

Independent African States Topic of Great Decisions This Week

Five New Nations Planned During Year in Africa

(Editor's note: This is another in the series of Great Decisions . . . 1960 topics which groups throughout the country are considering in the Foreign Policy Association's annual opinion poll. Today's subject is "New Timetable for Independent Africa." The Foreign Policy Association, Inc., which furnished the material, is a non-partisan, non-profit, non-governmental educational agency.)

The rush for independence in former African territories has upset some of the most optimistic predictions, and raises the question whether U.S. policies toward free Africa are adequate or up-to-date. At least five new states are slated for full independence during the course of what Africans call "the magic year of 1960."

The most unexpected development was Belgium's recent decision to grant full independence to the Congo by the end of next June. Cameroon became independent Jan. 1. Togoland, a former French protectorate, now a UN Trust Territory, will gain independence April 27. On July 1 the east coast trust territory of Somalia will become independent, and on Oct. 1 Nigeria will win freedom.

Yet these five new nations are a minimum score. In the French Community, in particular, still other states may reject their present close ties to France in favor of either full sovereignty outside the Community or within an association resembling, perhaps, the (British) Commonwealth of Nations.

Complete Break
One former French territory, Guinea, made a complete break in September, 1958. Two states, Senegal and Sudan, originally chose membership in the French Community. Moves are now under way, however, to merge these two states into a fully independent Mali Federation. Similarly, the island of Madagascar (formerly Madagascar), off Africa's southeast coast, is now negotiating with Paris for full independence.

In other parts of Africa, notably Algeria and certain British East African territories, the timetable for independence has not yet been set. Momentum, however, is clearly building up. A wholly independent Africa is no longer a distant or uncertain prospect.

The issue today is not whether independence will come, but how independence will come about and what it will bring.

Negotiation or Violence?
In contrast with other great, historical independence movements, the recent march of nationalism in Africa has so far been relatively peaceful. There have been outbreaks of terrorism against colonial rule, and reprisals and repressions have taken place against African terrorists and nationalists. With the single exception of Algeria, however, there have been no sustained, full-scale nationalist rebellions in postwar Africa.

In West Africa, where few white men have settled, British and French colonial authorities have come to accept the inevitability of independence, or at least self-governing status, for their territories.

Spain and Portugal, on the other hand (and, until recently, Belgium) continue to resist nationalist ambitions. Political riots in the Belgian Congo last year led to intervention by the Belgian king and a Belgian about-face on the independence issue.

Many observers predict that Spain and Portugal may soon be brought to the same state — by violence or the threat of violence — as continent-wide nationalism gains momentum.

Important Minorities
In East Africa, where white settlers and Asian traders are important minorities, the situation is more difficult and perhaps more ominous. African terrorism has been particularly violent in British territories, where non-African minorities continue to resist African demands for "one man, one vote." In these areas, too, observers predict, violence may be the only alternative to early satisfaction of the political demands of the Africans.

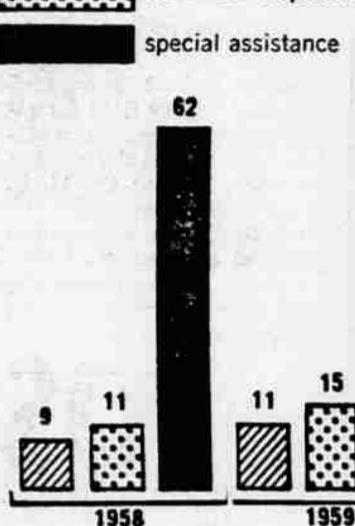
African rebellion against colonial rule in non-African minorities is, however, only part of the danger. Some of

the bloodiest incidents of recent years have been the result of Africans battling Africans — for political, economic or simply tribal reasons.

These tribal conflicts create complications not only for colonial authorities, but also for the new and inexperienced African governments that are emerging.

Artificial Borders
An important part of the problem is, of course, the artificiality of territorial borders. Borders were drawn in many cases, by colonial governments, without regard to geography or ethnic or cultural lines. Some international boundaries cut through ancient tribal regions, parceling land and peoples to two or three different colonial administrations.

Independence, in other words is a step toward new and difficult problems for African leaders. Even if colonial governments retire gracefully from Africa, the new African governments face grave problems in unifying rival or hostile tribes, and perhaps even in redrawing international boundaries along more realistic lines. At that stage in African history, conflict between independent African governments will loom as a danger.



Decisions Groups Favor Promotion of Economic Growth

The need for the United States to promote rapid economic growth in underdeveloped areas, and to foster democratic institutions throughout the free world, was affirmed by 93 per cent of those included in an informal survey conducted as part of the nationwide world affairs study program, "Great Decisions . . . 1960," the Foreign Policy Association, national sponsor of the program, has announced.

These were the nearly unanimous views, expressed by 5,600 "Great Decisions" group members in 100 communities in 23 states, which were voluntarily reported to the association. The communities represent only a portion of the total communities in all 50 states in which some 250,000 adults and students are engaged in the current program.

Opinion also ran heavily in favor of two collateral points, with 80 per cent of the same 5,600 participants favoring greater Allied effort to aid underdeveloped areas, and 70 per cent favoring reduction of trade barriers between the free world countries.

Now in its sixth consecutive year, "Great Decisions" is an annual eight-week review, by citizens in their own communities, of topical U.S. foreign policy issues.

State, Local Level
Sponsored on the community level by state and local organizations and educational institutions, the program is offered nationally by the non-partisan, nonprofit Foreign Policy Association as a means of furthering public understanding of and participation

COW IN SPACE RESEARCH
New York—(UPI)—The cow is helping scientists in their attempt to solve the menu problems of future space voyagers. Scientists at Republic Aviation Corporation report that by simulating the unique digestive process of a cow, they can test the practicality of converting normally indigestible food plant fibers into meat substitutes and sugars.

Anchorage — This Alaska city was built in 1914 as a railway construction camp.

Finally, the race question is in itself a potentially dangerous source of violence.

Repercussions in Africa
The Union of South Africa's "apartheid" policy of "separate development" for white and nonwhite races has deep repercussions throughout Africa, and particularly in those parts of East Africa where government and trade are dominated by Europeans and Asians. African nationalists in the Rhodesias, Tanganyika and Kenya are hostile to any law or policy which tends to give non-Africans a privileged or protected place in the society.

In view of these multiple and complex problems, the future of the African independence movement will obviously be hazardous, and may yet become violent. If, on the other hand, the transition can be made at minimum cost, what does the future hold for free Africa?

A peaceful transition from colonial rule to independence will still leave the new African governments with enormous problems, domestic and regional.

Regionally, African states will need to develop economic and perhaps even political patterns of cooperation that

will allow the area to develop peacefully, into stable societies and progressive economies. In West Africa in particular discussions have long been under way regarding economic and political cooperation, although rivalries among African leaders have so far hindered any extensive, formal arrangements.

Internal Problems
Internally, however, the new African governments face their most difficult problems.

The transition to stable self-government and modern nationhood depends, experts agree, on many intangibles — such as wise and patient leadership. Yet the fundamental need is undoubtedly rapid and successful economic development.

Unless there is a rapid rise in productivity, it will be impossible to raise health and living standards, to satisfy basic material needs of the population, to provide education and training, or to equip the people with the understanding and skills necessary for self-government.

It is in the area of African economic development, many authorities say, that the United States can exert its most constructive influence.

Foreign Investment
The principal sources of foreign investment in African economic growth are the European colonial powers, the United States and the communist bloc. Total free world aid to Africa in 1959, together with UN and other interna-

tional agencies, was about \$900,000,000 in loans and grants. About 20 per cent of this aid came from the United States.

France is the biggest free world capital exporter to Africa, accounting in 1959 for about 60 per cent of all free world aid to this continent. In the same year Britain contributed \$80,000,000; Belgium, \$40,000,000; Portugal, \$10,000,000; and Italy and Spain smaller amounts.

The Western European economic community has scheduled joint development investments of \$581,000,000 for the next five years.

U.S. Aid to Africa
U.S. aid to Africa in 1959 included \$11,000,000 in technical assistance, over \$100,000,000 earmarked for Morocco, Libya, Tunisia and Sudan.

\$29,000,000 from the Development Loan Fund, and Export-Import Bank loans of \$12,000,000 to help finance African trade.

In mid-February President Eisenhower requested another \$20,000,000 in technical assistance for Africa.

Communist bloc trade-aid deals with Africa have become significant only since 1956, and are still well below the levels of free world aid. Africa's trade with the communist bloc, however, has increased 50 per cent in the last five years, with spectacular increases for Egypt and Guinea. The Soviet Union has also provided long-term, low interest credits to Ethiopia, and Czechoslovakia has negotiated credit, barter and mili-

tary aid deals with Guinea. In short, Africa is importing capital from a number of sources, in increasing amounts. The withdrawal of colonial rule has, generally, favored this trend rather than hindered it. And the advent of communist bloc aid has stimulated increased free world aid.

Issue Is Cost

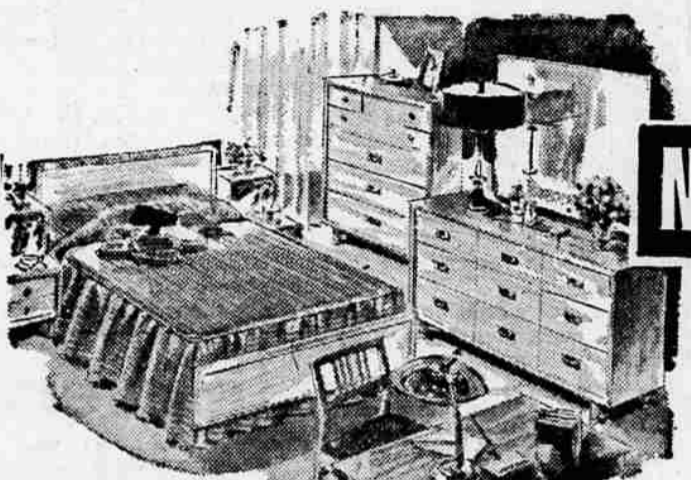
The issue for the United States—in the current foreign aid debate—is whether or not the administration's policy of stepped-up aid to Africa is worth the cost. Some experts feel that the emergence of a politically stable and economically viable free Africa is a vital U.S. stake, calling for increased U.S. aid. A number of authorities, in fact, believe that the administration propo-

sal falls short of what this country can or should contribute to African economic development.

Some Congressional leaders are calling for a wholly fresh approach to U.S. aid, involving shifts in emphasis from military to economic aid, closer coordination to aid with U.S. allies, and other controversial or new proposals.

Political observers tend to agree, however, that Congress will decide the issue on election terms. Especially in an election year, they say, the pressures on Capitol Hill will be to scale down the President's total aid proposals, rather than to meet or exceed administration requests. Only a perceptible shift in public opinion would counter this trend.

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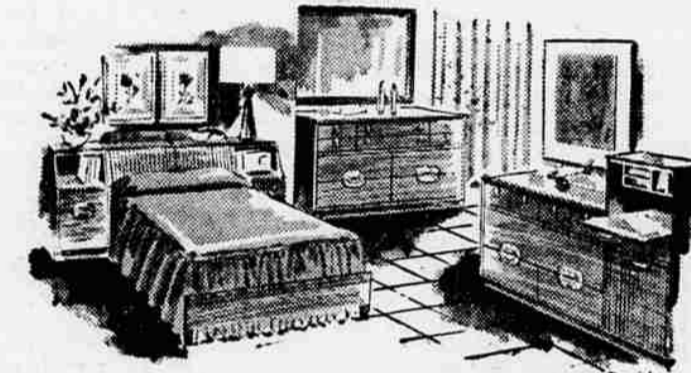
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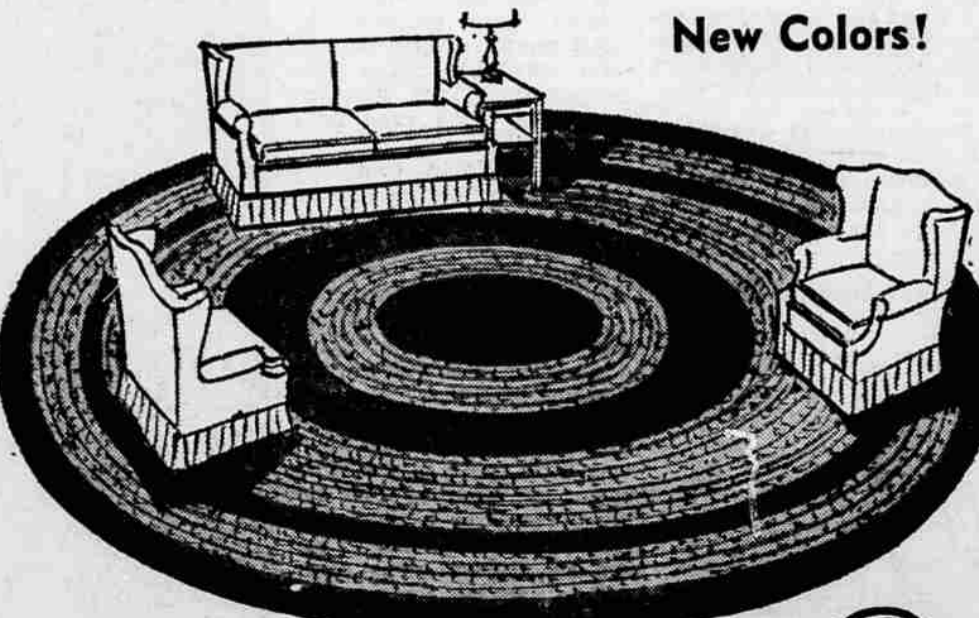


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