

## PROSPECTS OF MANKIND

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Episode 106: Africa: Revolution in Haste

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Participants: ER, Julius Nyerere, Barbara Ward, Ralph Bunche, and Saville Davis

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[Unknown announcer:] Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt today discusses "Africa: Revolution in Haste" with Ralph Bunche Ward on *Prospects of Mankind*.

[Theme Music begins 0:11]

[Title sequence:] [Text overlaid on *Prospects of Mankind* logo] National Education Television/ Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt/ *Prospects of Mankind*

[Unknown Announcer 1:] Recorded Sunday, March 6, 1960 in cooperation with Brandeis University, National Educational Television presents the WGBH TV production Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt *Prospects of Mankind*.

[Introduction music begins 0:41]

[As announcer speaks, film rotates through images related to the announcer's comments]

[Bob Hall:] The cry in Africa today is uhuru, freedom, and freedom is coming fast. The past five years saw the spectacular birth of five new nations. Among them Nkrumah's Ghana. Last years map is already out of date because the momentum is increasing so rapidly. 1960 sees the long awaited birth of Nigeria, of Somalia, and to everyone's surprise the Belgian Congo. Kenya and Tanganyika are following fast behind with an orderly transfer of power from all-white rule to a multi-racial system. How smooth this transition will be depends on Africa's leaders. Julius Nyerere has already changed the motto of his revolution from "Freedom" to "Freedom and Toil." And toil there is going to be to break away from the centuries-old patterns of thinking, to achieve the backing and trust of the tribal elders, to overcome their suspicion and hostility, to train a new generation of craftsmen, artisans, people able to take the first steps toward building a modern economy. Technicians who can handle a slide rule; scientists who can develop or apply better agricultural methods and raise the subsistence standards; medical workers who can attack the special diseases of this continent. Educational facilities must be expanded quickly in these formative years of independence. To throw off the old humiliations of racial superiority, the Africans are seeking modern forms of government. They may not follow exactly the European parliamentary traditions which have risen out of the alien culture. But where the hand of friendship and understanding is extended, Europe and United States can help avert some of the more dangerous pitfalls. In some places, the road to the twentieth century will be able to transform itself from the old to the new.

[Introduction Music ends 2:44]

[Unknown announcer 1:] Today Mrs. Roosevelt and her guests explore the problems faced by the nations of Africa as they gain their independence with unprecedented speed. Her guests are Ralph Bunche, Nobel Peace Prize winner and United Nations undersecretary for Special Political Affairs; Barbara Ward, Lady Jackson, a resident of Ghana and a distinguished economist and writer currently a lecturer at Harvard University; Saville Davis, managing editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Julius Nyerere, president of the Tanganyika African National Union, in all probability the first prime minister of Tanganyika. Now here is Mrs. Roosevelt.

[ER:] Although we in America can understand the African's resentment against outside domination, we cannot help but worry whether the newly independent nations who have virtually no preparation for independence can make a go of it. Given the demand of quick and efficient development, what will happen to traditional safeguards for political and social democracy, for example? On the first program of this series, I mentioned that nationalism seemed to be moving too rapidly in Africa. At that time, of course, independence for the Belgian Congo was in the distant future. Today we know that the Congo will become free on June 30 of this year after a headlong rush toward independence. The people of Tanganyika seem to be approaching independence at a much more deliberate rate. Mr. Nyerere, I wonder if to begin this program, you would give us a just a quick sketch of your country and the character of its people?

[Julius Nyerere:] Well perhaps the quickest sketch I can give of my country is to say, and this I have learned from this country, it is roughly the size of Texas. [Cuts to map of Africa.] It has nine million people; of this nine million people we have the indigenous tribes, one hundred and twenty of them, then we have the newer tribes, some from Europe, some from Asia. We have the Arabs, the Indians, and the Pakistanis, Greeks, Englishman, Germans, Italians, and all these and it's these people whom we are trying to weld into a nation, and it's among these people that I have organized the Tanganyika African National Union, of which I am president and trying to get independence for the country.

[ER:] Now that is a very good sketch, and I'd like to ask three of our guests today whether you that feel independence is coming too fast in Africa? (5:28)

[Ralph Bunche:] May I just say a word on that question, Mrs. Roosevelt? [ER: Yes.] I understand uh very well that this is a valid question and one that many people are asking. But I really wonder whether we could do very much worthwhile in discussing it. I really think there's not much that can be done about it. Moreover, I think it would be extremely difficult to generalize with regard to Africa on this subject. I know of no absolute criteria for determining when the people are ready for independence.

[ER:] Perhaps we didn't ask it ourselves in the early days of our history.

[Ralph Bunche:] We didn't ask that question ourselves, and I think probably a good case could be made for saying that we weren't ready [ER: yes.] when we got it. The people of Africa are moving toward independence. When people are seeking freedom they're always impatient, and I think that's good that they're imp-- and I wonder if Barbara Ward would--

[Barbara Ward:] Oh no, I-I entirely agree. I think that when nations are set for independence and want it, uh then everything must be done to help them and encourage them and see that they get it. Because after all if we don't believe in the right of peoples to govern themselves, I don't know what we do believe in. But I think there are one or two - one or two particular problems that face Africa, and that is the gap between the political form of a modern state and the extraordinary degree of technical and economic sophistication which goes into the making a state. I think when people talk about independence coming

too quickly, they don't mean in any absolute sense that people aren't ready to govern themselves. They do ask uh, "Have they got some of these essential uh essential skills and equipment to do it well when they've got it?"

[Saville Davis:] Why did it come so quickly, though? Shouldn't we look into that question for a moment? Because the timetable has been condensed, almost catapulted. We have this remarkable agreement on independence for the Congo in June that's just come out of Belgian. We had this conference that has just taken place in London on Kenya, and when Tom Mboya, the Kenyan leader, got back home, he said that this wasn't going to last for very long. He expected that there would be an African majority very, very soon in Kenya. Why has it happened so quickly?

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, in the first place, I think the actual answer to this question where it does not arise. If you come into my house and steal my jacket, don't then ask me when I'm ready for my jacket. The jacket was mine and you had no right to take it from me. [Barbara Ward laughs] [Saville Davis: Yes but it takes longer--] Well, it may take you a long time to go to the high courts and appeal and get all this done until I get my jacket back, but you have no right at all to ask me whether I was ready for my jacket. [Ralph Bunche: True.] The mechanism of whether I really I-I can look right in my-my jacket when I put it on, this is different. I mean it may not be as -- I may not look as smart in it as you look in it, but it's mine.

[Saville Davis:] This is your side of it. And it is very significant as your side is, isn't it also significant that the colonial powers appear to have crossed the big divide uh for themselves and come to the conclusion that they have to expect African majorities in the countries of Africa. Now isn't that the big decision which they've made?

[Ralph Bunche:] But Saville, you said uh the timetable has been changed. Who set the timetable?

[Saville Davis:] The expectations of people who probably didn't understand what was happening.

[Ralph Bunche:] Ah that's quite right. Exactly. So there was no timetable.

[Saville Davis:] Touché.

[ER:] There was no timetable.

[Ralph Bunche:] There were, as you say, expectations on the part of the people who had their own ideas as to what the pace of progress should be. But on this subject, let me point this out, the question was, are they going too fast or are they ready. I think it's most fortunate that uh these states of Africa are merging into independence at a period in the world's history unlike any other period. When there is more sense of interdependence among states, more sense of solidarity in an international community; when for the first time there is a sense of responsibility on the part of the world community to aid those who are emerging. So it seems to me the question is more valid if we say, "What can the international community do to help these people after they gain independence whether they were really ready for it or not?" In terms of criteria--

[Barbara Ward:] I must say I agree with that very much. I think it does tie up with what you were asking before and that is, why is the timetable come -- why is it speeded up? I think it speeded up owing to a very big historical change in mankind, which may be the most important one that's happened since, well I wouldn't know how long, perhaps since the invention of the wheel. And that is the idea that small nations, small groups, have the right not to be run by big groups. Now this is revolutionary. It isn't yet entirely accepted in a worldwide sense because you have the Russians still insisting on running Hungary; you have the Chinese still insistent on running Tibet; you have a very ambiguous situation in Algeria; and

above all, for Africa, you have the Union, which is the big-- [Julius Nyerere: And colonial power, not only the Union. The colonial power--] I say the French, the-the-the French. The others are going, don't you think?

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, the others are being made to go. It's not as if really they have decided gracefully to go out. They are being made to go out. [Barbara Ward: It's a mixture - it's a mixture because --] It's a mixture imposed upon them by the time, but if really if the time hadn't been -- if this had not been the twentieth century these people might have insisted on remaining [Barbara Ward: Staying.] upon staying on.

[Barbara Ward:] That-that-that is what I mean, Mr. Nyerere, that is if there is this change in thinking, that there are a number of people in Europe who feel that they should go at a time when the people in Africa feel they should, too. It's reciprocal.

[ER:] I wonder if really we're not overlooking one of the most central things; namely, that if we had not had the United Nations, this might have been delayed a long while. The thing that makes it secure for small nations today is the fact that the United Nations exists.

[Barbara Ward:] Well, I'm not sure. I think it helps. I must confess that I do think the British decision to get out of India was not a United Nations decision, [ER: Oh no.] was in a historical pattern.

[ER:] But this isn't what I mean. I don't mean that the United Nations makes the decision. But I mean that there's a feeling of confidence that the small nations have lies largely in the fact that since there is a United Nations and that it does have an effect on world opinion. [Barbara Ward: It's a forum, yes.] It's a forum where they can be sure of being heard.

[Ralph Bunche:] It's more than that even for them, Mrs. Roosevelt. It ties up with the question that Saville put a minute ago: uh why have the people increased the pace, why have they decided to go so fast? Well, the background for that, of course, was in part the fact that at the end of World War II, the United Nations turned the spotlight of international opinion on the colonial problem as it never had been turned before. The background for that was the Atlantic Pact and the Four Freedoms. Uh the fact that colonial people themselves were participating in a war for freedom and they came home and wanted it. And so they wanted increased - uh increased space. Moreover, in addition to what Mrs. Roosevelt has said, the international community, organized in the United Nations today, is a sort of international club. These new states emerging into independence are not lonely any more. They can come into this organization; they are not dependent upon their former masters. They sit as equals with all the other states; uh they feel a part of the international community. They can get help from it, which is their right to do, and so this gives them an encouragement which they otherwise could not have.

[Barbara Ward:] Yeah, that's all right as long as you get away from the right colonial power, but it's absolutely no consolation to Eastern Europe or the last of the Tibetans. I mean I think it's right that you should stress the United Nations, and heaven knows, I would stress it. [Ralph Bunche: Yes.] But I think also you've got to have a certain degree of the beginnings of a liberal philosophy in the metropolitan power as well, because if you don't, well--

[Saville Davis:] Why don't we turn this question around. Instead of talking about the speed up of the timetable and whether it's too fast, let's talk about the problems that are being raised by the sudden coming-- on-coming of independence. And certainly Mr. Nyerere has uh his hands full of these, and we keep on hearing people say that he's handling them almost better than anybody else, if not better than anybody else. So we might ask him a little bit. How would a multi-racial society operate in Tanganyika uh when you have fully taken over power, Mr. Nyerere?

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, first we don't like to refer to ours as a "multi-racial society," because this is a political term which was created I think by -- largely by the colonial powers to show that we were in a special category, either in Africa or in the world. And in actual fact, it's not true. Where is a part of the world which is not multi-racial. [ER: The whole world is.] I mean the whole world is groups of people living together. This was a political term created in our part of Africa, East, Central, and South Africa. And this was the problem where democracy could not work because there was a big problem there. For that reason we don't like to refer to the term "multi-racial" at all.

[Saville Davis:] It's very hard to avoid using these sensitive phrases. What should we refer to?

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, I mean, I've never heard the word being used -- being applied to England, applied to Germany, or even this country, which is clearly multi-racial.

[ER:] It's not so -- it's not quite as easy to apply it to England, but to this country, it has to be applied.

[Julius Nyerere:] It should be applied. It should be applied but it is not.

[Barbara Ward:] We have our Scots and our Irish. [Laughing]

[Saville Davis:] Should we say a democratic society?

[Julius Nyerere:] Exactly, exactly. At home

[Ralph Bunche:] If I could interrupt just a moment. I think it ought to be made clear why this point is so important to Mr. Nyerere, because he's the one African leader in the whole continent who is leading all groups in society, not only Africans but with Asians and Europeans in the party.

[Saville Davis:] And they're working together?

[Ralph Bunche:] Working together under his leadership.

[Julius Nyerere:] Yea. Let me say that at home the Europeans, the Asians, and the Africans -- that's why in my first answer I referred to them as the "indigenous tribes" and the new tribes in Tanganyika. [Saville Davis: I caught that.] [ER: I caught that too.] These are all Tanganyikans who are binding themselves together to achieve their independence and build a Tanganyikan nation. They are, whether they came from Asia, or they came from Greece, or they came from England--these are Tanganyikan nationalists. Their rights are not rights of Europeans, the rights of Africans, the rights of Asians, or the rights of Arabs. These are the rights of individual citizens of Tanganyika, and I don't see why in Tanganyika we cannot base our rights of citizenship, our duties of citizenship, on loyalty to the country instead of the color of a person's skin or the texture of a person's hair. We see ourselves that this is not the problem that started in Tanganyika; it has always been there. And if people want to build a democratic society, they can build it.

[Saville Davis:] Just to raise some of the really difficult problems, at least as they are in other countries, are you up against the kind of uh problem, for example, such as Kenya has in the land -- in the highlands? Do you have a land reform uh problem or program that you've got to work out? Have the whites had any special position which will need to be merged into the new democracy? [Cut to map of Africa]

[Julius Nyerere:] No, fortunately, we don't have them. We never in Tanganyika reserved the whole province and called this the Kenya Highland or the Tanganyika Highlands. We have no Tanganyika Highlands.

[Barbara Ward:] One should--bearing out Dr. Bunche's point--say that one reason why is that in 1919 Tanganyika came under an old League of Nations mandate, and therefore this kind of transfer couldn't occur. Isn't that one of the reasons?

[Saville Davis:] [unclear term] sacred trust. [Saville Davis and Barbara Ward laugh]

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, no. No, no. I must not leave it there. It would be very unfair to the British, if I just left it there. It depends also upon the administering power because after all Southwest Africa was a mandate too. [Barbara Ward: True, true.] I think you've got to put the mandate status or the trust status must not be taken separately from the military power of the administering authority. In Tanganyika we do not have Tanganyika Highlands, and, therefore, it is not as if the Europeans had a province which was their province. They had individual rights to land which we are quite prepared to see [Barbara Ward: As long as they--] as long as they are citizens of the country.

[Saville Davis:] Now against this background would you have any suggestions as to either how your experience might help Kenya and Tom Mboya and his colleagues next door uh to your country. Or have you any idea how they might work out that very difficult land reform problem? Are they going to be able to work it out peaceably?

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, I have said before and I think I can repeat it because I-- to me it's quite obvious. I have no lesson to teach to Tom Mboya and other Kenya African leaders. The lesson from Tanganyika is a lesson by the Europeans and Asians, and it is the Europeans in Kenya who must learn from the Europeans in Tanganyika, who must look upon themselves as individual citizens [ER: Of Kenya--] of Kenya and must seek for individual rights and not for European rights.

[Barbara Ward:] Not for racial rights.

[Julius Nyerere:] Not for racial rights.

[Saville Davis:] Are you at all hopeful that that will happen in Kenya after the London Conference?

[Julius Nyerere:] I am certain that it is going to happen.

[Barbara Ward:] I must say there I would agree. If you think of the change in the Kenyan outlook in the last ten years, the emergence of men like Mr. [Michael] Blundell who are feeling their way in precisely this concept, not of group rights but of individual rights. I go all the way with Mr. Nyerere on that. I think it's going to come, though I think there might well be a small hard core who won't accept the new order, but [Saville Davis: Will they leave?]- They should leave. Because, after all, if you don't accept the condition in which you-- of the country in which you are going to live then [ER: Yes.] -- this has happened to others after all -- you go.

[Ralph Bunche:] Well, if first reports are accurate, some of them are leaving or preparing to leave already because I've heard reports of fine villas for sale and so on.

[Barbara Ward:] Mind you-- [Seville Davis: Unclear] Just one little point on that. I do think, nonetheless, as it's awfully hard to make a small group of people pay for a history which they don't understand. That I

think it would be reasonable for the British government at some point to give some compensation to take them away, because this is some sort of-- if they go leaving behind fully developed estates, then give them some transfer pay because you know they haven't caught up, but it's awfully hard to penalize them. But that isn't a matter for Africa. That's a matter for the British government.

[ER:] that's not a matter for Africa.

[Julius Nyerere:] What is penalizing? I mean, quite frankly, this is absurd. This fellow got offered the rights of citizenship in Kenya. If they quit, they quit. Who compensates them?

[Barbara Ward:] Then let them sell out.

[Julius Nyerere:] But nobody is punishing them. People are offering them stay in Kenya as a Kenyan citizen with equal rights with everyone. If you quit, what compensation do you want?

[Saville Davis:] With a Bill of Rights to protect them.

[Julius Nyerere:] With a Bill of Rights to protect them. [ER laughs]

[Barbara Ward:] I think you are allowing a degree of reason in old - in older people, and I think it's awfully hard to expect older groups, especially small ones, to understand this. I mean, I agree with you, but I just wonder whether you can't ease some transitions.

[Julius Nyerere:] This would be the British. I mean, I can't see the Kenyan nationalists--

[Barbara Ward:] No, no. I don't mean that. I was thinking about the British government doing this. [ER; Oh no, no.] No, no, I didn't suggest for a moment that it should be the Kenyan government. No, no.

[ER:] No! I think I understand what you mean because I can see that they came there probably feeling they were helping to develop something for the British government. They have developed something for the British government, but certainly [Barbara Ward: Not - not that Kenya should do it.] not along the lines of Kenya.

[Julius Nyerere:] No, no, no. I got it. [All laugh]

[Ralph Bunche:] Mrs. Roosevelt? I wonder if I could revert for a moment with a question about your introductory statement. As I recall, you made reference to uh democratic institutions and what might be needed to enable these new states to carry them, and I'd like to um put this question to Mr. Nyerere. It seems to me that we in this country may be in for some disillusionment if we assume that these new states -- newly independent states on the African continent are going to model their political and economic systems pretty much after our own, that is along the lines of what we call Western democracy, Western parliamentary institutions. [ER: Yes. That's going to happen to us in many countries. Not only in Africa.] I'm afraid that may not be the course in Africa for many reasons because they will not find them suitable to their needs, for other reasons, but I'd like to hear My. Nyerere's views [ER: Yes, I would too.] on that subject.

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, I-I-I must say that since I've been here during the last five weeks, I've been asked this question--are we going to form democracy in Africa, or are we going to be dictatorships, and all this. And actually the question is come around on whether we are going to have a multi-party system in Africa or whether we are going to have a mono-party system, whether the governments of our countries are going to be one party governments or not. Now I must say I believe I am a democrat myself. On the other

hand, I cannot see how in a country like Tanganyika you could have a two party system, certainly for the first years. We are in opposition after all; we are in opposition to the colonial government which is already there. We build the whole people together; to us this is not a party issue. This is a national issue to us, and we have all the people united together. Not in actual fact in a political party, but in a nationalist movement. And it is this nationalist movement with all the people--intending communists, intending capitalists, intending socialists, al-all sorts--they're all there until they have achieved their freedom. Then it is this nationalist movement which forms the very first government. Now an opposition can only arise when the issues are there.

[Ralph Bunche:] May I just interrupt at this point for this explanation. In this country, Mr. Nyerere, there is a tendency on the part of some people to attribute to nationalism only bad connotations. It's almost a bad word uh suddenly, and it's nationalism that is running wild in Africa, you see. I would submit that there are good and bad manifestations of nationalism even today, and, anyhow, I think that what the people of Africa is after is freedom.

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, that's true. I think that only to an American audience it should not be very difficult because, after all, what happened when the Americans wanted their freedom. They united themselves all together. They formed a one party government, a natural fact until the issues were defined for the parties to group themselves separately. Not on the issue of the Declaration of Independence. How could you have an opposition to the Declaration of Independence? [ER: No you didn't.] [Barbara Ward: You didn't.]

[Ralph Bunche:] You didn't have.

[Saville Davis:] Could you tell us then how would freedom and the democratic system and the ballot box and so forth operate through the kind of one-party system that you are describing?

[Julius Nyerere:] In September in my own country we are going to have an election. This is going to be a true and free election, and we are certain of winning all the seventy-one seats. We are certain of that because there is the opposition which is the present government, and we are going to fight all the seats and will win all the seats. This is a true election. Does this mean there is no democracy in the country? No, it's not true, because within the nationalist movement itself you have groups with different views, and when you come to actual policy, especially after you have formed the government, when you come to how you are going to tax the people, how you are going to spend money education, how your are going to spend money on health, and how are you going to spend money on--

[ER:] The issues will come up then.

[Julius Nyerere:] The issues will define themselves and then you have the democratic sections.

[Ralph Bunche:] You say you have one party, and there is an opposition party. You do not rule out by law the possibility of an opposition vote.

[Julius Nyerere:] No, I don't. In actual fact, I hope an opposition is going to come, but an opposition must have a respectable issue. And a respectable issue can only come after independence.

[Ralph Bunche:] It ought to be real and not synthetic.

[Julius Nyerere:] It's got to be real.

[Barbara Ward:] Don't you think there is an analogy here in the way in which the party system developed in the West. I mean we seem to think that we got a party system in the early stages of free government.

This is not the case. The party system is a late development. And I think what is perfectly compatible with say the first twenty-five years of independence is this movement of national union to tackle the appalling problems which lies in creating the state. On the other hand, there is another aspect of democracy which, perhaps, we don't think of quite so much which is also important; and that is while having this tremendous national effort to build the nation up, then it's also important to safeguard just those individual rights about which you are speaking. In other words, the Bill of Rights, it's fully as important to democracy as this party thing. I think we over insist on the party and under insist on the thinking--

[Julius Nyerere:] on the freedoms of the individual.

[Saville Davis:] To me, I think it was a very exciting thing that the Kenya group in London, the Africans in London at the Kenya conference brought Thurgood Marshall from the United States, an American Negro, to advise them on what amounted to setting up a system of human rights which would operate for the benefit of the whites in Kenya, ultimately.

[Ralph Bunche:] Well, no one could be better qualified to work on a Bill of Rights than Thurgood Marshall. [Barbara Ward: than a minority!] [All laugh] It is what we might call a little poetic justice.

[Saville Davis:] And in this case it was for the white minorities. It was a little poetic justice, a lot of poetic justice.

[Barbara Ward:] I have another point question on this Bill of Rights, because even this I don't think is entirely simple, because our concept of the Bill of Rights is built upon very internally peaceful societies. But I do notice one thing, and this is inevitable, human nature being what it is, that the moment that there is a real national crisis, we do to some extent abridge our own Bill of Rights. And I think a lot of the criticism, for example, directed now at Ghana about aspects of the abridgement of the Bill of Rights, which are regrettable, [Cut to map of Africa] overlook the extent to which there are tribal elements in these societies which try to pull them apart again. In other words, nation building is not always easy in a highly tribal state, and therefore, this too must be taken into account. I don't think you have this problem in Tanganyika.

[Julius Nyerere:] We don't have it, but there is another one. I think this question of democracy and all this -- First, you are right in saying democracy must emphasize the rights of the individual and the way a government is chosen. I keep on saying to myself that if a government cannot be removed without assassination, there is no democracy there. [ER: No.] It is really the individual rights and the way the government -- [Barbara Ward: The right of judging the government through elections. Yes.] Now in Africa we have the problem you are mentioning of building a nation from this country which is artificial by nature. You have these tribes together and you try to make them into nations. This is a problem. The other one which the older nations never faced when they became independent is this push to develop the countries. We've got to develop our countries. We've got to give the people water, education, and all this. [ER: And suddenly.] [Barbara Ward: and suddenly.] And weak governments in our countries cannot do this.

[ER:] And suddenly-- No, and you haven't got the capital, which perhaps you had when you were under a big power. You might count on a certain amount going in.

[Julius Nyerere:] We haven't the time. The outside world is all the time saying, Julius, what are you doing in Tanganyika? They want me to work miracle in the country, and then they want me to have a very weak government who can't do anything in the country.

[Ralph Bunche:] Yes.

[Barbara Ward:] How right you are.

[Saville Davis:] Well, this brings us logically to the point of turning round now to the question of economic development and some of the very real difficulties that the-- not only you but all of independent Africa is facing. Where--where is the money coming from? If the funds which have normally come from colonial countries are partly cut off, or largely cut off, where is the investment coming from?

[Julius Nyerere:] Well let -- First this question of funds which have come from the colonial powers, let me say that I don't know what other countries have received from the colonial powers. We in Tanganyika have not received very much. Uh in -- we have the figure scheme. Mr.--Dr. Bunche will know about the figure scheme, where we need about 8 million pounds. The other day I was working in my- in my mind. The British, including the Germans, during the seventy-five years that we have been under colonial rule -- If we put all the money together which we have received both from Germany and from Britain under colonial rule, it does not add up to one-fifth of what I need for the figure scheme. So that this emphasis on the money that we have been getting from the colonial powers is not really very much. We have been a poor people all the time, and it won't change our poverty very much by becoming independent.

[Barbara Ward:] No, this is true of Tanganyika. But there was a big change after the war from about 1944 onwards. And one of the problems for French West Africa, for example, is that the French government has been putting in something like two hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of infrastructure, you know for ports and harbors. They've had their interest in doing it, but it's been in cash. [Julius Nyerere: It's been in cash] It's been cash. And what is the great question is can one find ways of insuring this flow of capital, which heaven knows is needed for maximum speed in development, without it merely being another form of colonial control .

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, I think the answer can be provided in this. I think that one of the problems of Africa is going to be just this need, our need for technical assistance, for finance to develop our countries. It's a fact, it's that's there, nobody can doubt it. Where I hope the countries capable of providing this aid won't involve us in the problem. They must not exploit our need in order to get us involved in international politics which -- in which we are really not very much interested.

[Saville Davis:] Now this bring us right back to Ralph Bunche again, doesn't it?

[Ralph Bunche:] Well, I'd like to get back to Barbara's question.

[Saville Davis:] Well, we'll take them in order.

[Ralph Bunche:] Because your husband, Barbara, Commander Jackson, is very much involved in just one of these -- [Barbara Ward: Commissioner of Development. Yes] these schemes, and I wonder if you wouldn't say a word about the Volta River project.

[Barbara Ward:] Well, the point is that Ghana isn't entirely typical of the problem because owing-owing to the fact that the cocoa crop is owned by the peasant farmer and [Ralph Bunche: I see] is not an external plantation crop. A very large part of the money from cocoa has stayed in the country, point number one. Point number two, cocoa has remained high since the war and therefore it hasn't suffered from those enormous ups and downs of primary prices which is a thing that I know Mr. Nyerere must feel very strongly about, because we give capital on one hand and then, whoops, down goes the price and all the capital is virtually gone again. [ER: Virtually gone again.] This is a curious way of running a railway, as they say. Well, uh in -- Ghana doesn't quite have that problem. But Ghana, on the other hand, has got

large resources of bauxite. And the whole of the west coast of Africa has got this tremendous supply of potential hydro-electric power, which would be a potential for growth and development on such a scale that you could consider the transformation of economy on the basis of this power. And where, pray, do they get the capital from? Well, now the Volta scheme is, I think, a perfect example of how not to do things because every five years this scheme has been in the forefront of western discussion. How they are going to do it? How it is going to be essential? Then we have a moderate recession; everyone says, "Oh, my heaven, we've got so much bauxite, we've got so much aluminum, of course we can't do it. Down goes the scheme again. And I just wait, I must confess, for the day when the Russians begin to get thoroughly interested in Africa, because when they do, then this whole question of Western primary prices that go up and down like this, and Western interest in development that goes up and down with our trade recession is going to look very, very stupid. That's all I can say. In other words, we'll need a politic-

[Saville Davis:] You've raised one of the hardest questions the West is up against, haven't you? Because we have tried all kinds of marketing boards and price stabilization programs, and on the whole up until now we have fallen flat on our faces.

[Barbara Ward:] I don't think we have tried awfully hard.

[Saville Davis:] Well, that's the point I was going to raise. Haven't we still got a little distance yet to go? I was talking with a group of economists recently who took this position. No one of them was willing to say this is the way to do it, but they all said this is a problem that we can with ingenuity and the desire to do it solve.

[Barbara Ward:] Now you put your finger on it with the desire. [Laughing] Now what I think is lacking is that the Western powers have simply not faced up to the problem of capital for Africa. They either do it on an ex-metropolitan, ex-colonial basis or they do it on a private venture capital which won't go on because they think things are insecure or they rely on export income which goes up and down.

[ER:] Well, that's what you've said. They think things are insecure, and that is one of the troubles that we watched for a long time in South America. Uh and we are now going to see it in these new countries of Africa. Capital, which is private capital, is going to be very uncertain. It's on an off, because it doesn't feel that it's risking in a secure spot. That's one reason why I think a Ralph Bunche come in because I believe that this will do much better when it comes through an organization where many people are involved.

[Barbara Ward:] An international organization.

[ER:] An international organization.

[Ralph Bunche:] Through the United Nations, I would say. I think that's what you were going to raise a moment ago.

[Saville Davis:] Yes, that is what I was going to raise a moment ago.

[Ralph Bunche:] The question of what is commonly defined as the issue of multilateral versus bilateral aid.

[Saville Davis:] Both in technical assistant and even in capital investment.

[Ralph Bunche:] Yes.

[Barbara Ward:] Yes, but don't let's kid ourselves in that nothing's going to come through the United Nations unless the capital rich countries have decided to do it. I mean I would go one step behind and say they haven't yet decided to do it.

[ER:] No, they haven't. But I think they have to be brought to do it that way, unless they are willing to do it on their own.

[Ralph Bunche:] They move slowly but they do move. In the last couple of years we have had actually in addition to the regular technical assistance program and the Special Fund for capital development which Paul Hoffman heads on OPEX, this uh operation to provide high level executive personnel to govern -- new governments that need it. It means a little addition to the assistance.

[Barbara Ward:] And the International Development Association, if properly developed, could also do this.

[Ralph Bunche:] If properly developed could do the same thing. But I think I should mention that the African states, and some of them not yet independent as associate members uh meeting in Tangiers at the end of January in the economic commission for Africa were overwhelmingly in favor of international multilateral or United Nations aid instead of bilateral.

[Barbara Ward:] It's the only thing, isn't it, that takes this sort of colonial taint off?

[Julius Nyerere:] Not the colonial one alone. Not the colonial one alone. There is the colonial one where the metropolitan power after colonialism number one is off. They want to use colonialism number two which is an economic one. There is that one, which we resent. But the one in the world in which we find ourselves now of a communist world and a non-communist world. We get involved in the politics of this rivalry and our need for capital for aid is exploited to force us into one of the blocs or another, and we feel for those two reasons to avoid again a continuation of a new colonialism and to avoid getting into issues which to us are not really the issues. The issue now in Africa are to raise the standard of living of our people [Barbara Ward: Not the Cold War.], and therefore [Saville Davis: You're not deeply interested in the Cold War, I take it.] we feel channeling aid through a United Nations agency is the answer. If the nations are genuine in doing this, why do they want to compete about it? They can put all the money and all the aid through a United Nations agency and let the needing countries get the money from them.

[Ralph Bunche:] And move most efficiently.

[Saville Davis:] Why don't we now face the difficult question? I don't think any of us particularly wants to dive into the problem of communism and the problem of East versus West in Africa, but it's on the minds of a great many people in this country, and we probably ought to face it head on. How serious-- Yes.

[Ralph Bunche:] May I say this? May I say this, Saville? Much more on the minds of the people in this country than on the minds of the people in [ER: In Africa] Africa. [All laugh]

[Barbara Ward:] I would say there is one aim that we should have in the West and that is by every means in our power to keep the Cold War out of Africa [All proclaim agreement] and not to consider our policies in these terms at all.

[Saville Davis:] In that case and since you are all agreed on that and since I also agree with you, let me play the devil's advocate and argue the other side of the case for a moment against my own position. We have here probably only one case where communism in Africa has become an issue in the news which is

in Guinea, with what is the thirty-five million dollars that Mr. Khrushchev has loaned to Guinea and I believe now that the Soviet Union has tied up about 60 percent of the exports of Guinea.

[Barbara Ward:] And they printed the bank notes. Maybe.

[Saville Davis:] To a great many -- And they printed the bank notes too-- To a great many people in this country that raises the kind of warning which the United States didn't want to have to face after World War II, but found that it had to face, namely, uh the question of infiltration [Cuts to map of Africa] which is in actual fact a more serious problem than many of us are willing to recognize. Have we such a problem here?

[Ralph Bunche:] Why should it -- Since you are playing the role of devil's advocate, maybe you'd answer this question: why should it be considered so in view of the fact that one reads regularly in the press that trade between the United States and the Soviet Union is increasing?

[Saville Davis:] Well, I think the answer to that, which probably would be given, is simply that if the communist system managed to get its hooks sufficiently far into a country economically, so that it will be able to play it like a fish on the end of a line, so to speak, then it would be able to use that for its political examples.

[Barbara Ward:] But, Mr. Davis, there is only one condition under which that would be the case and that would be if the West uh merely said, "Well, we now will have nothing more to do with this country." Well, as a point of act, we have heard this; we heard it when Khrushchev first went into India; we heard it when he first lent money to Indonesia; we heard it when there was barter deal with Ceylon and Burma; and we heard it, heaven knows, last year about Iraq. The thing that looking at all these countries is quite clear is they have continued to be themselves, and I think that Africa should have the benefit of the doubt. (41:57)

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, I must--

[Ralph Bunche:] I think you must recall the headlines when uh -- some years ago when it was agreed by India that the Soviet Union was to build a steel mill.

[Barbara Ward:] Yes.

[Saville Davis:] Yes, exactly. On the other hand, just to argue the point one small step further, I think it probably is a fact, although I myself as an individual have been very uncomfortable about the American containment policy, that it probably succeeded in holding the line out through the Asian areas until those countries themselves were able to reach the point which they have reached now where they understand the problem that they are up against and are willing to take a position against infiltration.

[Barbara Ward:] I entirely disagree there. I must confess I entirely disagree. I don't think it had anything to do with holding the line in Asia. I think containment did something quite definite in Europe, but that's different. I just don't think it's relevant. The relevant thing in Africa is that Africa shall be able to grow and develop and get going, and if we have the right policies, there is absolutely no reason why Cold War situations should develop.

[Saville Davis:] It is an African dispute.

[Julius Nyerere:] I-I-I -- look, I must -- I don't like this attitude of the West hammering on communism and communist infiltration in Africa and all this business. What has communism to do with us? In the first

place, at present it's not an issue at all. But in the second place, it does no good to the Western powers themselves. Here we are, needing assistance and the Western powers in actual fact are saying, "If it had not been for Moscow, we do not look at Africa at all. But Moscow is there; now we look at Africa, because if we don't do it, the communists will come in." Now let me put the question you put about Guinea getting some assistance from Russia. Supposing I got some assistance from the United States of America. Is this infiltration? Is this what the United States intends, infiltration? Connecting --

[Ralph Bunche:] Well, interesting question. There is an inconsistency about it, as a matter of fact, because Ethiopia has received assistance from the Soviet Union but no one is claiming that [Cut to map of Africa.] Ethiopia is subject to this infiltration [Barbara Ward: The Swedes are in there. Dangerous Swedish infiltration.]. But in Guinea, it is different, you see.

[Saville Davis:] Just now to switch around in exactly the opposite direction, is it perhaps possible, and we are saying, here that the continent of Africa might give the United States and American foreign policy its first chance to deal with the problems of developing countries without having to raise the communist bogey and to turn its back on what obviously has been one of the bitterest aspects of our relationship with uh-uh many of the countries which are in an non-- unaligned position in Asia.

[Ralph Bunche:] I agree with you if you eliminate the word "first." [Ralph Bunche laughs]

[Saville Davis:] Yes.

[Ralph Bunche:] Make it [unclear term].

[Saville Davis:] Alright.

[Julius Nyerere:] I have said myself to some of my American friends that if -if I had a few communists in my pocket in Tanganyika [Barbara Ward: You'd wave them.], and wave them. I don't have them.

[Saville Davis:] They would be worth a great deal of money, wouldn't they? [laughter]

[Ralph Bunche:] Well, there's an old story you know. It's a way to get aid.

[ER:] Yes, that's very good thing. That is a story that should be told, because here he is, he would like to have them to wave.

[Unclear terms]

[Barbara Ward:] But still, all the same, I do think in fairness to the Western governments, you have also to say that in the case of India, which I followed very closely, steadily, steadily over the last ten years, the realization has come that if the Indian plan is worth backing, it's worth backing because it is the Indian plan, period. And I would say that this is the attitude that we must have for Africa. Africa is worth helping to develop because it's the main interest of the Africans to do it and to get ahead, and I would bet--

[Saville Davis:] In other words, the best policy for the United States is to encourage non-alignment and the individual integrity of African countries.

[ER:] I would say there is another thing to be remembered, and I would like to ask you Ralph Bunche, and that is: isn't Africa at present offering an opportunity to young America because after all the people who are going to be important in Africa, many of them are going to be young. Isn't it offering to young

America, if they are willing to take it, an opportunity for service which we have not had perhaps in a long while before.

[Ralph Bunche:] I uh fully agree. I think it's a wonderful opportunity. I think what's happening in Africa today is just about the most exciting thing in the world today. There's a great need for assistance, trained people of all kinds, I could only wish that we in this country had much more knowledge of Africa than we have.

[ER:] That's what I am wondering about.

[Ralph Bunche:] We are only awakening to it now, I think. Our schools, our colleges, our universities are very delinquent in this regard because there is very little taught anywhere about Africa. There's very little opportunity for Americans to learn about it. They are beginning to read about it in the press because it's news, but there's no background of knowledge about it uh which prepares our people to take full advantage of these opportunities.

[Barbara Ward:] Could I put in a little cynical word at this point, and that is that, although I think it's absolutely true and particularly in the whole field of education, there could be a tremendous amount of useful interchange of help given to Africa by sending technicians and people of quality. The fact remains that unless we make some changes in our methods of promotion back home, they won't go. Because a young man -- [Saville Davis: By promotion back home what do you madam?] A young man in a university, he may be exactly the kind of person who could do splendid job in, uh say, East Africa. He -- To be useful he should stay there five years because, you know, I think Mr. Nyerere will agree, these experts who come in for six months, they might just as well stay home. They really should. But five years, good you can make a contribution, and then when you come back at the end of five years, who's headmaster at the local high school? It isn't you. In other words, you lose this continuity. And I think that if both educational institutions and business firms would make it a rule that for the upper reaches of administration people would have had to serve abroad, you'd get better people, and at the same time you would improve the quality of top leadership, and this is perhaps interesting as well.

[Ralph Bunche:] I'd endorse that most heartily and say that we could use the same principle in the United Nations.

[ER:] I think you're right. I think that in the United States, that's one of the big changes we need, an understanding that anyone who is willing to give a certain amount of time in a nation outside of their own country has certain credit given them for that at home. That it's regular procedure that they are considered on a higher level when they return for the simple reason that they are doing a great deal for their own country. [Barbara Ward: Absolutely.] Our great trouble is that we don't know anything about Africa. We don't know anything.

[Saville Davis:] Well this-- This would help, too uh, Mrs. Roosevelt, wouldn't it, to solve what I suppose we refer to nowadays somewhat loosely as our ugly American problem. So many Americans go over to these countries, not by any means uh the people we would like to send, of the quality that we would like to send, or with the training and experience that we would like to send, and they find themselves maladjusted and complaining about their status in the local consulate and wondering when they can get out of this awful place in order to get somewhere else. You spoke about the younger people a moment ago. It seems to me that the younger people in this country, as I see them going around from schools and colleges, are ready for this kind of thing. They are the ones who want to do it.

[ER:] Well, they're the ones who are very anxious to do it if they get the chance.

[Barbara Ward:] I'd love to ask uh Mr. Nyerere about an idea which, I must say, I think of immense importance for Africa, and I am sure that Ralph will agree, and that is that we don't really have attached to the U.N. a really high grade pool of administrative civil servants of high quality who can feed in over the next twenty-five years who can help in governments in Asia, Africa, and in Latin America--I would add Europe, for heaven's sake, because I can think of a number of governments who need some help there, too.

[Saville Davis:] Don't omit the Western hemisphere. It could make some sense there.

[Barbara Ward:] But just have this idea that there is a trained body of men on whom governments can call if they need someone. Don't you think this would be a helpful thing?

[Julius Nyerere:] I would say exactly the same thing. You-you-you know Ghana, for instance. Ghana had to retain some British civil servants there. We have been appealing ourselves to the European civil servants in Tanganyika to remain after independence. Now this again, Guinea is another typical example where the French just pulled out, and here was Guinea left out without people. Now a pool of United Nations, if the United Nations would work for us as a labor exchange--

[Barbara Ward:] Terribly important.

[Ralph Bunche:] Well, This-this is exactly the purpose of OPEX. [Julius Nyerere: Yes, but I must say it is - I've people at the United Nations discuss it.] That's what I was speaking to. But there is one thought I think also we ought to make as a sort of warning to the American public as to what may happen in Africa on the economic front uh because this will again involve their appraisal of what's happening there. I think it's inevitable that in Africa, economic progress and considerable economic progress has been made in the last uh decade, that this will more and more involve action by government, initiative by government rather than by private entrepreneurs. The governments will be taking-taking the place of private entrepreneurs not only in planning, investment operations, and even in managerial --and so this may very easily be misinterpreted.

[Ralph Bunche and Saville Davis overlap.]

[Saville Davis:] Merely because the private capital is not available.

[Barbara Ward:] Ralph, how I agree. I do think there is nothing that one can say to uh-uh America on this subject that is more important than this. In the situation of the underdeveloped areas, the important thing to remember is that what private enterprise needs is firm government action, affirmative government action, and big government action. Because if you don't have that in these countries you will have no development at all. Therefore, this idea that there is a conflict between the two is nonsense, there's not.

[Saville Davis:] I think the American people on the whole have passed that hurdle, [Ralph Bunche: I hope so.] [Barbara Ward: Are they?] particularly in the case of India. They are recognizing that they have to work with governments. There is also a very interesting wrinkle which has come up recently. It's been suggested by a number of Americans, notably Donald David of the Ford Foundation, that American private concerns could be very profitably hired on a contract basis by governments in Africa for example, so that they are entirely subject to the African government to the conditions to the government setting the conditions under which they operate, so the government has complete control from its point of view. Meanwhile the private company under contract uh brings in its technicians and its know-how and its management and all the rest of it. That seems to be fairly promising.

[Barbara Ward:] But that of course is something that is -- like the Kariba dam, that's exactly how it's being built. I mean the Kariba dam is government and World Bank money and a very large Italian firm doing the building. I mean this is a - this is common form.

[Saville Davis:] We haven't said a word about federation and the federal question in Africa. [Julius Nyerere laughs]

[ER:] We have only a few minutes left. Let Mr. Nyerere say it.

[Saville Davis:] Please.

[Julius Nyerere:] Well, what can I say?

[Saville Davis:] Well, is it coming? Is it coming or isn't it?

[Ralph Bunche:] Could you tie it up with some comments on what we commonly hear of as Pan-Africanism?

[Julius Nyerere:] No, all I can say, I mean in the one minute left [ER: No you have several minutes. You have three minutes.] is that there is a sentiment of oneness in Africa which you don't find anywhere else in any other continent. We don't ever take credit for it; it has been imposed upon us by the colonial institution itself. Uh the states which are going to receive independence are the colonial ones which were cut out from the colonial powers. The tendency will be for these states to group themselves together in bigger units. Where this eventually will lead, I don't know. I can't tell. But the tendency will be towards bigger groupings.

[Saville Davis:] At the moment people seem to be somewhat discouraged about federalism. They are saying that some of the early experiments in this direction or moves in this direction have failed. It seemed to me that this was being pessimistic too soon.

[Julius Nyerere:] Where?

[Barbara Ward:] Where, where have they failed?

[Ralph Bunche:] Yes, where have they failed.

[Saville Davis:] Well, there was always the question raised of Ghana and Guinea and--

[Julius Nyerere:] Good heavens, no. The African --

[Ralph Bunche:] They're still there

[Saville Davis:] There have been the problems of Mali, there have been several cases where--

[Barbara Ward:] Oh no, I don't think anything -- they haven't started yet.

[Julius Nyerere:] But the truth is that we haven't started yet. The biggest federation in Africa is Nigeria which has not been given a chance yet. I think it's going to be a great success.

[Ralph Bunche:] Saville, I don't want to cut this off, but there is one question I'm just dying to ask Julius [Saville Davis: The UN bloc?] -- No, no -- here before we wind up, uh because I want to check his views with my own impressions and observations. I think it's very important. On this month long trip through Africa, despite all the ferment going on there, I was impressed by the fact that talking with Africans west, central, east, north, there's not the slightest evidence anywhere of any racial feeling of any racial animosity, even in areas where there was actual friction and conflict. And [ER: Ask your question quickly because --] I think that's very encouraging thing. Do you agree that there is no racial feeling on the part of the Africans?

[Julius Nyerere:] I think we have been able to distinguish the colonial issue from the racial issue.

[Ralph Bunche:] Alright.

[Barbara Ward:] May I put in a word there for West Africa from Ghana? This is absolutely true of Ghana; there is no racialism.

[Ralph Bunche: Yes.

[ER:] Well now --

[Saville Davis:] Again this has been created in the minds of people who have looked on from a distance and who don't really know the facts. [Ralph Bunche: That's right.] It brings us back to the fact that we ought to be studying Africa just as we are this afternoon somewhat more carefully.

[ER:] Now you have - you have, I think, allayed the fears of a great many people today. They have much less to fear in some ways by the answer to that question. You really feel there is no racial trouble going to arise?

[Ralph Bunche:] I encountered not the least racial animosity anywhere.

[Barbara Ward:] I will go further than that. I would say that in Ghana you have a society where you reach the blessed stage in which people aren't even bothering to think about it.

[ER:] Well now, I have to say that our time is come to a close and I have to thank you very much, Mr. Nyerere, for coming to us today from far away, and you, Barbara Ward, Lady Jackson, we are very grateful to you and also to you, Ralph Bunche, because I know how busy you are and how hard it is to come away, and so I thank you. You too, Mr. Davis, who are with us each time. It has been a great pleasure, and now I want to say that next month we will talk about the picture, the image of the United States abroad. Until then au revoir.

[Theme music 57:07]

[Credit sequence overlaid on *Prospects of Mankind* logo]

[Unknown announcer 1:] [speaking while names appear on credit sequence] The Honorable Julius Nyerere is expected to be the first prime minister of Tanganyika. Barbara Ward, contributing editor of the London *Economist* is the author of *Five Ideas that Changed the World*. The Honorable Ralph Bunche is undersecretary of the United Nations, the highest ranking American in the organization. Mr. Davis is the managing editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*. Photos courtesy of the American Society of African Culture, the British Information Service, and the United Nations. Special Music courtesy of the African

Musical Society of Johannesburg, South Africa. This program was recorded on Sunday, March 6. Mrs. Roosevelt's special guests on the next *Prospects of Mankind* will discuss the American image abroad.

[Theme music ends 58:41]

[National Educational Television logo]

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