another interest in Africa because of our interest in Europe. Europe looks to Africa much more strongly than do we, but the Africans want independence, and you really can't have independence if your relationship is with only one country. This smacks too much of the

colonial era that they have just tried to remove. And so, when the United States comes in and makes this a trilateral rather than a bilateral arrangement, then the African countries feel a little more at ease, and interestingly enough, our presence makes it easier for them to have closer relationships with the European countries.

Well, I think there is still another matter which we can't overlook completely, and that's economic interest. So far, our trade interest is relatively minor, although it's increasing all the time. But Africa is rich in resources, which, as time goes on, will be of even greater importance. Free World production - I'm going to speak in percentages of that - Africa produces 90% of the world's diamonds. For the ladies here I should leave out the term "industrial diamonds," but it's the industrial diamonds which are most important from a strategic point of view, because without them our machine-tool industry, of course, would stagnate and come to a halt.

They have 75% of cobalt, which, of course, is used in high temperature and high strength alloys; 50% of chrome and manganese, which also are used in alloys; 25% of copper. This percentage, of course, is getting smaller, but whenever there is a crisis - you know, in my State of Michigan which happens to have been a big copper producer, we go down and start pumping the water out of the old mines and getting back into business; so, even this 25% may be of some critical importance. 20% of uranium - and incidentally, the uranium from the Congo was the source of our first uranium that we used. And, of course, what that means today is extremely important.

They also have large supplies of petroleum, tin, gold, bauxite, iron and coal, which, at the moment may not be in short supply, but which, in order to carry on our industrial civilization, is important. They do have some of the new rare minerals such as tantalite and germanium, minerals used in cryogenics in order to help us have the metals to be used at exotic temperatures. Well, this too is a part of the importance of Africa. And I don't think, even in a hard-headed survey, that we can leave out the fact that we Americans do have a humanitarian interest to try and help people who need help, either to take care of their standard of living, or, as in Africa which is so important, to achieve self-determination. We believe in government by the consent of the governed and we believe that stability in the world is going to improve in the long run as people have a chance to govern themselves rather than be subordinated to others.

But, so much for that. I think these reasons are indicative of why the United States and each of us should have a concern about Africa. And I might add, of course, that 10% of our people have Fatherlands in Africa, and, of course, all of us have a sentimental attachment, if not more to the lands of our ancestry, and this does make it a matter of domestic as well as international political importance.

Now let's take a look at what Africa is like. We have a map of Africa here. Taking a quick look at it it's pretty much up-to-date; there are a few errors in it but nothing very serious. I think one of the things that is important that we don't always understand, is the real size of Africa. We say glibly that it's the second-largest continent, but when

we say it's between three and four times the size of the United States, or should we say as large as our 48 contiguous states, Western Europe, India and China all put together, that starts giving us some idea. But when we look East and West or North and South, we realized that's twice the distance from Washington to, well, I don't know whether you want to go to San Francisco or Los Angeles, but, roughly speaking, that's about the relationship. This makes things come into some kind of focus.

I will use the map for just a moment, because we were concerned in the Congo, and particularly in the secessionist movement here in Katanga. But the thing that was difficult to realize at one point was that between the capital of Katanga down here and Leopoldville was a thousand miles, and that was a pretty long walk if one had to take it. And, of course, it was something of a logistic problem when you had to move things.

Now let's just take a quick look at Africa when it comes to climate. Because, many of us who may realize that there aren't people swinging from bough to bough in Africa, still of it as a place that's real hot and a place that's jungle. As a matter of fact, if you say jungle to most Africans they're insulted; you can say bush, high bush, or anything else, but jungle generally isn't in it. But in any event, only about 1/12 of the continent is what we would think of as jungle. In other words, 1/12 of it is rain forest. And actually, your climate is dependent mostly on altitude. Because, when you get up into the plateau-lands - and there is a considerable amount of that - you have the same kind of pleasant country that you have, say, in California, Arizona or New Mexico. And some of it is like Colorado.

To point this up a little more, right on the Equator is a snow-capped mountain. And again, this, of course, is not its place with relation to the belt, but as to its altitude.

But, to give you a little picture of Africa, getting down to where our problems may lie, when we talk about people there we start out with the fact that it's an under-populated continent. There are only 265 million people there. So that, the problems of Asia don't exist there. Sometimes they're a little worried that the Asiatics are going to descend in and take over the continent. This is always something that's in the back of the minds of a great many of their leaders.

The point I'd like to make is that on this continent they've spoken between 600 and 1,000 different languages. Now, that sounds like a pretty separated guess, but what's a different language and what's a dialect may give you cause for argument. In any event, the thing that's vitally important to recognize is that this whole area has been widely fragmented culture-wise. And today when the big drive is toward nationhood, and when Tubman who was just re-elected for I don't know what - the nth time - he goes out to campaign, he has to have an interpreter with him.

Can you imagine an American politician who had to go out and campaign and take an interpreter with him? You'd think he was going to lose. I know, in my state if I couldn't speak a little Polish, a little Italian, a little Armenian and Hungarian, I'd probably not be talking to you here tonight.

Well, these people are an interesting group of people and I'd like to bring up another thing; it's not only dispersion and fragmentation,

it's really variety and difference. There are citizens of Africa who are among the top poets in the French language, who have been Ministers of France, who are about as cultivated in either the English or the French language, as anybody that you can find. On the other hand, there are some people who are really just a few years out of the Stone Age, to whom even clothes are something of a rarity; and there are areas where the wheel was never used. So, you're constantly jumping from the middle of the 20th Century to a number of centuries back.

Some of the primitiveness goes into things like health. One out of every five children in Africa die before reaching puberty. You have the same kind of problem in literacy; only 15% of the people can read and write. When it comes to the standard of living the per capita income is only \$120 a year on the average and that includes rich places like South Africa, though there are some places where \$50 to \$60 is a good annual income. And, of course, when you compare that with the per capita income of \$3,000 a year in the United States; or let's take a median like Latin America, \$295, you can see these people have a long way to go.

Their ability to go ahead is held back not only by lack of education, but by low productivity of all kinds. For example, in agriculture they have only 1/20th of the supply of world agricultural commodities; that is, the production of them, while the United States with a much smaller area produces 1/6th. Well, I won't belabor this anymore, but I just want to indicate that we do have a series of very strange situations.

Particularly, for example, they talk about the old and the new. You

go into a town down there; we talk about the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland - I was kidding you about the map; that's about a year out of date, because there isn't any federation anymore; but Salisbury or Nairobi or Leopoldville; you can go downtown in these communities and they are almost as up-to-date - to kid the General along - as is his home town of Denver, after the Texans have taken it over. You can see these glass store fronts and office buildings just as modern as anything you can see. And in a 15 or 20-minute ride out into the country you'll find the straw-thatched mud-huts, and people only half-clothed. So, the old and the new are really mixed up.

Well, let me just say this. I pointed out fragmentation, but there are a few things on which all of these Africans agree. One is that they want to be independent, and to them this means pretty much getting rid of their colonial bosses. The other is to get a better standard of living.

I'd like to take a look with you for a quick moment at what's happened in the way of self-determination. Prior to World War II there were only four independent countries on the whole continent - Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa. In the last dozen years there have been 31. This year there are going to be at least two new ones, and they may have up to 50 in five or six years.

Now, despite the fact that the newspapers have made a great deal of the fighting in the Congo - and we know about the war in Algeria - the strange thing is that most of these countries became independent with little or no violence. This, of course, was a matter of considerable

credit both to the African nationalists and to the colonial countries that prepared them for independence. Now, we're really traveling in luck up until a few months ago, because they seem to not only have become independent without any undue violence, but they were getting along fairly well afterward. In the last six or eight months we've had a rash of problems; Zanzibar, the mutinies in the three countries of East Africa. I'm sure you all know where Zanzibar is, but I'm amazed when I talk to some of my friends who seem to think that this is Zanzibar (pointing to map), but this happens to be Madagascar, and Zanzibar is in here.

I might just spend half a minute talking about what happened there because it's of interest as to the way things go. The British turned Zanzibar loose in independence with a government that was unrepresented. The government was really ruled by the Arab minority; they had only 17% of the population. And to those of us who went to the independence ceremonies it was fairly evident that the crockery was going to be broken sometime because the African majority said, "This may be independence ceremonies for somebody but it isn't really for us." And so, you had a made-to-order difficulty.

The African majority were plotting independence - and I can't guarantee the story I'm going to give you, but this is what one of the British news services said was the truth, and it's close enough to be worth repeating - the Afro-Sharaz Party - that was the Africans' Party - was plotting its independence. They had a few communist-associated people who also wanted to get in on the act, and you had this strange character who my secretary must have thought was an Irishman because she in-

sisted on writing O'Kello. But, in any event, this fellow got there and he got in and he wasn't about to make any plans for overthrowing the government; he just got in and went to work.

One of these people who was supposed to be the Father of the Revolution, according to this British news fellow, was on a boat on his way to Tanganyika, when he heard that the revolution was being won, and he ordered the boat turned around so he could get in and head the revolution just like in the French Revolution, and when they got all through, of course, what had the ground-swell of a nationalist revolution was penetrated by the communists, and now today we find that the communists are making great efforts with no little success in taking over what started out to be a nationalist expression. What's going to finally happen we don't know; but what's happening now we don't like very much.

The East African mutinies in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya seemed to go off mostly because the soldiers didn't think they were getting enough money, and also because some of the leaders were still British. And they thought they were just as good as the British and ought to have the jobs.

Then, we had over in Algeria and Morocco, in the northwest corner of that map there, a border dispute; and this is one going on now in the eastern horn here between Ethiopia and Somalia. The first one was settled; the second one we hope will be, but it is in the difficult process right now. We have a difficult situation here in the two un-named countries of Rwanda and Burundi. That's perhaps worth talking about a second. This shows how history plays a part. In the northern one, Rwanda, they had a social revolution some time back, in which the little fellows, the

Hutus (phonetic) through out the big fellows, the Watutsi. I'm sure every American knows the Watutsi because they are supposed to be seven feet tall, and some of them are.

What happened was, that three hundred years ago these Watutsi came in, I think, from the east and the north, and subdued and made feudal serfs out of the Bahutu. And now, with the social revolution, the Bahutu threw the Watutsi out; the Watutsi didn't like it and they tried to come back; they were met at the borders and were turned away, but the Bahutu lost enough of their people that they got mad and in sort of a frenzy they turned on the Watutsi in their area and murdered we don't know how many of them.

Well, we've had difficulties in Gabon there next to the Congo, which, up to this time has been principally known because that's where Schweitzer is. Brazzaville which is just across the river in the Congolese Republic; that map is good because it distinguishes between the Congo Republic and the Republic of the Congo; the only trouble is they're both called the Republic of the Congo, and you have to say one is Leopoldville and the other is Brazzaville; and D'homu.

These were military coups and some indicate that the military in this area are undisciplined and can't be trusted. But I think that at least in the Brazzaville area this, again, was an economic problem. The unions had been striking before-hand; and I think it was true also of D'homu. The only point I'm making here is that the economics of the situation are vitally important, as I would like to go into right now.

If you were a politician in any one of these African countries, just

think what you'd be up against. If you were the head of one of these governments who had been trained in either London or Paris, you'd probably be a man who knows the world and have a good education. And you would have with you a very small number of people who can be of assistance to you in running the government. But you'd probably have to write your own letters because there just wouldn't be any of the middle skills. Secretaries are at a premium and the lower functionaries in the civil service are probably untrained.

When it comes to communications or telephoning from one end of the country to another it is, perhaps, a major feat. You know, if you take a country like Ghana and the Ivory Coast right next to it there in that western bulge - I'm not sure it's true of those countries, but it's likely to be; it's true of most of them - the only way you can call from one country to the other is, if you start on the Ivory Coast you have to call all the way to Paris, because this is a relic of colonialism. From Paris they call to London and from London they call around to Accra in Ghana. This is the state of communications.

And so, if you're trying to run your government you have difficulty in the normal processing that you and I are so accustomed to here. But the big political fact, as it is for any of us who are in politics, is that people say, "What have you done for me lately?" And these people who have a per capita annual income of \$120 a year, who were all geared up for the rather considerable effort of getting independence, have an aspiration for a better life. Because, being their own bosses was only part dignity; the other part was a feeling that, "Well, if we get indepen-

dence, we'll have things better."

Well, how do you get things better? You people here, I understand, are all specialized economists and you can run a developing country. But it's pretty hard to go to the bank when people have only \$120 a year because they don't have much surplus that they can use in feeding and clothing themselves, and as a consequence most of these leaders can't turn to the normal kind of financing that we do in the more developed countries. And they are dependent on foreign investment, either public or private.

This is what makes our Free World aid program so vitally important. Because, if these people who are in office today, who, relatively speaking are moderates and conservatives can't deliver the goods, there are going to be a lot of people saying "Aha; I told you so. X is no good, you should have voted for us. You ought to use our Eastern System; we really get things done." And so, we all have a vital interest in seeing that these people are able to survive politically. And they're only going to be able to survive politically if they can either give or give a reasonable hope of getting that improvement in their standard of living.

This isn't an easy job. As I pointed out, some of the resources that are available are no good until there are human resources that can make them work. Some of these countries are fortunate in having minerals because they can come in from the outside and they're so valuable that the cost of exploitation; of building roads and railroads way into the interior can be cut. But some of the other things don't come along until you have some structure. This costs a lot of money and private enter-

prise isn't about to make that kind of an investment, and so aid of one kind or another is of considerable importance.

In the meantime we have a lot of special interests; I might just talk about that and not tell you all the other wonderful things I have here, so that we can get to the questions after a bit. I might just take a quick look at a couple of areas with you, because if you're in the military you are, of course, interested in them, as all of us are. Let's take a look at Libya. Libya is a country that's host to Wheelus Air Base. This is the place where all of the fighter and other types of planes in Europe come down for good-weather flying. Without that, training couldn't go on, and still important as this is the staging area. We went to this general area when we went into Lebanon and we couldn't have performed our operations in the Congo without this. Today we have a very special problem because it's not very popular to have a foreign base on your soil these days in Africa. Because, that's a sort of relic of colonialism and the country has to be really pretty strong in order to carry on.

I can't tell you what's going to happen because we don't know. They want to get us either to reduce our length of tenure, or to get out entirely. And this, of course, would be a very painful thing for us, and we're going to see if we can change it around. If this one topples that leaves our communications areas in Ethiopia more marked, and if we lose that we'll lose an extremely important area. So, we in the United States have to, through diplomacy and including aid, maintain a posture so that these countries can feel they can go against the general current and

still help us out in our essential needs.

Now, I would like to say to some of my friends here that this is a place where we've got to use some imagination. It turns out that our Libyan friends in part are a little worried because Wheelus Air Base is right next to their main city - Tripoli. So, this isn't something which is carefully hidden way in the bush; everybody knows about it. This is also a problem we have in Ismara in our communications base there. So, it makes it a political problem. And I just want to say that the whole general atmosphere that the United States creates is therefore very important.

When we helped the United Nations prevent this secession in Katanga and really laid it on the line; when the showdown came, General Truman was down there. We were not sending in any troops but we were sending in plenty of materiel; and every African knew that if it hadn't been for the United States there would have been secession, which, to them, was like the breakup of independence. At that point we were really riding high. Today our credit in Africa is a little less because the Congo is now behind us and the big problems are the problems of Southern Africa.

In Southern Africa we've had a generally good posture, but now that it's coming down to the crunch, sometimes we don't vote according to what the Africans think is our standard of self-determination, but seem to vote against self-government. And so, it's a matter not only of justice to see that people in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa have an opportunity to have a say in their own government, but it's also a matter of our own national interest. Because, if we're going to do some of the

things that we want to do, such as to maintain bases against pressure, we've got to look like a good guy to the Africans so that they don't feel quite so badly if we're there on a base. And also, if we want to keep the Red Chinese out and have some of these people vote with us, although they have lots of reasons to do otherwise, we have to not only maintain our posture, verbally, of standing for self-government, but we actually have to do things which really are meaningful in backing that up.

Well, we haven't even begun to talk about many of the things that we might get into, such as this Organization of African Unity which has brought 34 of the countries in Africa together in a fairly sophisticated political operation, which is almost miraculous when you consider the fact that most of these countries average three, four or five years of age politically in independence. These are things that have been of importance because, as I mentioned a moment ago the Moroccan-Algerian border dispute. This was settled by an organization less than nine months old; this Organization of African Unity.

If Morocco and Algeria had really gone to war the fat would have been in the fire because this inevitably would have brought the cold war into play one way or another and we would have been in great difficulties.

Well, I'm not going to try to sum up here; rather, I'm going to leave the rostrum for our period here, of relaxation and then come back and see what your questions develop, and then at the end of that, let me see if I can make a summary to point up answers to the things that concern you most.

I'll just say this. This Africa, while it seems a long way away, and seems pretty close to being the Dark Continent, I think, and, of course, I may be prejudiced, does play, or have the potential of playing, a considerable part in our lives in the future. I think of this as I see the approaching crises in South Africa. Because, if this thing really blows - and I pray to God that it won't; it's our job to see that it doesn't - the communists are really waiting there. The communists were waiting like vultures to see the Katanga Operation fail. They were already to really come in and take over. And if secession had been permitted by the U.N. and by the United States the communists were ready to enter. If they had done that they would have moved into the heartland of Africa and the Congo, and we'd have an entirely different situation.

This is what they hope to do in South Africa. But this would be child's play as to what might happen. Because, if this turned out to be a racial war - and it's not impossible that the thing will get boxed into that position, where all of the non-whites were on one side and the whites were on the other - we would have the kind of diplomatic impasse which would make the things that we've experienced before pale, I think, into insignificance. Now, I don't say that's going to happen, but I do say that these are some of the implications of the problem we face. And when we have to screw up our courage to take some strong measures, as we may in the next year or two when it comes to South Africa, it's not because we don't like the South Africans, and it's not because we have any particular desire for any particular group of people, but because in

the long run our own national interest is deeply involved. It's for these kinds of reasons that we have to be more cognizant of the kind of continent Africa is and be prepared to show our metal when determination is all that can keep the ballgame going.

Thank you very much.

QUESTION: I was wondering whether any progress was being made in the Congo in collecting dues from the Soviet Union, France, etc.?

SECRETARY WILLIAMS: The question was whether any progress was being made in collecting the dues for the peace-keeping operations in the Congo and elsewhere. Well, I can't answer the question because they're right in the middle of working on this. They have a project in the United Nations to try to get the Russians and the others who haven't paid their peace-keeping dues, to pay up on the penalty as provided in the charter, of not having the privilege of voting if they haven't paid the equivalent of two years' dues.

The Russians so far have been pretty tough about it, and I suppose, while some of the people have paid up - we are trying to get some of our friends to pay up so that we won't be embarrassing them, I couldn't predict how this is going to come out. But, the United States is taking a very firm and hard position on this, and there should be either success or fireworks, or maybe both.

QUESTION: I wonder if you know how the present percentages compare of African students studying in our country versus the percentages studying in Russia?

SECRETARY WILLIAMS: There are about four or five thousand students in the United States. There are about an equivalent number in Russia. But most of the students are in France or Great Britain. There they probably have twelve to fifteen thousand in each of the countries.

QUESTION: Governor Williams, you mentioned that one of our interests in Africa was to promote government by the consent of the people. But at this stage of their development it appears to me that many of these new governments are more dictatorial than democratic and they're masquerading as democracies. I was wondering if you would expand on your definition of government by consent of the governed that we are supporting there. What would you plan as the type of government that we should support?

SECRETARY WILLIAMS: Well, I think that your point is an interesting and valid one, but I think you start out with the point that when a foreign government rules a people that this is the antithesis of self-government. Then the question is, what kind of a democracy are you going to have? Now, we in the United States don't have a perfect democracy. We're having a whole lot of cases in the Supreme Court right now because we don't have similar districts.

My own state, for example, if I may indulge in a little politics, my party used to win 55% of the votes in the Senate, but we ended up with 1/3 of the seats. This is a perfect democratic expression. Now, these countries in Africa, of course, are much less experienced than we are and obviously they're not going to come up with certain forms. This doesn't say that what they have is something that we're very happy about in all instances. But I'd like to talk about the one-party system.

This doesn't agree with anything we think of as being very good. Again, if I may indulge in local politics, we have parts of our country where, in reality, we have only a one-party system. But I think we've got to think of these things without getting caught in shibboleths. Because, when you and I think of a one-party system we think of the communists, we think of the Nazis, or something like that where you have a monolithic party.

Now, in those parts of our country where we have a one-party system that isn't a monolithic party. Inside the party they have a dialogue going on and the factions there probably are just as active one against the other as if they were called Republicans and Democrats. And to some extent this is true of the one-party system throughout Africa. This is what all the Professors who have studied it have said. And this is my observation, such as it has been.

I think there is one other thing we want to recognize. That is, that most of these countries, 17 of them, came into being in 1960. I haven't figured out the rest of them but I suppose there are at least a half-dozen or ten since then. So, the average age here is about four or five years.

Now, in the United States nobody ran against George Washington when he ran for two terms and that's eight years. Now, all of these people are the fathers of their countries too. And what happened was that the whole country had to unify in order to present a face against the colonial powers in order to convince them that they really meant it. And, of course, they haven't lived long enough after that to divide. Now, it may

be, practically speaking, that in many of these areas it's better that they have a one-party system than that they have a two-party system at this moment. Because, in order to get their country going, security is perhaps more important than political division, although I am naturally pre-disposed toward the two-party system. But I think this conclusion is being forced on many of us that the one-party system, at least in transition, may have advantages as well as disadvantages.

Now, there are some other things; that security is forced on some of these countries, such as preventive protection and all of that, for which I can't offer any excuses. But, we hope they are going to grow out of that, and it isn't as prevalent as sometimes you think by reading the newspapers.

QUESTION: One of the major strikes of the United States has been the fact that there have been no tariff barriers and things like this between the states. Is there any possibility of such an economic if not political union occurring in Africa?

SECRETARY WILLIAMS: I'm glad you asked that question, because I think this Organization of African Unity that I mentioned holds out the possibility of that promise. Now, today the countries of Africa seem to be economically and politically unviable. They are countries that have only 400,000 people. And I have to remind the Secretary of State who kids me about this once in awhile, that Iceland has many less than that but they have a seat, and Luxembourg also. But, as small as these countries are, there are countries all over the world that are small.

But, of course, this doesn't answer your question. The countries

of Africa have a comprehension of this lack of viability and of the importance of size for markets. For example, these countries here; Chad, the Central African Republic, the Congo - Brazzaville, Gabon - and the Cameroons, have a customs union. The former French colonies with the exception of Guinea and Mali formed what was called the U.A.M., the Union of African and Malagasy Countries, and they were working in the direction of customs and commercial unity.

Now, there is an organization which we call, in shorthand, the E.C.A., the Economic Commission of Africa, which is a subordinate part of the U.A.M., but which this Organization of African Unity is sort of taking under its wing. And in a recent meeting just concluded they determined to try and develop economic regionalism in Africa, looking toward what you were talking about, larger economic units and markets.

So, I would speculate that they're going to move in that direction. It's not the easiest thing to change tariffs, etc., but they're not going to have a United States of Africa, probably, in our generation. However, I think they will have taken a lot of steps to get rid of the economic obstacles to trade.

QUESTION: Governor Williams, would you discuss more fully the situation in the Union of South Africa, and in particular, how do you think the situation appears to the white residents of that country, and what option do they see for themselves?

SECRETARY WILLIAMS: Well, that's a very proper question. I want to answer it by telling you a story, to go to the last part. I wanted to go to the Union of South Africa but they said it wouldn't be conven-

ient for me to come because they were going to have an election six months later. The desire to visit some of the rest of my parish, however, sent me down here into Basutoland, which is an enclave completely surrounded by South Africa. And, while they weren't particularly anxious for me to come into South Africa I still was an object of curiosity. And when I arrived in Basutoland all of the African Press was there. We had a press conference at the airport, and about the first question was, "Governor, why do you think the white man is expendable in Africa?"

"Well," I said, "that's a foolish question; the United States doesn't think anybody is expendable whatever their color is." Well, we went on and when the conference was all over a fellow came up - not the same fellow who asked me the question - and he said, "Governor, that wasn't a foolish question." I said, "It wasn't?" And he said, "No." I said, "Well, explain it to me." "Well," he said, "every blank nationalist is a communist and every communist in Africa wants to kill every white man in Africa." I said, "Is that so?" He said, "Yeah."

So, I went to the Governor whom I was staying with and I said to him, after telling him what the story was, "Is this typical of what they think in South Africa?" Well, he said, "That's a little exaggerated but there are a lot of people who think just that way."

Now, I tell that story to indicate that in South Africa they do have a kind of beleaguered feeling, a lot of them, and they feel that the whole world is against them. They think there are only two possibilities; one that they're going to continue as they are, where one part of the people have complete control, and three parts of the people have no political

rights whatsoever; or, the blacks are going to take over and treat the whites just the way the whites have been treating the blacks. A lot of them see no difference.

Personally, I think there's beginning to be a little break in this. Within the last year the Dutch Reformed Church, which I happened to be baptized in, has gotten around to the point of saying that apartheid isn't necessarily ordained of God. This is a pretty important thing because, whatever you may say against the Afrikaners, they are a strong church people. And if the prop of religion is knocked out to any degree from under their dogma, it makes some difference. Different groups are religious groups that have actually elected a black man as leader.

Some of the unions don't have inter-racial unions, but they have federations which include both black and white men. I really should use the word "non-white" because they have a million-and-a-half coloreds, as they call them, who are people of mixed parentage.

Well, the situation really is a very difficult one, but there are a few facts I'd like to give you before I try to give you something like a conclusion. First of all, the thing we've got to recognize is that you hear a lot of talk about white South Africa. This is a myth because there isn't a single city in South Africa that doesn't have more blacks in it than they have whites. Generally it's two or three to one. In the countryside it may be six or eight to one. There isn't an industry that could run if the blacks were taken away, although few of the industries could probably run if the whites were taken away too. But, they need each other.

Without the blacks, the gold mines which are a source of great strength; all of these things would grind to a sudden halt. So, the problem is to try and get, as I see it, the whites and non-whites talking together and get them to work out some pattern by which they could go ahead.

Now, we have a very serious problem confronting us, because this Southwest Africa over here was a mandate of the League of Nations. After World War I the South Africans got this as a mandate. Of course, as a mandate the mandatory countries are supposed to bring them along and generally look toward independence. The South Africans haven't been doing that at all; they've been moving to incorporate.

What has happened is that Liberia and Ethiopia, the only two countries that were members of the League, have started a lawsuit against the Union of South Africa for failing to keep their mandate, charging that they're practicing apartheid, which is against the mandate, and also of starting to incorporate. Well, this suit has been grinding along for about four or five years, and about next summer was supposed to come to a climax. But the South Africans have had a survey in there called the "Odendall Commission," which has just come out with a report.

This report has three main features; one being certain social improvements; second, the institution of more rigid apartheid; third the closer incorporation into South Africa. In other words, bringing the case that was being tried, practically to a halt. So, if this goes on, then Liberia and Ethiopia will go to the International Court of Justice and ask for an interim opinion which they would undoubtedly get in a

month or so, and then they would go before the Security Council and ask to have it enforced after the South Africans indicated they wouldn't abide by it. This would bring the whole question of sanctions and everything else to a head, not on a political question, but whether or not the United States is going to support the rule of law. In other words, whether we're going to see that what a court says, comes about.

Well, now, the reason I go into this long thing is because, one, this might bring a crisis in our relationship. Fortunately there is some possibility that the South Africans for the first time are going to listen to reason. The British and the United States have gone in there and told them that they can't do this because they'll put us in a position where we can't do anything but go against you. They seem to have slowed down, but the opposition party seems to be making a singularly strong case against the Verwoerd party.

If this actually happens this will be about the first time that it has happened since '48 when the South African nationalists, as they call themselves, took over. And if a dialogue does rise here this might be a breakthrough. This is like hoping for the millenium; I don't know; but at least this is the first time it might happen.

So, I don't know what the answer is here. Some people talk about partition, but I don't know how you can have a partition, when, as I told you, there isn't a city that is predominantly white. There isn't an industry that's going to function without the blacks, and so, in one sense this kind of partition is the loser. So, they have some idea of a partition not vertically but horizontally. You have two governments living

in the same room where the non-whites have their own government and the whites have theirs. I don't know whether this would work.

It seems to me the big thing they've got to do is to work out some system that is going to satisfy both the blacks and the whites at least reasonably well. And if they can work out something we should worry, as long as they're happy about it. This is a cause celebre, because every African feels somewhat less a man because he knows that the South Africans think he's a second-class citizen. And so, they have a concern about it and there is that pressure.

Now, of course the other side of the thing is that South Africa has the most efficient Army, the most efficient police and the most efficient security service; and the possibilities of a successful counter-coup at this moment are very limited. So, realistically, the other Africans might support something less than a total victory for the moment. That's the problem as we see it. And it's the United States' policy to try and get the South African Government to get into some kind of a colloquy with these people so that we can get rid of the worst manifestations of the subservience required now of the non-whites.

COLONEL SMILEY: Governor Williams, you've held forth long and very well this evening and I know I express the sentiments of everyone present when I tell you how much we appreciate your spending the evening with us and sharing your knowledge and understanding of this area of the world which is of ever-increasing interest and importance to all of us. Thank you very much.