number 91

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

In the next issue

The Armed Road to Peace

by Blair Bolles

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HEADLINE SERIES



FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

AFRICA

New Crises in the Making

Harold R. Isaacs
and Emory Ross

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NUMBER 91

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

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AFRICA IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE



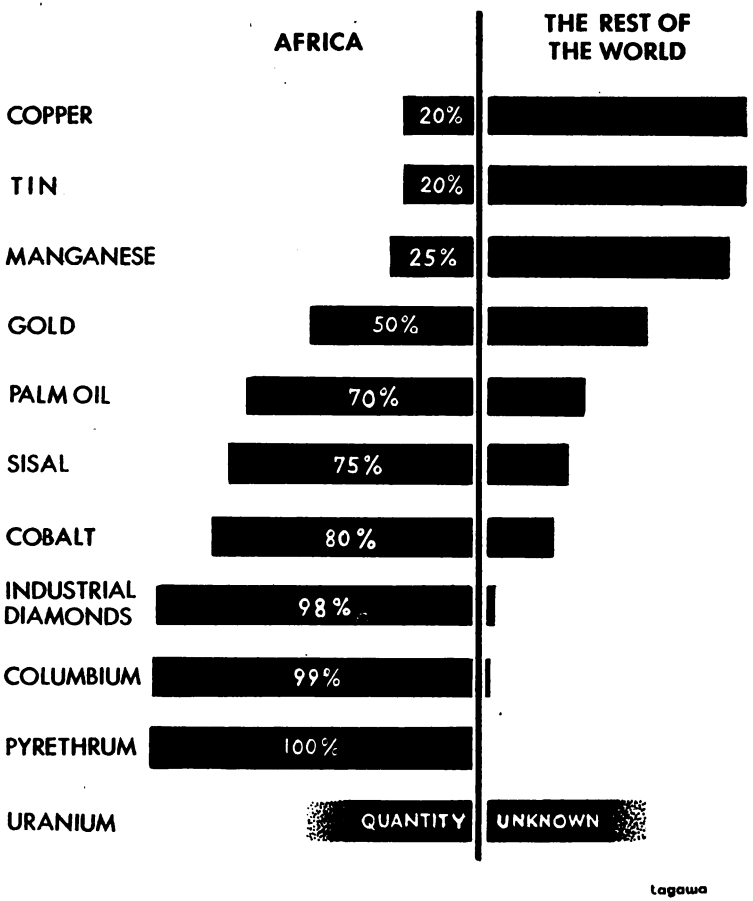
Effects of the War

Africa, one of the great continental segments of the "underdeveloped" world, is the last stronghold of European empire. All but a tenth of its land and all but a fifth of its estimated 198 million people are ruled by Europeans.[2] The political subdivisions of Africa, including its four independent countries and the colonial realms of Britain, France, Belgium, Spain and Portugal, are shown on the adjoining maps. With but a few minor

[2] All African population figures are estimates. Figures given here are from official sources used by the UN.

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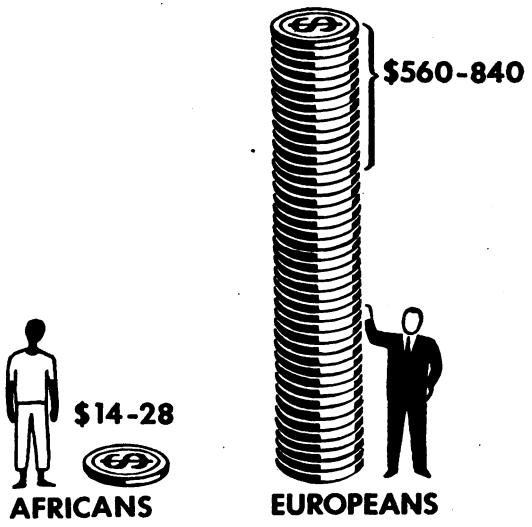
AFRICA IS RICH IN STRATEGIC MATERIALS



to the Western military machine. Africa produces one-fifth of the world's copper and tin (Congo, Northern Rhodesia, Nigeria); nearly one-fourth of its manganese (Gold Coast, Union of South Africa); more than one-half of its gold (Union of South Africa, Congo, British West Africa); palm oil, 70 per cent (Nigeria, Congo); sisal, 75 per cent (British East and Portuguese Africa); cobalt, 80 per cent (Congo, Northern Rhodesia, Morocco); industrial diamonds, 98 per cent (Union of South Africa,

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PER CAPITA INCOME IN KENYA AND N. AND S. RHODESIA



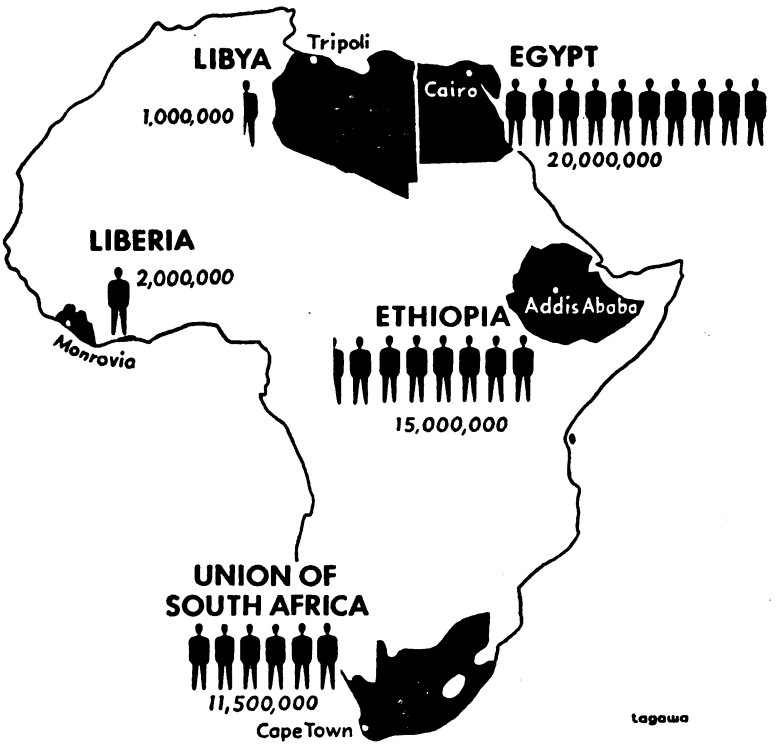
EACH COIN REPRESENTS ANNUAL INCOME OF $20

Asia, $380 in Europe, and $1,100 in North America. But even the figure of $75 is deceptively high, for it represents the income of both Europeans and Africans. The reality is more accurately reflected by official figures, which show, for example, that the per capita income of Africans in the Rhodesias and Kenya ranges between $14 and $28, as compared to $560 to $840 for non-Africans. In the Belgian Congo, Africans, comprising 97 per cent of the population, received in 1950 less than 25 per cent of the estimated national income of 32.5 billion Belgian francs.

These striking disparities in income constitute the hard kernel of the African economic problem. The European colonial powers, whatever their expressed good intentions, have not yet made a serious effort to come to terms with it, for to do so would involve a commitment to transform the whole colonial economic and political structure of Africa. In the nature of things, the impetus for such changes will come not from the Europeans but from the Africans.

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INDEPENDENT AFRICA

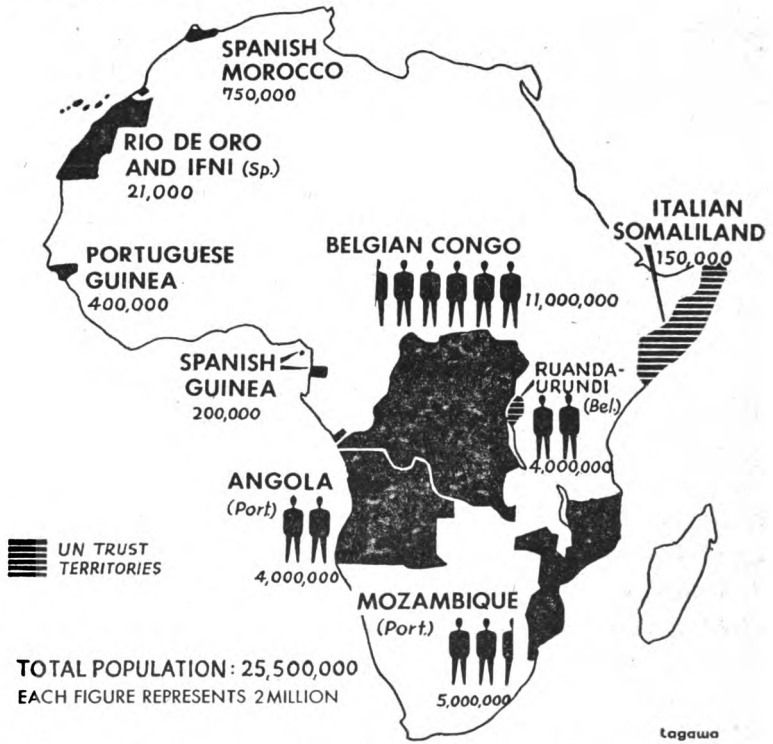


TOTAL POPULATION: 49,500,000
EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS 2 MILLION

East African was recently struck by the widespread revival among his people of the ancient ceremony of the blood oath. "It is a strong thing, the blood oath," he explained. "It imposes on a man ties of brotherhood with another man that are far stronger even than family ties. Men in my country are reaching out to each other in this way. They had no specific purpose in mind, and I came to realize it was a way of beginning to come together to take some kind of a stand. I found among my people even in the remote villages a feeling that was an old feeling, yet a new feeling. It was that they were being treated like animals and that

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BELGIAN, SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE AFRICA

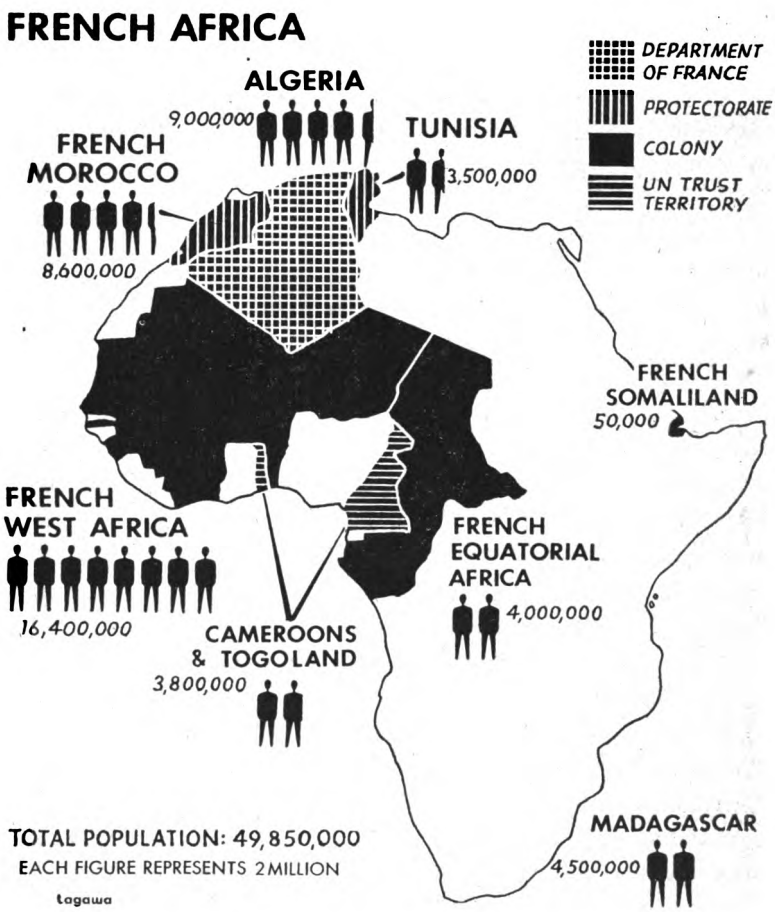


actual political organization. The present scale ranges from a relatively high degree of organized political activity and governmental representation of Africans in the British colonies of the Gold Coast and Nigeria to virtually no organization or voice in government in the Belgian Congo and in the less known Portuguese colonies. These patterns are largely shaped by the context of the differing European colonial policies and practices.

Belgian Congo: Paternalism

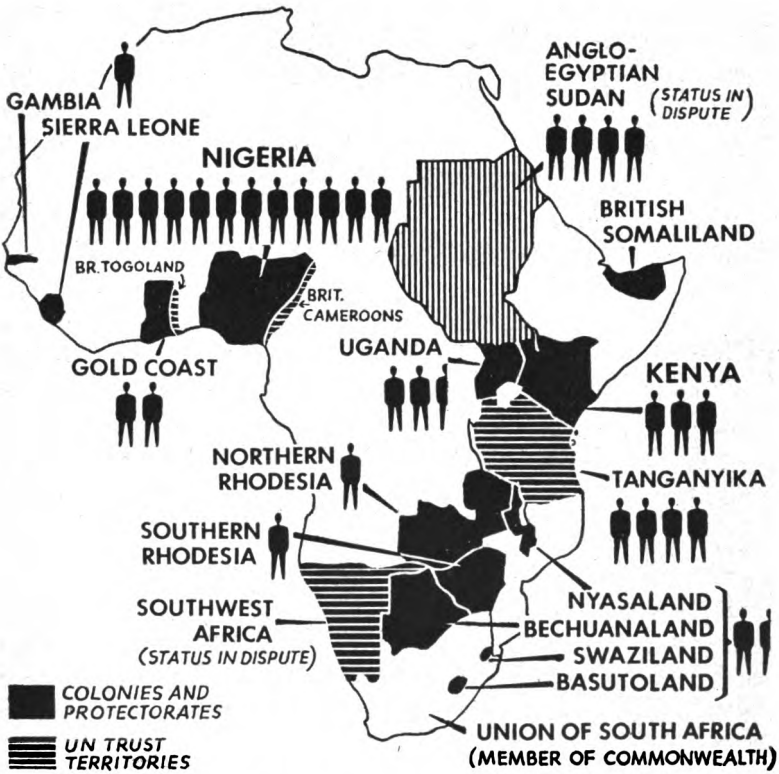
The Congo system has shifted from the unrelieved harshness and brutality of an earlier day to a pervasive and somewhat more efficient paternalism. The official policy of the Congo ad-

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Africa where the Muslim culture of the Arabs is too well integrated and too resistant. Algeria, because of its large French population, has been made a political unit of France, a *département,* with 30 seats in the French National Assembly at Paris. But as the Constantine revolt of 1945 indicated, it can hardly be said that the Arab population of Algeria has been assimilated by France or insulated from the strong influence of Arab nationalism in neighboring Morocco and Tunisia. These two countries are classed as protectorates, and since 1945 France has tried to

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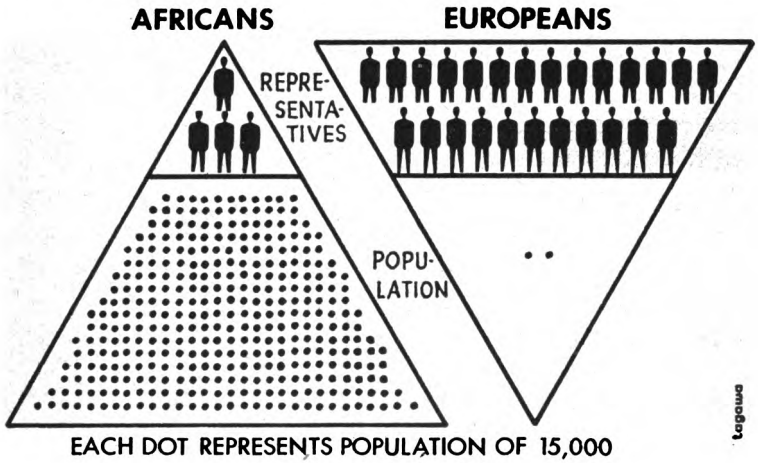


have aroused more violent hatred among their colonial subjects than perhaps any other colonial ruling group. This may be due in part to the fact that Frenchmen in the colonies do not often resemble the tolerant and brotherly civilizers they are supposed to be. It may also have to do with the ambivalent quality of France as the home of Europe's greatest libertarian tradition and France as the master of a colonial empire. Often the most violent rebels against French colonial rule are the most intense admirers of France and its traditions.

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REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN KENYA

COMPARISON OF AFRICAN AND WHITE REPRESENTATION IN KENYA'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

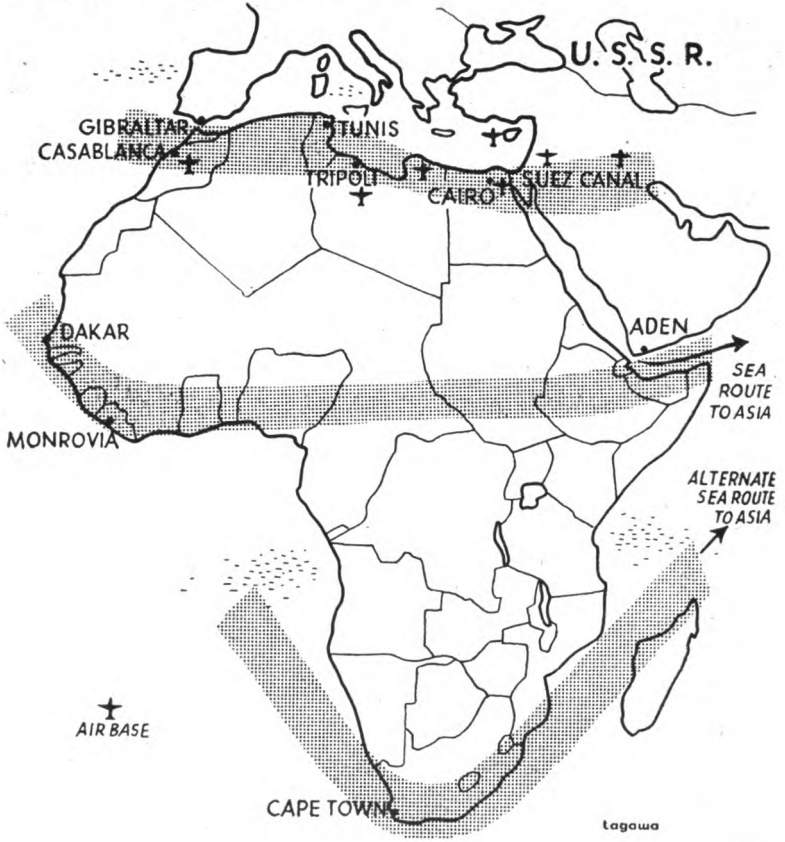


accentuate the country's divisions and make ultimate unification harder to achieve. There is to be a central legislative council, in which the Muslim north will be assured half the seats, while the remainder will be contested in elections. The principal parties are the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons—led by the American-educated Nnamdi Azikiwe—dominant among the Ibo tribe of the east, and the Action Group, party of the Yoruba tribe in the west. This central body, however, will have an African majority (136 out of 148), as will the central executive council (12 out of 18). But unlike their counterparts in the Gold Coast, the African members of the executive council will not have administrative ministerial responsibility. To a much greater degree, therefore, actual as well as nominal power will remain in the hands of British officials.

These are limited first steps toward self-government, still a long way from independence, and still farther away from the

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THREE STRATEGIC LINES

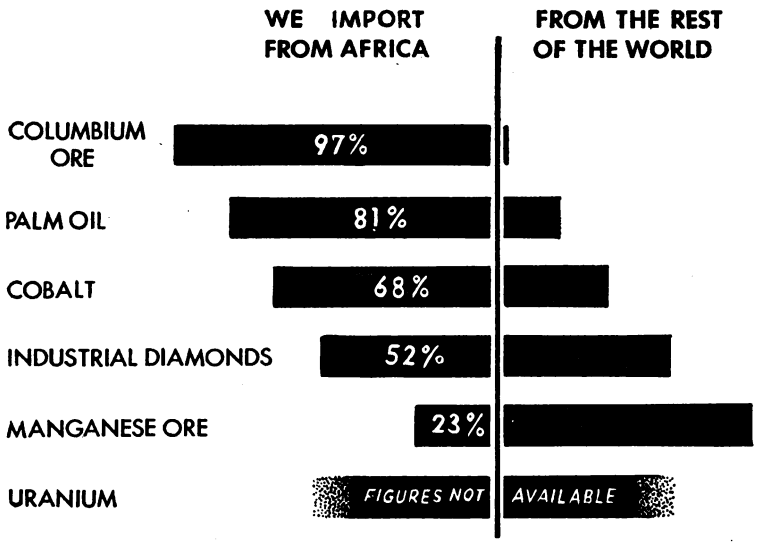


effect of surrendering the Indo-Chinese nationalist movement to Communist control. More recently we have tried to get the French to be more intelligently flexible in Morocco and Tunisia, while at the same time we have urged the Arab nationalists not to press too hard for independence. But the compulsions of our alliance with France are decisive. At the Sixth Assembly of the UN when the Arab states tried to place the Moroccan issue on the agenda—at one point leading to an angry French walkout—we helped to marshal the votes that defeated the Arab attempt.

On the issue of South-West Africa we have sought every pos-

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AFRICA IS VITAL TO OUR DEFENSE INDUSTRY



as long as Washington wants to preserve the still-fragile structure of its European alliance, it feels it has to stand with France.

Egypt lies at the great strategic hub of the Suez Canal. Its challenge to Britain at this key point threatens the West's military position in the whole Middle East as well as its sea-borne communications with Asia. Here the United States is forced to find support on the one hand in Britain, now too weak to maintain its power by itself, and on the other hand in Egyptian "nationalism," which like most nationalist movements in the Muslim world is a deeply rooted popular emotion used by unscrupulous leaders as a cloak for corrupt reaction.

The weakness, both military and political, of the Muslim world gives added strategic importance to the great belt of tropical Africa, which bulges into the Atlantic in the west and into the Indian Ocean in the east. This region shows on the strategic maps as the West's second line of defense and communications, the zone of retreat from the uncertainties of the Arab world in case of war.

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AFRICA: NEW CRISES IN THE MAKING, by Harold R. Isaacs Page 3

Yesterday and today—Asia; tomorrow—Africa. The ferment of nationalism and the rising demand of peoples in underdeveloped areas for improved living standards wait for no man. Americans must lose no time in understanding the problems of the African continent—or it may be too late. Will intelligent statesmanship get ahead of critical upheavals in Africa, or shall we experience there some of the disasters that occurred in Asia?

AFRICA'S NEED FOR WHOLENESS, by Emory Ross Page 57

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