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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL STUDY MISSION TO AFRICA

November 27–December 14, 1965

COMPRISING

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, Jr., Michigan, *Chairman*

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, New York

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR, Indiana

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, Illinois

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PURSUANT TO

H. RES. 84, 89TH CONGRESS, A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING
THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONDUCT
THOROUGH STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS OF ALL
MATTERS COMING WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF
SUCH COMMITTEE



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FOREWORD

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., March 17, 1966.

This report has been submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs by the special study mission to Africa conducted between November 27 and December 14, 1965.

The findings in this report are those of the special study mission and do not necessarily reflect the views of the membership of the full Committee on Foreign Affairs.

THOMAS E. MORGAN, *Chairman.*

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., March 17, 1966.

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am submitting for consideration by the Committee on Foreign Affairs the report of the special study mission to Africa, November 27 to December 14, 1965. The study mission included the undersigned and Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; Representative E. Ross Adair, Indiana; and Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois.

The observations and conclusions contained in the report are based upon the situation prevailing in each of the countries at the time of the study mission's visit. Important changes and events, however, have taken place since the study mission's return. These changes and events serve to underscore our recommendation for a greater awareness of and interest in Africa on the part of the Congress and the public.

The study mission submits this report with the hope that it will be useful to the committee in its deliberations of legislation and policy considerations as they relate to the African nations.

Sincerely yours,

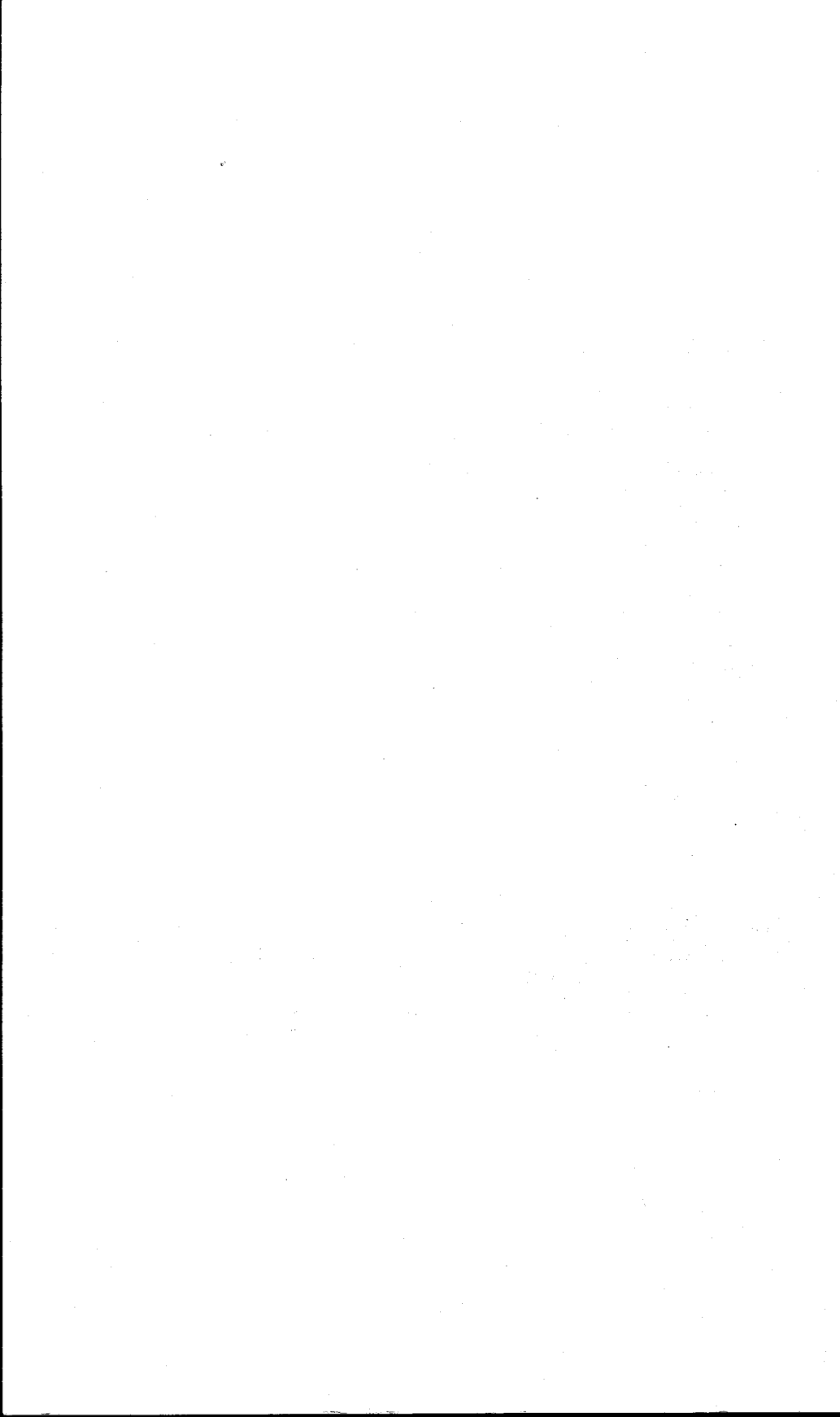
CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., of Michigan,
Chairman, Special Study Mission to Africa.

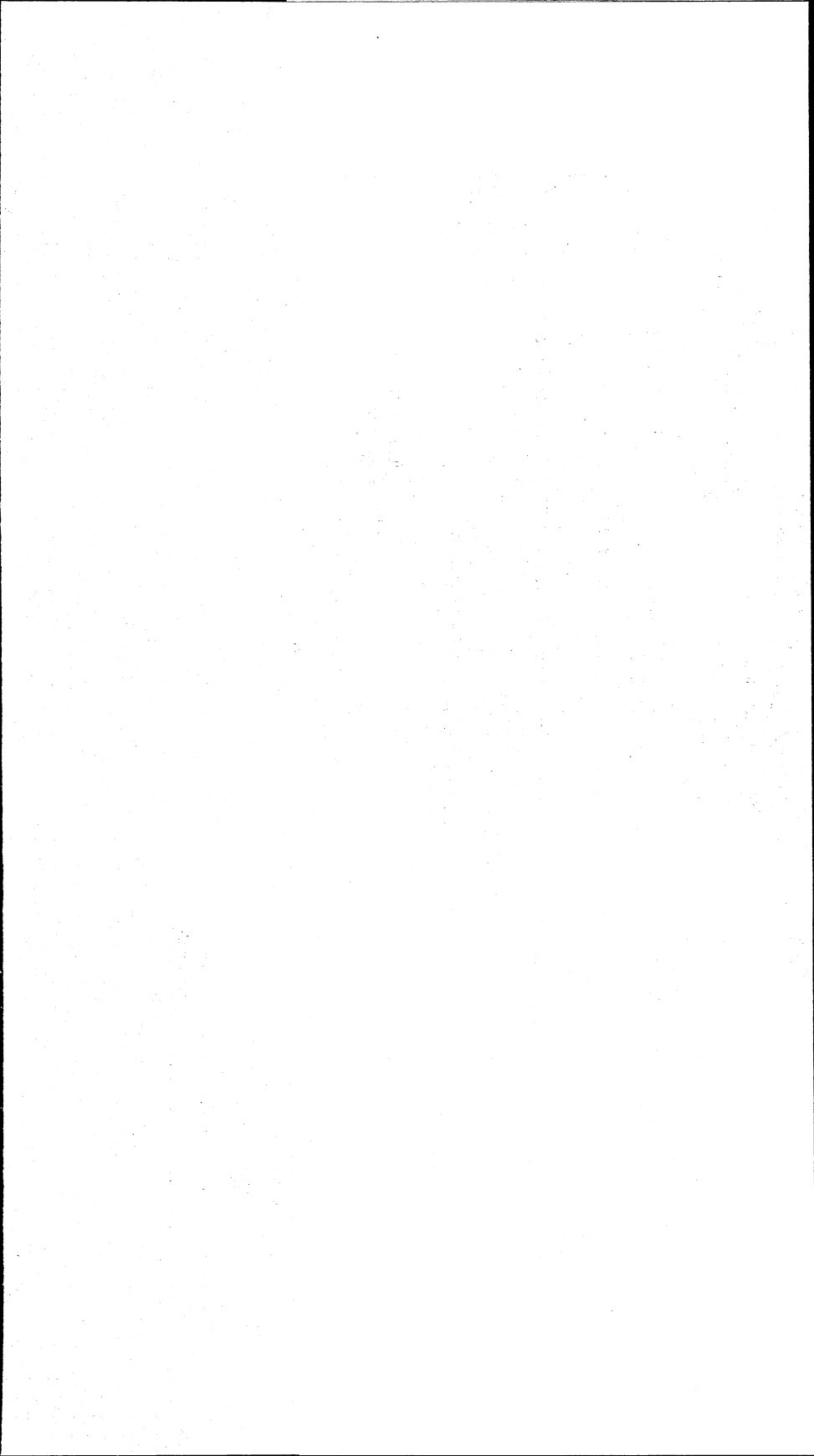
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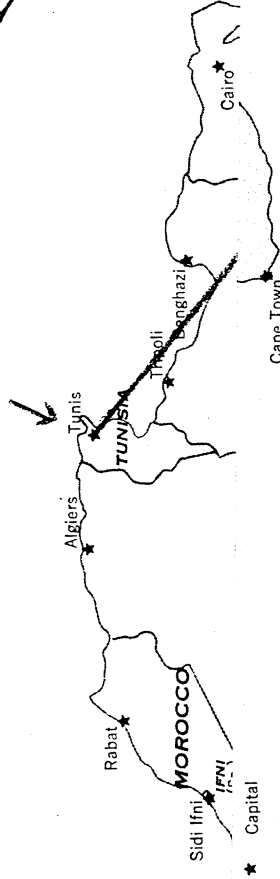
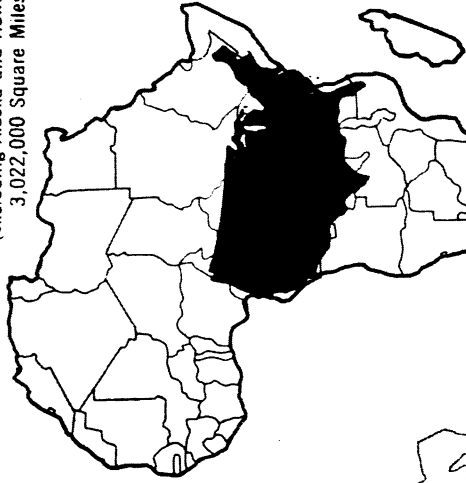


ITINERARY OF SPECIAL STUDY MISSION TO AFRICA

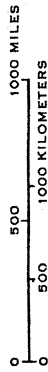
Africa

11,500,000 Square Miles

United States
(excluding Alaska and Hawaii)
3,022,000 Square Miles



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REPORT OF SPECIAL STUDY MISSION TO AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

In 1945 the Committee on Foreign Affairs, recognizing the importance of what had once been known as the Dark Continent, set up a Subcommittee on Africa and Mediterranean Problems. In 1959 the committee established the Subcommittee on Africa in order that maximum attention could be given to the newly emerging nations of that vast and increasingly important area.

Since that time the Subcommittee on Africa has held numerous consultative meetings with representatives of the executive branch concerned with U.S. policy toward Africa. In addition, the subcommittee has held hearings on problems involving our relations with African countries and conducted a study mission to Africa in 1960.

With the approval of Subcommittee Chairman Barratt O'Hara, the following members of the committee visited Africa following adjournment of the 1st session of the 89th Congress:

Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan, chairman; Hon. Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York; Hon. E. Ross Adair, Indiana; and Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, Illinois.

In announcing the study mission on November 28, 1965, Chairman Diggs stated:

This is the first official mission to Africa to be conducted by members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs since 1960. Since that time several new nations have emerged and play an important role in United Nations and world affairs. The group hopes to gain firsthand information relating to the economic progress in the countries to be visited, and also to observe U.S. aid programs, U.S. Information Service, and Peace Corps operations, as well as activities of private U.S. organizations in those countries.

The study mission visited Tunisia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, the Congo (Léopoldville), Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, and Senegal. The members met and conferred with many government leaders and officials in each country.

In addition, the study mission was briefed in each country by the Ambassador and his "country team," comprising the directors of AID (Agency for International Development) programs, the Peace Corps operations, and U.S. Information Service activities. Members of the study mission were impressed with the overall excellence of U.S. personnel at the various posts visited and the dedication and ability which they bring to their work. The study mission noted the important role of U.S. business, private foundations, and other organizations in contributing to the welfare and interest of Africa.

It also noted as particularly significant the increasing use of the American Negro by these U.S. firms and organizations and as part

of the U.S. country teams. American Negroes were observed as representatives in AID, the Peace Corps, USIS, and on Embassy general staffs. In one of the countries visited, the Ambassador was an American Negro. The study mission observed in each instance that these minority representatives added an extra dimension to communication with the indigenous population in and out of government, evidencing that the American Negro can play a particularly important role in African affairs in the interest of the United States. Since the total number of such minority representation remains relatively small, despite present increases, the study mission feels this advantage should be developed further in Africa. Precedent has been established and the advantage noted in several other nations.

In order that the maximum could be accomplished in the time available in each country, the members visited separate projects and met with various groups, including Peace Corps volunteers, representatives of private foundations and organizations, and of educational institutions, private citizens, U.S. firms and businesses operating in the country, and with missionaries of many faiths. Visits were also made to several AID projects.

The study mission regrets it was unable to spend more time in each country visited. Traveling in an old Constellation that averaged but 250 miles an hour meant a great amount of time was spent in the air to cover distances between countries. The slow travel necessitated night flights in order to meet the allotted time scheduling within each country.

The study mission was able to learn much of the feelings, the problems, and the aspirations of the eight countries visited, and reports its findings, opinions, and recommendations in hope of creating a greater awareness, interest in, and broader understanding of Africa. It is hoped that more Members of Congress will avail themselves of opportunities to visit this continent of 263 million members of the world community who are playing and will continue to play a major role in international affairs. The rapid political changes on the continent require that greater attention be focused on Africa.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

African leaders and their people feel, the members of the study mission were informed, that U.S. interests are concentrated in other areas of the world, such as southeast Asia and Latin America, and that very little interest is demonstrated with regard to problems in Africa. It was emphasized that Africa is bypassed in visits by leading U.S. officials. The study mission feels these complaints have some merit; that there has been neglect of some African areas which are at least equally crucial to our interests as areas elsewhere. The study mission believes there is urgent need for greater emphasis on American posture on the African continent. To aid in the building of this posture, the study mission recommends that the Subcommittee on Africa schedule more trips to that continent and that future study missions cover more nations, particularly those seldom visited by people of the United States.

U.S. AID TO AFRICA

U.S. aid to Africa represents only 8 percent of our global assistance. This is very small in comparison with other areas of the world although other free world donors have been providing more than \$1 billion annually to Africa. In view of the diversity of sources of assistance and Africa's needs, it appears that AID should make every effort to design programs and projects to increase productivity in economic and educational development. There are many areas where aid from the United States or other Western donors is needed in order to give greater impetus to the growth of the African countries' economies.

Economic development in most African countries has not reached the "takeoff" stage for many reasons: (1) Agriculture in many countries is not greatly developed; (2) between 85 and 90 percent of Africans depend on agriculture; (3) most countries depend on one or two cash crop economies; (4) there is a noticeable absence of a base for industrial endeavors. In order to make the economies more viable, new methods of technology must be introduced and this can best be accomplished with assistance from Western developed nations. European countries that formerly held territories in Africa are best suited to assist the newly developing nations to attain viable economies. Nevertheless, fresh and urgent action is required.

In Africa, AID's assistance has been primarily in two forms: (1) Technical assistance, often linked with particular capital projects, to help African nations expand their incomes, train their peoples, eradicate diseases, etc.; and (2) technical assistance to improve the organization and management of government services. In all these cases, the objectives are to build or improve some institutions of economic, political, and social development so that the recipient country can increase its capacity for sustained, self-directed development. In other instances, AID had made selected contributions to local efforts to overcome problems of unemployment, food shortages, and financial stabilization. The results have not been spectacular

but some are impressive and most of those tied in with the best motivated African countries' efforts are encouraging, particularly in the face of the many problems which confront the newly independent nations.

AMERICAN PRIVATE INVESTMENT

Greater emphasis should be placed on American private investment. Most African nations recognize the role of the private sector as a necessary, very significant aspect of their attempts to achieve greater economic and social development. American businessmen can make a unique contribution by providing the stimulus and help needed to promote African private management in partnership with U.S. investors.

American investment in Africa has increased considerably in the past 4 years. In 1960, American investments totaled \$867 million; by 1964, the last year in which figures are available, they had virtually doubled to a total of \$1.6 billion. Nevertheless, most of the investments have gone into extractive enterprises, only a small proportion going into local manufacturing and commercial enterprises which aid in building medium-sized industries.

It is significant that there has been no expropriation of American interests by any of the newly developing African nations despite political turbulence. This is not true of the experience of many American firms in other areas of the world.

African leaders generally have shown an increasing desire to encourage American investments in their countries by extending such incentives as special privileges in the local market, investment guarantees, and business concessions.

In addition, loan funds are available to U.S. businessmen in many of the countries. Under section 104(e), title I of Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, foreign currencies received by the U.S. Government in payment for surplus agricultural commodities may be lent to qualified borrowers to develop business and expand trade. These local currency loans usually referred to as "Cooley loans," are named after Congressman Harold D. Cooley, who sponsored the amendment to Public Law 480. (See app. D, pp. 95-96, for a list of African countries in which these loan funds are available.)

The study mission recommends that AID intensify its efforts in each country to prepare feasibility studies and other basic investment data for U.S. businessmen interested in investment opportunities in Africa.

AMERICAN PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS

U.S. private foundations have been giving added attention to medical, educational, and economic development problems in Africa. Among the many foundations in this work are Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and the Carnegie Corp.

The African-American Institute maintains offices in several African countries for the purpose of screening applications of African students for scholarship programs in U.S. universities.

The Institute of International Education also maintains offices in Africa to provide information and in some cases scholarships to students seeking university and postgraduate education.

Also, the "Flying Doctor" Service is an American-sponsored organization which gives medical assistance to the upcountry people of Kenya.

These are but a few of the many American foundations operating in Africa.

TRAINING

Training of more Africans in business, industry, and agriculture should be encouraged. To render prompt and effective assistance to the people of Africa, training in modern business techniques must be a major emphasis. There is every indication that Africans are capable of becoming successful private entrepreneurs if proper and adequate training is available. It is anticipated that private enterprise on a larger scale will find its place in the African economy and in this regard young people will need to be ready to find the careers and opportunities available to them. It is recommended more business training be provided through assistance programs.

A greater expansion in vocational training is required for students desiring to learn the skills of various trades. There is an immediate need in Africa for more craftsmen—mechanics, carpenters, plumbers, etc. The possibility that U.S. labor unions would assist in the training of young Africans in the technical trades should be explored.

In every African country, agricultural endeavors are prominent; however, better and more modern farming methods are required in order that subsistence farming give way to the production of crops for export and increased production for local consumption. Since agriculture plays such an important role in Africa, production for export is necessary to help expand foreign reserve funds.

As the county agricultural agent in his advisory function on farming methods has been a major factor in the abundance of crops raised each year in the United States, Africa requires this kind of expert agricultural assistance to achieve its potential in this area. The study mission endorses AID's utilization of former U.S. county agricultural agents for the training of African farmers, and recommends expansion of this program.

EXCESS U.S.-OWNED FOREIGN CURRENCIES

It was noted that cost for rental of housing for Americans in the metropolitan areas is steadily rising, resulting in the expenditure of more U.S. dollars for this purpose. In Léopoldville, the Congo, \$500,000 annually is expended for U.S. housing despite the large accumulation of U.S.-owned Congolese francs.

In the major towns and cities of Africa, post-independence demands in residential building have led to an acute shortage of housing. Many landlords are taking advantage of this situation by demanding higher rents for leases of 12 months' duration and a payment of 6 months' rent in advance. Housing American personnel is a problem, therefore.

It is recommended that more suitable arrangements be made by using local currencies whenever possible and where the supply of foreign currency owned by the United States is in excess of Embassy needs for purchasing land and for the construction of buildings for U.S. personnel housing and office requirements. It is also recom-

mended that where possible, U.S.-owned excess foreign currencies be used to support educational programs.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Despite great efforts by the African nations to improve education and raise the literacy rate in their countries, education remains one of the foremost deficiencies in their development. The need for external assistance is urgent even though several of the nations visited are setting aside large portions of their budgets for education and many U.S. institutions and foundations are presently making major contributions to education and training in Africa.

The recently proposed international education and health programs recommend that our Nation's institutions share more in international projects; that there be a greater exchange of students and teachers, and perhaps books and educational material. The study mission hopes these programs will be given serious consideration as they relate to Africa.

Our AID programs are presently sponsoring projects such as Teachers for East Africa and support for the University of East Africa through staff and scholarships, and tutors for teacher-training colleges.

It is recommended that AID education officers continue to coordinate their efforts with the Peace Corps.

Problems of health still stalk many African countries, due principally to climatic conditions, diet deficiencies, overpopulation, and inadequate sanitation. Preventable diseases such as smallpox, malaria, and yellow fever still endanger the health and burden the economy of these developing nations.

The need for trained physicians, nurses, public health workers, and administrators in health fields is still acute.

The United States has supported the World Health Organization and its programs in Africa. AID has assisted several countries in efforts to eradicate disease. The Ministries of Health of many of the countries visited have shown great interest in health programs and have assumed large budgets in support of this work. However, expanded programs are needed in this field and it is recommended that our assistance be increased where possible. Also, Peace Corps volunteers might appropriately serve in health programs in the African countries where trained manpower is needed.

U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE

The U.S. Information Service is responsible for promoting a deeper understanding of the United States, its culture and policies, and for furnishing information, through radio, television, films, and other media, relating to problems and events of local and international interest. The study mission feels that the functions of the USIS are of particular importance in the African nations in order to counter growing Communist infiltration and propaganda in many areas on the continent.

The study mission was disappointed to learn that in many of the countries visited, particularly Kenya, Uganda, and Senegal, budgets are inadequate for USIS to conduct effective programs to achieve

their purposes. Poor location of offices, understaffing, and shortages of books and materials to supply the requirements of American teachers and missionary schools were also noted.

It is recommended that the U.S. Information Agency request adequate funds to carry out effective programs in Africa. Much of the funds now allocated to other regions could be better spent in Africa. (For USIS expenditures in Africa and comparison with other regions, see app. E, p. 97.)

THE PEACE CORPS

As of November 1965, there were 3,290 Peace Corps volunteers in Africa. Peace Corps programs are presently being expanded in some areas.

The Peace Corps has been actively engaged in teaching and other programs in many of the African countries. The volunteers have been well received by the host countries. In welcoming volunteers to his country, President Bourguiba, of Tunisia, stated he was welcoming the group "to show you the amount of interest we are attaching to this new formula of cooperation between friendly nations * * *."

In discussions which the study mission had with Education Ministers and other Government officials, the hope was expressed that Peace Corps volunteers might extend their tours beyond 2 years in order to give more continuity to the country programs.

The study mission did encounter some criticism of the Peace Corps in a few areas. Lack of teaching experience on the part of the volunteers engaged in this work was one of the points made. In French West Africa, inadequate language training and health problems were also cited. In other areas, the difficulty of Peace Corps volunteers in adapting to the British system of education and techniques under which some African schools function was mentioned. The dropout rate of Peace Corps volunteers who return home before the expiration of their tour of duty is very small and disruption of programs is minimal.

The study mission, on its return, discussed its findings with Peace Corps Director Shriver and members of his staff concerned with Africa. They welcomed the comments and recommendations.

The Peace Corps offers great opportunities for young Americans to make a significant contribution not only to their own country but to the people of the newly emerging nations. Education and training are the primary concerns of the relatively young leaders of many of the countries. In view of these facts, our schools and universities should encourage and promote participation in the Peace Corps program in order that interested students might better prepare themselves for this service.

MISSIONARIES

The contribution made by our missionaries to education and training in Africa should be recognized. Many of the African leaders today both in government service and other pursuits received their early education from missionaries in their respective countries. Certainly, our missionaries were the first "peace corps" who, over a long period, made great sacrifices to bring education to Africa.

The study mission had useful talks with several U.S. missionaries in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda and visited their missions and schools.

TOURISM

In many of the countries visited, there was evidence of great interest in promoting tourism. New hotels have been constructed and others are underway. Private foreign investment is being encouraged in this field by African nations.

Airline service is being improved. Pan American Airways recently inaugurated air service linking the east and west. Prior to this, circuitous routes had to be taken to get from Dakar to east Africa. The new weekly direct flight service now links the east-west from the United States to Kenya with stops en route at Dakar, Monrovia, and Lagos, returning weekly from Nairobi by the same route. The north and south long having been linked by air service, the new development means that airlines now traverse the African continent in all directions.

An increased interest in travel has prompted airlines to request reduction in fares. Reduced fares to many of the African countries become effective on April 1 of this year, and should offer encouragement to those countries who look to tourism for bettering their economy, as well as for creating a greater interest in their land and culture. "Package tours" should also be considered similar to those now being offered by some European airlines.

GENERAL COMMENTS

PRESS CONFERENCES, RADIO AND TELEVISION INTERVIEWS

In all of the countries visited, the members of the study mission held press conferences. Members were also interviewed on television and radio in some of the countries visited. The study mission was questioned concerning many subjects, but the two main topics concerned the race problem here at home and the Rhodesian crisis. Mission members did not attempt to defend the race problem here, but indicated on the positive side many examples of progress which have been made in the issuance of judicial edicts and in the enactment of laws by the Congress and through executive action which has been taken on Federal, State, and local levels. It was made clear that the official policy of the United States is in opposition to inequality; that this is significant, and that continuing efforts are being made to eliminate inequality.

Concerning the Rhodesian crisis, it was explained that U.S. policy now is to follow the lead of the United Kingdom which has primary responsibility in this area, but this does not preclude certain independent steps being taken if deemed feasible.

CONFERENCES WITH LEADERS OF GOVERNMENT

Meetings with high government officials brought forth fruitful discussions concerning the problems of individual countries. All of the nations are striving to attain economic and social development in the shortest period of time. The study mission met with seven heads of state in the eight countries visited. The only one not seen was President Bourguiba of Tunisia, who was out of the country, but his son, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Habib Bourguiba, Jr., met with the members.

The leaders stressed that Africa's major problems are combating poverty, ignorance, and disease. Their emphasis, they said, is to create an awareness among the Africans to learn and to work harder at nation building. They feel the process is slow, but that evidence is visible that advancement in trade, new industries, and in health and education has been made in some countries.

ONE-PARTY, ONE-MAN-RULE POLITICS

Although a one-man, one-party rule is the dominant political system in the countries visited, African leaders feel the system is best suited to their needs. They feel they cannot afford the luxury of opposition forces, as we know them, at this stage of their development. This underscores the importance of American understanding that democracy, as we know it, is not necessarily the most ideal form of government in the new African nations.

TRIBALISM

For centuries tribalism has been the traditional form of organization among Africans. It has dominated the pattern of life in political, economic, and social affairs. When metropolitan countries moved into Africa, they created arbitrary boundaries for territories which did not follow these tribal entities. These lines cut through tribal lands separating tribe members from kinsmen who became residents of another country. When independence arrived and territories achieved a state of sovereignty, the most important task of the new government was to unite the various tribes into the new system of government. The boundary separation of tribe members has not permitted this to be fully accomplished, however. Thus today, this is part of the problem involved in certain border disputes. Additionally, the rise of the kind of strong central governments which prevail in African countries today has created problems, in the accompanying reduction of the influence and powers of tribal chiefs, which are analogous to the States rights versus Federal Government power issues in the United States.

MILITARY COUPS

Since January 1964, there have been nine military coups in Africa. In each the rationale was based on alleged corruption and extravagance on the part of the previous regime. In each case, military leaders have stated they would be taking over the government temporarily only in order to put the country back on its feet and exercise the discipline necessary to restore stability, following which the government would be returned to some kind of parliamentary system.

In two of the countries visited by the study mission, ample evidence of unrest predicted trouble ahead. The study mission, arriving in another country shortly after a military government had taken over, had opportunity to witness the early stages of its transition.

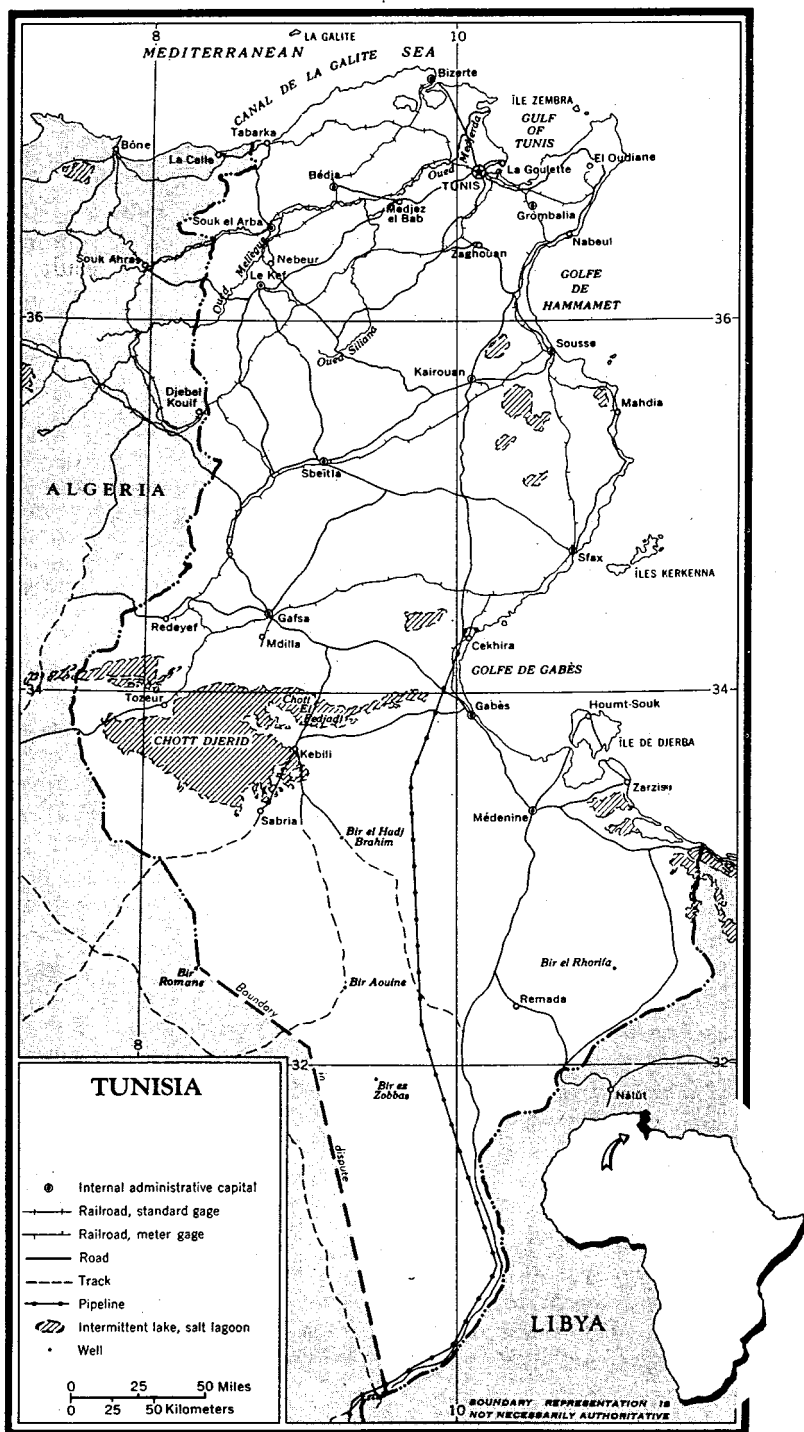
THREAT OF COMMUNISM ON THE CONTINENT

Many African leaders have spoken out against Red Chinese infiltration and subversion, notably President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, who is one of the architects of east African nationalism, and President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. There is an awareness among the leaders of Africa of the dangers of Red Chinese domination on the continent. In two of the nations in which coups have occurred, diplomatic relations with the Government of Red China have been terminated. There was no indication in the countries visited of a desire to exchange their newly won independence for neocolonial communism.

Soviet communism does not appear to be as great a threat as militant Chinese communism, though the Soviet threat is more sophisticated. While many of the nations are recipients of Soviet aid and Russian technicians have been acceptable to them, there is evidence of African disenchantment because many Soviet commitments have not been fulfilled and some of the assistance has turned out to be impractical.

The threat of communism is diminished to some degree by a sort of personality clash between the Africans and the Russians and

Chinese. The Russians and Chinese tend to be provincial in their associations. They do not move around very much, tending to isolate themselves from the African community. As a result, they have problems in communication with the Africans on a social basis, an important factor in developing the kind of rapport necessary to Communist objectives.



TUNISIA

Tunisia achieved her independence from France in 1956. Habib Bourguiba, now President, was the leader of the preindependence political forces. Through his efforts and his effective leadership, the Tunisians formed their own government.

The Republic is comparatively new but the area in which it lies is rich in culture and tradition. Originally the site of Carthage, a Phoenician trading center and rival of the Roman Empire, the nation's history provides a study of the determined efforts of these people to achieve a stature of independence and progress.

Americans should feel a close relationship with Tunisia. Located near the ancient city of Carthage is the American North Africa Military Cemetery. The cemetery is the final resting place of 2,840 American servicemen who gave their lives in Africa and the Middle East during World War II in fighting the forces of nazism and fascism. The land was donated by France to the United States in 1948, and the cemetery is under the jurisdiction of the American Battle Monuments Commission. Memorial Day ceremonies are held annually as well as other nondenominational services. An American is on duty there each day of the year. The study mission visited the cemetery on Tuesday, November 30.

The study mission met with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the President of the National Assembly and had discussions on Tunisia's economic problems.

The members of the study mission visited the following AID projects:

Mornag Experiment Station.—One of the most promising projects is the Mornag Experiment Station established in 1961 and one of 28 experiment stations, nurseries, and demonstration parcels for training of young Tunisian farmers under the auspices of the United States and Tunisian Government. These stations contribute to the development, improvement, and production of indigenous and American fruit and vegetable crop varieties. Assistance for this project was phased out in 1964 when aid was no longer necessary. Prior to the establishment of this project, the Tunisian Government spent millions of hard currency reserves in the importation of fruits, vegetables, and fruit tree seedlings. Because of a favorable climate assuring early harvests, and as a result of improved technological and agricultural methods, Tunisia is now advancing to the stage where it can profitably export fruits and vegetables to Europe and adjacent African countries. The success of this project should be an inducement for AID to appraise the expansion of agricultural experimental stations in the country, if more appear warranted, or in other fields such as cereals or livestock.

Khledia Railroad Bridge.—Another AID project which deserves worthy comment is the Khledia railroad bridge.

On October 31, 1964, this bridge, the connecting link to Tunisia's ore mines, was completely washed out by a flood. Tunisian engineers estimated that it would require 6 months to replace it. Meanwhile,

a loss of foreign exchange was estimated at \$6.5 million because of inability to ship phosphates and iron ore by railroad transport. Domestic losses were estimated at \$2.9 million. In addition, 1,500 employees of the mines would be out of work for a long period.

In order to avoid these disastrous losses, AID proposed replacement by a Bailey bridge. At a cost of \$145,000 provided by AID and \$60,000 (in dinars) provided by the Government of Tunisia, a Bailey bridge was flown from Europe by the U.S. Air Force and erected through the cooperation of 50 U.S. Corps of Engineer personnel and a company of Tunisian Army engineer personnel.

Within 10 days after the completion of the airlift, the bridge had been erected and the first trainload of ore crossed the bridge.

A tannery and a furniture factory.—The Tanneries Modernes de la Nanouba is a private enterprise which produces leather from calf and cow skins. The company received two loans from AID. The first in 1958 in the amount of D115,000 was from the special revolving loan fund. The second was a dollar development loan fund-financed subloan in the amount of \$84,000.

The plant employs 119 workers and supplies 50 percent of Tunisia's needs for leather goods. The foreign exchange value of the leather now produced each year is about \$1,200,000. Under a new expansion program, increased production will almost double.

The Gozlan Furniture Co. manufactures steel office furniture and fixtures. The firm, the first office furniture manufacturing business in Tunisia, has been aided by dinar loans.

In April 1965, the company entered into a joint venture with an American firm, a recipient of a D30,000 Cooley loan. The joint fund will expand the productive capacity of the plant.

The study mission was encouraged to see that private enterprise and private investments are taking root in the country.

FRENCH-TUNISIA RELATIONS

During the early years of Tunisian independence, Franco-Tunisian economic relations were generally good. France was generous with its assistance to Tunisia. In the past few years, political differences between the nations have brought about a termination of French economic assistance and Tunisia's special privileges in the French market. However, a large-scale cultural assistance program continues. The rupture of Franco-Tunisian relations has left surpluses in products formerly exported to France. France, for example, used to buy large quantities of Tunisian wines. Since the virtual elimination of trade between the two nations, Tunisia is faced with the problem of finding new markets for this product, or converting to other agricultural products.

ECONOMY

While the Tunisian economy has been experiencing many difficulties, there have been several favorable shifts in policy, especially toward improved control and management of public enterprise, more encouragement for private investment in tourism and industry, and greater incentives for the agricultural sector.

Some substantial progress in the areas of agriculture, education and medium-sized industrial development has been accomplished.

Nonetheless, Tunisia, like many other developing countries, is suffering a deficit in her balance of payments. The deficit in the balance of goods and services has exceeded \$100 million annually during the past several years. Although a substantial portion of the deficit has been financed by foreign aid and private capital, the uncovered balance has been financed by drawing on foreign exchange reserves. Accordingly, current usable foreign exchange reserves have dropped to the precariously low figure of \$21 million.

TOURISM

Tourism has great potential for bolstering the economy of Tunisia. The Government has undertaken an intensive development program to encourage more visitors to the country. Several new hotels are being constructed and air and ground transportation is being improved. More hotel workers and guides are being trained, with many being sent to U.S. universities to study techniques in hotel management.

Tunisia has miles of sandy beaches along the Mediterranean with a pleasant climate during most of the year. There are numerous points of interest, including ancient Carthage and other ruins. Cultural activities take place in outdoor theaters once used by the ancient Romans. These are but a few of the attractions Tunisians offer, along with prices below those at comparable European tourist centers.

U.S. ASSISTANCE

U.S. economic aid has consisted of dollar and hard-currency grants, and development loans from various sources. Dollar grants were made for commodity imports such as sugar, petroleum products, tea, and textiles.

Since fiscal year 1962 commodity imports have been handled on a loan basis only. The total of commodity imports from inception of this program to June 30, 1965, is \$94.5 million, nearly half of which is loans.

Loans amounting to \$118,250,000 have been granted for specific projects such as the construction of a dam, airport, pulp plant, and the establishment of loan funds in the industrial and agricultural development banks. In this connection, a considerable sum of Public Law 480 assistance has been extended.

Technical assistance to the extent of \$17.9 million has been provided in a variety of fields, including agricultural development, small industries, transportation, and communications.

THE PEACE CORPS

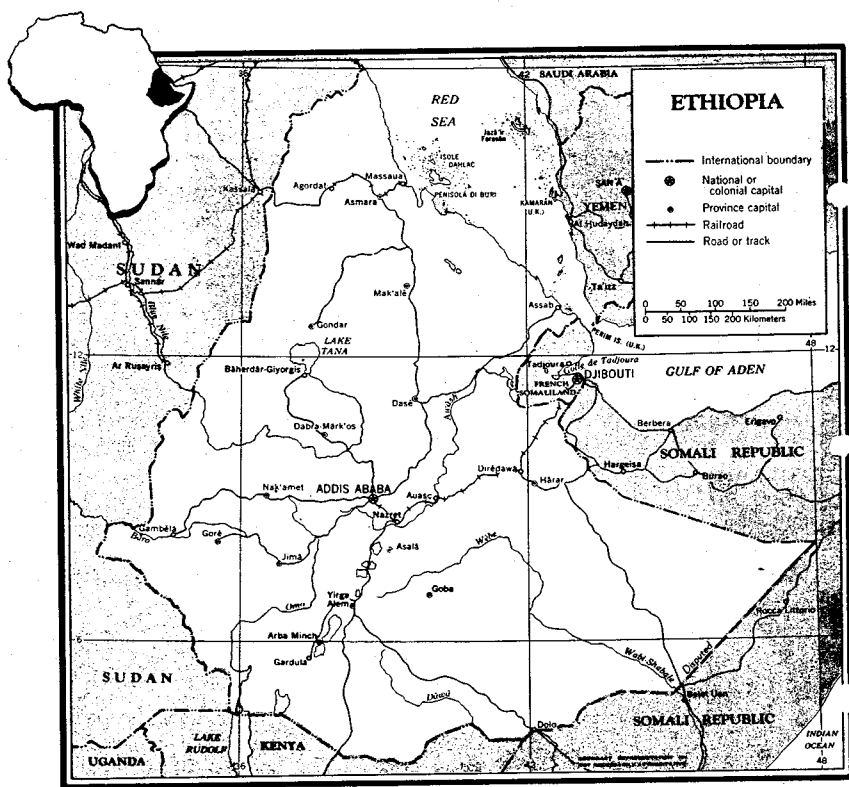
The Peace Corps in Tunisia began operations in August 1962 with 65 volunteers under the direction of Tunisian Government officials in the fields of housing, physical education, English teaching, and road-building and maintenance. In the past 3 years the number of volunteers has increased to 215. The Peace Corps is providing the people of the country with technical assistance and with a wide range of badly needed skills.

PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS

One U.S. private organization active in Tunisia is the Ford Foundation. It is helping to strengthen English-language training in Tunisia through grants to the Bourguiba Institute of Languages. The grants provide scholarships abroad for present and future teachers.

A grant has also been made to set up 12 family-planning centers in Tunisian cities and semirural areas where health officers are working to promote understanding and acceptance of family limitation. The Ministry of Health directs the program. Officials visit the United States and other countries to study family planning.

Assistance has also been given the University of Tunis for studies of problems of underemployment and other development problems.



ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia is the oldest independent country of Africa. Under the leadership of Emperor Haile Selassie I, Ethiopia has taken a prominent and constructive role in the affairs of the African Continent. The two most important intra-African organizations, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, have their headquarters in the capital city, Addis Ababa.

ASMARA

Kagnew Station.—The study mission visited Asmara, Ethiopia, where the U.S. Government Communications Center is located. Kagnew Station, as it is called, is a major link in the global communications network which provides rapid communications for all departments of the U.S. Government.

The mission of Kagnew Station is to provide U.S. communications within Africa and the Middle East and for linkage of this area to other worldwide U.S. communications. Its location at Asmara is technologically advantageous because of the altitude of the Ethiopian highland plateau and its proximity to the relatively interference-free equatorial belt.

In 1952, when Eritrea was reunited with Ethiopia, an agreement was negotiated between the United States and Ethiopia providing for the enlargement of an existing American-operated radio station.

At the present time, Kagnew Station leases a total of 1,381 hectares of land from the Ethiopian Government. Only 180 hectares (432 acres) covered by buildings or parking areas are used exclusively by the station. The remaining 1,201 hectares of land are open to continued use by their Ethiopian owners for agricultural and grazing purposes. The Government of the United States pays the Ethiopian Government, which in turns pays the owners a total of Eth\$283,029.24 a year for the rental of these lands.

The legal basis for Kagnew Station's existence in Ethiopia is an agreement which was signed by both Governments and entered into force on May 22, 1953. This agreement reflects the mutual interest of Ethiopia and the United States in the cause of world peace and their recognition of the important part which communications play in preserving peace. It is in effect for 25 years, after which time either Government may give notice of its wish to terminate the agreement.

The total staff of the station comprises nearly 2,900 employees of whom 1,700 are American personnel.

Over 1,000 Ethiopians and 100 nationals from other countries are employed at the station. About 600 Ethiopians work for American families there.

Kagnew Station has been unjustly criticized as a form of neo-colonialism by some Africans. The criticism arises as a result of cer-

tain opposition in the Organization of African Unity to any form of foreign military installation on African land. This has led to an erroneous concept on the part of some Africans of the character of the station. Kagnev Station is not a military base as this opposition construes it; it is a communications system. To offset the criticism, however, townspeople have been brought to the station for visits that they might see there is no military character to it except that necessary for security purposes.

In the interests of preserving peace and providing an effective global communications system, it is hoped that the agreement will be renewed in 1978.

The Itegue Menen School of Nursing.—The study mission also visited the Itegue Menen School of Nursing which is under the direction of AID. The school was established in 1954 and graduated its first class in 1959. The purposes of the project are to prepare a core of basic professional nurses and nurse midwives with specific orientation in public health, and to prepare a group of national nurse faculty members to perform responsibilities in health administration, teaching, and supervisory functions with maximum efficiency by 1970, at which time the program will be phased out by AID.

The study mission recommends that this worthwhile project be maintained at an adequate level to insure that trained personnel will be available to take over direction of this facility by 1970.

ADDIS ABABA

In visiting Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, the study mission conferred with Emperor Haile Selassie I concerning the problems confronting Ethiopia and Africa in general.

Visits were made to the university and the local establishments of USIS and the Peace Corps. A meeting with U.S. missionaries brought forth discussions concerning the impact of Peace Corps volunteers in the country.

Organization of African Unity (OAU).—The members of the study mission visited the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity which is located in Addis Ababa. Discussions were had with Diallo Telli of Guinea, Secretary General, and members of the Secretariat. The meeting occurred at a time when the Foreign Ministers were arriving to discuss what actions should be taken by the Organization against the new regime in Rhodesia. An announcement was made following the Organization's meeting that it was the unanimous decision of the OAU that its member nations break relations with Great Britain if she could not oust the Ian Smith regime by December 15. It is questionable that a "unanimous" decision was rendered because only nine member nations stated publicly that a break with Great Britain was imminent, indicating a lack of coordination between delegates and heads of state back home. Though many of the nations visited by the study mission expressed reservations on the wording of the resolution, they still felt committed to abide by the decision taken at the meeting.

The OAU was founded in 1963 and has 36 member states represented. The purposes of the organization, as stated in the charter are:

- (a) To promote the unity and solidarity of the African and Malagasy States;

(b) To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;

(c) To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;

(d) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and

(e) To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

To these ends, the Member States shall coordinate and harmonize their general policies, especially in the following fields:

(a) Political and diplomatic cooperation;

(b) Economic cooperation, including transport and communications;

(c) Educational and cultural cooperation;

(d) Health, sanitation, and nutritional cooperation;

(e) Scientific and technical cooperation; and

(f) Cooperation for defense and security.

The principles as stated are as follows:

(1) The sovereign equality of all member states;

(2) Noninterference in the internal affairs of states;

(3) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence;

(4) Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration;

(5) Unreserved condemnation in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighboring states or any other state;

(6) Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent; and

(7) Affirmation of a policy of nonalignment with regard to all blocs.

(For complete text of OAU charter, see app. B, p. 83.)

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.—A very informative meeting was held with Robert K. A. Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, which is under the auspices of the United Nations. The Executive Secretary informed the members of the study mission of the plans and programs that are being undertaken by the organization for the economic and social development of the continent. The study mission was impressed with Mr. Gardiner and his views. His reputation as one of the best international civil servants was borne out during his discussions with the members of the study mission.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa was established by resolution of the United Nations Economic and Social Council on April 29, 1958. Three other regional commissions are located in Europe (Geneva), Latin America (Santiago), and Asia (Bangkok).

All independent African countries are members of the Commission except the Republic of South Africa, which has been denied the right to participate in the work of the Commission by vote of the other members because of its racial policy. Associate members include non-self-governing territories in Africa and certain European countries (United Kingdom, France, Spain) which are responsible for administration of these territories.

The purposes of the Commission are to facilitate concerted action for the economic development of Africa; to undertake studies of economic and technological problems; to collect, evaluate, and disseminate economic, technological, and statistical data; to advise member countries on economic matters; and to assist in the formulation and development of coordinated policies as a basis for practical action in promoting economic and technological development.

The study mission recommends that the Agency for International Development work closely with the Economic Commission for Africa in the formulation and development of coordinated policies in economic studies and technological problems relating to the nations the United States is assisting and continue to work collaboratively with ECA in conducting studies and providing other assistance for the development of constructive subregional projects.

ETHIOPIA'S ECONOMY

Ethiopia's economy is predominantly agricultural, with some 90 percent of the population engaged in farming or the raising of livestock. Coffee is the major crop, constituting over 50 percent in value of exports. Cattle raising probably has the greatest economic potential for the future. Hides, skins, and meats are at present exported in modest quantities, but with improved techniques and proper management this industry could become highly important.

Ethiopia depends upon external sources for a large part of the foreign exchange needed to carry out development programs. In addition to aid from the United States, Ethiopia has received substantial assistance from the World Bank and its affiliates, West Germany, and several other donors, including Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Several years ago, Ethiopia accepted a \$100 million credit offer from the Soviet Union.

While some elements of the economy are consistently strong, notably Ethiopia's balance-of-payments position and level of external reserves derived from coffee, a chronic shortage of domestic revenues limits the country's progress. Expenditures for the ordinary activities of the Government are increasing much more rapidly than are Government revenues. Initial steps are being taken for a more efficient collection of revenues so that the nation is able to finance more meaningful development programs.

Drought in Ethiopia has resulted in a serious grain shortage and an estimated 1½ million people are suffering from critical malnutrition. In response to the urgent need, the U.S. Government has shipped 50,000 tons of grain to the country which will be distributed to needy persons in the drought area.

U.S. ASSISTANCE

The United States is one of Ethiopia's best customers. It imports from Ethiopia over Eth\$2.5 million worth of merchandise a year, and Ethiopia buys nearly Eth\$2.5 million worth a year from the United States. In addition, since 1953, the United States has invested over Eth\$300 million in grants and loans to help in the economic development of Ethiopia and Eth\$200 million in supplying modern military equipment and advanced training to the Ethiopian armed forces.

Grant assistance has been directed primarily to training of personnel and provides for technicians and commodities in the fields of public health and education, research, and extension. Programs have already been initiated to improve transportation within the country which include loans for airport development and jet aviation facilities.

For some time U.S. loan funds have been used by the Development Bank of Ethiopia for sublending to private entrepreneurs. Institutions of this nature should be encouraged because they provide the initiative for private investments within a country, assisting in the economic development of underdeveloped areas.

The members of the study mission were impressed with the results of the first savings and loan association established in Ethiopia. The Imperial Savings & Home Ownership Public Association of Addis Ababa was created by charter in 1963 as a building society for the purpose of encouraging thrift and providing funds at reasonable rates of interest to promote homeownership. As of December 1, 1964, the association had approximately 900,000 Ethiopian dollars or 360,000 U.S. dollars. Deposits are growing at the rate of \$8,000 a month and the association has been paying dividends of 4½ percent on accounts up to \$10,000 and 3½ percent on accounts over this amount. Interest rates on home mortgages are 6 and 6½ percent.

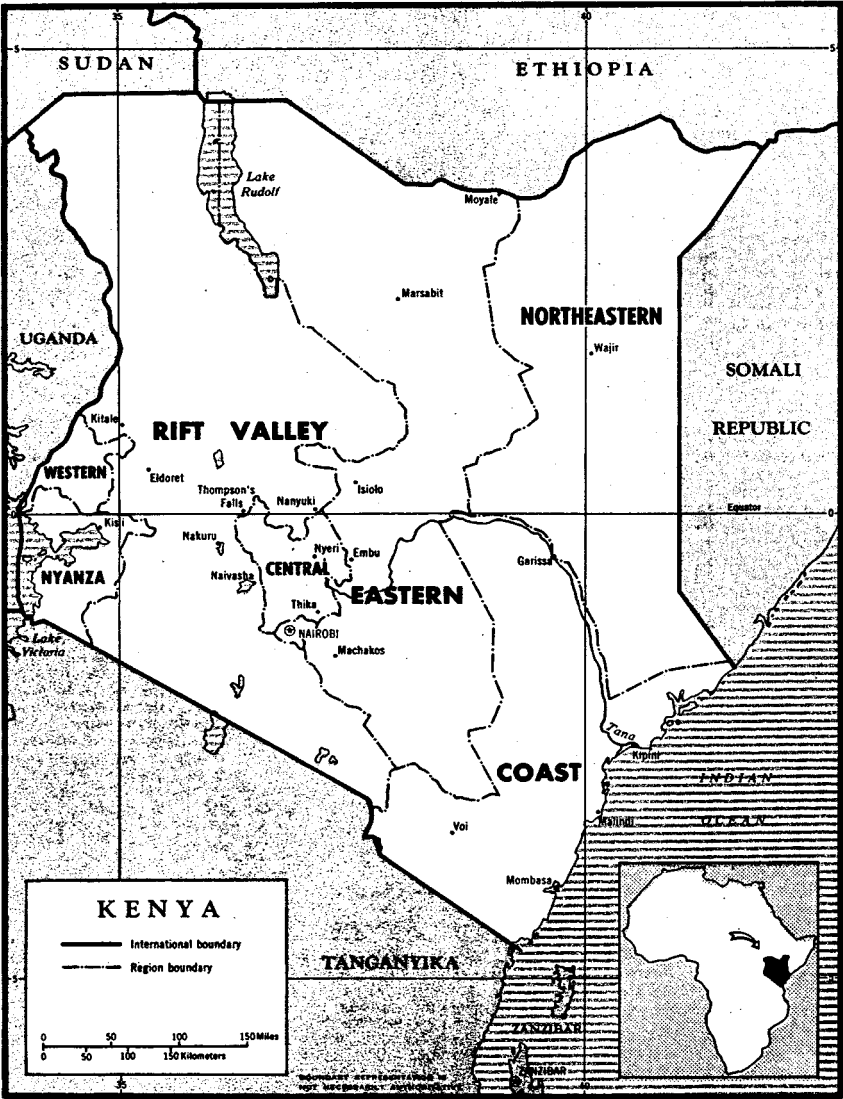
In October 1965, the Agency for International Development approved a letter of reservation for the Development Corporation International of Boston in the sum of \$5 million for an investment guarantee of a housing project in Addis Ababa. The project, if finally approved, consists of a subdivision of approximately 77 acres with 900 single-family, two- and three-bedroom houses, and with areas reserved for parking, schools, parks, commercial and community facilities. The Imperial Savings & Home Ownership Public Association will act as administrator for the project.

EAST AFRICAN COUNTRIES

The east African countries of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania inherited from British colonial rule the most highly developed co-operative regional institutions and arrangements in Africa. These include a common market unified currency and a number of centrally administered public services.

The east African governments have discussed the formation of a political federation for several years, but such a federation is no longer considered a realizable objective for the near future. Nonetheless, hope for the evolution of regional institutions still exists as evidenced by the formation of a tripartite commission under an independent chairman to study the entire range of regional cooperation.

Regional cooperation is essential for strengthening economic ties with emerging new nations of Africa. Recently, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States announced the establishment of the East African Chamber of Commerce, the only nonpolitical organization of its kind anywhere in the world dedicated to sponsoring east and central African trade, industry, tourism, and cultural exchange with the United States. This new organization demonstrates the interest of American businessmen and investors in concerted efforts to promote the economic development of the African Continent. This joint venture might also be applied to countries of west Africa.



KENYA

The study mission arrived in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, and conferred with President Jomo Kenyatta.

Kenyans have demonstrated to the world that people in a multiracial society can live and work together. For example, in the city of Nairobi, there are almost as many Indians as there are black Africans. Asians and Europeans occupy positions in the Parliament and Cabinet.

In reference to the Mau Mau movement, black Kenyans resent the distorted stories of the killings of whites. They allege and document that of the 12,000 people killed during the Mau Mau period, only 87 were white and 57 of these were white policemen. The remaining fatalities were Africans who were killed by the police or by Africans.

The members of the study mission visited AID projects in the vicinity of Nairobi.

ECONOMY

Agriculture dominates Kenya's economy, although there is a small but expanding industrial base. More than 80 percent of the population are engaged on the land, with agriculture and livestock providing over 85 percent of the country's export earnings. Coffee is the country's most important cash crop and export commodity.

During the past year, Kenya has suffered from a serious drought which resulted in a shortage of foodstuffs. Large quantities of surplus food under Public Law 480, title II and title IV, have been sent by the U.S. Government to the people of Kenya.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

U.S. economic assistance to Kenya has been in projects concentrated in agriculture, education, government, training and management, and community development.

The largest amount of foreign assistance for last year came from the British in the sum of \$53 million in loans and grants.

Communist countries have made substantial commitments totaling \$67 million. However, there is very little evidence that these commitments have been honored, and this has contributed to disenchantment with the Russians.

EDUCATION

As in most countries in Africa, education has high priority in Kenya's development programs. AID is assisting in vocational agriculture education programs and English language teacher training projects. To help Kenya train badly needed teachers, AID is providing teacher trainers. The United States is aiding the University College, Nairobi, and the Veterinary College of the University of East Africa to help meet the increased demand for higher level manpower throughout east Africa.

AID is also assisting the National Youth Service, an organization established to provide work and training for unemployed young men. Assistance has been primarily in the form of construction equipment for the camps and food.

AMERICAN BUSINESS

With its modern industrial community and large supply of skilled labor, Nairobi has become an important center for most American businesses established in east Africa. U.S. firms and industries are developing contacts with the African consumer and supplier. The American Businessmen's Club of Nairobi has been established to exchange ideas and information. Trade between the United States and Kenya is increasing. There were 50 American companies represented in Kenya in 1965, many of which have training programs for their African employees.

NAIROBI NATIONAL PARK

The study mission visited Nairobi National Park, and met with representatives of the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation, Inc., a nonprofit U.S. corporation engaged in educational work for the conservation of wildlife in Africa. The Foundation provides scholarships at U.S. universities for African students in wildlife management, produces educational films for African audiences, and operates an education center at Nairobi National Park.

Kenya has invited other nations to participate in the work of conserving the wildlife which is regarded as an integral part of Africa's natural resources and an invaluable heritage.

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UGANDA

The members of the study mission conferred with Prime Minister Obote concerning Uganda's problems.

The Prime Minister spoke of U.S. involvement in the Congo during the 1965 rebellion, saying his country was particularly concerned about the use of mercenaries. It was suspected, he said, that after accomplishing their objectives in the Congo, the mercenaries would then move into surrounding states, including Uganda, to attempt to create a buffer between southern Africa and the rest of Black Africa.

In explanation of the involvement of Ministers of Government in the demonstrations against the United States during the Congo crisis, the Prime Minister said this did not indicate any lessening of Uganda's general admiration for the United States since the Ministers took their action as members of their respective political parties and not as representatives of the Government. However, the members of the study mission pointed out the considerable difficulty of separating such private acts of public officials from official action.

The study mission also met with the Minister of State. The Minister praised the work of the Peace Corps but was of the opinion that the 2-year tour in his country was too short.

In speaking of the East African Federation, he said also that since each country has its own 5-year plan for development, the formation of a federation should be brought about gradually.

Visits were made to the National Assembly where discussions were had with the Speaker and other parliamentarians.

The members of the study mission also visited AID projects in Entebbe and met with some of the U.S. missionaries in the country.

ECONOMY—COTTON AND COFFEE

Uganda, primarily an agricultural country, is overdependent on cotton and coffee. The Ugandans fear that the expansion of cotton sales under Public Law 480, title I, could seriously affect the nation's economy by a loss in cotton sales in existing world markets. Uganda is dependent on the sale of cotton for her foreign reserves.

Uganda is the greatest single producer of coffee in the British Commonwealth. Their greatest customer for coffee is the United States. However, because of worldwide overproduction, including that of other African nations, Uganda is finding it more difficult to dispose of its crop. The International Coffee Organization, of which Uganda is a member, is attempting to aid the African countries in changing to other agricultural products. Uganda is also concentrating its efforts in agricultural diversification and AID is helping in development of marketing systems for meat, dairy products, and hides and skins. Uganda has the richest soil in east Africa for growing crops which are not in surplus in the world markets.

The study mission members were pleased to be informed that James Walimbwa, the proposed Director of Uganda's Agricultural Information Agency, is now receiving training in the United States. He is working on a master's degree in the field of agriculture journalism at the University of Wisconsin and is reported to have one of the highest scholastic averages in the history of the school.

TOURISM

Uganda feels frustration over the absence from its land of foreign visitors and tourists. Referred to by Winston Churchill as the "Pearl of Africa", Uganda feels it has been too long overshadowed by its coastal country neighbors. To encourage visitors to the country, new hotels are being erected in Kampala and near the snow-capped mountains and game parks.

BORDER AND REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Refugee problems are increasing for Uganda because it borders such countries as the Congo, Sudan, and Rwanda and lacks security tools to cope with the situation. Refugees from the three countries arriving and settling on lands used for cattle raising forecast considerable trouble in the future, financially and otherwise. The military force is too small to control the flow of refugees and the national budget does not permit greater security measures to be taken in connection with these problems.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Uganda's political position is complicated since it contains four kingdoms which are semiautonomous. Tribal difficulties and political party rivalries are creating problems for the party in power. Differences between the Government and labor unions, which allege interference by Government, have also arisen.

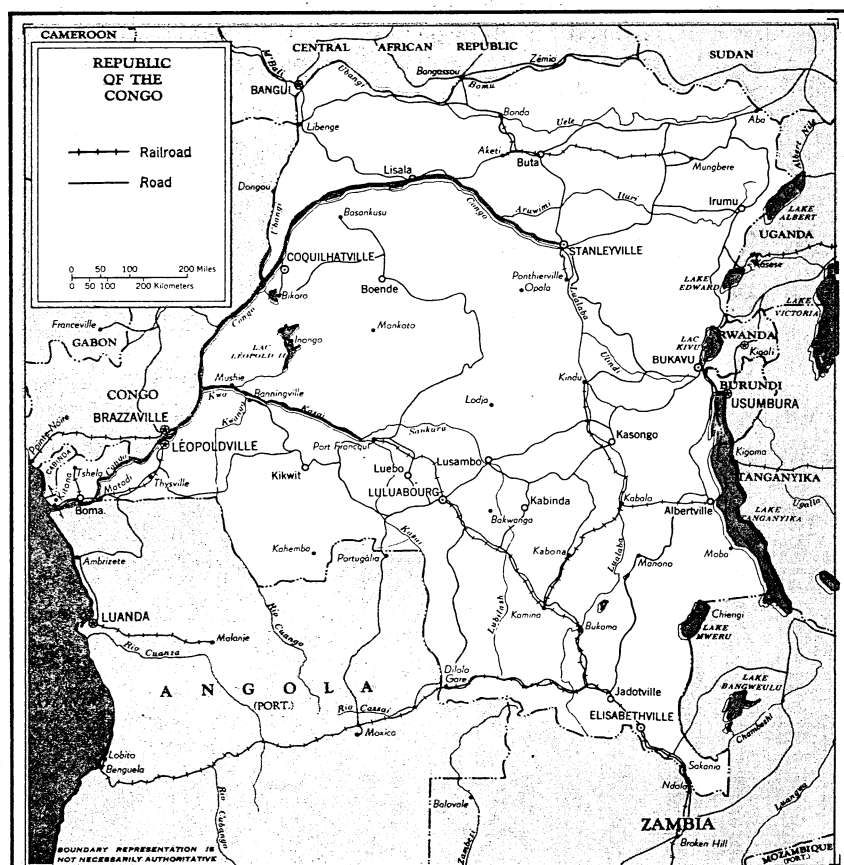
The study mission sensed a feeling of unrest in the area. Local press reports during the mission's visit expressed suspicion and fears of attempted overthrow of the Government by foreign elements. These fears tend to keep the nation in a state of uncertainty.

EDUCATION

Uganda has the highest literacy rate of any black African country. Forty-five percent of its citizens are literate. However, there are only 38 indigenous secondary school teachers in the country, making it imperative for Uganda to rely on Peace Corps volunteers, AID personnel, and missionaries from the United States and the United Kingdom.

U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE

The U.S. Information Service is operating on a very small budget. Only two employees are in Kampala in a building which is poorly located. There is need for more personnel and more materials, films, books, magazines, and other items, to supply the requirements of American teachers and missionary schools.



CONGO (LÉOPOLDVILLE)

The study mission arrived in Léopoldville, the capital, simultaneously with the announcement that the U.S. Government extended recognition to the new Congo regime of President Joseph Mobutu. The new Government took over from President Joseph Kasavubu in a bloodless coup on November 25, 1965.

The rebellion which occurred in eastern Congo in 1964 has not yet been crushed, and the same disruptive elements remain in the north-east and eastern section of the country. Some mercenaries have been withdrawn but arms and ammunition are still being supplied to the remaining Congo rebels. These illegal weapons reportedly are being transported through Tanzania and across Lake Tanganyika, and bear manufacture markings of Red Chinese and Soviet bloc countries. More than 3½ tons of arms and ammunition have been confiscated. Stability within the country obviously cannot be realized until externally aided subversion is eliminated.

The study mission met with President Mobutu and was impressed by his determination to rid the country of graft and corruption and to establish better work and production standards to stimulate the people to greater efforts on behalf of their country.

ECONOMY

The Congo suffered a decline in export earnings during the early years of independence, due partly to the secession of Katanga and South Kasai, whose mineral production had represented almost half of the country's earnings. A sharp decline in the export of certain agricultural products has also affected the economy.

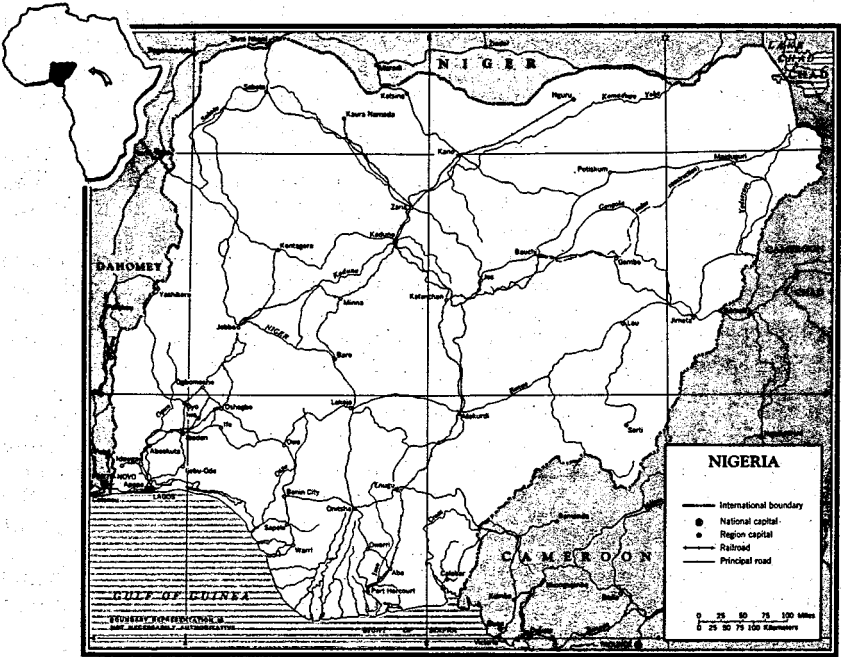
The economic stabilization program initiated under the guidance of the International Monetary Fund in November 1963 was short lived. Renewed deficit budgetary spending, almost uncontrollable inflation, and a drop in export earnings have had disastrous effects on the Government's financial status.

U.S. ASSISTANCE

U.S. economic assistance programs have provided balance-of-payments assistance in support of the stabilization program in the following amounts:

- (1) Public Law 480, title I sales, \$20 to \$25 million annually; and
- (2) Supporting assistance in financed commercial imports ranging from \$20 to \$25 million annually.

The Congo still has a long way to go before it becomes a unified and viable state capable of maintaining political and economic stability.



NIGERIA

The study mission visited Lagos on December 7, 8, and 9, 1965, 38 days before the military coup on January 15, 1966.

Nigeria, ninth most populous country in the world and the most populous in Africa, was considered a center of stability on the continent. Perhaps the best prepared of all the new nations to assume the responsibilities of independence, Nigeria had become a symbol of democracy and sound economic planning in Africa.

The study mission met with the Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, at his official residence on December 8. The President, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was ill in London at the time, sent his regrets that he could not be present.

The Prime Minister discussed at length the problems of Nigeria and of Africa. He talked freely of the internal political problems stemming from the recent elections. He had a deep understanding and appreciation of the tribal and religious rivalries in the federation. He emphasized, however, that he felt the current situation was greatly exaggerated by the press.

(The study mission inadvertently became involved in this crisis in Lagos while en route to the airport. A small mob of hooligans, while staging a riot and attacking all oncoming vehicles with stones and machetes, assailed an embassy car carrying some members of the mission. It was a frightening experience, but damage was not great and no physical injuries were suffered. The incident made it apparent that the situation was far more serious than perhaps the Prime Minister himself or members of the U.S. mission and local foreign sector realized.)

The Prime Minister, in discussing the Rhodesian crisis, stated that the matter was in an extremely confused state following the meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the previous week. He expressed the hope that a meeting of the Commonwealth Ministers might be held to give further consideration to the Rhodesian question. (Prime Minister Balewa was instrumental in arranging the meeting of the Commonwealth Ministers in Lagos on January 11 and 12, 1966, which granted Great Britain more time to end the rebellious regime in Rhodesia through economic sanctions.)

The Prime Minister discussed U.S. assistance to his country and expressed appreciation for it. He felt education and training were of primary importance for the development of his country because of great need for experts in all fields. He stated the Peace Corps had played an important role in this area. However, he looked forward to the day when Nigeria would no longer need external assistance as his people became trained and equipped to take over the direction of the nation's economic as well as political life.

The study mission was favorably impressed with Prime Minister Balewa, who was his country's first Prime Minister following independence as well as during the 2 years preceding full independence. A Moslem and son of a tribal chieftain, he attended college in northern Nigeria. He later studied at London University in England. In 1955, and again in 1961, the Prime Minister visited the United States, the latter a state visit at the personal invitation of President Kennedy.

Prime Minister Balewa devoted his life to the welfare of his people and all Africans. He had great respect for all nations and peoples and led African resistance against bigotry toward non-Africans.

The study mission regrets the death, by assassination, of Prime Minister Balewa. He was considered one of Africa's leading statesmen. His loss leaves a void in the ranks of leadership in Africa and the free world.

PEACE CORPS

There are 659 volunteers in Nigeria, 504 of whom are teachers. The study mission's meeting with the volunteers brought to light some constructive criticisms:

(1) There is a need for orientation in the local customs of a country during the basic training period before and after arrival in the host country. This is the time also for training in the language of the specific country to which the volunteer is being assigned. Many volunteers have received language training for one country and have been sent to a country where a different language is spoken.

(2) There have been problems resulting from difficulties in adjusting to the British educational system in use. Some Peace Corps volunteers felt the American system should be employed, if possible, in the Peace Corps programs.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

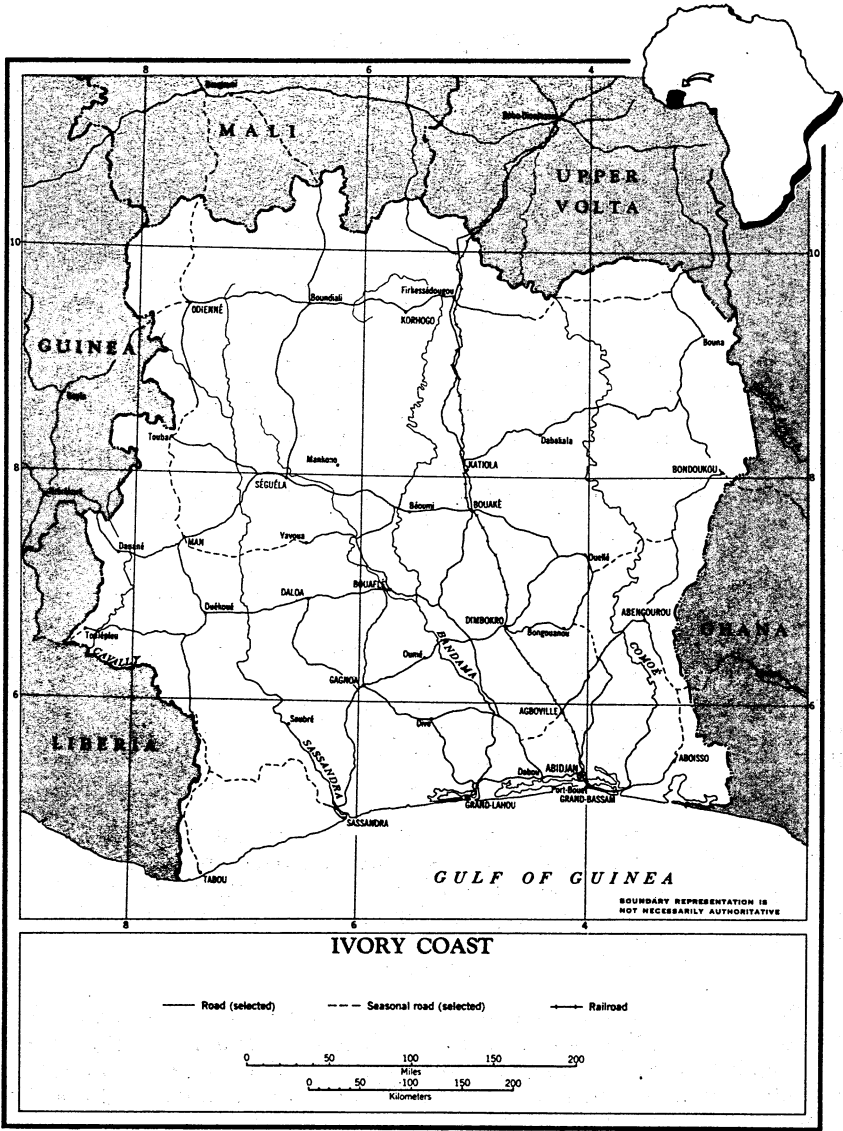
U.S. economic aid to Nigeria in grant and loan funds has totaled \$142,320,000 from 1954 to May 1965. The major areas of development grant assistance are those of education, agriculture, and industrial development with supporting activities in the field of public administration.

Studies are being made for the promotion of small- and medium-sized business enterprises. As in most of the developing countries, there is great need for the training of private entrepreneurs. The study mission recommends that greater emphasis be placed on the training of Nigerians in the techniques of business so that the responsibility of economic development may be shared by Government and private enterprise.

The discovery of new oilfields and the development of the oil industry and the growth of foreign investment in many fields indicate Nigeria has the potential to develop industrially. Despite the potential of the petroleum industry, however, there is no one on the U.S. teams specializing in this field.

The study mission observed that one of Nigeria's problems is costly financing in too many projects for which neither proper feasibility nor priorities studies have been made.

With the reestablishment of political stability in Nigeria, the objectives of economic development should be vigorously pursued.



IVORY COAST

The members of the study mission met with President Houphouët-Boigny who led the struggle for independence in French-speaking Africa and whose prestige extends beyond the boundaries of his own country.

The President was a Member of the French Parliament prior to independence. The experience he acquired as a parliamentarian in Europe adds to his ability to govern his nation effectively.

Although the Ivory Coast has 60 tribal groups, none is dominant, thus lessening the risk of political problems.

The President is very conscious of the Red Chinese threat and ambition to colonize Africa. His Government and those of several like-minded countries have taken a strong stand against Peiping in African and international meetings. He advocates a unified policy among African states to counter Red Chinese activity in Africa.

It is to be noted that this nation does not yet have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union nor any of the Soviet bloc countries including Yugoslavia, although last fall the Government announced its willingness to consider establishing such relations.

The Ivory Coast has no dazzling natural assets, but its land area is extensive and it has one of the lowest population density percentages on the continent.

The Ivory Coast is the only country which has announced the goal to be completely independent of foreign assistance by 1970. It is the President's strong belief that independence will not be complete until the nation is economically independent. Although certain economic problems may make the attainment of such an objective in so short a period appear overly ambitious, it is a point to be noted and encouraged.

A visit was made to the National Assembly and discussions were held with the President of the Assembly and parliamentarians.

A meeting with American business representatives produced encouraging discussion on the potentialities of more U.S. private investments in the country.

ECONOMY

The Ivory Coast is one of the few African countries today that has become steadily more prosperous since independence. Both gross net product growth and per capita income have increased about 10 percent per year since the nation became independent. Inflation, however, is very much in evidence.

The country is the third largest coffee-producing nation in the world. Last year, the United States purchased approximately \$47 million worth of Ivoirien coffee. The sale of coffee has been a major factor in building the nation's large reserve account. In the current year and in the years to come, declining coffee sales are expected to reduce the nation's large reserve holdings. The Ivory Coast's current production of coffee considerably exceeds its quota under the International Coffee Agreement, to which it is signatory.

Since coffee and cocoa are the chief cash crops and a decline in their sales is anticipated, the nation is making great plans for diversification of crops for export. One project contemplated would raise a rice crop for local consumption and export. Serious consideration is being given to the establishment of a fishing industry. A fisheries training vessel, the *President Kennedy*, is under construction in the United States and is due for delivery to the Ivory Coast in the next few months. The country is particularly eager for the United States to share with it its knowledge relative to the tuna industry.

U.S. ASSISTANCE

The U.S. economic aid programs for the Ivory Coast have been relatively modest. The total development grants, development loans, and food-for-peace assistance for fiscal years 1961-65 is \$18.8 million. Of this total, \$6.7 million represents two development loans and \$6.6 million represents proceeds from commodities under titles I and IV of Public Law 480. As an example of economic viability and constructive economic planning, an airport is to be built in the south-central section of the nation in a pilot demonstration area around which it is planned to center a number of development projects. The project will cost \$1 million, with the equivalent of \$500,000 from food-for-peace sales proceeds.

AMERICAN WEEK

Later in 1966, in the city of Abidjan, the capital, an exhibition called American Week is to be held. American representatives of U.S. firms will display manufactured products from this country in order to promote better business associations with the local populace. The Department of Commerce and USIS will assist in the exhibition.

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The African Development Bank was inaugurated on November 4, 1964. The Bank is the first institution of its kind to be established by African governments, financed by African capital, and directed by Africans. It has the objective of playing a vital role in the development of Africa.

The headquarters of the Bank is located in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. At the time the study mission was in Abidjan no fewer than 27 independent African nations had already joined the Bank and paid their initial subscription toward the authorized capital stock. Others are expected to join in the near future.

The Bank is not asking the United States to subscribe to the capital stock. An offer to provide technical assistance to the Bank has been made by our Government.

SENEGAL

Dakar, the capital of the Republic of Senegal, is strategically located. It is situated 8 miles south of the westernmost point of the African Continent. It became the terminus of the first transatlantic air route and its airport still forms the traffic connection for Europe-South Africa and Europe-North and South America aid routes. It has a well-developed harbor and serves as a shipping station between South America, South Africa, and Europe. Dakar played an important role during World War II and in the Suez crisis in 1956.

The study mission met with President Senghor in Dakar and had discussions concerning Senegal's need for economic assistance.

ECONOMY

France's aid to Senegal is about \$50 million, which is not sufficient to carry out the program for economic development. The French are terminating Senegalese price support on peanuts, which is the country's main crop. As a result of this action, Senegal's foreign reserve fund is depleted. The withdrawal of two-thirds of French military personnel also has affected the economy.

While its economy is still predominantly agricultural, Senegal is the most highly industrialized of all the former French African countries. Much of the industry consists of processing raw materials into export commodities. Important industrial commodities include peanut oil, canned fish, and cement. The principal mineral products are calcium phosphate, aluminum phosphate, and titanium ore.

Senegal's external trade is in a deficit position because of the decline in sales of peanuts and peanut byproducts which are its main exports. The deficit in trade has produced a drastic decline in fiscal reserves. This, the growth of the operating budget, and general inflation, which is considerably in evidence, constitute formidable obstacles to development.

Also an influencing factor in the economic picture is the fact that port facilities in Dakar, developed during World War II, are deplorably under-used. In operation at but 60 percent of capacity, it is obvious that more effective utilization of these port facilities could improve the economic interests of the country. Here, again, the United States could be helpful in an advisory capacity.

Ways and means of encouraging private investment in Senegal are required for the development of the economy.

U.S. ASSISTANCE

While U.S. assistance to Senegal in fiscal year 1965 was comparatively low, the previous 5 years totaled approximately \$16 million. The Senegalese expressed their displeasure concerning the small amount of aid the nation received last year. Senegal has border

problems in the south arising from insurgent activities in Portuguese Guinea. Refugees from Portuguese Guinea and Mali are creating economic and security problems.

The U.S. mission has submitted a number of projects to Washington for consideration. Some have been disapproved and others are still under consideration. Many of the programs were disallowed because proper feasibility studies were not made. There is a continuing need for adequate studies to be made by the Agency for International Development in such fields as agriculture diversification, hydrology, agriculture credit programs, technical assistance in agriculture training, and animal husbandry. The study mission understands that AID was making a general study in the fields mentioned above during the period November-December 1965.

THIRD-COUNTRY ASSISTANCE

The Soviets have an embassy in Dakar and have extended a 6.7-million ruble line of credit, none of which has yet been drawn down, for tuna fisheries development. Landing rights for Soviet flights to South America have been granted in principle although no such flights have yet taken place.

CONFERENCE WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

A visit to the National Assembly and a meeting with the legislators disclosed the similarity of Senegal's legislative body with that of the United States.

JOHN F. KENNEDY LYCEE

A visit was made to a new school, known as John F. Kennedy Lycee, which was partially financed by AID; \$204,000 was spent on school construction and \$62,000 for kitchen equipment.

GEMINI AIR-SEA RESCUE BASE

The members also visited the Gemini air-sea rescue crews at their temporary base of operation at Dakar in support of our Gemini space flights.

AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Each year many African students come to the United States under the auspices of their own governments, private organizations, the Department of State, and in some instances, students furnish their own funds. When these students return to their respective countries, many speak favorably of the training they have received here.

In viewing the figures of African students in the United States for 1964-65, it is regrettable to note that only five Senegalese students are listed. It is strongly recommended that Senegal be encouraged to participate to a greater extent in U.S. educational programs.

YELLOW FEVER

The study mission was informed of U.S. assistance to the Senegalese Government in combating the spread of yellow fever which was rampant in some areas. Two U.S. public health officers from the center in Atlanta, Ga., who are specialists in this field, were sent to Senegal with the necessary inoculation equipment for fighting the disease. The results have been very favorable. The epidemic has been contained in the affected areas and is rapidly diminishing.

FIRST WORLD FESTIVAL OF NEGRO ART

The First World Festival of Negro Art will be held in Dakar, April 1-24, 1966. Participating will be representatives from 30 African, European, North and South American countries.

The Festival's primary purpose is to emphasize the cultural ties between African nations and other countries and the impact of Negro culture on world cultures.

President Leopold Senghor, a renowned poet and writer, as well as statesman and politician, conceived the idea of the Festival, which is being sponsored by UNESCO.

The U.S. Committee of the Festival, headed by Mrs. Virginia Inness-Brown, president of the Greater New York Chapter of the American National Theatre and Academy, announced: "Our participation in the Dakar Festival will give Negroes a heightened pride in their heritage and will make the world increasingly aware of their contributions to cultures everywhere."

The Committee of the Festival is a private, nonprofit corporation. Other members of the committee, in addition to Mrs. Inness-Brown, are: John A. Davis, vice president; Manning Gurian, secretary; Frederick O'Neal, treasurer.

Honorary U.S. committee members are: Ambassador to the United Nations Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs Ralph Bunche, U.S. Ambassador to Senegal Mercer Cook, Marian Anderson, Langston Hughes, Alvin Ailey, Ossie Davis, Sidney Poitier, Hale Woodruff, Charles Alston, Leonard dePaur, Arthur Mitchell, Leontyne Price, Duke Ellington, Frederick O'Neal, William Warfield.

The Department of State plans to finance four American specialists and three cultural exhibitions. Candidates for the specialist grants are a leading American Negro singer, writer, painter, and anthropologist. The cultural presentations will probably be a leading chorus, a piano soloist, and a well-known jazz group.

The U.S. Information Agency will assist in arranging exhibitions of contemporary American Negro art, of a suitable film, and of selected books and records by American Negroes. The U.S. committee will make the selections of art works and books.

The Agency for International Development has agreed to provide a limited amount of equipment for use at the festival.

The U.S. Government will coordinate its contribution with the arrangements made by the U.S. committee.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A.—COUNTRY BACKGROUND NOTES

TUNISIA

CAPITAL: TUNIS—POPULATION: 3,900,000

Tunisia regained its independence on March 20, 1956, with the signing of a protocol between Tunisia and France by which the latter recognized the sovereignty and independence of Tunisia and thereby ended the French protectorate that had been established in 1881. On July 25, 1957, the Tunisian Constituent Assembly voted to abolish the monarchy and to establish the Tunisian Republic.

The Assembly named, as President, Habib Bourguiba, who had led the country's struggle for independence. The same Assembly drafted a constitution which was promulgated on June 1, 1959. This constitution provides for a presidential system and is similar in a number of other respects to that of the United States. On November 8, 1959, Tunisia held its first elections under the new constitution. President Bourguiba was unopposed and Assembly candidates, backed by Bourguiba's Neo-Destour Party and affiliated labor and professional groups, had only token opposition.

THE LAND

Situated on the northern coast of Africa between Algeria on the west and Libya on the east, Tunisia has a coastline on the Mediterranean Sea extending for nearly 1,000 miles. Its area is 48,332 square miles or about the size of Louisiana.

The country is subdivided by climate into a northern area, which is wooded, fertile, and the source of most of Tunisia's agricultural production; the central area, comprising the coastal plains noted for livestock grazing and olive groves; and the southern region, which borders the Sahara Desert and lacks sufficient rainfall to support more than grazing herds and seminomadic peoples. A rainy season extends from December to March followed by an almost rainfree summer season from June to September.

THE PEOPLE

The population of Tunisia was 3,783,169 according to the results of an official Tunisian Government census of February 1956. About half the population is below the age of 21; there is an annual increase of about 80,000. Over 95 percent of the population is Moslem.

The European population has dropped since independence and constitutes about 4 percent of the total population. Largest European communities are the French (30,000) and the Italian (30,000). There is also a Maltese community of several thousand. Islam is the official religion. The official language is Arabic, but French is widely used and continues to be taught in Tunisian schools.

GOVERNMENT

The President of Tunisia appoints the Ministers, who are responsible only to him. He is responsible for determining national policy, and his bills have priority before the single-chamber Assembly. He may legislate by decree when the Assembly is not in session. The President is elected for 5 years, renewable for two additional 5-year terms.

The Assembly, which is also elected for 5 years, meets twice a year. During its recess its interests are assured by standing committees. The Assembly's principal legislative task is to approve the budget.

The Constitution provides for an independent judiciary and a Council of State having functions similar to those of the Court of Claims and the General Accounting Office. Tunisian legal codes and court organization and procedures are based to a considerable degree on those of France.

HISTORY

Tunisia's written history dates from the arrival in the 12th century B.C. of Phoenician traders who established permanent settlements, the most famous of which was the city of Carthage. After being occupied by the Romans, Tunisia was conquered in the seventh century A.D. by the Arabs and became a major center of western Islamic culture and political power. The Turks invaded Tunisia in 1574. A French protectorate was established over Tunisia in 1883. The outward forms of the Tunisian monarchy which had been established in 1705 continued in force, but all the power was in French hands.

Following World War I the Destour (Constitution) Party asked unsuccessfully for moderate reforms, including a legislative assembly. But the founding in 1934 of the Neo-Destour (New Constitution) Party of which Habib Bourguiba soon became President, marks the real beginning of Tunisia's drive for independence.

In March 1952, following the breakdown of negotiations with France, Tunisian guerrilla fighters (fallagha) took to the hills, and in 1954 France found herself using about 70,000 troops in an effort to restore order and security. In July 1954 France promised the Tunisians full internal autonomy. In December the fallagha were persuaded to accept a French amnesty, turning in some of their arms.

After 9 months of negotiation the Franco-Tunisian conventions on internal autonomy were signed on June 3, 1955, but from the moment the conventions were put into effect it became apparent that the Tunisians would demand their early revision and review. Events in Morocco, Algeria, and throughout the Afro-Asian world hastened this process, and Bourguiba began to press France for independence. On March 20, 1956, a protocol was drawn up in which France recognized Tunisian independence.

The March 20 protocol also specified that Tunisia and France would negotiate new "interdependence" relations, particularly in the fields of foreign affairs and defense. Considerable progress has been made on some important issues in Franco-Tunisian relations, but intense feelings over Algeria and Bizerte (see below) have slowed progress toward definitive arrangements on other matters.

France and Tunisia reached an agreement in June 1958 which provided for the evacuation of French forces, except for those at Bizerte, and for further negotiation of provisional arrangements concerning the status of Bizerte. Negotiations over the ensuing years failed to produce agreement. In July 1961, bloody clashes between French and Tunisian forces took place in the town and environs of Bizerte. A period of extreme tenseness in Tunisian-French relations followed. Direct contacts were maintained, however, and diplomatic relations were resumed in September 1962. Relations have since improved steadily. In 1963 French economic aid to Tunisia was resumed, and in October of that year the last of French military forces left Bizerte.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Tunisia believes that it cannot formally aline itself with the West but should maintain such relations with both West and East as best serve Tunisian interests. Most Tunisians consider, however, that particular emphasis should be placed on Tunisia's relations with the West and with Tunisia's African neighbors. In addition to being a member of the United Nations and many of its specialized agencies, Tunisia is also a member of the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity.

ECONOMY

Agriculture, although handicapped by inadequate water supplies in many parts of the country, is the backbone of the Tunisian economy. The principal crops are wheat, olives, citrus fruit, grapes, truck crops, and esparto grass. Agricultural exports include grains, olive oil, wine, esparto grass, and citrus fruit.

Although no extensive mineral deposits have been found in Tunisia, there are commercially exploited deposits of phosphates, iron ore, lead, and zinc that are the source of substantial foreign exchange earnings. Extensive exploratory searches for oil have been undertaken since the recent oil discoveries in neighboring Algeria and Libya.

Tunisian foreign trade is largely oriented toward the franc zone, which since 1958 has taken about 60 percent of Tunisian exports and supplied about 60 percent of imports. The United States generally supplies less than 5 percent of Tunisia's imports and takes about 3 percent of her exports, though as a result of the U.S.

aid program the proportion of imports supplied by the United States has increased somewhat in recent years. Tunisia traditionally has a substantial deficit in her trade balance.

Tunisia refused to follow France in the devaluation of December 1958 and now has its own currency, the dinar. The Tunisian and French currencies exchange on the basis of 1 Tunisian dinar for 11.75 new French francs. One dinar equals \$2.38.

Tunisia faces difficult economic conditions and widespread unemployment. However, these problems are chronic rather than acute, and the last elections in November 1959 gave a resounding vote of confidence to Bourguiba and the Neo-Destour. Since the elections President Bourguiba has placed special emphasis on programs designed to provide jobs and develop Tunisia's economy.

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ETHIOPIA

POPULATION: 22 TO 25 MILLION—CAPITAL: ADDIS ABABA

Ethiopia is bounded on the north by the Sudan and the Red Sea, on the east by French Somaliland and the Somali Republic, on the south by Kenya, and on the west by the Sudan. The area totals about 460,000 square miles—roughly equal to the combined areas of Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. The capital, Addis Ababa, has a population of about 450,000; Asmara, Ethiopia's second largest city, has approximately 130,000 inhabitants.

The dominant feature of the topography is the high central plateau, varying from 6,000 to 10,000 feet, which is cut by numerous rivers—notably the Blue Nile rising from Lake Tana—and is split diagonally by the Y-shaped Great Rift Valley. This feature is traced by a chain of lakes starting in the southwest and opening out onto the low, dry Danakil Plains in the northeast. The elevation of the two halves of the plateau is generally highest just before the point of descent, via precipitous escarpments, to the Rift Valley. The transition to the lowlands of the Sudan on the west and the Somali-inhabited plains to the southeast is accomplished by generally more gradual slopes.

The climate is hot in the lowlands and temperate on the plateau. In Addis Ababa and Asmara, both at approximately 8,000 feet, maximum temperature is about 75° F., and the minimum temperature about 47° F. The seasons are divided between wet and dry. The wet season is subdivided into the period of the "little rains," intermittent showers occurring between February and April, and the "big rains," which begin toward the end of June and end by mid-September.

THE PEOPLE

The population, estimated to be between 22 and 25 million, is of a mixed character with Semitic, Hamitic, and Cushitic peoples predominating. More than 40 different tribes and peoples are represented, the most important of which are the Amhara, Tigreans, and Galla. It is estimated that over a third of the people are Christians—the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has long and close ties with the Coptic Church—but there is also a large Moslem population and a considerable number of pagans. In general, the Christians inhabit the highlands and the Moslems and pagans inhabit the coastal and lowland areas.

HISTORY

Ethiopia is a Christian kingdom which has existed for centuries in the highlands of east Africa. Herodotus, the Greek historian of the 5th century B.C., described Ethiopia in his writings. The visit of the Ethiopian Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem is recorded in the Old Testament, and the ruling house of Ethiopia claims descent from Menelik I, the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Christianity was introduced in the fourth century.

The modern history of the country is generally considered to begin with the reign of the Emperor Menelik II (1889–1913), under whom the kingdom began to emerge from its medieval isolation. Upon Menelik's death his grandson, Lidj Yassu, succeeded to the throne. However, Yassu was deposed in 1916, and Menelik's daughter, Zauditu, became Empress, and her cousin, Ras Tafari Makonnen, was proclaimed her heir and successor. The Empress died in 1930, and on November 2 of that year Ras Tafari Makonnen, adopting the throne name Haile Selassie, which means "The Power of the Trinity," was crowned Emperor.

The reign of Haile Selassie I was interrupted in 1935 by the Italian invasion and occupation. He took his cause to the League of Nations, and when that organization failed to respond to his plea for assistance in accordance with the principle of collective security, he was forced into exile and went to England. On May 5, 1941, exactly 5 years after Italian occupation forces had taken over Addis Ababa the Emperor reentered the city at the head of his resistance forces and with British troops, which had fought their way into Ethiopia from the Sudan.

GOVERNMENT

The Government of Ethiopia is a constitutional hereditary monarchy. Ethiopia's first Constitution was promulgated by the Emperor in 1931. Although it provides for a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, sovereignty is vested in the person of the Emperor, who has supreme authority and combines the powers and duties of chief of state and head of government. Members of the Senate are appointed by the Emperor, as were members of the Chamber of Deputies until 1955 when the Emperor promulgated a revised Constitution, which provides for the popular election of members of the lower House. The third nationwide election was held in the fall of 1965. There are 125 Senators and 251 Deputies.

Members are elected to the lower House, the Chamber of Deputies, by universal adult suffrage from candidates, male or female, who are Ethiopian citizens by birth and not less than 25 years of age. All candidates must be residents of their respective electoral districts.

All Ethiopians by birth, regardless of sex, who have reached the age of 21 years are entitled to vote for Deputies from the electoral district where they reside. Elections are held every 4 years. Voting is secret and direct.

The Empire of Ethiopia is divided into 100 electoral constituencies, each having approximately 200,000 inhabitants. Each electoral district is represented by two Deputies. Each town with 30,000 inhabitants or more has one Deputy and one additional Deputy for every 50,000 of the population in excess of 30,000.

Members of the upper House, the Senate, are appointed by the Emperor for 6 years from among Ethiopians by birth who have rendered outstanding service to the country. A Senator's minimum age is 35 years. The number of Senators shall not exceed one-half of the total number of Deputies.

Both Houses are in session from November until June of the following year.

The Constitution may be amended by joint resolution adopted by three-fourths of the members of each Chamber in two separate sessions of Parliament and proclaimed with the approval and authority of the Emperor.

The Prime Minister and members of the Council of Ministers are appointed by the Emperor and are directly responsible to him and not to the Parliament. Moreover, ministerial appointments are not subject to parliamentary approval. The day-to-day administration of the Empire is conducted by the Council of Ministers, which is presided over by the Prime Minister.

Certain of the functions usually performed by a Cabinet in forming Government policy are carried out by the Crown Council, a traditional institution composed of the Crown Prince, the Archbishop of the Ethiopian Church, the President of the Senate, and other dignitaries the Emperor designates. The Crown Council is convened from time to time by the Emperor to consider important policy measures.

The revised Constitution provides for the succession to the throne by the eldest male son. Previously, in the absence of a clear rule of succession, several claimants to the throne have been known to appear on the death of an Emperor, with civil disorder as a result. Emperor Haile Selassie's oldest and only surviving son, Asfaw Wossen is the present Crown Prince and heir apparent.

The Constitution provides for a Supreme Imperial Court. A system of courts had already been established by the Administration of Justice Proclamation of 1942. Judges are appointed by the Emperor. The revised Constitution of 1955 makes no provision for judicial interpretation of the Constitution or for judicial determination of the constitutionality of laws, proclamations, and decrees.

The status of federation between Eritrea and Ethiopia, established by resolution of the U.N. General Assembly in 1950 and effected on September 15, 1952, by decree of the Emperor, was dissolved on November 14, 1962, when the Eritrean National Assembly voted for union with Ethiopia. Eritrea is now a province of Ethiopia.

The 14 provinces of the Empire are administered by Governors General appointed by the Emperor.

On the whole the people show devotion to their Emperor, who has been striving to improve their standard of living and develop the beginnings of a parliamentary system of government. There is, however, some discontent with the rate of political, economic, and social progress, and in December 1960, while the Emperor was on a state visit to Brazil, the imperial bodyguard staged a short-lived coup in an effort to bring about certain changes. During 1961 the Emperor established various committees to recommend judicial, economic, and other reforms, from which progressive legislation in such fields as land tenure and trade union organization has resulted. There are no political parties in the country.

The primary objectives of the Ethiopian Government might be said to include (1) the continuous improvement of the governmental structure and internal administration; (2) the improvement of economic and social conditions within the country; (3) the adherence to the policies of nonalignment and the right to judge each issue on its merits; (4) support of the United Nations and the principle of collective security; and (5) progress toward African unity.

ECONOMY

Ethiopia's economy is preponderantly agricultural, with some 90 percent of the population engaged in farming or the raising of livestock. The country is largely self-sufficient in agricultural produce, except for cotton, although cotton cultivation is increasing rapidly. Roughly a third of all imports are cotton goods largely from India, Italy, and Japan.

Coffee is Ethiopia's major product, constituting over 50 percent in value of exports. Many of the coffee trees grow wild, although plantation coffee is becoming increasingly important. Most of the coffee is exported to the United States. Ethiopia is a member of the International Coffee Organization.

Cattle and good grazing lands are plentiful, and, next to coffee, cattle raising probably has the greatest economic potential for the future. Hides, skins, and meats are at present exported only in modest quantities, but with proper management this trade could become highly important. Oilseeds and oilcakes are now Ethiopia's second ranking export commodity. Pulses, spices, quinine (a stimulant used by some Arab people), and civet (used in perfume), also figure in Ethiopia's export trade.

Some gold and a little platinum is mined in Ethiopia. Industry is largely limited to the processing of local agricultural products and the manufacture of a few items for local consumption—cement, bricks, shoes, scrap, and cotton textiles.

The Empire has two seaports of its own—Assab and Massawa—and also uses the port of Djibouti in French Somaliland. Djibouti is connected with Addis Ababa by rail, a distance of 500 miles, and there are now all-weather roads to both Assab and Massawa. Asmara is connected with the port of Massawa by rail as well as by road. Total all-weather road mileage is about 3,800 miles, but only about a third of this distance is asphalt surfaced. Internal surface transportation thus remains one of Ethiopia's most serious problems.

Ethiopian Air Lines, an air transport company owned by the Ethiopian Government and operated under a contract by Trans World Airlines, services more than 25 domestic airfields and has international connections in Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, Egypt, Lebanon, Sudan, and West Africa. Efficiently run and with an impressive safety record during its more than 17 years of operation, it now has jet aircraft. Ethiopian Air Lines has been a major factor in Ethiopia's development.

Ethiopia depends upon external sources for a large part of the foreign exchange needed to carry out developmental programs. Such aid has come from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the U.S. Export-Import Bank, the Agency for International Development and its predecessors, as well as from Yugoslavia, West Germany, and a number of other sources. In July 1959, Ethiopia accepted a \$100 million credit offer from the Soviet Union. U.S. economic aid to Ethiopia, which commenced in the early 1950's, reached a total of \$141 million on June 30, 1965.

The official currency is the Ethiopian dollar. It is valued at US\$0.40 (Ethiopian \$2.50 = US\$1.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS

An ancient kingdom with a long tradition of independence, Ethiopia has not felt as strongly as some other countries the tensions of nationalism so prevalent throughout most of the African continent. However, Emperor Haile Selassie has shown great interest in pan-Africanism and rose to the forefront of the movement for African unity through his sponsorship of the Conference of African Chiefs of State in Addis Ababa in May 1963 and his espousal of a charter for the Organization of African Unity. Addis Ababa is the seat of the permanent secretariat of the OAU.

Ethiopia is one of the original signatories of the U.N. Charter and has been active in that organization. In 1951 Ethiopia dispatched a battalion of combat troops to help the U.N. cause in Korea, and in 1960 provided troops to the United Nations for service in the Congo.

United States-Ethiopian relations have long been amicable, dating back to the first treaty between the two states in 1903. After World War II the ties between the two countries grew steadily closer. This trend was exemplified by the signing on June 16, 1951, of a general technical assistance agreement which has provided the basis for the numerous projects of economic development currently underway. Of equal importance was the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations on September 7, 1951. On May 22, 1953, two agreements were signed. One was the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement, by which the United States agreed to furnish Ethiopia with certain military equipment for its internal security and to train the Ethiopian Army in the use of this material. The second agreement regularized the existence and operations of the U.S. Army communications relay station (Kagnew Station) at Asmara.

In May 1954, Emperor Haile Selassie visited the United States and made a 5-week good will tour of the country. Vice President Nixon visited Ethiopia in March 1957. The Emperor made a second weeklong state visit in October 1963. In the following month he returned briefly to Washington to attend the funeral of President John F. Kennedy.

The primary objectives of U.S. policy with respect to Ethiopia include (1) maintenance of friendly, cooperative relations between the two countries; (2) encouraging and assisting the economic and social development of Ethiopia; and (3) supporting, through various programs, the efforts of the Ethiopian Government and the Ethiopian people to strengthen and unify their nation.

KENYA

CAPITAL: NAIROBI—POPULATION: 8,600,000

Kenya, situated on the east coast of Africa, is bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean and Somalia, on the north by Ethiopia and Sudan, on the west by Uganda, and on the south by Tanganyika.

The northern three-fifths of the country is arid and almost waterless. The southern two-fifths, where 85 percent of the population and nearly all economic production is centered, comprises a low-lying coastal area and a plateau varying in altitude from 3,000 to 10,000 feet. This area includes Mount Kenya (17,040 feet), Mount Elgon (14,000 feet), the Aberdare Range (12,000 to 13,000 feet), and part of the Great Rift Valley, which is some 30 to 40 miles wide and often 2,000 to 3,000 feet lower than the surrounding country.

The country generally has two rainy seasons, the "long rains" from April to June and the "short rains" from October to December; but in the high areas west of the Rift Valley and north of the railway the wettest months are April to August. With the exception of the coast and the immediate interior, where the average temperature is about 80° F., the climate of Kenya is cool and invigorating. At Nairobi the mean temperature is 67° F., the mean maximum being 77° F. and the mean minimum 57° F.

Kenya has a total area of 224,960 square miles (slightly less than the area of Texas). Prior to independence the territory was called Kenya Colony and Protectorate. The protectorate was a strip of land of about 2,000 square miles that extended 10 miles inland from the coast and included the port of Mombasa and the islands of the Lamu Archipelago. Leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1895 for an annual rent of £10,000, the strip was ceded by the Sultan to Kenya upon the latter's independence on December 12, 1963.

THE PEOPLE

Kenya has a population estimated in 1962 to be 8,600,000, of which only about 250,000 are non-Africans (Asians, Europeans, and Arabs). Approximately 160,000 Asians are engaged mainly in marketing, distribution, and transport; most of the 50,000 Europeans in large-scale farming, business, and public services. The overwhelming majority of the Africans practice subsistence farming on tribal lands. The main tribes are Kikuyu (20 percent of the total), Luo (14 percent), Baluhya (12 percent), Kamba (12 percent), and Meru (7 percent). There are about 150,000 persons of Somali stock, most of them in the northeastern region near the Somali border. The majority of this group in the past has indicated a desire to secede and join Somalia, but the Kenya Government has made clear this solution is not acceptable.

Accurate figures on religious affiliations are difficult to come by. One estimate based on a population lower than the present one numbers 3,773,000 pagans, 766,000 Catholics, 580,000 Moslems, and 370,000 Protestants.

GOVERNMENT

Kenya attained full internal self-government following the elections of May 1963, which were won by the Kenya African National Union. The head of the party, Jomo Kenyatta, became Prime Minister. Since independence, executive authority has been vested in the Council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister Kenyatta. Legislative power is in the hands of a two-chamber Parliament made up of a House of Representatives and a Senate.

Kenya, together with Tanganyika and Uganda, is represented in the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO), a body established in 1948 under another name to "give a constitutional and juridical framework for the administration of governmental departments and services which were by their nature interterritorial." The EACSO administers such services as ports, railroads, mail, telephone and telegraph, customs, excise and income tax collection, and certain research activities. Kenya also shares a common currency with Tanganyika and Uganda.

HISTORY

The region now known as Kenya was visited at an early date by the Arabs, its proximity to Arabia having invited colonization as long ago as the eighth century. A sizable Arab community exists in Kenya today. The Arabs were followed seven centuries later by the Portuguese, then by the British. Until east Africa was partitioned among the European powers toward the end of the 19th century, most of the coast was under the rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar, although trade at the principal ports was controlled by British and Indian merchants. Later German agents acquired concessions in the region. A series of frontier agreements concluded between 1886 and 1893 fixed the boundaries of the respective east African spheres of influence of Germany, Italy, and Britain. In 1887, the Sultan of Zanzibar granted to what later became the British East African Co. a 50-year concession covering his mainland possessions not falling within the German sphere. In 1895, the British Government purchased the company's rights and appointed a commissioner to the area, thereafter designated the East Africa Protectorate. The name was changed to Kenya Colony and Protectorate in 1920. Upon independence on December 12, 1963, the country became a member of the British Commonwealth, recognizing the Queen, represented by a Governor General, as head of state. One year later, on December 12, 1964, Kenya became a republic.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

A colonists' association to look after their interests was founded by the early European settlers who came to Kenya in the first years of the century. In 1907, a nominated Legislative Council was established, and in 1919 the selection of most of its members was placed on an elective basis. Until 1944, when the first African was nominated to the Legislative Council, Africans had no direct participation in the Central Government's legislative or executive institutions. The first direct elections for Africans, under a restricted multivote franchise, occurred in 1957. From October 1952 to December 1959 Kenya was in a state of emergency arising from the bloody and costly Mau Mau rebellion.

Partly because of the emergency and of the important political role played by the European settlers, Kenya's constitutional development lagged behind that of its east African neighbors, Tanganyika and Uganda, which became independent in 1961 and 1962, respectively. A major forward step came in early 1960 when, following a constitutional conference in London, agreement was reached giving Africans a majority in the Legislative Council for the first time. However, internal political quarrels and tribal distrust that have long plagued Kenya's politics made cooperation among African politicians exceedingly difficult. Thus, when the next round of constitutional change came up for discussion in 1962, differences between the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which drew its principal support from the larger tribes, and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), a political party with support from many of the smaller tribes, resulted in the talks dragging on for many months.

The vexing constitutional issues were not finally settled until early in March 1963. The complicated Constitution finally agreed upon established a quasi-federal system under which regional and even local governments had considerable powers. In this latter respect the Constitution reflected the small tribes' fears of domination by the Kikuyu and Luo, Kenya's two largest tribes.

After its overwhelming victory in the May 1963 elections, KANU formed a new government headed by Mr. Kenyatta, and Kenya entered the phase of full internal self-government. Several months later KANU demanded and received certain modifications in the Constitution which strengthened the Central Government's powers, especially over the police and the civil service. This modified document became the Constitution for Kenya upon its independence. Since the 1963 elections, a number of former KADU supporters have crossed the floor to join KANU, which has resulted in a substantial weakening of the minority party.

ECONOMY

Economic development of the country was stimulated by the completion in 1901 of a railroad from the coast to Lake Victoria. Some 35,000 Indians were brought to east Africa for the construction of the railroad, and many of them remained in the country after its completion. When it had been demonstrated that the land traversed by the railroad was suitable for agriculture, hundreds of settlers arrived from Britain and South Africa to establish homesteads on the

fertile uplands. Difficulties were experienced with several of the indigenous tribes, but the region was opened up with relatively little bloodshed.

The gradual improvement and expansion of agriculture accompanied by growing exports of many high-grade agricultural products continued, with certain temporary setbacks, until 1960. At that time uncertainty about the political future caused some Europeans and Asians to export capital or to hold back investments and a period of relative stagnation followed. More recently there have been signs of a mild upswing in the economy. The army mutiny of January 1964, following similar actions in Tanganyika and Uganda and the revolt in Zanzibar, dealt another, hopefully short-term, setback to confidence.

In general the economic structure has been three-tiered. At the top were a small number of Europeans. Asians in the middle have dominated retail trade and skilled and semiskilled jobs. The Africans, mostly unskilled laborers, have been at the bottom. This situation is changing rapidly as education for Africans is increased and as the Government pursues a rapid policy of "Africanization."

Kenya has meager mineral resources, but secondary industries have developed rapidly, especially in the processing of agricultural raw materials. A major change in land policy occurred in 1960 when settlement programs for Africans began in the so-called White Highlands, which up to then had been reserved for Europeans. Nevertheless, land hunger still exists.

Now independent, the Government must meet the rising tide of expectations and cope with poverty, unemployment, and land hunger.

COMMERCE

In 1962 total imports were valued at \$195 million and exports at \$106 million. Chief imports consisted of petroleum products, machinery, metal manufactures, motor vehicles, transport equipment, and textiles. Principal Kenya exports are coffee, tea, sisal, pyrethrum, meat and dairy products, sodium carbonate, and various grains, fruits, vegetables, and nuts. The United Kingdom is the leading source of supply of Kenya's imports and the largest purchaser of its exports. The United States is an important supplier of machinery, automotive vehicles, and petroleum products. Principal exports to the United States are pyrethrum (for insecticides), wattle extract, sisal, coffee, and hides and skins. Imports from the United States in 1962 totaled \$18.5 million, exports to the United States were valued at \$10.6 million.

UGANDA

CAPITAL: KAMPALA—POPULATION: 7,186,000

Uganda lies astride the Equator in central east Africa. It is bounded on the east by Kenya, on the south by Tanganyika and Rwanda, on the west by the Congo (Léopoldville), and on the north by the Sudan. The area of the country is about 93,981 square miles (nearly the size of Oregon), of which about 13,689 square miles are water.

The capital, Kampala, is in the Province of Buganda, on the shores of Lake Victoria. The western, northern, and eastern Provinces make up the rest of the country.

Most of the country lies at an altitude between 3,000 and 6,000 feet, a circumstance which moderates the tropical climate to some extent. Uganda is dotted with lakes, the largest of which is Lake Victoria, the source of the White Nile. Others are Lake George, Lake Edward, Lake Kyoga, and Lake Albert. The famous Mountains of the Moon, the Ruwenzori, form a part of the border with the Congo and rise to peaks of 16,000 feet. The highest mountain in the country is here, Mount Margherita at 16,750 feet. Mount Elgon, an isolated peak on the Kenya border, is over 14,000 feet.

Rainfall varies considerably within the country. In the northeast there is an arid climate with an average of less than 20 inches per year. The parts of Uganda which receive the most rainfall are in the southwest and west, where average precipitation is 50 inches per year and goes as high as 60. The seasons are not well defined, but there are normally two dry spells per year, one from December to February, the other in June and July.

THE PEOPLE

Uganda has a population estimated at over 7 million, and the rate of population increase is calculated at about 2½ percent per year. Africans of three racial groups—Bantu, Nilotic, and Nilo-Hamitic—make up the bulk of the people. Of the three, the Bantus are the largest and include the Baganda, the largest tribal group, with slightly over a million members (or 16 percent of the total African population). The Iteso is the second largest tribe with 525,000 members, followed by the Ankole with 520,000 and the Basoga with 500,000. Other tribes are the Lango, the Acholi, and the Karamojong.

The estimated distribution of the Uganda population by religion is just under 50 percent Christian, 5 percent Moslem, and the rest pagan. The Christian community is approximately divided equally between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Moslems are for the most part in the north, along the Sudan frontier.

Asians in Uganda, mainly Indians, number about 72,000 and are located in the two major cities of Kampala and Jinja. They are primarily small businessmen, although some have followed the law and others are active in local politics. There are about 11,000 Europeans, mostly English, in Uganda.

The language most commonly understood is probably English, Luganda is spoken in Buganda, and tribal languages and dialects are said to number in the hundreds. Literacy is about 25 percent.

HISTORY

The territory that is now Uganda was first penetrated in 1862 by explorers searching for the source of the Nile River. Protestant missionaries entered the area by 1877, followed by Catholic missionaries in 1879. Not all of the native leaders were friendly toward missionary activities, particularly when they impinged on native politics. Arab leaders and native Moslems posed additional problems for the missionaries. In 1889 control of the nascent British sphere in east Africa was assigned by royal charter to the British East Africa Co., an arrangement strengthened in 1890 by an Anglo-German agreement confirming British dominance over Kenya and Uganda. The high cost of occupying the territory caused the British East Africa Co. to withdraw in 1893 and its adminis-

trative functions were taken over by an imperial commissioner. In 1894 Buganda was placed under a formal British protectorate, which was extended in 1896 to cover most of what is now Uganda. There were subsequent minor boundary adjustments, including the transfer in 1903 of a part of the territory to what is now Kenya.

Constitutional changes leading to Uganda's independence began in 1955 with the establishment of a ministerial system, and an increase in the number of African members of the Legislative Council took place in 1958. Special reports on constitutional development prepared by the Wild Committee (1959) and a government-appointed relationships committee (1961) preceded the convoking of the London Constitutional Conference of September 1961, which established the timetable for independence. The United Kingdom granted full internal self-government on March 1, 1962, and Uganda became independent on October 9, 1962.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Uganda's chief internal political problem has stemmed from the fact that the province of Buganda was considerably more advanced economically and socially than the other provinces and was fearful that its predominant role in Uganda's political life would be submerged in any type of state that did not provide safeguards for its traditional position. The solution to this problem in an independent Uganda is a special federal relationship between Buganda and the national government by terms of which Buganda retains much autonomy and many of its traditional prerogatives. Among the distinctive features of this arrangement is the selection of the Bugandan representatives to the National Assembly by the Lukiko, or Buganda tribal assembly. The smaller tribal kingdoms of Bunyoro, Toro, and Ankole have a semifederal relationship. For the rest of the nation, independent Uganda is a unitary state, but with local services turned over to local authorities.

The most pressing internal problem has been the lost counties dispute. In 1900 the British rewarded Buganda for its support by transferring to it several counties from the neighboring kingdom of Bunyoro. Through the years the Banyoro have pressed for the return of the lost counties. A British Commission of Inquiry in May 1962 recommended the question be settled before independence by transferring to Bunyoro two counties with overwhelmingly Banyoro populations. Buganda adamantly refused to cede any territory. At the London Constitutional Conference in June 1962 the British finally imposed a solution, to be effective after independence. The two counties, while remaining in Buganda, come under central government administration; after 2 years the inhabitants will vote either to join one of the kingdoms or remain under central administration.

GOVERNMENT

Uganda became independent on October 9, 1962. The constitution was amended in September 1963 to allow for the election by Parliament of a President and Vice President, and the country, although remaining within the Commonwealth of Nations, replaced the Queen with the new President as head of the state. The Governor General departed after the elections of Sir Edward Frederick Mutesa II, hereditary King (Kabaka) of Buganda, as President and Sir William W. Nadiopo, King (Kyabazinga) of Bunyoro, as Vice President. The Ugandan Cabinet is responsible to the National Assembly on the British parliamentary mode. Debates are conducted in English and the parliamentary record published in that language.

National elections were held in April 1962 and resulted in a victory for the party of A. Milton Obote, the Uganda People's Congress. Obote became Prime Minister and formed a Cabinet in coalition with the Bugandan Kabaka Yekka party. There have been a few changes within the Cabinet, which has remained in power ever since. The Democratic Party, which prior to these elections had held a majority, now forms the opposition.

ECONOMY

The economy of Uganda is heavily dependent upon exporting agricultural products. In recent years nearly 75 percent of the country's total money income has been derived directly or indirectly from exports. Cotton and coffee account for four-fifths of the value of those exports.

During the decade following World War II, high prices for cotton and coffee brought a period of boom to Uganda. By controlling the prices paid to domestic

farmers, the Government built up sizable reserves which enable it to make some progress in expanding and diversifying the economy. The production of sugar, tea, tobacco, and livestock was increased, and experiments were undertaken to test the potential of growing cocoa. A number of large-scale projects were begun to create the basis for future industry. Chief among those was the Owen Falls Dam with its large hydroelectric station. Copper mining and smelting, a textile mill, and cement factories were also started.

The fall in world prices for cotton and coffee in the middle 1950's ended the boom. Although the level of private money income was kept up, it was done at the expense of the protectorate's reserves. Capital expenditures by Government were cut back, and difficulty was encountered in maintaining a satisfactory level of social services to a rapidly expanding population.

It can be expected that Uganda will devote increased attention in coming years to the task of exploiting sources of outside assistance in order to finance a satisfactory rate of economic growth. A step in this direction was the award of a loan by the World Bank for electricity development. A World Bank economic survey recently reported that "the orderly evolution of the traditional subsistence way of life into a modern monetary economy is already well underway" in Uganda. To facilitate this evolution, the Bank recommended "concentrating strongly on diversifying agriculture and increasing productivity, and continuing investment in educational facilities." A 5-year development plan, based largely on the recommendations made by the Bank, was started in 1962.

The East African Common Services Organization (EACSO), originally established in 1948 by the United Kingdom as the East African High Commission, performs a number of functions of importance to the economy of East Africa. Its headquarters are Nairobi, Kenya. Through subsidiary organizations, EACSO administers the railroads and ports, postal, telegraph, and telephone systems, collection of income tax and customs, and the East African Airways. In addition, it provides valuable assistance to Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda in medical and other research fields. Moreover, as a result of British policy during the colonial period, a de facto customs union has been formed for the three countries. The operation of this customs union has been aided by the common collection of customs duties through the East African Customs and Excise Department, an EACSO organization.

For both political and economic reasons, the three East African countries have, in recent months, shown an increasing interest in pursuing different paths, and the future of EACSO and the customs union appears less secure.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

East African Federation

As the three East African countries attained independence, optimism prevailed concerning federation. With the passage of time, however, various problems have made it apparent that political federation is highly unlikely and that even continued economic cooperation through EACSO, the customs union, and the common currency may be in jeopardy. The matter is under continuing review and consideration by the heads of state who in September 1965 agreed to the establishment of a tripartite commission to explore future forms of cooperation and hopefully to set these down in treaty form during the next year. The outcome remains unclear, but it does appear that all three countries desire, to a greater or lesser extent depending on local conditions, to continue some forms of economic cooperation.

Refugees

In the past 3 years the influx of a large number of refugees from Rwanda, the Sudan, and the Congo (Léopoldville) has placed severe strains on the Ugandan economy. The Government is attempting to settle these people in camps, but achieving a final solution to the problem is extremely complicated. The United Nations is giving assistance where possible.

FOREIGN POLICY

Like many newly independent African nations, Uganda has adopted a nonaligned position in its relations with the rest of the world. It is anxious to develop as quickly as possible and feels that some form of Socialist government in combination with Western economic concepts might provide the ultimate solution. Uganda has attempted to reconcile the two divergent philosophies. The country

is an enthusiastic supporter of the policies of the Organization of African Unity as set forth in the declarations made at Addis Ababa in May 1963.

Uganda is a member of the United Nations and has diplomatic representation in New York. The Embassy of Uganda in Washington, D.C., was opened in 1964.

U.S. POLICY

The United States enjoys close and friendly relations with Uganda. We are encouraging the government in a program to increase agricultural production and to make use of the limited mineral resources of the country. In addition, our AID program is providing educational assistance, especially at the secondary school level, and is giving training in the United States to Ugandan students in such varied fields as veterinary medicine, business administration, management and teacher training. The U.S. programs emphasize self-help projects and encourage, through the Uganda Development Corporation, the growth of private enterprise.

The United States expects to see Uganda grow into a strong, self-assured and independent nation, with democratic institutions which will fit local and national requirements.

CONGO (LÉOPOLDVILLE)

CAPITAL: LÉOPOLDVILLE—POPULATION: 14.8 MILLION

The Democratic Republic of the Congo, located in the south-central part of the African Continent, covers an area of about 904,747 square miles, approximately equal in size to the portion of the United States east of the Mississippi River.

The Congo includes the greater part of the Congo River basin. It is landlocked, with the exception of a narrow strip of land on the north bank of the Congo estuary which extends westward to the South Atlantic. It is bounded on the west and north by the Congo Republic (Brazzaville), the Central African Republic, and Sudan; on the east by Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania; and on the south by Angola and Zambia.

The vast, low-lying central area is a basin-shaped plateau sloping toward the west, covered by tropical rain forest. This area is surrounded by mountainous terraces on the west, plateaus merging into savannas to the south and southeast, and dense grasslands toward the Congo River in the northwest. To the east are high mountains.

The Congo lies on the Equator, about one-third of the country to the north and two-thirds to the south. The area is, therefore, hot and humid. In the western region south of the Equator the rainy season lasts from October to May, while north of the Equator it lasts from April to November. In the central region, however, the rain falls more or less regularly throughout the year. During the October-May wet season the storms are often violent but seldom last more than a few hours. The average annual rainfall for the entire area is about 42 inches.

THE PEOPLE

The Congo has a population of about 14 million. Prior to independence, the non-African population totaled about 117,000. Approximately three-fourths of these were Belgians, and about 1,300 were Americans, mostly missionaries. The number of Americans presently in the Congo is under 1,000.

The number of Congolese ethnic groups has been estimated to be as high as 200. The criteria for distinguishing these groups, however, are not standardized.

In spite of this ethnic profusion, the Congolese population can be divided into three major groups:

1. The Pygmies, believed to have been the first inhabitants of the Congo basin. About 50,000 live in the western and northwestern part of the Congo and 30,000 in the Kibali-Ituri and Kivu districts.

2. The Negroes, represented by:

- (a) The Bantu, who form the bulk of the population and number approximately 8 to 9 million.

- (b) The Sudanese, who inhabit the north and northeast areas of the Congo. Their number is estimated at 2 to 3 million.

- (c) The Nilotics, who are not very numerous and who are settled in the northeast.

3. The Hamites. In this category are to be classed several groups of Bahema shepherds living on the eastern frontier of the Congo.

There are perhaps 200 languages and dialects spoken in the country. The four principal ones can be described as follows:

1. Lingala, developed in the 1880's in response to the need for a commercial language. In time the original fragmentary jargon was given written form, and it is now used extensively along the Congo River from Léopoldville to Stanleyville and in the north and northwest.

2. Kingwana, a dialect of Kiswahili, introduced into the Congo by Arabs and especially the Zanzibari Swahilis, in the course of 19th century slaving operations. It is spoken extensively in the northeastern, eastern, and southern regions of the country.

3. Kikongo, primarily the language of the narrow neck of territory between Léopoldville and the ocean. A simplified dialect is spoken in the region just east of Léopoldville. Most of the languages of the western Congo belong to the Kikongo language cluster.

4. Tshiluba, primarily the language of the Baluba ethnic group of Kasai. It is a form of the Kiluba language of the Kivu and Katanga Baluba and is widely used in the southeastern Congo.

The four languages described above are regional, and the total number of people who speak any one of them is a small percentage of the population.

French, introduced by the Belgians, is the only common language of the country. Although it is widely spread geographically, it is spoken only by the Congolese who have had some education. It is the official language of the country.

The population is about evenly divided between Christians and adherents of either traditional religions or syncretic sects. There are approximately 4,000 Catholics and 1,000 Protestant missionaries in the Congo, operating perhaps 700 missions. The traditional religions vary widely among ethnic groups, and none are formalized. They embody such concepts as monotheism, animism, vitalism, spirits, ancestor worship, witchcraft, and sorcery. The syncretic sects are a mixture of Christianity and traditional beliefs and rituals. They often use Christian symbols and titles. Several which gained popularity in the 1920's sprang from Christian sources, and their prophets promised to lead people to a new way of life and a Black Christ. Two of the most popular of these sects became a threat to law and order, and their activities were banned by the Belgian colonial administration. They have gained strength since 1960, and, where they exist, they tend to be identified more with radical political elements than with religious pursuits.

GOVERNMENT

Although the Belgian Parliament, during the colonial period, had the supreme authority for making laws affecting the territory, it seldom exercised this function except to approve the annual budgets. Actual legislative power was vested in the King and was executed by decrees which were made upon the recommendation of the Minister of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi and the Colonial Council. The Minister was appointed by the King and was a member of the Belgian Council of Ministers. He was President of the Colonial Council, which was composed of 14 members, 8 of whom were appointed by the King, 3 chosen by the Senate, and 3 by the Chamber of Representatives. This very powerful body passed on legislative measures pertaining to the Congo and considered matters referred to it by the King.

The Congo was divided into six Provinces: Léopoldville, Equateur, Orientale, Kivu, Kasai, and Katanga. Since independence the Congolese Parliament has altered the Provincial structure, and there are now 21 Provinces plus the district comprising the city of Léopoldville.

The King and the Belgian Government were represented in the Congo by a Governor General appointed by the King with the advice and consent of the Belgian Parliament. Prior to independence there were no strictly elective bodies, although in 1957 voting took place in three cities for the designation of municipal councilors, subject to official confirmation. The administrative jurisdiction ran from the Governor General to the 6 Governors of Provinces, 18 commissioners of districts, and 123 administrators of territories. There was a government council which met annually at Léopoldville. Its members were appointed. This body had no actual power, and its function was purely consultative.

In May 1960 the Belgian Parliament enacted a bill which provided the basic governmental structure for the future independent Congo. This bill, the fundamental law, served as the constitution of the Congo until June 30, 1964.

The fundamental law did not greatly alter the structure of government as it had existed when the Congo was a colony. However, significant additions were made. Under the fundamental law a parliamentary form of government was provided for. At the national level Parliament consisted of a Senate and the equivalent of a House of Representatives. The executive was a Prime Minister, chosen by Parliament, and a President. All members of the National and Provincial Parliaments were chosen in national elections.

A constitutional commission, made up of representatives of social, political, and regional groups, convened in January 1964, to draw up a permanent constitution for the Congo. The new constitution was submitted to a plebiscite, reportedly approved by 90 percent of those responding, and was promulgated on August 1, 1964. The new constitution provides for a modified presidential form of central government. The position of Prime Minister is retained, but real executive power rests with the President.¹

¹ Military coup, Nov. 25, 1965 (Lt. Gen. Joseph Mobutu): Scheduled 1966 presidential election canceled; basic principles of 1964 constitution confirmed; 22-man civilian "government of national union" embraces all regions and factions. President Mobutu says he plans to rule for 5 years by decrees having force of law unless rejected by Parliament.

HISTORY

Prior to independence

Until the middle of the 19th century the territory drained by the Congo River was practically unknown to Europeans. When Stanley reached the mouth of the Congo in 1877, King Leopold II of the Belgians recognized the immense possibilities of the Congo basin and took the lead in exploring it. Various nations immediately put forward claims by right of earlier exploration, especially Portugal, which based its claim on the discovery of the mouth of the Congo by Portuguese navigators in the 15th century. Other claims and conflicts led to the Berlin Conference in 1884, at which King Leopold II was recognized as the sovereign head of the Congo state. King Leopold II ceded by treaty his Congo Free State to the Government of Belgium on November 28, 1907.

The Congo achieved independence on June 30, 1960, after 85 years of Belgian rule, first as the personal property of the Belgian King (from 1885 to 1908) and then as a Belgian colony. Prior to 1959, when the Belgian Government decided to grant independence to the Congo, the Belgian administration concentrated on economic development and social improvement. The result was the growth of the greatest industrial concentration and the most extensive primary educational system in tropical Africa. A class of skilled and semiskilled workers and office personnel was developed although the vast bulk of the population remained dependent upon subsistence agriculture.

Belgian planning for the enactment of laws which would permit greater participation by the Congolese population in the government of the territory was interrupted by the outbreak of rioting in Léopoldville in January 1959. Following the riots, King Baudouin announced that the Congo could look forward to independence "without undue delay." There was a series of violent political demonstrations in the Congo throughout 1959. In January 1960 the Belgian Government convened a roundtable conference in Brussels in which all the major Congolese political and tribal leaders participated. Under discussion were the terms and timing of independence for the Congo. Congolese politicians pressed for independence now. Under intense pressure the Belgians agreed to grant independence to the Congo on June 30, 1960.

During the election campaign in April 1960 many parties vied for seats in Parliament. Some candidates played on anti-European feelings, and some exploited tribal rivalries. The two strongest parties to emerge were Patrice Lumumba's Mouvement National Congolais—MNC—(National Congolese Movement), which favored a highly centralized, unified Congo state, and Joseph Kasavubu's Alliance des Bakongo—Abako (Alliance of the Bakongo), an ethnic society turned political party which favored a less centralized government. Lumumba and his allies won the largest number of seats, but Kasavubu also emerged in a strong position. After much maneuvering, Kasavubu accepted the office of President while Lumumba became Prime Minister.

Independence

Peaceful independence lasted only 1 week. On July 8 the Force Publique (the Congolese Army) mutinied. Public authority quickly broke down, and Belgian troops intervened on July 10 to protect the lives of Belgian nationals. This action was interpreted as an attempt to reimpose Belgian authority, and it provoked even greater violence against Europeans. On July 11 President Moïse Tshombe of Katanga proclaimed that Province an independent country, and on the same day the Congo Central Government requested United Nations assistance in restoring order and protecting the integrity of the Congo.

The U.N. mission in the Congo was to assist the national security forces in maintaining order, protect the integrity of the Congo, and provide technical assistance where needed. When the U.N. refused to place itself at the disposition of the Central Government, relations between the Lumumba government and the U.N. deteriorated and Lumumba requested and received direct Soviet aid.

As a consequence of Lumumba's unwillingness to cooperate with the U.N. and his unilateral dealings with the Soviets, he was dismissed as Prime Minister on September 5, 1960, by President Kasavubu, in accordance with terms of the Fundamental Law. Lumumba refused to accept dismissal and attempted in his turn to dismiss Kasavubu, contending that the President's action was vitiated since it had not been approved by Parliament.

A military coup d'état followed, led by Colonel Joseph Mobutu, who declared all politicians "neutralized," suspended Parliament, and announced the formation of a government of "Commissioners" composed of a number of the Congo's few

university graduates. Mobutu also ejected the Soviet and bloc diplomats and technicians who had flocked to the Congo at Lumumba's invitation.

Kasavubu was able to obtain sufficient support in the U.N. to be recognized as the legitimate Congo Chief of State by the U.N. General Assembly. In early December Lumumba was imprisoned by Mobutu.

Lumumba's escape and later his death under mysterious circumstances in February 1961 plunged the Congo once more into internal strife. The former Vice Premier in the Lumumba government, Antoine Gizenga, proclaimed himself Lumumba's heir and claimed to head the legitimate Congo government, setting up his rival administration in Stanleyville, the capital of Orientale Province.

With the designation of Joseph Ileo as Prime Minister by President Kasavubu in mid-February 1961 there were four separate authorities contending in the Congo, each with substantial armed forces available: Kasavubu-Ileo-Mobutu (Léopoldville); Gizenga (Stanleyville); Tshombe (Elisabethville); and Kalonji (Bakwanga). Three of the rival factions—Kasavubu, Tshombe, and Kalonji—announced a common front against Gizenga in the spring of 1961.

The common front, however, turned out to be a weak alliance. A series of conferences of Congolese leaders failed to persuade Mr. Tshombe to end his secession. While the Léopoldville group bickered, Sino-Soviet bloc embassies opened in Stanleyville and Mr. Gizenga extended his authority into Kivu. His soldiers also made incursions into North Katanga and Kasai.

Against this background President Kasavubu decided to reconvene the Congolese Parliament. The Gizenga group agreed to participate, but Mr. Tshombe's position was equivocal. By the eve of the session the Léopoldville group was encouraged to believe that Mr. Tshombe would send his deputies to Parliament.

However, when the session opened in July, Mr. Tshombe's delegates failed to appear. Gizenga also deferred his appearance, although the Stanleyville parliamentarians appeared in full strength.

After lengthy consultations with individual leaders, President Kasavubu determined that no one faction had sufficient strength to command a majority and named Cyrille Adoula to form a coalition government. Antoine Gizenga became Vice Prime Minister and Justin Bomboko, Foreign Minister. With the exception of south Katanga all provinces were represented in Adoula's government.

Adoula government

In September 1961 Gizenga came to Léopoldville to assume his post as Vice Premier. However, he soon returned to Stanleyville, where he was later arrested. Gizenga was placed in custody from January 1962 until July 1964. Many of his former supporters, such as Christophe Gbenye and Marcel Bisukiro, were dropped from the government. The Gizenga faction remained active, claimed Adoula to be too pro-American, and accused him of sabotaging the policy of national reconciliation.

Shortly after Adoula's selection, hostilities broke out in Elisabethville. U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld was killed in an airplane accident while trying to arrange a cease-fire. Hostilities broke out again in December 1961 after U.N. officials had been abducted and several U.N. soldiers killed. The fighting ended when Mr. Tshombe flew to a meeting with Premier Adoula. Mr. Tshombe signed an agreement which declared the secession at an end.

When Mr. Tshombe returned to Elisabethville, he claimed the agreement was not valid until approved by the Katanga Assembly. After extensive U.N. mediatory efforts Tshombe was again brought to the bargaining table with Prime Minister Adoula. During these sessions he continued to insist on de facto independence, thereby preventing any agreement. Mr. Tshombe broke off the talks in late June 1962.

Civil war again appeared imminent. U.N. Secretary-General U Thant elaborated a plan providing for an equitable resolution of the differences between Katanga and the rest of the Congo. The plan, which was supported by most of the countries of the free world with an interest in the Congo, was accepted by both Adoula and Tshombe.

Little progress took place in implementing the plan. Mr. Tshombe continued to maintain roadblocks in Elisabethville and to restrict the U.N.'s movement despite his statement on several occasions that the U.N. would be granted full freedom of movement. Harassment of U.N. troops in Elisabethville steadily increased. After a 6-day period during which Katangan troops fired on U.N. positions, the U.N. moved to restore order and to exercise its freedom of movement. This action was quickly successful, and by January 21, 1963, the U.N. had established a presence in all the major centers of Katanga.

End of Katanga Secession

The Central Government adopted a conciliatory approach toward reintegration of Katanga. Satisfactory financial arrangements were concluded between the Central Government and the mining concerns of Katanga, and Central Government civil servants assumed appropriate positions in Elisabethville. A major effort was made to reconstruct the Congolese economy and implement a training program for the Congolese Army.

During the winter of 1963-64, rebellion against the Central Government broke out in Kwilu Province. Originating in historical tribal rivalries, the rebellion took an anti-Central Government turn under the leadership of Pierre Mulele, who was an early collaborator of Lumumba and had spent many months in Red China. Central Government forces were never able to extinguish the rebellion, but by mid-February 1964 it had been confined to a relatively small area.

However, the Kwilu rebellion proved to be only a forerunner of more serious rebellions in the eastern Congo. Tribal discontent erupted into open rebellion in the Kivu in April 1964. The rebels were led by leftist followers of Lumumba, who had gone into self-imposed exile in Brazzaville in November 1963 and had set up a Committee of National Liberation dedicated to the overthrow of the Adoula government. They soon were in frequent contact with the Russian Embassy in Brazzaville and the Chinese Communist Embassy in Bujumbura.

Through the exploitation of tribal hatreds and discontent with the Central Government, leftist politicians like "General" Olenga and Gaston Soumialot had by the end of June 1964 extended their authority over most of north Katanga and much of southern Kivu.

U.N. withdrawal

With the withdrawal of U.N. troops on June 30, 1964, rebel forces gained military victories throughout the eastern Congo. On August 5 Stanleyville fell to the rebels. By the end of August, rebel forces controlled about two-fifths of the Congo. On September 5 Christophe Gbenye, longtime follower of Lumumba, arrived in Stanleyville and proclaimed himself to be the President of the People's Republic of the Congo.

By the middle of September, however, the fortunes of the rebels began to wane. Central Government forces stiffened their resistance to the rebels and, aided by mercenaries, began to recapture rebel-held cities. During October Central Government pressure on the rebels built up, and in November a series of rapid victories were gained. Between November 24 and 28 a Belgian-U.S. rescue mission evacuated 1,900 non-Congolese hostages from Stanleyville and Paulis. Stanleyville was recaptured on November 24, and during the first week of December 1964 Central Government forces recaptured most of the major towns in ex-Orientale.

Several African States charged that the Stanleyville rescue operation was military "aggression" and called for a U.N. Security Council meeting to consider their complaint. The Council on December 30, 1964, adopted a resolution on the Congo sponsored by two African members, Ivory Coast and Morocco. All members voted for it, except France, which abstained. The resolution called for nonintervention in the domestic affairs of the Congo, a cease-fire, and the withdrawal of mercenaries. It asked the Organization of African Unity to help the Congo Government achieve national reconciliation and to keep the Security Council informed on its efforts. It also asked the U.N. Secretary General to follow the situation in the Congo and report to the Security Council. It is hoped that this resolution will provide a basis for a constructive contribution to a solution of the Congo problem.

Rebel control of the eastern Congo and the military effort to recapture it have severely damaged the economy and administration of this region. Many of the few qualified Congolese administrators were killed by the rebels. Europeans—who were vital to the economic life of the area—have been evacuated in fear of their lives. Following the complete suppression of rebellion the more difficult problems of assuring law and order, creating an effective administrative apparatus, and restoring the economy will remain.

ECONOMY

In the years just before independence the Belgian Congo had become the most developed country in tropical Africa. In the period 1950-57 it achieved an annual growth rate in real terms (constant prices) averaging an astonishing 6.7 percent annually. Wage and salary income rose from \$104 million to \$270 million.

The growth rate declined with the drop in primary product prices in 1957; it could hardly have continued at the same rate in any case, since the country could not have afforded to service the volume of borrowing needed to continue this rate of expansion. Nevertheless, some 60 percent of the \$2.5 billion in investments in the Congo during the decade of the fifties originated in the private sector, overwhelmingly in the form of reinvestment. In short, the Congo, with the highest wages and the highest literacy rate in tropical Africa, producing 8 percent of the world's copper and most of the world's cobalt and industrial diamonds, and with a vigorous and competitive agriculture unprotected by preferences, was at the threshold of self-sustaining growth with some sectors and regions obviously already launched into the "takeoff" phase.

In 1959 the Congo (including Rwanda-Burundi) had a commercial surplus of \$192 million (exports \$500 million, imports \$309 million). Even now, despite the decay of native agriculture, the abandonment of many plantations, losses through smuggling, and the decline in its export prices—a factor too often forgotten—it is now exporting at the rate of about \$312 million annually (1964 estimate).

By comparison with other African countries, the exports of the Congo are well diversified, thus making the country less dependent on price fluctuations of a single commodity.

Manufacturing is also fairly well developed. Even before independence the Congo produced more than 90 percent of its locally consumed beer, soap, and cigarettes; 80 percent of its needs in cement and sacks; 60 percent of consumption of paint and shoes; and close to 50 percent of its consumption of cotton fabric and blankets. These percentages possibly have even grown since independence. The Torre report of the European Economic Community (EEC) states that the index of industrial production in 1962 was 19 percent above that of 1958, while the rise in the Léopoldville metropolitan area was 40 percent. Such growth has admittedly been induced to a large degree by the import restrictions required by the shortage of foreign exchange. It does not follow, however, that the new industries or extensions have been unjustified in terms of long-term economic prospects. There has been no forced feeding of industry of the sort experienced in many developing countries. The Congolese textile factories were established without benefit of quantitative restrictions, and there has been no selective use of licencing or tariffs to protect or encourage particular industries. The rapid growth of demand, admittedly fed by the inflation, has induced entrepreneurs to expand.

Congolese agriculture also has been relatively efficient. In contrast to the privileged position in the former British and French territories, planters in the Congo did not enjoy sheltered preferential markets or price supports and had to compete with the most efficient world producers. They benefited, however, from the remarkable work of the agricultural research institute, INEAC, in improving seed strains.

Improved techniques raised palm oil production from 500 to 3,100 kilos per hectare (1 kilogram equals 2.2 pounds). In the case of rubber, the substitution of new strains quadrupled the yield formerly given by Brazilian hevea trees, while coffee yields, which were 250 kilos per hectare in 1927, reached as high as 1,575 kilos in the better plantations in 1957. Comparable increases in productivity occurred in other crops (i.e., cocoa, fourfold increase in yield; rice, over threefold; corn, fivefold; manioc, twofold; cotton, up 53 percent; bananas, up 50 percent).

The Congo suffered a catastrophic decline in export earnings during the early years of independence, due partly to the secession of the Katanga and South Kasai, whose mineral production had represented almost half of the country's earnings, but also to the sharp decline in the export of certain agricultural crops, particularly those, such as cotton and palm kernel oil, dependent on individual native planters. Plantation agriculture was much better able to withstand the vicissitudes, but exports in general were discouraged by the declining real value of the Congolese franc as the recurrent budget deficits bred inflation, while sizable quantities of coffee, diamonds, and other products were lost through smuggling.

Yet the reintegration of South Kasai in the fall of 1962 and of Katanga in January 1963 helped restore much of the Congo's lost earning power, and the value of the country's exports for 1963 as a whole stood at about 88 percent of the level for 1958, the last normal preindependence year. The pattern of foreign

trade had also changed, though mostly on the import side. The U.S. share of the Congo's imports rose from 14.7 percent in 1958 to 31.2 percent in 1963, but the increase was due to AID and Public Law 480 (agricultural surplus) programs.

A majority monetary reform was introduced in November 1963, with the Congolese franc devalued from a rate of 65 to the dollar to a new split rate of 150 to 180. The devaluation had done much to encourage exports and the production of domestic food crops, while the Government's exchange tax derived from the split rate has sharply reduced the budget deficit. After an initial rise, due to the increase in the cost of imports, living costs stabilized during the second quarter of 1964.

The rebellion against the Central Government, which erupted in the spring of 1964 and was accentuated during the summer after the departure of the last U.N. troops, has cut seriously into production, but in view of the improvement already experienced during the first half of the year, total exports for 1964 are expected to be slightly higher than 1963 and only some 10 percent below expectations at the beginning of the year.

U.S. aid given directly to the Congo, or to the United Nations for its technical assistance and peacekeeping activities in the Congo, has totaled over \$400 million through the end of fiscal year 1964. The objective of this program has been to help the Congo maintain its independence and territorial integrity while achieving economic stability and an improved administration. Given a degree of tranquillity and continued assistance while training its own cadres of qualified experts, the Congo has bright prospects of being one of the most prosperous countries in Africa.

U.S. policy

The policy of the United States toward the Congo is to promote political unity and stability, and encourage the development of a democratic government sympathetic to the West. The realization of these objectives will also result in the restoration and continued development of the Congo's vast economic resources.

NIGERIA

CAPITAL: LAGOS—POPULATION: 55 MILLION

The Federal Republic of Nigeria, which became independent on October 1, 1960, is the most populous country in Africa. Located on the West Coast of the continent astride the 10th north parallel, Nigeria is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Guinea and on the landward sides by the Federal Republic of Cameroon and the Republics of Chad, Niger, and Dahomey.

Four main regions may be distinguished in Nigeria in terms of vegetation, altitude, and climate: (1) the hot, humid coastal belt of mangrove swamp from 10 to 60 miles wide; (2) north of this, a zone from 50 to 100 miles wide of tropical rain forest and oil palm bush; (3) the high, relatively dry central plateau of open woodland and savannah covering the greater part of the northern region; and (4) the extreme north, where semidesert conditions exist. The central plateau rises in places to between 6,000 and 7,000 feet, but there are no significant mountains.

Nigeria has several navigable rivers, notably the Niger, the Benue, and the Cross. The country has no important lakes, but the extensive lagoons of the south coastal area play a major part in transportation and in the economic activity of the area.

Two seasons, a dry and a wet, are well marked over most of Nigeria. The north's dry season, from October to April, is usually made dusty by Sahara winds. In the south this season runs from November to April, with little desert wind effect. Rainfall varies from 150 inches per year on the coast to 25 inches or less in the extreme north.

THE PEOPLE

Nigeria, with an estimated population of over 55 million people, according to preliminary census figures released in February 1964, contains literally hundreds of different tribal groups, many of which speak unrelated languages. The results of the recently completed census, when published, will provide a more accurate count of the country's population.

Although tribal divisions are not, for the most part, racial divisions, the presence of a large number of tribes in Nigeria is important because it makes for cultural heterogeneity. The dominant tribes in the Northern Region speak a common language, Hausa, and have a common religion, Islam. The single most numerous tribe is the Hausa. The second most numerous tribe in the north, the Fulani, provides the hereditary rulers, the Emirs, but the majority of the Fulani are still nomadic cattle herders.

The Yoruba of the Western Region are a more closely knit tribe than the Hausa. The traditional political organization of the Yoruba is the city (usually village) state, ruled by an oba or king. Many Yoruba are Moslems due to the historic influence of the southernmost Northern Emirate at Ilorin. Yorubaland was the first to come under British rule and has the longest tradition of Christianity.

A fourth region—Midwestern Nigeria—has recently been created. The new region comprises the non-Yoruba peoples of Benin and Delta Provinces, formerly part of Western Nigeria.

The majority of the Eastern Region are Ibo. They are a vigorous, self-assertive, progressive people who have rapidly increased their influence in trade, clerical work, and professions in the other two regions in recent years. Minority peoples in Eastern Nigeria include the Efik and the Eastern Ijaws.

GOVERNMENT

Nigeria has a Federal form of government and a written constitution. It has a parliamentary government based on the British model, with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet chosen from the national legislature. The constitution provides for a bicameral legislature, an independent judiciary, and a bill of rights. Nigeria severed its relationship with the British Crown on October 1, 1963, proclaimed itself a Federal Republic, and changed the title of the head of state from Governor General to President, with the functions of the office remaining essentially the

same. The Northern People's Congress (NPC), in coalition with the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), forms the Federal Government.

Nigeria's Federal system gives considerable power to the regional government; the Federal Government is responsible for certain defined subjects, with the regional governments empowered with all others except those on a concurrent list upon which both Federal and regional legislation are permissible. In the event of inconsistencies between Federal and regional legislation, Federal law prevails.

The Federal Parliament is composed of a House of Representatives and a Senate. The House of Representatives consists of 312 elected members—174 elected from the northern region, 73 from the eastern region, 62 from the western region (including the newly established midwestern region), and 3 from Lagos. All are directly elected by universal adult suffrage, except in the northern region where women do not have the vote. Each member represents a constituency of about 100,000.

The Senate now is made up of 112 members chosen from each of the regions, nominated by their regional governments subject to the vote of a majority of their respective legislatures, 4 members from Lagos, and 4 special members named by the President; but composition of the Senate is likely to be changed following establishment of the midwestern region government.

The courts of Nigeria are independent of the other branches of government and range from the native authorities courts to the Federal Supreme Court. Ultimate appeal is to the Privy Council. Throughout most of the northern region and in certain other areas the lowest court is called a native authorities court or customary court. Its findings are based primarily upon native custom rather than the English common law, which is the basic legal system in Nigeria.

Despite the political rivalry generated by the fact that the Federation of Nigeria is composed of several distinct regions, the country demonstrates considerable national unity. No one region is overwhelmingly richer or better endowed than another, and north and south have, to a degree, common economic interests. Most important is the development of a national feeling and the statesmanship of Nigeria's political leaders.¹

HISTORY

The early history of European exploration and trade in the region now called Nigeria parallels that of other colonies on the coast of west Africa. Following the Napoleonic wars the British expanded their legitimate trade with the interior of Nigeria. In 1885 British claims to a sphere of influence in Nigeria received international recognition at the conference in Berlin, and in the following year the Royal Niger Company was chartered. The charter was revoked in 1899, and in 1900 the company's territory came under Government control. It was the Government's efforts to suppress the slave trade as well as the furtherance of commercial interests that consolidated the British position in Nigeria. In 1914 the colony and protectorate of Nigeria was formally inaugurated. The first and most famous Governor of a united Nigeria was Sir Frederick Lugard, who guided the country through the World War I period.

In 1922 the first elected African legislators were included in a council for the colony (Lagos) and southern part of the protectorate. In 1943 three Africans were appointed to the Executive Council. Following World War II successive evolutionary constitutions legislated by the British Government established Nigerian self-government on a representative, federal basis. Under the constitution, each of the federation's regions retains a substantial measure of internal self-government; the powers of the Federal Government are in the fields of defense and security, foreign relations, and commercial and fiscal policy.

The primary political problems facing Nigeria currently arise from the fact of the country's movement from colonial status to independence. Such a transition is fraught with difficulties for any area; in Nigeria the situation is complicated

¹ A military coup was staged Jan. 15-16, 1966. Constitution abrogated; Federal and regional legislatures suspended; offices of President and Ministers abolished. Supreme Military Council and Federal Executive Council rule through military governors in each region (renamed zones). Civil service operating under permanent secretaries.

by the extremely diverse nature of its geography, climate, economic character, religions, and ethnic makeup.

ECONOMY

The economy of Nigeria is built primarily around agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, which provide about two-thirds of Nigeria's national income. Largely self-sufficient in food production, the country relies heavily on agricultural exports. Among Nigeria's principal exports are cocoa, peanuts, palm produce, rubber, cotton, timber and wood products, and hides and skins. The first three are still by far the most important, providing over 60 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

Nigeria's principal mineral resources are petroleum, tin, columbite, iron ore, coal, limestone, lead, and zinc. At present, only tin, columbite, and petroleum are exported and minerals production constitutes only a small proportion of the nation's income. Nigeria, nonetheless, hopes to become one of the 10 largest oil-producing countries in the world within the next decade. Its coal, iron ore, and limestone deposits have created great interest in the possible establishment of an iron and steel industry. Nigeria also boasts a considerable hydroelectric potential.

Industrial activity in Nigeria is as yet confined to primary extraction or processing of export goods. At present, industry contributes slightly less than 2 percent of Nigeria's gross national product. Among the largest industries in existence are two cement factories, a large lumber and plywood mill, two textile mills, and a tin smelter. Included in the industries in the process of establishment are additional cement factories and textile mills, an oil refinery, and rubber processing plants. Industrialization is one of the primary economic objectives of Nigeria and vigorous efforts are being made to attract more foreign investment to the country.

Foreign trade is based upon the exportation of raw materials and the importation of consumer goods. The value of trade has increased greatly since World War II; total external trade reached \$1,057 million in 1962. By far the greatest proportion of Nigeria's aggregate trade is with the British Commonwealth, principally with the United Kingdom. The U.K. exported \$217 million worth of goods to Nigeria in 1962. Imports from Japan amounted to \$69.7 million, West Germany \$37.5 million, and the United States \$42 million. Total Nigerian exports in 1962 were \$472.3 million, and imports were \$579 million. Leading Nigerian exports in 1961 included palm products, peanuts, and cocoa.

Economic development

Nigeria has set for itself a great task of economic and social development embodied in a 6-year (1962-68) development plan. In view of the extent to which Nigeria is committing its own resources to a well-conceived development plan, its ability usefully to absorb foreign assistance, and the sense of social justice which pervades its planning, the United States has agreed to support the development program in the amount of \$225 million in both loans and grants. In its plan Nigeria has emphasized its readiness to welcome foreign private investment. In this connection American investors in Nigeria can now take advantage of the Investment Guarantee Agreement concluded between the United States and Nigeria.

FOREIGN POLICY

Nigeria is an active member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its subsidiary committees. It has remained in the British Commonwealth. Nigeria plays a leading role in the United Nations and in a number of its specialized agencies. It has joined the Commission for Cooperation in Tropical Africa (CCTA) and has participated in the work of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Nigeria has also supplied police and army units to the United Nations operation in the Congo.

Nigeria, like most other independent African states, follows the policy of condemnation of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and support of self-determination in the Portuguese territories in Africa.

U.S. POLICY

U.S. policy toward Nigeria is one of cordial cooperation to assist in the orderly progress of the new country and to help promote the aspirations of its people for accelerated economic and social advancement. Despite the obvious challenges facing Nigeria as a new nation, it has the essential resources and the human potential to succeed in the framework of a free society.

REPUBLIC OF IVORY COAST

CAPITAL: ABIDJAN—POPULATION: 3,340,000

The richest and potentially most economically self-sufficient state in former French West Africa, Ivory Coast is a rectangular-shaped country of 127,520 square miles facing the coast on the south side of the African bulge. It is bounded on the north by Upper Volta and Mali, on the east by Ghana, and on the west by Liberia and Guinea. The southern boundary is a 340-mile coastline on the Gulf of Guinea, characterized by heavy surf and a lack of natural harbors. Early European voyagers were discouraged by this coastline and the dense tropical forest, as well as by a paucity of gold. Consequently, they established their forts farther to the east on the Gold Coast.

The country is fringed by a series of coastal lagoons on the southeast. Here is situated the capital city of Abidjan, the commercial and population center of the country. Abidjan is the natural point for the terminus of the 716-mile railway that connects Ouagadougou, capital of Upper Volta, with the Gulf of Guinea, because it is the only feasible site on the Ivory Coast for a deep-water port. Early 20th-century attempts to dig a canal through the sand bar that blocked the Ebrie lagoon from the sea were unsuccessful, but in 1950 the Vridi Canal, construction of which had begun in 1936, was completed. The canal opened the port of Abidjan to deep-draft vessels, and traffic increased by 50 percent almost immediately.

Dense forest extends to the sea in the western half of the country. Scrub savannah occupies a narrow strip stretching from Fresco in the approximate center of the coastline eastward to the Ghana frontier. Lush tropical forest extends inland to a line approximately halfway between Dimbokro and Bouaké. It is in these forest regions that the significant cash crops—coffee, cocoa, tropical woods, and bananas—are grown. North of the forest lies an inland savannah zone of lateritic or sandy soils, where the vegetation is sparse and the landscape monotonous. Only the Man mountains in the northwest, which rise to 4,800 feet, break the monotony of the inland plain.

The southern Ivory Coast falls within a tropical climatic zone. It has a narrow daily range of temperature, high humidity averaging 84 percent throughout the year, and a yearly average temperature in the high eighties. Two long rainy seasons—March to July and September to December—are separated briefly by a very short dry season in August.

THE PEOPLE

The population of Ivory Coast was estimated in 1962 at 3,340,000, of whom about 12,000 are Europeans concentrated mainly in Abidjan, which now has a population of about 250,000.

Ivory Coast contains perhaps 60 distinct tribal groups. The six principal ethnic groups are: Agnis-Ashanti-Baoule, Kroumen, Mandingo, Senoufo, Dans-Gouros, and Koua-Koua. The rate of population increase is about 2.5 percent per year.

The Catholic religion has many adherents in urban areas of Ivory Coast, particularly along the seaboard, and there are a considerable number of Moslems (one-fourth of the population), but most of the population is animist.

HISTORY

The early history of Ivory Coast is virtually unknown, although it is thought that a neolithic civilization existed there. At the time Europeans (Portuguese) first became acquainted with the country in the 14th and 15th centuries, strong kingdoms existed in the north and east, notably the kingdoms of Krinjabo, Bettie, and Boundoukou. France made her initial contact with Ivory Coast in 1937 when missionaries landed at Assinie, near the border of present-day Ghana. Early contacts were limited to a few missionaries because of the inhospitable coastline and fear of the peoples of the western coast.

In the 18th century the country was invaded by two related ethnic groups—the Agnis who occupied the southeast and the Baoules who settled in the central section of the country. In 1842 Admiral Bouet-Williaumez signed treaties with the kings of the Grand-Bassam and Assinie regions, placing the Grand-Bassam region under a French protectorate. French explorers, missionaries, trading companies, and soldiers gradually extended the area under French control inland from the lagoon region. However, pacification of the country was not accomplished until 1915.

Ivory Coast officially became a colony of France in 1839. Captain Binger, who had explored the Gold Coast frontier, was named the first Governor. He negotiated boundary treaties with Liberia and the United Kingdom (for the Gold Coast) and later started the campaign against Almamy Samory, who waged war against the French until 1898.

From 1904 to 1958 Ivory Coast was a constituent unit of the Federation of French West Africa. It was a colony under the Third Republic and overseas territory under the Fourth Republic. Until after World War II governmental affairs in French West Africa were administered from Paris through Governors General and territorial governors. The philosophy of French policy in West Africa was mainly one of "association," which meant that all Africans in Ivory Coast were officially French "subjects" without rights to representation in Africa or France.

During World War II a harsh and racially conscious Vichy regime remained in control until 1943, when members of General de Gaulle's Provisional Government assumed control of all French West Africa. The Brazzaville conference in 1944, the first Constituent Assembly of the Fourth Republic in 1946, and the memory of the loyalty to Free France displayed by Africans during the war led to far-reaching governmental reforms in 1946. All African "subjects" were granted French citizenship, the right to organize politically was recognized, and various forms of forced labor were abolished.

After World War II Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the present President of Ivory Coast, stood for election to the first Constituent Assembly and won a narrow victory. He represented Ivory Coast in the French National Assembly from 1946 to 1959 and devoted much of his efforts to interterritorial political organization and amelioration of labor conditions, until a turning point was reached in relations with France with the *Loi Cadre* of 1956. This Overseas Reform Act transferred to elected territorial governments in French West Africa a number of powers previously reserved for metropolitan administrators and removed remaining voting inequalities.

In December 1958 Ivory Coast became an autonomous republic within the French Community as a result of the September referendum that brought Community status to all the members of the old Federation of French West Africa except Guinea. Ivory Coast became independent August 7, 1960, and thereafter permitted its Community membership to lapse. It was admitted to the United Nations on September 20, 1960.

The contemporary political history of Ivory Coast is closely associated with the career of one man: Félix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Republic and leader of the Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), the only political party in Ivory Coast. He was one of the founders of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), the leading preindependence interterritorial political party in French West Africa. The RDA established constituent units in all the French West African territories except Mauritania, as well as in the Congo (Brazzaville), Chad, Gabon, and Cameroon. It became the dominant party in Mali, Guinea, Niger, and the Congo (Brazzaville).

Houphouët-Boigny first came to national political prominence in 1944 as founder of the Syndicat Agricole Africain, an organization that won improved labor conditions for African farmers and formed a nucleus for the PDCI. Houphouët later served as an Ivory Coast Deputy in the French National Assembly from 1946 to 1959. In April 1959 he became the first Prime Minister of his country, and in the first general elections after independence he was elected President.

Houphouët reinforced his position as a dominant figure in West Africa by leading Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta, and Dahomey into the Conseil de l'Entente in May 1959. His importance in the African political spectrum stems not only from the economic importance of the Ivory Coast but also from his still close association with those who served under him in the RDA. He has maintained that the only true road to African solidarity is through step-by-step economic and political cooperation with recognition of the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of sister African states.

Political conditions

Stability has prevailed in Ivory Coast since independence in 1960. However, President Houphouët-Boigny reorganized his Cabinet twice during 1963, in February and September, and arrested several Ministers on charges of plotting against the state. Through the single party, the *Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire*, he reasserted his control over the military, labor, and the student movement.

There exists no immediate external threat to the independence of Ivory Coast. President Houphouët-Boigny has adopted a firm stance of anticommunism and is wary of proposals for subregional federation that would include Ivory Coast.

GOVERNMENT

The Constitution of Ivory Coast provides for a strong Presidency within the framework of a separation of powers. The Executive is personified by the President, elected for a 5-year term. He is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces; he may both negotiate and ratify certain treaties; and he may submit a bill to a national referendum or to the National Assembly. The Cabinet is selected from outside the National Assembly and is responsible to the President.

The 70-member National Assembly is elected by direct universal suffrage for a 5-year term and passes upon legislation introduced by its own members or by the President of the Republic.

The judicial system culminates in a Supreme Court composed of four chambers: constitutional, judicial, administrative, and auditing. There is a High Court of Justice competent to try Government officials for high crimes.

ECONOMY

Ivory Coast's economy is based almost exclusively on exports of tropical products: 90 percent of the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and 75 percent of the total production is accounted for by the agricultural sector. The four major agricultural products, in terms of value received from exports, are coffee, cocoa, tropical woods, and bananas, in that order. The Ivory Coast is the world's third leading producer of coffee and its fourth producer of cocoa. These two crops accounted for 73 percent of the country's export revenues in 1960. However, this percentage has declined from 94 percent in 1954. During this same period the volume of tropical woods exported expanded nearly five-fold. Ivory Coast traditionally has had a favorable balance of trade.

The United States is Ivory Coast's number one customer and her number two supplier (after West Germany) outside the franc zone. U.S.-Ivoirien trade during 1961 and 1962 was:

[Millions of dollars]

	1961	1962
Ivory Coast exports:		
Total.....	193.2	195.5
Total to United States.....	25.5	28.2
Coffee.....	13.1	11.2
Cocoa.....	11.1	15.7
Other.....	1.3	1.3
Ivory Coast imports:		
Total.....	171.3	158.0
Total from the United States.....	6.0	6.7

Economic development

In the years before World War II French administrators did not emphasize programs of economic development. However, there were programs directed to development of infrastructure (ports, roads, power developments, etc.). A colony like Ivory Coast was expected to pay the costs of development projects within its territory with locally generated revenue or by loan. As emphasis was put on cash crops, coffee and cocoa increased in importance while the subsistence agricultural sector declined. It even became necessary to import food. Workers migrated to coastal zones to pick cocoa and coffee and to work on bridges and roads. Ivoirien farmers came to account for 90 percent of the production of coffee.

After World War II the migration to coastal areas accelerated, as typified by the great urban agglomeration of Abidjan, which grew from 16,000 in 1936 to its

present 250,000. The French Administration adopted a new philosophy of economic development, stressing grant aid for development projects for both infrastructure and amelioration of social conditions. Public investment rose from 10 percent of public expenditure in 1938 to 40 percent in 1952. The traditional subsistence economy diminished in importance as migratory workers moved into the money economy.

When Ivory Coast became an overseas territory under the Fourth Republic, it benefited from the French overseas development fund—FIDES (Investment Fund for Economic and Social Development). Between 1947 and 1957 FIDES granted \$109 million to Ivory Coast for development. The country has continued to benefit from extensive French economic assistance to this day.

Ivory Coast's foremost need today is rapid exploitation of its economic potential, a prerequisite to political stability. Capital and skilled manpower are scarce. Although highly dependent on the agricultural sector and with a modest annual per capita income of \$100 to \$200, Ivory Coast offers favorable prospects for economic development. With an economy already more diversified than any other in West Africa, Ivory Coast has undertaken to increase public expenditure and to induce increased private investment in the industrial sector, with the hope of overcoming the need for foreign aid by 1970.

The Ivory Coast's economy has benefited from a rapid pace of development since 1953, due chiefly to the opening of the Vridi Canal, which made Abidjan a deep water port. The small but growing industrial complex of the country is concentrated in Abidjan and is concerned mainly with the processing of mineral and agricultural products. A brief list of industries established in Ivory Coast shows a Renault assembly plant, several metalworking plants, a plastics factory, a factory producing liquid air, 4 palm oil works, 2 large soap works, 3 pineapple canneries, 2 breweries, a modern bakery, a cotton spinning mill, 30 sawmills, 2 plywood factories, and a tuna-freezing plant. Many other business ventures are under study.

Attempts are being made to diversify agricultural crops still further, and the increasing production of pineapples, rubber, cotton, and corn is encouraging. This is largely the result of an agricultural program which is designed to increase and diversify agricultural yields.

The mineral resources of Ivory Coast are only partially known, although industrial diamonds, manganese, and ilmenite deposits are currently being exploited. Further research and exploitation are being conducted by private companies and the state Bureau of Mines.

FOREIGN POLICY

Ivory Coast has shunned involvement in cold war issues. The Government has adopted policies that are in practice friendly to the West and has refused to exchange representation with the Communist bloc. Ivory Coast became a member of the United Nations in 1960 and was elected to a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations for the term beginning in January 1964.

Partly as a result of President Houphouët-Boigny's past leadership in African affairs, Ivory Coast commands great respect in Africa. but the future of Ivory Coast's relations with groupings of African states is as unclear as the future of the groupings themselves. The *Conseil de l'Entente* has been an important area of international cooperation, because Ivory Coast has been "first among equals." A Customs Union has been established, as well as a Solidarity Fund, from which members draw in inverse proportion to their contributions. However, Ivory Coast's major area of inter-African cooperation in the future may be in the African and Malagasy Union (UAM), a regional grouping of 13 French-speaking sub-Saharan states plus the Malagasy Republic, or in the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

U.S. POLICY

U.S.-Ivoirien relations are friendly and close. The United States is sympathetic to Ivory Coast's program of rapid, orderly economic development and to Ivory Coast's moderate stance on international issues. The United States has undertaken a modest aid program (about \$1 million annually) in Ivory Coast.

SENEGAL

CAPITAL: DAKAR—POPULATION: 3.2 MILLION

The Republic of Senegal, which covers 76,000 square miles and is approximately the size of South Dakota, is located on the West African bulge. It is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the west and separated from the Islamic Republic of Mauritania on the north by the Senegal River. On the east it is bordered by the Republic of Mali, and on the south by the Republic of Guinea and Portuguese Guinea. The British Colony of Gambia, located along the banks of the Gambia River, penetrates finger-like over 200 miles into Senegal.

Senegal, with an altitude of less than 650 feet, is mostly flat or rolling plain country, with savannah-type vegetation. In the southeast, however, plateaus with a maximum elevation 1,640 feet form the foothills of the Fouta-Djalou Mountains, while marshy swamps interspersed with tropical rain forest are not uncommon in the southwest. North of Cape Verde the coast forms an almost straight line; farther south it is indented by many estuaries and is often marshy. The country is drained by four major rivers flowing in almost parallel courses from east to west: the Senegal, Saloum, Gambia, and Casamance, each of which is navigable by oceangoing vessels for a substantial distance inland.

The two well-defined seasons in Senegal—one dry (November-June), the other moist—are the result of alternating winds from the northeast in the winter and from the southwest in the summer. Dakar has about 24 inches of rain per year which is concentrated between June and October. Maximum temperatures in the humid months average 81–84° F.; from December to February minimum temperatures average 60–66° F. In the interior temperature ranges are greater than along the coast, while precipitation increases substantially farther south, exceeding 60 inches a year in some areas of the Casamance. Sudden thunderstorms with heavy downpours are frequent in periods of seasonal change.

THE PEOPLE

Senegal has an estimated population of 3.2 million, slightly larger than that of Maryland, 85 percent of which is in the rural areas. Of the 50,000 non-Africans, approximately half are Europeans, the remainder mainly Syrians and Lebanese. They are concentrated chiefly in the cities. The population density is about 40 per square mile, but this varies from about 200 per square mile in the Sine-Saloum region to 5 per square mile in the more arid and less hospitable eastern section of the country.

Dakar, the capital, has a population of 350,000 of whom approximately 30,000 are Europeans and Lebanese. Only four other Senegalese cities surpass 40,000 in size: Kaolack, Rufisque, Saint-Louis, and Thies.

By ethnic group, 36 percent of the population are Wolof, 17.5 percent Peulh or Fulani, 16.5 percent Serere, 9 percent Toucouleur, 9 percent Diola, and 6.5 percent Mandingo. Smaller ethnic groups include the Sarakole, Moors, Bassari, and Lebous. By age distribution the population is young, 41 percent being under 14 years of age. Population growth is estimated as high as 2 percent per year. Approximately 80 percent of the population is Moslem. While the bulk of the remainder are animists, there is a small number of Christians, mostly Catholic.

GOVERNMENT

On March 3, 1963, Senegal adopted a new constitution which transformed its government from the former parliamentary structure into a presidential system. Under this new constitution the President is elected by direct popular vote for a 4-year term and is eligible for reelection. He determines and conducts national policy, assures the execution of the laws, and possesses regulatory power. He is chief of the administration, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and guardian of the constitution. He appoints all civil and military employees of the state, including ambassadors, judges, and other high officials, and names a government responsible only to himself. He may designate his substitute when he is temporarily unable to fulfill his duties.

The National Assembly is a unicameral body consisting of 80 members, who are elected by direct popular vote for a 4-year term at the same time as the President. Legislative powers are specifically enumerated in the constitution; matters not covered are of a regulatory nature and thus subject to regulation by presidential order. Both the President and the National Assembly may initiate legislation and amendments thereto. Laws passed by the Assembly are submitted for promulgation to the President, who may, if he chooses, either return them to the Assembly for repassage by three-fifths of the members or submit them to the Supreme Court for an advance determination of their constitutionality. Constitutional amendments are initiated by either the Assembly or the President, the latter determining whether they must be approved by popular referendum or whether a three-fifths vote of the Assembly will suffice.

Judicial authority is constitutionally independent of the executive and legislative branches. A Supreme Court, with power to decide the constitutionality of laws and international engagements and to resolve conflicts of competence between the legislature and the executive, is appointed by the President after consulting with the magistrature. A High Court of Justice, elected by the National Assembly from among its members, has jurisdiction over members of the Government accused of crimes and misdemeanors, and over the President if he is accused of high treason by three-fifths of the members of the National Assembly.

There is also an Economic and Social Council with purely advisory functions.

HISTORY

French commercial establishments in what is now Senegal date from the 17th century. The most important early trading ports were St. Louis, Rufisque, and the island of Goree, located just offshore from the modern port of Dakar. During the 19th century the French gradually established their control over the interior regions, which were administered by a protectorate until 1920. Thereafter the whole territory became a French colony.

Indigenous persons born in the four "communes" of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis acquired rights of French citizenship. Beginning in 1871 they were allowed to elect a deputy to the French Parliament and, at the local level, their own municipal councils. They were alone among the indigenous peoples of former French West Africa to have such rights until the colonial reforms following World War II.

In 1946 a territorial assembly was elected by a restricted franchise and had mainly advisory powers. Senegal also acquired the right to elect additional representatives to the French Chamber of Deputies and to choose Senators for the French upper house and representatives to the assembly of the French Union. The powers of the territorial assembly were gradually expanded and the franchise broadened in succeeding years. In early 1957, as a result of the so-called *loi cadre* reforms, elected representatives were given extensive powers over internal affairs. After the 1958 French constitutional referendum, Senegal became a member state of the French Community with virtually complete internal autonomy.

In January 1959 Senegal and Soudan combined to form the Mali Federation, which became fully independent, within the Community, on June 20, 1960. The federation broke up on August 20, 1960, when Senegal seceded and proclaimed itself the Republic of Senegal.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The governing party is the *Union Progressiste Sénégalaise* (UPS), led by President Léopold Sedar Senghor. It was founded in 1949 when Senghor and his followers broke from the Senegalese branch of the French Socialist party which had previously dominated local politics under the leadership of Lamine Gueye. Senghor's party soon emerged as the strongest political group in Senegal. It merged with the opposition Socialists in early 1958, and the present UPS was born of this union.

Following the breakup of the Mali Federation in August 1960, President Senghor and Prime Minister Mamadou Dia governed the country together until December 1962, when their political rivalry led to an attempted *coup d'état* by the Prime Minister. Although this was put down without bloodshed, it resulted in Dia's arrest and imprisonment and adoption of a new constitution replacing the former parliamentary system with a presidential system of government. Presidential and parliamentary elections held on December 1, 1963, though unfortunately marred by violence and bloodshed, returned President Senghor to

office for a new 4-year term and gave the UPS slate of candidates all 80 seats in the National Assembly.

The governing UPS is a moderate party which advocates a form of socialism based on traditional African communal institutions. In practice it leaves considerable scope for private enterprise, including foreign investment, in commerce and light industry. There are two opposition parties: the left-wing Parti de Regroupement Africain-Sénégal (PRA) which has little following outside of the Casamance region in southern Senegal, long known for its particularist and even separatist sentiments; and the small Marxist-Leninist Parti Africain de l'Indépendance (PAI) which has been proscribed by the Senegalese Government.

ECONOMY

Senegal is primarily an agricultural country, with peanuts the main crop and cereals (millet, sorghum, and rice) important secondary crops. Annual peanut production is about 800,000 metric tons and that of cereals approximately 400,000 metric tons. There are an estimated 1,600,000 cattle and 1,100,000 sheep and goats but the productive use of these herds is relatively low. The fishing industry is of major importance, however, with an annual catch of over 100,000 tons, 75 percent by Senegalese fishermen and 25 percent by foreign commercial fishing fleets.

Important phosphate deposits are being exploited by the Compagnie Sénégalaise des Phosphates de Taïba. Private French interests hold a majority of the shares in the company, although American interests also have significant holding. Production in 1962 amounted to nearly 500,000 metric tons.

Senegal is by far the most industrialized state of former French West Africa. Its industries process Senegalese raw materials into finished products for export, such as peanut oil, phosphates, and canned fish. Imported raw materials also are processed, and biscuits, flour, textiles, cement, and shoes are exported to all the franc-zone countries in West Africa. Further diversification of the economy may come from expansion of tuna fishing off the Senegalese coast and from a small petroleum refinery and fish cannery now under construction in Dakar. American capital is partially financing the latter two.

In 1962 Senegal's exports were valued at about \$122 million, of which over 75 percent was in the form of peanuts and their byproducts. Imports during the same period amounted to \$153 million and included large quantities of rice and other food grains. Dakar, one of the most important West African ports, handles some 4 million tons each year, including bunkering, while the Dakar-Yoff jet airfield is a major stop on routes between Africa and Europe or the Western Hemisphere. Industrial output in 1961 was valued at over \$300 million, and the gross national product in 1962 was estimated at \$625 million, or about \$200 per capita.

Since shortly after the close of World War II, France has provided substantial technical and economic aid to Senegal, largely on a grant basis. This aid was not interrupted by Senegal's accession to independence. Economic and technical assistance on a smaller scale is also coming from the Common Market development fund, the United States, and West Germany.

Economic Development

Senegal is experiencing difficulty in achieving agricultural and industrial diversification and an adequate rate of economic growth to sustain its ambitious 4-year development plan. A substantial portion of funds expended under the plan to date has gone for educational and social infrastructure rather than into productive investment, with the result that government operating expenses are increasing more rapidly than revenues, thus forcing a cutback in development expenditures. Concerned over this problem, President Senghor has called for a regime of austerity to hold government expenditures to a minimum and for a re-evaluation of priorities and revision of goals under the plan.

Senegal is also cooperating with neighboring Mauritania, Mali, and Guinea in devising plans for joint development of the Senegal River basin. A United Nations technical mission is assisting in this effort.

FOREIGN POLICY

President Senghor and other Senegalese leaders, even before independence, advocated a union of the various territories of former French West Africa on a federal basis. They continue to be strong advocates of African unity and play

a very active role in the African and Malagasy Union (UAM) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Senegal follows a formal policy of nonalignment, maintaining relations with both East and West, and has particularly close and friendly relations with France on a basis of equality and mutual respect.

Relations with Gambia

For several years the governments of Senegal and Gambia have been holding discussions on some form of "association" between the two territories, an arrangement which would presumably mean something less than full independence for Gambia. (Gambia, which is a British colony and protectorate, acceded to full internal self-government in October 1963—normally the last stage of constitutional development preceding independence, for which pressure is now mounting.)

An inter-ministerial committee has been established to consider matters of joint interest. Little of a concrete nature has been achieved by this committee, however, and in the fall of 1963 a United Nations technical committee spent several weeks in Senegal and Gambia at the request of the two governments to study the problems involved and to make recommendations as to the form which their "association" might take. Further discussions between Senegalese and Gambian leaders are being held in abeyance at present pending submission and study of the U.N. report.

U.S. POLICY

The United States desires to maintain friendly relations with Senegal and is providing economic, technical (including Peace Corps), and military assistance. American investment in Senegal is not large, and trade between the two countries is relatively limited. The United States has neither military rights nor facilities in Senegal.

APPENDIX B.—CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

We, the Heads of African and Malagasy States and Governments assembled in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;

Convinced that is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny;

Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples;

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in spheres of human endeavor;

Inspired by a common determination to strengthen understanding and co-operation among our States in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained;

Determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms;

Dedicated to the general progress of Africa;

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive cooperation among states;

Desirous that all African and Malagasy States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured;

Resolved to reinforce the links between our states by establishing and strengthening common institutions;

Have agreed to the present Charter.

ESTABLISHMENT

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish an Organization to be known as the "Organization of African Unity."

The Organization shall include the Continental African States, Madagascar and all the islands surrounding Africa.

PURPOSES

ARTICLE II

1. The Organization shall have the following purposes:

(a) To promote the unity and solidarity of the African and Malagasy States;

(b) To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;

(c) To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;

(d) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and

(e) To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. To these ends, the Member States shall coordinate and harmonize their general policies, especially in the following fields:

(a) Political and diplomatic cooperation;

(b) Economic cooperation, including transport and communications;

(c) Educational and cultural cooperation;

(d) Health, sanitation, and nutritional cooperation;

(e) Scientific and technical cooperation; and

(f) Cooperation for defense and security.

PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE III

The Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

1. The sovereign equality of all Member states;
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States;
3. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each Member State and for its inalienable right to independent existence;
4. Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration;
5. Unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighboring States or any other States;
6. Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent;
7. Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE IV

Each independent sovereign African State shall be entitled to become a Member of the Organization.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBER STATES

ARTICLE V

All Member States shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

ARTICLE VI

The Member States pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III of the present Charter.

INSTITUTIONS

ARTICLE VII

The Organization shall accomplish its purposes through the following principal institutions:

1. the Assembly of Heads of State and Government;
2. the Council of Ministers;
3. the General Secretariat;
4. the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE VIII

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the supreme organ of the Organization. It shall, subject to the provisions of this Charter, discuss matters of common concern to Africa with a view to coordinating and harmonizing the general policy of the Organization. It may in addition review the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies which may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

ARTICLE IX

The Assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State, Government or their duly accredited representatives and it shall meet at least once a year. At the request of any Member State, and approval by the majority of the Member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

ARTICLE X

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.
2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of the Members of the Organization.

3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States of the Organization.

4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Organization shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

ARTICLE XI

The Assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

ARTICLE XII

The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of Member States.

The Council of Ministers shall meet at least twice a year. When requested by any Member State and approved by two-thirds of all Member States, it shall meet in extraordinary session.

ARTICLE XIII

The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the Assembly.

It shall take cognizance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall coordinate inter-African cooperation in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly and in conformity with Article II (2) of the present Charter.

ARTICLE XIV

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.

2. All resolutions shall be determined by a simple majority of the Council of Ministers.

3. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

ARTICLE XV

The Council shall have the power to determine its own rule of procedure.

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

ARTICLE XVI

There shall be an Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Administrative Secretary-General shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XVII

There shall be one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

ARTICLE XVIII

The functions and conditions of services of the Secretary-General, of the Assistant Secretaries-General and other employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this Charter and the regulations approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

1. In the performance of their duties the Administrative Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the Organization undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Administrative Secretary-General and the Staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

ARTICLE XIX

Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means, and to this end, decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the composition of which and the condition of service shall be defined by a separate protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

SPECIALIZED COMMISSIONS

ARTICLE XX

The Assembly shall establish such Specialized Commissions as it may deem necessary, including the following:

1. Economic and Social Commission;
2. Educational and Cultural Commission,
3. Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission;
4. Defense Commission;
5. Scientific, Technical and Research Commission.

ARTICLE XXI

Each Specialized Commission referred to in Article XX shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of the Member States.

ARTICLE XXII

The functions of the Specialized Commissions shall be carried out in accordance with the provision of the present Charter and of the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

THE BUDGET

ARTICLE XXIII

The budget of the Organization prepared by the Administrative Secretary-General shall be approved by the Council of Ministers. The budget shall be provided by contributions from Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations; provided, however, that no Member State shall be assessed an amount exceeding twenty per cent of the yearly regular budget of the Organization. The Member States agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF CHARTER

ARTICLE XXIV

This Charter shall be open for signature to all independent sovereign African States and shall be ratified by the signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

The original instrument, done, if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent sovereign African States.

Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall notify all signatories of each such deposit.

ENTRY INTO FORCE

ARTICLE XXV

This Charter shall enter into force immediately upon receipt by the Government of Ethiopia of the instruments of ratification from two-thirds of the signatory States.

REGISTRATION OF THE CHARTER

ARTICLE XXVI

This Charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Government of Ethiopia in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARTER

ARTICLE XXVII

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization.

ADHESION AND ACCESSION

ARTICLE XXVIII

1. Any independent sovereign African State may at any time notify the Administrative Secretary-General of its intention to adhere or accede to this Charter.

2. The Administrative Secretary-General shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the Member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the Member States. The decision of each Member State shall be transmitted to the Administrative Secretary-General, who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

MISCELLANEOUS

ARTICLE XXIX

The working languages of the Organization and all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, English and French.

ARTICLE XXX

The Administrative Secretary-General may accept on behalf of the Organization gifts, bequests and other donations made to the Organization, provided that this is approved by the Council of Ministers.

ARTICLE XXXI

The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the Secretariat in the respective territories of the Member States.

CESSATION OF MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE XXXII

Any State which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, if not withdrawn, the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organization.

AMENDMENT TO THE CHARTER

ARTICLE XXXIII

This Charter may be amended or revised if any Member State makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect; provided, however, that the proposed amendment is not submitted to the Assembly for consideration until all the Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two-thirds of all the Member States.

In faith whereof, We, the Heads of African State and Government, have signed this Charter.

Done in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia this 25th day of May, 1963.

APPENDIX C.—U.S. ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA¹

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Summary of AID worldwide economic program commitments in fiscal year 1965

[Millions of dollars]

Region	Total	Appropriation category			
		Develop- ment loans	Supporting assistance	Technical cooperation	Contingency fund
Total.....	\$2,178.2	\$1,162.9	\$438.7	\$308.5	\$57.5
Near East/south Asia.....	693.9	605.5	38.5	49.9	-----
Latin America.....	588.1	441.5	35.7	78.6	32.3
Far East.....	449.9	69.4	326.2	39.2	15.0
Africa.....	163.9	46.1	37.0	80.7	.1
Nonregional ²	282.4	.4	1.1	60.1	10.1

¹ Source: "The Foreign Assistance Program," annual report to the Congress, fiscal year 1965.

² Includes, under "Nonregional," \$134,400,000 in contributions to international organizations, and \$76,300,000 in other appropriations (administrative expenses—AID and State, American schools and hospitals abroad, etc.)—not shown elsewhere in the table.

AID program commitments in Africa in fiscal year 1965

[Thousands of dollars]

Country	Total	Appropriation category			
		Develop- ment loans	Supporting assistance	Technical cooperation	Contingency fund
Total.....	\$163,927	\$46,100	\$36,985	\$80,698	\$144
Algeria.....	732	-----	-----	732	-----
Burundi.....	391	-----	-----	391	-----
Cameroon.....	5,366	3,200	-----	2,166	-----
Central African Republic.....	733	-----	-----	733	-----
Chad.....	1,065	-----	-----	1,065	-----
Congo (Brazzaville).....	52	-----	-----	52	-----
Congo (Leopoldville).....	16,544	-----	15,000	1,544	-----
Dahomey.....	583	-----	-----	583	-----
Ethiopia.....	9,176	-----	3,000	6,176	-----
Gabon.....	785	-----	-----	785	-----
Gambia.....	89	-----	-----	89	-----
Ghana.....	1,212	-----	-----	1,212	-----
Guinea.....	14,078	2,400	7,060	4,618	-----
Ivory Coast.....	171	-----	-----	171	-----
Kenya.....	4,221	550	-----	3,671	-----
Liberia.....	16,053	9,300	-----	6,753	-----
Libya.....	347	-----	-----	347	-----
Malagasy Republic.....	3,849	-----	-----	1,149	-----
Malawi.....	2,074	2,700	-----	2,074	-----
Mali, Republic of.....	1,155	-----	-----	1,155	-----
Mauritania.....	47	-----	-----	47	-----
Morocco.....	11,080	-----	10,000	1,080	-----
Niger.....	1,188	-----	-----	1,188	-----
Nigeria.....	27,604	10,400	-----	17,204	-----
Rwanda.....	78	-----	-----	78	-----
Senegal.....	98	-----	-----	98	-----
Sierra Leone.....	1,874	-----	-----	1,874	-----
Somali Republic.....	4,888	600	-----	4,288	-----
Sudan.....	3,086	-----	-----	3,086	-----
Tanzania.....	2,199	200	-----	1,999	-----
Togo.....	701	-----	-----	701	-----
Tunisia.....	18,405	16,750	-----	1,511	144
Uganda.....	1,978	-----	-----	1,978	-----
Upper Volta.....	468	-----	-----	468	-----
Zambia.....	855	-----	-----	855	-----
East Africa regional.....	1,681	-----	-----	1,681	-----
Other regional.....	9,023	-----	1,925	7,098	-----

Technical cooperation activities in Africa increased from \$74.2 million in fiscal year 1964 to \$80.7 million in fiscal year 1965 and accounted for half of the total AID program in the region during the latter period. Overall AID commitments in Africa, however, were considerably lower in fiscal year 1965 than in the preceding year because of a lower level of development lending.

Both absolutely and proportionately, this was the largest technical assistance investment in any of the four regions and it reflects the urgent need to develop human resources and basic institutions as a prerequisite for major capital investment. More than half the technical cooperation commitments were for technical assistance in education and in agriculture—training teachers, building elementary and secondary schools, establishing extension services, and teaching modern techniques of farming.

Supporting assistance to the region amounted to \$37 million, 23 percent of the total program, continuing the steady decline of this kind of assistance to Africa since fiscal year 1961 when over 60 percent of the total African program consisted of supporting assistance.

Some AID assistance was provided to 35 African countries during fiscal year 1965, but two-thirds of the total went to just seven countries—Nigeria, Tunisia, Congo (Léopoldville), Liberia, Guinea, Morocco, and Ethiopia.

The largest programs were in Nigeria and Tunisia, the two African countries where AID conducts major programs in support of general development. As in previous years, two-thirds of total free world assistance to African development was provided by countries other than the United States, principally the developed countries of Western Europe.

New elements in the fiscal year 1965 program for Africa included provision of operating personnel to meet African needs for specific kinds of skilled manpower; a new program to encourage joint ventures by African and United States small businessmen; and an increase in regional activities such as an Afro-American purchasing center in the United States to help with commodity procurement procedures.

Of the \$46.1 million in development lending to African countries during fiscal year 1965, \$21.4 million was for improvements in transportation—seven loans to six countries for projects to build roads into rich farm and forest areas and to improve air transport facilities. Other loans were for expansion of schools and colleges in Kenya and Liberia, and for expanded sewerage systems and a general training hospital in Liberia.

These were among the results by fiscal year 1965 of AID assistance programs in Africa:

- More than 2,000 new teachers graduated during the year from AID-assisted training institutions;

- Secondary school enrollment in east Africa increased threefold since 1961 to 75,000;

- Forty-one thousand students enrolled in AID-assisted vocational and technical schools;

- Eleven million cattle inoculated against rinderpest in four west African countries;

- Five hundred thousand acres in northern Nigeria cleared of tsetse flies and opened for beef-cattle production;

- Eight hundred thousand preschool children vaccinated against a measles epidemic in six west African countries;

- Expansion of a marketing co-op in Uganda to 400,000 members and an increase in the value of crops marketed from \$20 million in 1962 to over \$46 million fiscal year 1965;

- Demonstrations of successful farming techniques to over 300,000 Sudanese farmers.

*Foreign technicians (participants) arriving in the United States for training in fiscal year 1965*¹

[By region and field of activity]

Field of activity	Region					Total
	Latin America	Africa	Near East and south Asia	Far East	Europe	
Agriculture.....	429	451	298	61	-----	1,239
Industry.....	178	108	171	61	-----	518
Transportation.....	83	18	52	40	-----	193
Labor.....	219	22	60	17	-----	318
Health.....	129	30	83	63	-----	305
Education.....	260	233	80	107	-----	680
Public administration.....	297	215	208	78	-----	798
Public safety.....	604	70	100	56	-----	830
Community development.....	22	17	4	2	-----	45
Housing.....	8	9	2	3	-----	22
Atomic energy.....	5	-----	28	17	1	51
Communications media.....	1	37	6	2	-----	46
Miscellaneous.....	129	56	44	138	-----	367
Total.....	2,364	1,266	1,136	645	1	5,412

¹ Excluding technicians brought to the United States by AID-financed contractors for training in fiscal year 1965.*AID-financed technicians in Africa—Contract and U.S. Government employees*

[As of June 30, 1965]

Field of activity	Government employees ¹	Contract employees ²
Food and agriculture.....	224	108
Industry and mining.....	48	28
Transportation.....	19	64
Labor.....	2	-----
Health and sanitation.....	40	8
Education.....	56	460
Public safety.....	33	1
Public administration.....	10	16
Community development and housing.....	23	4
Private enterprise.....	(3)	12
Technical support.....	142	-----
Other.....	47	31
Total.....	644	732

¹ U.S. nationals paid from program funds.² U.S. citizens in positions identified in AID-financed contracts.³ U.S. Government employees in private enterprise activities are distributed among the other technical fields of activity; e.g., agriculture, industry, housing, etc.

African countries where investment guaranties are available

[June 30, 1965]

Type of guarantee			
Convertibility	Expropriation	War, revolution, and insurrection	Extended risk
Central African Republic ¹	Central African Republic ¹	Central African Republic ¹	Central African Republic ¹
Chad ¹	Chad ¹	Chad ¹	Chad ¹
Congo (Brazzaville)	Congo (Brazzaville)	Congo (Brazzaville)	Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)	Congo (Léopoldville)	Congo (Léopoldville)	Congo (Léopoldville)
Dahomey ¹	Dahomey ¹	Dahomey ¹	Dahomey ¹
Ethiopia	Ethiopia		
Gabon	Gabon	Gabon	Gabon
Ghana	Ghana		
Guinea	Guinea	Guinea	Guinea
Ivory Coast	Ivory Coast	Ivory Coast	Ivory Coast
Kenya	Kenya	Kenya	Kenya
Liberia	Liberia	Liberia ¹	Liberia ¹
Malagasy	Malagasy	Malagasy	Malagasy
Mali	Mali	Mali	Mali
Mauritania ¹	Mauritania ¹	Mauritania ¹	Mauritania ¹
Morocco	Morocco	Morocco	Morocco
Niger	Niger	Niger	Niger
Nigeria	Nigeria		
Senegal	Senegal	Senegal	Senegal
Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone
Somalia	Somalia	Somalia	Somalia
Sudan	Sudan	Sudan	Sudan
Tanzania	Tanzania	Tanzania	Tanzania
Togo	Togo	Togo	Togo
Tunisia	Tunisia	Tunisia	Tunisia
Uganda ¹	Uganda ¹	Uganda ¹	Uganda ¹
Upper Volta ¹	Upper Volta ¹	Upper Volta ¹	Upper Volta ¹
United Arab Republic (Egypt)	United Arab Republic (Egypt)	United Arab Republic (Egypt)	United Arab Republic (Egypt)

¹ Newly available through agreements signed in fiscal year 1965.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The military assistance program for fiscal year 1965 was carried out with the original appropriation of \$1 billion, a supplemental appropriation of \$55 million to support expanding combat operations in Vietnam, the transfer of funds from the contingency fund, and the use of special authority contained in section 510 of the Foreign Assistance Act.

More than half of the funds, \$698 million, was programed for the Far East with two countries, Vietnam and Laos, receiving more than half of the Far East total. Countries in Near East/south Asia were allocated \$302 million in military assistance funds. Other regional allocations were: Latin America, \$73 million; Europe, \$51 million; and Africa, \$29 million.

Grant military assistance totaling \$29.4 million was provided to 11 African nations as follows:

Congo.....	\$7, 015
Ethiopia.....	10, 015
Guinea.....	756
Liberia.....	1, 283
Libya.....	2, 461
Mali.....	566
Morocco.....	5, 920
Nigeria.....	383
Senegal.....	306
Tunisia.....	339
Upper Volta.....	8
Africa area programs.....	339
Total.....	29, 391

Equipment and training were provided to help thwart Soviet and Chinese Communist efforts to gain a dominating influence in newly emerging nations whose political and economic vulnerability make them tempting targets for subversion and infiltration. The importance of such assistance was dramatically demonstrated in the Congo where the legitimate government was dangerously threatened by terrorist and guerrilla activities which could not have been controlled without the aid provided through the military assistance program.

Military assistance was also provided in support of civic action programs through which local forces in several African nations are encouraged to participate in roadbuilding, well digging, and medical projects.

APPENDIX D.—COOLEY LOAN FUNDS AVAILABLE IN AFRICA

Local currencies may be loaned to (1) U.S. firms or their branches, subsidiaries, or affiliates for business development and trade expansion in the foreign country, or (2) either U.S. firms or firms of the local country for expanding markets for, and consumption of, U.S. agricultural products abroad.

Any corporation, partnership, association or other legal entity (including an individual U.S. citizen) is considered a U.S. business firm if it is controlled by U.S. citizens and is either a profitmaking organization or an organization engaged in commercial, manufacturing or financial activities of the kind customarily engaged in by profitmaking organizations. Majority beneficial ownership of an entity by U.S. citizens will in and of itself be deemed to constitute control of a firm.

An applicant for a Cooley loan will be deemed to be an affiliate of a U.S. firm if the U.S. firm, by virtue of its equity interest in, and other commercial and operating ties to, the applicant has the power to exercise a significant influence on the policy and operations of the applicant. Majority ownership of an applicant by a U.S. firm will in and of itself be deemed to evidence such power. If the U.S. firm owns less than a majority interest, the other commercial and operating ties between the U.S. firm and the applicant will be looked to to determine if such power exists.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The local currencies are available in countries where the United States has sold surplus agricultural commodities. The currencies may be used by the borrower to develop his business and to expand trade by financing such local costs as expansion of plant and equipment, land acquisition, industrial training, and other normal costs of operation.

Cooley loans may not be made for the manufacture of products which would be exported to the United States in competition with U.S.-made products, and they may not be made for the production of commodities which would be marketed in competition with U.S. agricultural products. Cooley loans to foreign firms (non-U.S.-affiliated borrowers) may be made only if they will be used to expand markets for U.S. agricultural products.

AID Cooley loans usually bear interest at rates comparable to those charged by local development banks. Maturities are related to the purposes of financing. Loans are repayable in the currency borrowed, without maintenance of value. In some cases, a guaranty of loan repayment may be required.

Data on the availability of Cooley funds are periodically published in AID press releases. Persons wishing to receive these releases regularly may request that their names be included on the mailing list by writing to: Office of Development Finance and Private Enterprise, AID, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 20523.

HOW TO APPLY

Inquiries regarding the Cooley fund program in general or the availability of Cooley funds in a given country, should be directed to: Office of Development Finance and Private Enterprise, AID, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 20523. Inquiries regarding Cooley loans to private borrowers for operations in a specific country should be addressed to the proper regional bureau of AID, Washington, D.C., or to the appropriate U.S. AID mission.

A list of the countries in Africa in which Cooley loans are now available and the amounts in each case follows:¹

Country	Unit of currency	Amount (thousands)	U.S. equivalent (in thousands)
Congo (Léopoldville).....	C. francs.....	314,626	\$2,098
Ethiopia.....	E. dollars.....	425	171
Guinea.....	G. francs.....	685,449	2,781
Ivory Coast.....	CFA francs.....	114,867	469
Morocco.....	Dirhams.....	16,568	3,301
Senegal.....	CFA francs.....	121,001	494
Sudan.....	S. pounds.....	956	2,766
Tunisia.....	Dinars.....	1,383	2,655

¹ As of Feb. 10, 1966.

APPENDIX E.—U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE IN AFRICA ¹

Summary of direct costs by country for fiscal year 1965

Country	1965 actual	Country	1965 actual
Algeria.....	\$490, 302	Senegal.....	\$206, 011
Basutoland.....		Sierra Leone.....	140, 941
Burundi.....	105, 364	Somali Republic.....	280, 037
Cameroon.....	209, 285	South Africa.....	191, 823
Central African Republic.....	97, 283	Southern Rhodesia.....	188, 509
Chad.....	139, 054	Sudan.....	298, 158
Congo (Brazzaville).....	129, 419	Tanzania.....	182, 898
Congo (Léopoldville).....	1, 454, 903	Togo.....	125, 259
Dahomey.....	123, 038	Tunisia.....	266, 412
Ethiopia.....	440, 517	Uganda.....	131, 767
Gabon.....	140, 453	Upper Volta.....	116, 690
Ghana.....	421, 856	Zambia.....	139, 921
Guinea.....	197, 570	African Regional Service	
Ivory Coast.....	258, 853	(Paris).....	64, 122
Kenya.....	273, 816	Regional Space Science	
Liberia.....	164, 311	Lecturers (Paris).....	17, 023
Libya.....	606, 090	African Regional Service	
Malagasy Republic.....	192, 862	(Cairo).....	39, 930
Malawi.....	97, 829	African Regional Service	
Mali.....	167, 457	(Tel Aviv).....	75, 993
Morocco.....	587, 918	Areawide costs.....	1, 094, 829
Niger.....	113, 113		
Nigeria.....	1, 044, 565	Total.....	11, 016, 186
Rwanda.....			

Comparison of USIS expenditures in Africa with other regions

Africa.....	\$11, 016, 186	Soviet Union and East	
Far East.....	17, 017, 981	Europe.....	\$1, 457, 170
West Europe.....	11, 663, 674	Near East and South	
Special Europe ²	5, 142, 935	Asia.....	19, 765, 097

¹ Information supplied by U.S. Information Agency.

² For USIS (RIAS), Radio in American Sector, Berlin; Berlin; Yugoslavia.