

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

REMARKS

AFRICA HALL

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

JANUARY 6, 1968

Mr Minister
Gen Yellwines
H & G

Mr Prime
Minister

H. I. M.

Parliament Gen
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Pres. of Sen
President
Chamber
Deputies

Today I want to talk with you about the people of Africa, the people of the United States, and the common problems, aspirations and opportunities which we both share with the wider family of man.

This is my first real visit to Africa. As any newcomer, I am deeply impressed by the friendliness and exuberance of your people . . . by the natural beauty and resources of your continent . . . and by your determination to secure freedom, justice, and human dignity for every African.

Indeed, I feel as though my heart has always been here, as have the hearts of most Americans who share the dream of a just and peaceful world.

In America we know that freedom, justice and human dignity must still be secured for some of our citizens. And in parts of Africa -- in even greater proportion -- we know that the same is true. The conditions we seek to overcome -- those of injustice, exploitation, poverty and servitude -- did not begin yesterday. Nor will they be overcome tomorrow.

The important question for today is this: In what direction are we moving?

Are we moving toward a future where all men have the opportunity to share fully in the bounty of their land -- and to participate fully in the governing of their nations?

Or are we moving backward toward the time when the few prospered at the expense of the many, when dignity and freedom were the chosen preserve of a self-appointed elite?

As Franklin Roosevelt said more than 30 years ago, "The test of our progress is not whether we add to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

Let it be clear where America stands.

Segregation: We oppose it.

Discrimination: We oppose it.

Exploitation: We oppose it.

Social injustice: We oppose it.

Self-determination: We support it.

Territorial integrity: We support it.

National independence: We support it.

Majority rule -- one man-one vote: We support it.

Human brotherhood and equality of opportunity for every man, woman and child: We are committed to it -- in America, in Africa, and around the world.

And we in America, and you in Africa, know that the conditions which stand in our way shall be overcome.

I bring this message to Africa as a representative of a nation and a people who feel they are your natural partners . . . who have no colonial memories or ambitions . . . and who share your purposes and goals.

* * *

The time is not long past when the fate of this continent was decided in distant places. There were those, both in Africa and abroad, who said that Africans were not capable of charting their own destiny.

DISPROVE

But the facts ~~betell~~ the lie. Those doubts have been dramatically disproved.

The future of independent Africa is in your hands. And Africa Hall is where much of this history will be written.

To those who even today try to preserve the colonial past, I say: You tragically misread the will and determination of Africans everywhere. You misread history and fail to understand the future.

To those who still believe that small minorities can indefinitely hold dominion over large majorities, I say: You ignore the most vital and inevitable movement of our time -- self-determination.

I have seen freedom, pride, and self-confidence in the faces of the ordinary men and women in every African country I have visited.

I have met with determined leaders who know that social and economic progress will come slowly, but who are nevertheless ready to sacrifice for it -- to bring to their countries programs of health, of education, of rural development . . . to build with such practical things as rural roads and water systems.

And I have yet to meet one African who would surrender his country's independence for mere economic assistance.

Africa and America are committed to three essentials of freedom and human progress:

- 1) Independence with a full acceptance of interdependence;
- 2) National security with a firm commitment to international cooperation for peace;
- 3) National development within the framework of regional cooperation.

You face many grave problems. But you also possess many priceless assets.

Africa can remain insulated from much of the turmoil and controversy elsewhere in the world -- as we in America did for the first century and a half of independent nationhood. You can make your choices, set your priorities, and determine your true interests.

Most parts of Africa are not yet caught up in the population explosion that holds back progress in other parts of the world. You still have time to bring your food supply and human resources into balance.

Beyond this, Africa has potential for enormous agricultural productivity. With foresight and management . . . with research and modern techniques, you can both lift your own people and help fill the desperate food shortage that threatens others around the world.

Africa, perhaps more than any other continent, can find a bright future in agriculture. African nations need not turn,

for the sake of vanity, to grandiose industries which drain resources without being competitive in world markets.

This does not mean, of course, that Africans should remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The right industrial opportunities also lie open to you.

You have raw materials, hydro-electric power, and growing numbers of trained engineers, technicians and workers. With careful planning -- and with the creation of large-scale markets through regional cooperation -- you can look forward to healthy growth in industry and trade. But having witnessed the tragic experience of others in rushing heedlessly into uneconomic industrial development, I know you will choose both your industry and your markets realistically.

For our part, we in the developed nations must be ready to do far more than we have done to reduce barriers which restrict the exports of African and other developing nations.

It is not only in our enlightened self-interest to do so, but it must also be done because it is right and just.

The United States intends to take new leadership in reducing these barriers to trade and commerce.

You are also reaching outward toward new regional cooperation. We enthusiastically support these efforts.

One of the lessons of recent history has been that both markets and economic units must be large enough to permit economic diversification; competitiveness and full employment.

In America, we are fortunate to have such a ready-made, large-scale economic unit. Others in Europe, in Asia, and in Latin America are building them just as you are here.

For those who fear some loss of national sovereignty in regional cooperation, I would point out that the greatest loss of sovereignty comes when a nation's people are impoverished, unable to find work, and unable to generate the economic power which must lie at the heart of independent nationhood.

We support the Economic Commission for Africa.

We are encouraged by the work of the young, vital African Development Bank -- and we are looking for new ways to help the Bank's Special Fund.

We are heartened by the East African Community and its promise of growth.

We see real potential in evolving economic organizations in the Maghreb and in West Africa . . . in negotiating for joint development of river projects . . . in developing joint economic plans among any group of like-minded countries.

We firmly support, too, the Organization of African Unity.

If there are those who doubt the value of the OAU, I direct them to the results of the Kinshasa meeting in September. I believe it will prove to be a landmark in the growth of African solidarity -- a time when the world saw the OAU's determination to come to grips responsibly with tangible problems and not just to function as a convenient debating society.

The concept of African solidarity deserves and will receive the support of the American people.

It is a concept which strives toward human and social betterment by replacing violence and dissension with brotherhood and peace. It is a concept which binds men together rather than driving them apart . . . a concept which respects individual human rights, as well as the unique cultural and ethnic traditions of Africa's many peoples.

It is this concept which has been at work in ameliorating relations between Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia.

It is a concept that will be further tested this spring in West Africa.

It is present whenever African nations work together on development of transport, river basins, or common markets, or when they consider the problem of refugees, as you recently did in this hall.

The concept of African unity is surely the only sane path toward peace and justice in a world where mankind possesses the capacity for self-annihilation.

* * *

I will not tell you all that America has done to help Africa. We have done a good deal -- but it is still not enough.

Both the President and I deeply regret that our requests for foreign assistance have been reduced this year.

We do not intend to retreat in the face of these reductions -- or fall back before those in America who call for a New Isolationism.

We intend to take our case before the American people. We intend to let them decide the course we shall follow in the outside world.

I know my countrymen. They will not turn away from their responsibility to others, including Africa.

Yet, despite any amount of economic assistance to Africa, we can never rest until human as well as economic rights are fully realized.

On the third anniversary of the OAU, President Johnson set forth our position: "The foreign policy of the United States," the President said, "is rooted in its life at home. We will not permit human rights to be restricted in our own country, and we will not support policies abroad which are based on the rule of minorities or the discredited notion that men are unequal before the law."

Nowhere are these rights more challenged than today in southern Africa.

The case of Southwest Africa is but one case in point, but it contains all the elements of tragedy which characterize this situation.

My government, through all legal and practical means, has tried -- both alone and together with other members of the United Nations -- to persuade South Africa to change her policies and practices with respect to Southwest Africa. We shall persist in these efforts.

In 1966, we joined the majority of the United Nations General Assembly in declaring that South Africa had failed to carry out the terms of the mandate over Southwest Africa, and that the UN henceforth assumed responsibility for the territory.

The South African government is now trying 32 citizens of Southwest Africa -- originally 37 -- on charges of terrorism.

This trial is being conducted in Pretoria, over 1,000 miles from the homes of the accused. The charges -- made under a South African law enacted as much as a year after the alleged crime -- could lead to sentences of death.

That trial is a farce. It is based on a law that provides for the retroactive political persecution of wards of the international community. It raises fundamental questions regarding international norms of behavior.

Great legal and human issues are involved here. We believe that the rights and well-being of the 32 are the legitimate concern of all the international community.

As Thomas Jefferson wrote in the early days of American independence: "All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of man . . . the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the Grace of God."

We have supported majority rule, human rights and self-determination throughout the world. We will not abandon them in the southern sixth of Africa. That commitment dictated our response when a white minority regime seized

power in Rhodesia. We strongly condemned that action, refused to recognize the regime and joined with others in the imposition of voluntary economic sanctions.

When stronger measures were required, we gave full support to the UN policy of mandatory economic sanctions against the illegal regime in Salisbury.

No country in the world has recognized the small minority which denies to the great majority of the Rhodesian population effective participation in the governing process. In the long run, such reactionary behavior cannot succeed -- neither in Southern Rhodesia nor in the other parts of Southern Africa where self-determination is still denied.

President Johnson said 18 months ago, "A nation in the 20th century cannot expect to achieve order and sustained growth unless it moves -- not just steadily but rapidly -- in the direction of full political rights for all its people."

I said at the beginning that we in America see ourselves as your natural partners. We feel this, most of all, because we see within ourselves the vision which challenges you . . . the principles which guide you . . . and the creativity which motivates you.

We, too, were favored with abundant natural resources and with the determination and imagination to use them productively. We also profited from a flow of investment from more developed countries. Our canals, our railroads and much of our early industry were financed in large measure with foreign capital.

We, like you, have always sought a world of peace in which we could develop and mature in our own way. We borrowed freely from the experience of other nations. We resented interference and resisted alien doctrines long before they were served up under the now tattered and discredited banner of "wars of national liberation."

To this very day we are determined to fulfill for every American the promises of our Declaration of Independence: the inalienable rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Our revolution is a continuing one.

There are some Americans who do not enjoy a full measure of opportunity in education, in housing, in employment, in social justice. We shall not rest until full opportunity for all is an accomplished fact.

We are very much part of the world revolution of rising expectations and we have experienced the frustrations and violence resulting from legitimate expectations too long postponed.

Yes, we live in a rapidly changing world:

-- a world in which colonialism has given way to national independence and self-determination;

-- where men are no longer divided as exploiters and exploited, but are being given the chance to prove themselves on their own merit and merit alone;

-- where artificial social delineations are falling away in the face of the inescapable and clear reality that all men are created equal.

We, now, in our time and generation, have the power to make this change more rapid . . . to bring the world closer to its vision of peace and freedom.

We in America are with you -- materially, and with our hearts -- in your effort to build a new and better continent. We may at times make mistakes. Our own shortcomings may be painfully clear. We may, in confusion, sometimes obscure our real purposes and goals.

But you should know nonetheless that our pledge is firm and will not be withdrawn.

One of my favorite authors -- one which I wish more Africans could know -- is the American writer of the 1930's, Thomas Wolfe.

Thomas Wolfe spoke out on behalf of all Americans -- he spoke our thoughts and dreams -- at a time when our America was filled with poverty, hopelessness, discrimination, and injustice.

"To every man his chance," he wrote, "to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Yes -- this is the promise of America -- and I believe it is the promise and the cause of all mankind.

It is a promise which one day will come true, not only in my own country, but here on this continent -- where riches lie beneath your feet -- and in every farm and village where people are determined to lift themselves.

It will come true if we determine to make it so.

I think we can, and shall.

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[Jan 6]

TO BE WITH YOU TODAY, IN ETHIOPIA, IN AFRICA
HALL, IS TO SENSE AFRICA'S PROUD PAST AND, AT
THE SAME TIME, SEE ^{the}PROMISE OF ^{its}~~THE~~ FUTURE.

ETHIOPIA -- A NATION WHOSE INDEPENDENCE
STRETCHES BACK INTO ANCIENT TIMES -- CREATES A
DEEP AWARENESS OF THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF GENERA-
TIONS PAST. NO MORE APPROPRIATE SETTING COULD
BE FOUND FOR THE DELIBERATIONS OF THOSE WHO LEAD
A CONTINENT ASSERTING ITS NEWLY WON FREEDOM,

AND AFRICA HALL IS WHERE HISTORY IS BEING
MADE TODAY. TOGETHER WITH MANY OTHER MEETING
PLACES THROUGHOUT THIS CONTINENT, THIS WILL BE

THE SHRINE OF A NEW EPOCH IN AFRICAN HISTORY --
AN EPOCH OF RAPID PROGRESS EARNED BY AFRICANS
FOR AFRICANS.

THE TIME IS STILL NOT LONG PAST WHEN THE
FATE OF THIS CONTINENT WAS LARGELY DECIDED IN
DISTANT LANDS. THERE WERE THOSE BOTH IN AFRICA
AND ABROAD WHO FEARED THAT AFRICA COULD NOT RULE
ITSELF.

BUT ONE NEED ONLY WITNESS THE SELF-RELIANCE,
THE WISDOM AND THE VIGOR OF THE NEW AFRICA, AS
IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TO DO DURING THESE PAST
FEW DAYS, TO KNOW HOW COMPLETELY THOSE DOUBTS
HAVE BEEN CONFOUNDED.

FOR THOSE WHO WOULD EVEN TODAY TRY TO PRE-
SERVE THE COLONIAL PAST, I CAN ONLY SAY THAT THEY
TRAGICALLY MISREAD THE WILL AND THE DETERMINATION
OF AFRICANS EVERYWHERE. FOR THOSE WHO STILL BE-
LIEVE THAT SMALL MINORITIES CAN LONG HOLD DOMIN-
ION OVER GREAT MAJORITIES, I CAN ONLY SAY THAT
ignore
THEY ^{ignore} AT THEIR PERIL ~~IGNORE~~ THE MOST VITAL AND
PROMISING FORCES OF OUR TIMES.

I HAVE SEEN FREEDOM AND SELF-CONFIDENCE ON
THE FACES OF ORDINARY MEN AND WOMEN IN EVERY COUNTRY
I HAVE VISITED. I HAVE TALKED WITH DETERMINED
LEADERS WHO CARRY ON THEIR SHOULDERS THE HEAVY
RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAKING FREEDOM WORK.

I HAVE FOUND AFRICANS IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE
WHO ARE ONLY TOO WELL AWARE THAT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
PROGRESS COMES SLOWLY, AND I HAVE MET THOSE WHO
ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY DIVISIONS AMONG THEMSELVES.
BUT I HAVE YET TO MEET AN AFRICAN WHO WOULD GIVE
UP HIS COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE. [THIS IS NOT THE
TIME, IN THE WORDS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, FOR "TIMID
MEN WHO PREFER THE CALM OF DESPOTISM TO THE TEMPE-
STUOUS SEA OF LIBERTY." (1797)

WITH ALL THE PROBLEMS YOU FACE, YOU HAVE
GREAT ADVANTAGES AND TREMENDOUS ASSETS. YOUR
POLITICAL LIFE IS RELATIVELY UNENCUMBERED WITH THE
AGE-OLD LEGACIES OF NATIONAL DISPUTES WHICH EXIST

ELSEWHERE.

YOUR CONTINENT, MORE THAN ANY OTHER, CAN
STAND SOMEWHAT ASIDE FROM THE TURMOIL AND CONTRO-
VERSIES OF THE REST OF THE WORLD, AS WE DID FOR
THE FIRST CENTURY AND A HALF OF INDEPENDENT
NATIONHOOD. YOU HAVE AN UNPARALLELED OPPORTUNITY
TO DECIDE WHAT REALLY SUITS YOUR OWN BEST INTERESTS,
TO SET YOUR OWN PRIORITIES, AND TO SHAPE YOUR OWN
DESTINY WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE.

IT IS ALSO TO YOUR ADVANTAGE THAT YOU ARE NOT
YET CAUGHT IN THE POPULATION SQUEEZE THAT THREATENS
PROGRESS IN SO MANY OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD. AL-
THOUGH YOUR POPULATION IS GROWING RAPIDLY, YOU

HAVE THE RESOURCES TO SUPPORT AND IMPROVE THEIR
STANDARD OF LIVING.

MOREOVER, IF YOU CAN KEEP AHEAD OF YOUR POPULATION GROWTH AS YOU DAM YOUR RIVERS, TRANSFORM YOUR AGRICULTURE, AND FURTHER DEVELOP YOUR MINERALS, YOU WILL FIND YOURSELVES IN A POSITION OF INCREASING ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD AS A WHOLE.

AS WE LOOK AHEAD SOME 20 OR 30 YEARS, THE NEED FOR FOOD STANDS OUT AS ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT PROBLEMS. EVEN IF THERE ARE EXTRAORDINARY SCIENTIFIC BREAKTHROUGHS THAT WILL GIVE US MUCH MORE FOOD FROM THE SEA OR FROM SOURCES OF ENERGY LOCKED IN THE EARTH, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT FUTURE

GENERATIONS MUST CONTINUE TO RELY ON AGRICULTURE
FOR MOST OF THEIR FOOD. YOU HAVE THE LAND, THE
WATER, THE WARMTH, AND THE SUN TO MAKE AGRICUL-
TURAL ~~ENTREPRENEUR~~^{enterprise} HIGHLY PROFITABLE.

TOO LITTLE THOUGHT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO AFRICA'S
ENORMOUS AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE GROWING WORLD FOOD CRISIS. PERHAPS THAT IS
BECAUSE THE PRODUCERS OF PRIMARY AGRICULTURAL COM-
MODITIES -- AND, FOR THAT MATTER, OF MANY MINERALS --
HAVE SUFFERED IN THE WORLD MARKET SINCE THE GREAT
SHORTAGES OF WORLD WAR II. DURING THE PAST TWENTY
YEARS, AGRICULTURE HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH LOW
PRICES -- IN MY HOME STATE OF MINNESOTA AS WELL AS

HERE.

AND INDUSTRY, BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN MORE PROFIT-
ABLE AND MORE GLAMOROUS, HAS BEEN WIDELY REGARDED
AS THE FASTEST ROAD TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

BUT JUST AS MILITARY MEN TOO OFTEN PREPARE
FOR THE KIND OF WAR THEY LAST FOUGHT, OUR ECONOMIC
GENERALS TEND TO LOOK BACKWARD RATHER THAN FORWARD.

THE TERMS OF TRADE THAT FAVORED INDUSTRY AND
HANDICAPPED AGRICULTURE DURING THE PAST GENERATION
ARE LIKELY TO SHIFT MARKEDLY DURING THE NEXT TEN
TO TWENTY YEARS.

EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES
OF RECENT YEARS ARE PRECISELY THE ONES THAT CAN

LEAD TO GREATLY INCREASED PRODUCTION IN TROPICAL AGRICULTURE. THERE ARE NEW INSECTICIDES TODAY TO CONTROL INFESTATION WHERE THE GROUND NEVER FREEZES; THERE ARE MORE EFFECTIVE INOCULATIONS FOR DISEASES OF CATTLE; THERE ARE FERTILIZERS THAT CAN COMPENSATE FOR THE LEACHING OF TROPICAL SOILS.

MUCH STILL NEEDS TO BE DONE IN THE SELECTION OF HIGH-YIELD CROPS AND IN THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMERCIAL FARMING. THESE ARE THE CHALLENGES BEFORE YOUR NEW GENERATION OF AGRONOMISTS AND ENTREPRENEURS.

BY EMPHASIZING THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO

EVERY AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, INCLUDING
MY OWN, I DO NOT MEAN TO MINIMIZE THE IMPORTANCE
OF YOUR GREAT INDUSTRIAL POTENTIAL.

YOUR RICH RESOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS AND INEX-
PENSIVE HYDROELECTRIC POWER ARE THE BASIS FOR
DRAMATIC INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND SHOULD GIVE YOU A
STRONG COMPETITIVE POSITION IN WORLD MARKETS.
MOREOVER, VIGOROUS INDUSTRIES ARE A MUST IF YOUR
FARMERS ARE TO HAVE THE MATERIAL INCENTIVES --
THE PROSPECT OF A MODERN STANDARD OF LIVING --
WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE THEM TO INCREASE THEIR OUTPUT.

THE DEVELOPED NATIONS, FOR THEIR PART,
MUST BE READY TO REDUCE NON-TARRIF BARRIERS WHICH

RESTRICT EXPORTS OF BOTH AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS FROM THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, THOSE ADJUSTMENTS AND OTHERS MUST EMERGE FROM A NEW AND INTENSIVE DIALOGUE AMONG ALL NATIONS, SITTING TOGETHER AS EQUALS AND DEDICATED TO IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THIS PLANET IN THE BROADEST SENSE.

I BELIEVE THAT ECONOMIC VIABILITY, AS WELL AS THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF THE NEW AFRICA, WILL DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE UPON THE SUCCESS OF YOUR CONTINUING EFFORTS TO TRANSCEND NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, TO ACHIEVE THE ECONOMIES OF SCALE AND THE POLITICAL BENEFITS OF CLOSE COOPERATION.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY HAS
ACHIEVED A DISTINGUISHED RECORD IN A REMARKABLY
FEW YEARS. THE MEETING AT KINSHASA THIS PAST
SEPTEMBER WAS A LANDMARK IN AFRICAN HISTORY.
THERE THE WORLD WITNESSED THE OAU'S DETERMINATION
TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEALING WITH AFRICAN
PROBLEMS.

THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA HAS PROVIDED GRATIFYING LEADERSHIP IN THE ENTIRE RANGE
OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY -- TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS,
TRADE, HARMONIZING DEVELOPMENT.

THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IS NOW IN
BUSINESS -- AND THIS PAST YEAR WE HAVE OFFERED

TO HELP WITH ITS SPECIAL FUND.

THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY, PROBABLY TO
BE EXPANDED SOON BOTH TO THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH,
IS THE HEARTENING KIND OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC CO-
OPERATION THAT SERVES TO INSPIRE OTHERS -- NOT
ONLY OTHERS IN AFRICA BUT ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

THERE ARE DISCUSSIONS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZA-
TIONS IN THE MAGHREB AND IN WEST AFRICA. . . .
NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF RIVER
BASINS AND, IN THE CASE OF GHANA'S VOLTA RIVER
PROJECT, SHARING THE BENEFITS OF A NATIONAL DEVEL-
OPMENT . . . JOINT DEVELOPMENT PLANS BEING WORKED
OUT BY THE COUNTRIES OF THE ENTENTE -- THE LIST

COULD BE EXTENDED. THOSE ARE THE KINDS OF WORKING
RELATIONSHIPS WHERE PEACE, PROSPERITY AND STATESMANSHIP
GO HAND IN HAND.

IT IS A SOURCE OF GREAT SATISFACTION TO ME AND
TO MY FELLOW AMERICANS THAT WE ^{have had} ~~BE~~ ^{BEHOLD} AN OPPORTUNITY
TO SHARE IN YOUR DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS, AND I KNOW
OUR FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WILL INCREASE IN
YEARS TO COME.

THERE ARE NOW OVER 7,000 YOUNG AFRICANS
STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES, GETTING TO KNOW
US BETTER AND DECIDING WHAT ELEMENTS IN OUR
EXPERIENCE CAN BE USEFUL ON THIS CONTINENT.

WE HAVE HAD UP TO 4,000 YOUNG AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN
SERVING IN THE PEACE CORPS IN AFRICA, AND ANOTHER
4,000 HAVE RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES AFTER
THEIR SERVICE HERE, ENRICHED BY THEIR EXPERIENCE,
AND ENRICHING THEIR COUNTRYMEN BY THEIR GREATER
UNDERSTANDING.

THE HELP THAT MY GOVERNMENT IS PROVIDING TO
INDIVIDUAL NATIONS AND GROUPS OF AFRICAN STATES IS
ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF YOUR OWN EFFORTS BUT IT,
TOO, IS A CHANNEL FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

WE ARE PROVIDING STAFF AND ADVISERS FOR SEVERAL
OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY'S PROJECTS. IF THE

COMMUNITY WISHES, THIS ASSISTANCE CAN GROW AS THE
COMMUNITY GROWS.

WE HOPE TO HELP WITH THE COST OF ENGINEERING
STUDIES FOR EXTENDING THE VOLTA RIVER POWER GRID
TO NEIGHBORING WEST AFRICAN NATIONS.

WE ARE NOW CARRYING OUT SEVERAL AGRICULTURAL
SURVEYS WHICH WE HOPE WILL LEAD TO INVESTMENT IN
THE ENTENTE STATES OF WEST AFRICA.

THOUGH WE WARMLY WELCOME THE MANY AFRICAN
STUDENTS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, WE REALIZE THE
DANGERS OF THE "BRAIN DRAIN." WE HAVE THEREFORE
BEGUN A SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM TO ASSIST AFRICANS TO
ATTEND AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES OUTSIDE THEIR OWN
COUNTRIES.

THE WORDS OF AFRICA'S FUTURE CAN BE READ, I
BELIEVE, IN THE WAY THAT THE PEOPLE AND LEADERS OF
AFRICA ARE SHOULDERING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES . . .
IN THE RESOURCES OF THIS GREAT CONTINENT . . . IN
THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THAT IS GROWING AMONG
YOU AND BETWEEN YOU AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.

YET AMIDST THESE HOPEFUL SIGNS, NONE OF US ^{can}
FAILS TO BE CONCERNED AT THE INJUSTICE, INEQUITIES,
AND LACK OF SELF-DETERMINATION THAT STILL EXIST
ON THIS CONTINENT.

ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF AFRICAN UNITY, PRESIDENT JOHNSON COMMENTED

ELOQUENTLY ON OUR BELIEF IN HUMAN RIGHTS. HE NOTED
SADLY, HOWEVER, THAT NARROW AND OUTMODED POLICIES
STILL PERMIT THE FEW TO RULE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE
MANY, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTHERN PARTS OF AFRICA.

"THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES," THE
PRESIDENT SAID, "IS ROOTED IN ITS LIFE AT HOME. WE
WILL NOT PERMIT HUMAN RIGHTS TO BE RESTRICTED IN OUR
OWN COUNTRY. AND WE WILL NOT SUPPORT POLICIES
ABROAD WHICH ARE BASED ON THE RULE OF MINORITIES
OR ITS DISCREDITED NOTION THAT MEN ARE UNEQUAL
BEFORE THE LAW."

NOWHERE ARE THESE RIGHTS MORE CHALLENGED TODAY
THAN IN SOUTH AFRICA. THIS CHALLENGE IS HIGHLIGHTED
BY THE REPUBLIC'S HOLD OVER SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND
THE LIVES OF ITS PEOPLE.

MY GOVERNMENT, THROUGH ALL LEGAL AND PRACTICAL
MEANS, HAS TRIED, BOTH ALONE AND TOGETHER WITH THE
OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO PERSUADE
SOUTH AFRICA TO CHANGE HER POLICIES AND PRACTICES
WITH RESPECT TO SOUTH WEST AFRICA. IN 1966, WE
JOINED THE MAJORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL
ASSEMBLY IN DECLARING THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD FAILED
TO CARRY OUT THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE OVER

SOUTH WEST AFRICA, AND THAT THE UN HENCEFORTH ASSUMED
RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TERRITORY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS NOW TRYING 32
CITIZENS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA -- ORIGINALLY 37 -- ON
CHARGES OF TERRORISM. THIS TRIAL IS BEING CONDUCTED
IN PRETORIA, OVER 1,000 MILES FROM THE HOMES OF THE
ACCUSED. THE CHARGES, MADE UNDER A SOUTH AFRICAN
LAW ENACTED AS MUCH AS A YEAR AFTER THE ALLEGED
CRIMES, COULD LEAD TO SENTENCES OF DEATH.

THAT TRIAL IS A FARCE. IT IS BASED ON A LAW
THAT PROVIDES FOR THE RETROACTIVE POLITICAL
PERSECUTION OF WARDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

IT RAISES THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION WHETHER SOUTH
AFRICA CAN VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL NORMS OF BEHAVIOR
WITH IMPUNITY.

GREAT LEGAL AND HUMAN ISSUES ARE INVOLVED HERE.
WE BELIEVE THAT THE RIGHTS AND WELL-BEING OF THE 32
ARE THE LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

TO QUOTE THOMAS JEFFERSON ONCE AGAIN: "ALL EYES
ARE OPENED OR OPENING TO THE RIGHTS OF MAN, THE
GENERAL SPREAD OF THE LIGHTS OF SCIENCE HAS ALREADY
OPENED TO EVERY VIEW THE PALPABLE TRUTH, THAT THE
MASS OF MANKIND HAS NOT BEEN BORN WITH SADDLES ON

THEIR BACKS, NOR A FAVORED FEW BOOTED AND SPURRED,

READY TO RIDE THEM LEGITIMATELY, BY THE GRACE OF GOD."

THAT HAS EVER BEEN, AND WILL ALWAYS BE, THE
PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICA. WE HAVE PAID A HIGH PRICE IN
BLOOD AND MONEY TO PRESERVE IT AND WE ARE PREPARED
TO PAY THAT PRICE OVER AND OVER AGAIN IF NEED BE.

WE HAVE NOT SUPPORTED MAJORITY RULE, HUMAN
RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD
ONLY TO ABANDON IT IN THE SOUTHERN SIXTH OF AFRICA.
THAT COMMITMENT UNDERLAY OUR POSITION WHEN A WHITE
MINORITY REGIME SEIZED POWER IN RHODESIA. IT LED
US TO UNDERTAKE VOLUNTARY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS,

ALONG WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IT CAUSED US TO SUPPORT FULLY THE UN POLICY OF
MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ILLEGAL
REGIME IN SALISBURY. WE AGREE WITH GREAT BRITAIN'S
REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THAT REGIME AND ARE PLEASED
THAT NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD HAS EXTENDED
RECOGNITION TO THE SMALL MINORITY WHICH DENIES A
GENUINE ROLE IN THE GOVERNING PROCESS TO THE GREAT
BULK OF THE RHODESIAN POPULATION. SUCH RETROGRESSIVE
BEHAVIOR CANNOT SUCCEED IN THE LONG RUN NEITHER IN
SOUTHERN RHODESIA NOR IN THE OTHER PARTS OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA WHERE REAL SELF DETERMINATION CONTINUES TO BE
DENIED.

AS PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAID 18 MONTHS AGO, "A
NATION IN THE 20TH CENTURY CANNOT EXPECT TO ACHIEVE
ORDER AND SUSTAINED GROWTH UNLESS IT MOVES -- NOT
JUST STEADILY BUT RAPIDLY -- IN THE DIRECTION OF
FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE."

WE AMERICANS TEND TO SEE OUR OWN HISTORY IN
AFRICA -- NOT BECAUSE ALL OUR PROBLEMS ARE THE SAME,
AND NOT BECAUSE WE EXPECT YOU TO DEVELOP ⁱⁿOUR IMAGE,
BUT BECAUSE YOUR STRIVINGS HELP US TO RECAPTURE THE
CHALLENGES OF OUR EARLY DAYS.

WE, TOO, WERE A COLONY. WE, TOO, STRUGGLED
THROUGH THE FIRST DIFFICULT STAGES OF NATIONHOOD --

ECONOMIC DISLOCATION, DIVISIONS WITHIN, ENMITY
WITHOUT, EXPERIMENTATION WITH NEW AND UNFAMILIAR
INSTITUTIONS.

BUT WE TOO WERE FAVORED WITH ABUNDANT NATURAL
RESOURCES AND WITH THE WILL TO MAKE USE OF THEM.
WE ALSO PROFITED FROM AN ENORMOUS INFLOW OF INVESTMENT
FROM MORE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. OUR CANALS, OUR
RAILROADS AND MUCH OF OUR EARLY INDUSTRY WAS
FINANCED IN LARGE MEASURE WITH FOREIGN CAPITAL.

WE, LIKE YOU, HAVE ALWAYS WANTED A WORLD OF
PEACE IN WHICH WE COULD DEVELOP IN OUR OWN WAY.
WE BORROWED FREELY -- AND USUALLY WITHOUT DUE

RECOGNITION -- FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER NATIONS;

BUT WE RESENTED INTERFERENCE AND RESISTED FOREIGN

DOCTRINES LONG BEFORE THEY WERE SERVED UP UNDER THE

NOW TATTERED BANNER OF "WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION."

TO THIS VERY DAY WE HAVE NOT ENTIRELY

SUCCEEDED IN FULFILLING THE BOLD PROMISE OF OUR

CONSTITUTION TO GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS TO LIFE,

LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS TO EVERY PERSON.

THERE IS STILL UNJUSTIFIABLE POVERTY IN AMERICA.

THERE ARE STILL MEMBERS OF OUR MINORITY GROUPS --

NEGRO AMERICANS, SPANISH AMERICANS, PUERTO RICANS,

AMERICAN INDIANS -- WHO DO NOT ENJOY A FULL MEASURE

OF OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION, IN HOUSING, IN EMPLOYMENT,
IN SOCIAL JUSTICE.

TODAY, WE IN AMERICA ARE VERY MUCH PART OF THE
WORLD REVOLUTION OF RISING EXPECTATIONS; AND WE HAVE
NOT BEEN IMMUNE FROM THE FRUSTRATIONS AND VIOLENCE
THAT CAN RESULT WHEN THOSE LEGITIMATE EXPECTATIONS
ARE TOO SLOWLY REALIZED.

THE GREAT CHALLENGE BEFORE US IN AMERICA, AS
BEFORE YOU HERE IN AFRICA, AND BEFORE MEN EVERYWHERE
IN THIS LAST THIRD OF THE 20TH CENTURY, IS TO ASSURE
A FULL MEASURE OF OPPORTUNITY AND HUMAN DIGNITY,
OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC SECURITY, TO EVERY
INDIVIDUAL.

WE, LIKE YOU, HAVE MADE AND RENEWED A SOLEMN
COVENANT TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE. I BELIEVE THAT
~~HERE IN AFRICA~~ ^{in America} WE SHALL MEET IT; AND THE SPIRIT
OF SELF-CONFIDENT DETERMINATION WHICH I HAVE FOUND
THROUGHOUT AFRICA WILL ASSURE THE SUCCESS OF YOUR
OWN GREAT ADVENTURE/ here.

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