

CW  
June 1, 1961

Gen. Tom Mboya  
P.O. Box #10818  
Nairobi, Kenya

Dear Tom:

This is by way of report on my meeting Thursday, June 1 with Wayne Fredericks, Gov. Williams' deputy at the State Dept. In addition to Fredericks and myself, present were Gordon Hagberg (whom I had asked to be present), and the following persons in the Bureau of African Affairs: O. Peterson, who is the labor specialist; Frederick Picard, the Desk Officer for East Africa; and Picard's boss Olcott Deming, who is the highest career officer dealing with political matters in East, Central and South Africa.

The presence of Picard and Deming was an immediate clue that this conference would not be confined to the educational merits of the Airlift program. I was surprised to see them present as it had been my understanding that the meeting would consist of Fredericks, Hagberg and myself. You will recall, also, that Picard and Deming occupied these very same positions under Satterthwaite under the previous Administration, and in fact were the persons who originated the prior years' decisions to oppose it, <sup>and</sup> their views have not changed despite the fact of changes on the top, i.e. Kennedy, Bowles, and Williams, and in fact this is a typical example of changes in attitude on the upper levels being undercut by career service people underneath. This is my evaluation of the situation, which I will go into further detail ~~in~~ below, but was not expressed by them on this basis.

Instead, once again, they raised all of the old objections, i.e. selection, support for the students in this country, too many of the students from Kenya, and the fact that this was essentially a Mboya program -- that they could not do business with individuals but with governments. (As I have said, I myself, do not believe that the various objections they gave, are the real reasons for their negative attitude -- for that see below.) As these various objections were raised I dealt with them one by one, on the assumption that if in fact these objections could be met that the program could then be realized.

First, regarding selection procedure I stipulated that we were prepared to accept any objective selection standards providing African leadership was part of it and that any others who participated in selection must be confined to those who made positive contributions to the program.

Second, regarding support for the students in this country I said that only one thing was involved and that was money. They said they did not have any. I pointed out that through the I.C.A. \$6.00 per day room and board allowances were being paid to the various colleges for each student under the David Henry program, and under the programs for the Congo and Guinea students, and that there was no reason why this formula could not be applied for the East African students, and that furthermore under our program the I.C.A. funds would go a great deal further as in most cases our students required as little as \$1.00 to \$3.00 per day since it was a self-help program and all that was needed were supplementary and not all expenses paid assistance. I mentioned, further, that from the point of view of both the American tax-payer and the African people a matching self-help program of this type with contributions from I.C.A. for room and board, from African people and governments for supplementary funds, from the American colleges for tuition grants, and from private persons and groups in both Africa and America for administrative and transport costs -- that this kind of program was far preferable to one in which the American government paid all expenses. They accepted this and then passed the buck, that a different group -- headed by Phil Coombs (Chet Bowles deputy) decided about such I.C.A. grants and not themselves. They conceded the merit of such a matching program, where the student also worked during the summer to help himself. In fact the discussion turned up the fact that a great number if not the majority of the students who are here on all-expenses paid program -- the Congo, Guinea, and Nigerian students are constantly complaining that they are not given enough money and are not treated with greater deference!

Third, regarding "too many students from Kenya" I pointed out that (a.) Kenya had a greater supply of qualified students, and (b.) that since this was a self-help program it was in Kenya that more people had taken the initiative in a tangible way to send students here, and that (c.) Without financial support such as I.C.A. room and board grants it would be improbable that a greater flow of students from Africa could be achieved, but that once this financial support was assured it would be an easy matter to allocate places for students from the different countries.

Fourth, regarding this being a Mboya program, I pointed out that (a.) It was quite true that you were the founder of the program, that (b.) That the Kenya Education Trust had been formed last year to include members of both KANU and KADU as well as representative other groups and educators, and that if these other people failed to show the initiative that you did that was not your fault.

I pointed out further that Nyerere, Kaunda, Nkomo etc. were part of this and I even offered --- if Kenya and Mboya were the big objections--- to have the Airlift originate from Dar instead of Nairobi, and that this would have the additional advantage of enabling them to deal through Tanganyika as both a government, and as a cover for the Pafamasa group.

After discussing these various objections for some time with the responses as indicated above, they went back in a circle to selection again, and so on. It then became quite apparent that they were not at all interested in dealing with these objections on their merits and with an attempt to solve the problem so that an Airlift could be sent for this September, but rather as excuses for a negative response. It was then revealed to me by Deming that a letter had been sent to you a few days before advising you why they could not support an Airlift this September, and I assume that letter will cover the ground I have gone into above.

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Now I will give you my considered view based on information from unofficial sources and my own judgement as to why they have taken this attitude. First, as I said above, Picard and Deming are the highest career service officers in the Bureau of African Affairs who make political decisions, and that the negative attitude stems from a political decision that they have made. Fredericks (and therefore Williams) who is their boss, and who I think is generally sympathetic to what we are trying to accomplish, nonetheless is not prepared to override them. I pressed Fredericks very strongly and he was quite frank to tell me that right up to Governor Williams a very definite and considered decision has already been taken to oppose the Airlift. This decision, then, is one made by Picard in the first instance, completely accepted by his superior Deming who thinks as he does, and accepted even if not enthusiastically by Fredericks, and on Fredericks' advice by Williams.

Now, as to why Picard et al made this decision: First, Picard and Deming are being consistent in taking the same view that they did under Satterthwaite. Second, they have strong bias against you ---and particularly so because you have embarrassed them by having Satterthwaite so dramatically over ruled last year. Third, both of them have great dislike for Bowles ---they regard him as an idealist and a friend of yours. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

But apart from the reasons noted above of a personal nature, there is a far more fundamental basis that governs the thinking of Picard and Deming. For many years the career people in the State Dept. have taken their cues on African affairs from the British Foreign Office. This is still the case, and particularly so since they regard Macleod's approach to Africa as "responsible liberalism." You will recall that when you met with Macleod on April 21 he told you that he now has a Kenya Government to deal with (Ngala et al) and that further meetings and associations with KANU leaders can serve no useful purpose. Since then we have seen the commitments of millions of pounds and other support to try and make a success of the Ngala Government.

This has not been lost on Fickard and Deising. In fact I understand that in addition to pressure from British Foreign Office, it also has been put to them by Ngala directly that any support for a new airlift this year is synonymous to support for you and opposition to his government. Even if the Airlift came out of Dar, because you are the founder and so intimately connected with it insofar as Kenya is concerned, your name would still be the one in the people's minds.

This analysis I am convinced is correct: that while ~~opposition~~<sup>opposition</sup> is based upon various criticisms of the program, that willingness to meet and eliminate these criticisms does not result in achieving support for it; that the fundamental basis of opposing the program is political in nature, with State Dept. career people, who don't like you in any event, only too willing to aid and abett the Colonial Office and their stooges in Kenya.

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Where do we go from here? First, there seems little doubt that unless the I.C.A. room and board grants can be obtained for those students here, that a new Airlift will be almost impossible. For private people such as the Kennedy Foundation will not help bring more students until the one point on which we are really vulnerable is resolved -- support for those students here. And in fact, the I.C.A. room and board grants are 80% of the cash costs of the David Henry program, and by far the major expenses of all students on whatever program. If this question could be solved then everything else would neatly fall in place. As you know we can get all the college tuition scholarships we want. Transport also would not then be a problem as your students are already raising far more than \$300. each in any event. The major financial need of the students and the greatest burden on the Foundation has never been transport -- this despite the fact that this aspect has been most widely publicized -- but one thing only, namely room and board. This can easily be demonstrated just by adding up the various costs over a four year period with pencil and paper. This is why the David Henry program is a complete fraud. It is all a facade for the I.C.A. to pay 80% of the cash costs. The advantage of the I.C.A. grants is that they go directly to the colleges and that, therefore, any program can continue to be a completely private one without the American Government being directly involved, which I know is the way you want it.

Second, since it appears pointless at this stage to try to argue further with anyone at the State Dept. level up to and including Williams, I think the following avenues need to be explored: (In each case stating the problem very frankly, as above)

- (A.) Shriver should be contacted both as the head of the Kennedy Foundation, and as the President's brother-in-law. I am not too hopeful that he will do much because he is busy with other matters but certainly he should be contacted for both advice and assistance.
- (B.) Ghat Bowles should be made aware of the situation. While theoretically he could over rule Williams, it would mean a fight between them that would go to the President as Williams has greater domestic political power than Bowles.
- (C.) Walter Reuther, who is very close associate of Williams might be contacted to make him aware of what is really going on under his nose, and to seek a reversal.
- (D.) Adams Powell should definitely be contacted; the Administration is afraid of him, needs him, and he is very powerful these days as Chairman of the House of Representative's Committee on Education and Labor. Also he is a fighter if he will support us.

- (E.) Inasmuch as the State Dept. under the Kennedy Administration is not taking the identical negative approach on this question that the previous Administration took under Eisenhower-Nixon-Satterthwaite, Mr. Nixon or any of various Republican Senators would probably be only too glad to make an issue of this ~~issue~~ now that the shoe is on the other foot. This approach could be used as a last

It is an unfortunate quality of American democracy that even when the people in charge are inclined to do the right thing --and I am sure we all believe this about the Kennedy Administration-- that there are so many conflicting pressures and problems that certain things never get done unless the Government is embarrassed into it. The present Freedom Bus rides in Alabama and Mississippi are good example. I sincerely hope that this will not be the case with respect to the Airlift but I think we must face this question frankly.

I have not yet discussed the contents of this letter with our friends, Cora, Frank and Ted and do not know if they will agree with me as to what course of action we ~~should~~ should pursue. I am mailing them each a copy of this letter today and tomorrow we shall discuss what should be done. Your advice will be necessary and I shall expect to hear from you on this after you receive this letter.

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There is something that I think must be done on your end, as well. Nyerere should be brought into this and made aware of the present situation. First, I assume there will be a number of Tanganyika students just as there were last year and that ~~therefore~~ therefore it will be to his self-interest to see that the Airlift continues. Second, as prime minister of an independent country --the first in East-Central Africa, any pressure he brings on Washington will be very difficult for them to resist. Third, and I myself think this strategically the most important aspect, the Peace Corps with Nyerere's consent has chosen Tanganyika as the place for their first project. You know, of course, that the President and Schriver are way out on a limb to make good on the Peace Corps and have asked Congress for \$40,000,000.00 for the first year's appropriation which will be used to send several thousand Americans overseas. The point to be made is that the Peace Corps is an American idea to meet the problem of trained personnel; that the African idea has been to send students to America so that Africans themselves can filled the need for trained people; that 40 million dollars is being appropriated to send Americans to Africa and other places, but a pittance is being granted to effect the African approach; that what is really needed to make the purposes of the Peace Corps succeed ---- meeting the need for trained personnel on both a short term and long term basis -- is a genuine two-way exchange. If this were done, instead of many African leaders having a negative and suspicious attitude toward the Peace Corps they would welcome a two-way exchange program.

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I have done this letter rather hurriedly so it can go off tonight but I think it incorporates most of the essence. You will excuse typos and my typing.

Best regards,

William F. Schabert

CC: Frank Montero  
Cora Weiss  
Ted Kheel

P.S. - Attached

Since I have written the previous four pages, there has been some new news this morning, which puts a more favorable light on things.

After our Thursday meeting with Fredericks, on Friday he phoned Hagberg and asked him to come over to the State Dept. Fredericks told him that he had not been too free to speak the previous day -- due to presence of Picard and Deming -- but he had been giving considerable thought to our discussion of the previous day and was going to try and see that something was worked out so that Airlift and entire program could be realized. However he indicated that this would have to be done in such a way that a different face was put on it -- so it did not have the appearance of a unilateral Mboya-America program, for it probably to be called something different than an "Airlift" and etc. Also that it be broadened on the American end so that the A.A.S.F. was not the only group involved.

Keeping the above in mind let me, parenthetically, give you the following information which relates to a meeting I had this morning with Sims, and Hagberg. The Institute of International Education (IIE), and particularly our friend Sims, has become increasingly concerned and upset about the attention and governmental resources thrown into the David Henry program. They have been left out in the cold, this despite the fact that for time immemorial they have been the agency through which such things have been ~~SMOKING~~ channeled. Furthermore they realize that the Government is using the Henry program as an excuse and a substitute for a realistic program which meets the present needs. They further realize that the position of the African-American Students Foundation is basically sound -- that only a group which can offer an expanded program and in cooperation with African leadership -- can hope to have any future ~~work~~ in this field.

Therefore, they -- despite the fact that they were one of the groups opposing us in the past -- have made a considered judgement on the highest levels of their operation that:

- (A.) A September Airlift is inevitable and they want to play a major role in organizing it, as well as a continuing program of greatly expanded opportunities. This to include not only college, but also high school, and technical and vocational training.
- (B.) The African-American Students Foundation's cooperation is indispensable for them to achieve their goal.

Therefore at this morning's meeting with Hagberg and myself, with Sims and the other I.I.E. executives it was proposed that a joint operation be worked out whereby I.I.E. would work on the Government for I.C.A. or other assistance that is needed, with someone like Hagberg coming in to operate the A.A.S.F. on a professional basis. I.I.E. would handle the American end of things; relations with the colleges, looking after the students etc., while the Foundation would handle the African end of things: student selection, coordination etc. All of this to be done in close cooperation with you and the other leaders in the respective countries, with initial emphasis probably on ~~SMOKING~~ as a ~~SMOKING~~ operations so as to de-emphasize Mboya.

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What I have given you here is a rough sketch, and the details haven't been worked out. But already Sims and Hagberg (on our behalf) are outlining this sort of proposal to Fredericks and it appears possible that due to I.I.E.'s position of authority in the field, that we have a chance to succeed. This would give us all the funds we need to rapidly expand a program into the thousands for all of the non-self-governing and former (or present) settler dominated areas. Our control, in the situation would be (A.) I.I.E. is fully aware that nothing significant can be done without you, Julius and the rest, and they are finally ready to make their peace with you, and (B.) the A.A.S.F. with Gordon Hagberg as the operating head would be the channel through ~~SMOKING~~ which I.I.E. would function.

This approach makes sense; and while matters are by no means settled it would appear, that after this morning's meeting that this is exactly the kind of thing that the State Dept. would be able to accept. Whatever is done, of course, will have to be on a private and non-State Dept. basis so that there is no direct connection between African leadership and State Dept.