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From: Frank C. Montero, President

"TO SEE AFRICAN NEED THROUGH AFRICAN EYES"

In order to determine the need and desirability of another African Student Airlift in 1961 similar to the Airlift made possible in 1960 by a grant of \$100,000 from the Kennedy Foundation, the African American Students Foundation which conducted the Airlifts of 1959 and 1960, requested me, as President of the Foundation, to make an on-the-scene investigation. This I have just concluded after a six weeks visit in East and Central Africa and I respectfully submit my report and conclusions.

This report covers the East and Central African countries of: Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. These countries have a combined total population of 29,000,000, of which 28,000,000 are Africans.

In the course of my visit, I met and discussed African educational needs and the Airlift with colonial and African government officials, African leaders, parents of students in the United States through previous Airlifts, and students

From the information obtained from them and from published data of private agencies and government sources, I sought to ascertain the number of qualified African high school students prepared and desirous of obtaining collegiate education in the United States. I compared this with the number of scholarship programs for African students which will be available in 1961. I also contrasted this particularly with the number of scholarships which Russia, Red China, and Egypt only recently announced as available in 1961. From this study, the detailed figures of which are attached, I reached the following conclusions:

1. There is a woeful gap between the number of qualified African high school students who want to study in a college in the United States and the number that existing scholarship aid will accommodate. Unless this is remedied immediately, the gap will approximate 1,000 for East and Central Africa alone in 1961.

2. Despite the obvious need for scholarships for Africans, there has been only a minor increase in the number from American sources apart from the Airlift. As a matter of fact, the Airlift brought over last year, as the figures below indicate, more than three times as many Africans from East and Central Africa as all the other programs for this year contemplate. Without another Airlift, therefore, the number of students who can come here from East and Central Africa will be vastly reduced.

3. The gap will certainly be completely bridged by scholarship assistance from Iron Curtain countries which have tremendously increased their aid. It is in the areas where we

effective way in which, with the time at our disposal, we can hope to provide the current crop of future leaders of Africa with an opportunity to study in the United States instead of elsewhere.

5. This is precisely what the African leaders want as reflected by a resolution adopted by the leaders of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) following a meeting I had with them at their request in Kenya. A copy of this resolution is attached. PAFMECA includes the countries of: Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Zanzibar, Kenya and Uganda. Four of the PAFMECA leaders are directors of the African American Students Foundation: the Honorable Tom Mboya, member of the Legislative Council of Kenya; the Honorable Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika; Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, of Northern Rhodesia, leader of the United Nationalist Independence Party; and Mr. Joshua Nkomo of Southern Rhodesia, leader of the National Democratic Party.

6. The Airlift is vital because it achieves two important objectives. First of all, it meets the problem of transportation, which has always limited student enrollment from East and Central Africa to American schools because the cost, in view of the great distance, is practically prohibitive. It comes to half as much as the cost of maintaining a student in the United States for one year including room and board. An Airlift solves this problem at less than one-half the cost per individual of regular transportation. If supplied to the students without charge, it removes a major obstacle to study in this country.

adequate preparation through higher education for self-government. When self-government comes to Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, as it has come recently to Tanganyika, the lack of adequate education opportunities for Africans will be even more glaringly apparent. The result will be wholly inadequate numbers of trained civil servants who are African. Over and over again, I was told by Africans and American officials how constructive and important was last year's Airlift, made possible by the Kennedy Foundation grant. It was taken as a great symbol of American concern and of the President's personal interest in the solution of the problems of African education.

An American professor studying African attitudes in East Africa told me that "nothing has done more for United States prestige than the Airlift." Many Africans expressed the hope that this was a forerunner of increased American support for broader educational opportunities. Surely the disappointment will be great if the number is decreased. There is deep concern that unless we fulfill this incessant demand much frustration and bitterness will develop. In the words of one African leader, "The United States must make a more determined effort to see African need through African eyes."

8. Through the Airlift, the Foundation has been able to solve the transportation problem not only for scholarship students but also for students who, on their own, have obtained admission to U.S. colleges and universities. The Foundation has also been able to arrange scholarships for Africans at accredited colleges and universities. Interestingly enough, schools in the United States have shown a great receptivity to African

9. American schools would undoubtedly be helped by some formalized system of interviewing and assigning students to schools of their interest before leaving Africa. This is a function I recommend the Foundation undertake in conjunction with other interested private and public organizations if adequate financial support is provided. Most everyone recognizes, moreover, that there have been short-comings in the African Student Airlift Program as inevitably there are in any emergency program which must move quickly with limited financing. These problems primarily involve selection and assignment and supplementary financing. But there is no phase of the program that cannot be solved provided adequate financial support is forthcoming in time.

Because time is of the essence if these problems are to be solved, it becomes imperative for the African American Students Foundation to decide by April 1 whether or not it should undertake another Airlift in 1961. Unless it is assured of adequate financial support, from private or public sources, obviously it will not be able to conduct another Airlift and give proper attention to the students who are brought over.

10. The African American Students Foundation is equipped by its experience with two Airlifts to conduct another. It derives strength from the combined support it receives from African as well as American leaders. In this way, it is able to reflect the needs and wishes of the Africans themselves. This accords precisely with the philosophy expressed by President Kennedy in a speech in September 1960 in which he urged an American program of "Education for African Freedom" tailored to African needs and priorities and not a unilateral

ranged in time, our Foundation will be more than happy to give our fullest cooperation. The imperative goal is the proper fulfillment of African educational needs, not the instrument by which this is accomplished.

I can best conclude this report on African educational needs in East and Central Africa by quoting from a recent report on Africa (February 12, 1960) by the Senate Study Mission to Africa (Church Committee), to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The report makes this recommendation.

"We must stress the enormous urgent need for education in Africa. While we were quite aware of this need before leaving Washington, it was brought home to us again and again in our talks with government leaders throughout the continent.

"We believe that the United States should continue to make much greater efforts to assist Africa through the means of its educational resources...."

In addition, Oliver J. Caldwell, Assistant Commissioner for International Education in the Office of Education of the United States, recently proposed, as quoted in the New York Times on February 24, 1961, that: "In this country, universities should train 10,000 African students and the United States should establish a revolving loan fund for 'educational investments' in Africa."

President Kennedy has called for the launching of an American program of African education. Quite properly he has observed that it should be undertaken in partnership with African nations and in consultation with African leaders. He has proposed a working conference of American officials and leaders of private groups working in international

I strongly urge the calling of this conference as quickly as possible.

I also urge, as stated above, all interested and private agencies to assist in obtaining support for a Student Airlift in 1961 as quickly as possible.

ATTACHMENTS

I. THE FOUNDATION AND ITS PROGRAM

The Airlift Africa Program of the African American Students Foundation is a cooperative effort between private American individuals and African leaders from the non-self-governing territories of East and Central Africa. Opportunities for higher education in this area have been far more limited than in West Africa; yet, as recent events in the Congo have demonstrated, it is imperative that, as these countries move toward independence, they develop not only an intellectual elite, but massive administrative and professional groups.

456 students from East and Central Africa have been Airlifted to schools and colleges in the United States and

half as many African college students as there are in the United States based on the estimate of the International Institute of Education that there are 1,192 African students from sub-Sahara countries studying in the United States. The purpose of the Airlift and therefore, of the Foundation, is to provide a vehicle through which larger numbers of qualified students can achieve further educational opportunities in this country. Its purpose is to supplement the existing programs of student exchange until such time as these programs are able to meet the needs of this area as well as other non-independent countries on a larger scale.

The functions of this Foundation are:

1. To initiate and to stimulate educational opportunities for Africans by arranging for scholarship opportunities and transportation for students.
2. To supply the transportation from East Africa to college for those students who have applied for and been accepted to institutions in this country with scholarship assistance.
3. To provide a period of orientation prior to the students attending school which has as its goals the following: a) to discuss with the student the American educational system; b) to discuss American social and cultural patterns; and c) to introduce the students to as many families as possible with whom they might have a continuing contact while in this country.
4. To service students with counseling, emergency financial assistance, an employment clinic, and an information service regarding the availability of further scholarship opportunities especially for transfer students. It also

5. To initiate programs which will meet the needs of the students and stimulate American interest in them, including cooperating with several national social work oriented organizations to find families in the communities where the students are located who will "adopt" the student during his stay in this country. The purpose of this is to provide the link between the classroom and the nation so that the student might be introduced to American home life and find warm and understanding friends.

II. SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE RECENTLY ANNOUNCED BY RUSSIA, RED CHINA, AND EGYPT

In the last two months alone, three major educational programs for Africans were announced:

1. In Ghana, Prime Minister Nkrumah announced at Kumasi College that 3,000 Ghanaian students will go to the Soviet Union and other countries of the Eastern Bloc to study science.

2. In Cairo, Al-Azhar University reported that it had already awarded scholarships to 2,000 Africans.

3. In Kenya, a prominent African leader, a member of the Legislative Council, announced that 2,000 scholarships from Russia and Red China were available and that he had already sent "over 30 students overseas with Peking money and scholarships."

III. EXISTING AMERICAN PROGRAMS OF SCHOLARSHIP AID

Announced American programs for 1961 for students from East and Central Africa include:

ican Universities" which is partially supported by International Cooperation Administration Funds.

2. The United Negro College Fund has offered fifty (50) scholarships for six countries in East and Central Africa.

3. There is a possible program of fifteen (15) scholarships for Southern Rhodesia sponsored by a Methodist Mission Group.

4. There are a few additional private scholarship programs, mainly from religious organizations, the exact number of which is not known but they are not likely to supply more than fifteen (15) scholarships.

5. Last year, the International Institute of Education administered seventy-five (75) U.S. Government scholarships for all sub-Sahara countries of Africa. The number for this year has not as yet been announced but there is no indication of any consequential increase. Even if the number for East and Central Africa is raised to as many as fifty (50), the total number of U.S. scholarships available for East and Central Africa will not exceed 180.

This should be compared with the Airlift for 1960 which alone brought over 293 qualified students.

IV. THE NEEDS AND DESIRES OF THE AFRICANS

From my discussions with officials of the Colonial Governments and African leaders and educators, it is apparent that the number of students prepared and qualified for higher education far exceeds what the combined American programs will offer.

qualified for higher education.

Kenya: The Kenya Minister of Education has stated that approximately 1,000 qualified students will obtain Higher Cambridge School Certificates this year. Of these, 250 will be able to continue their education at Makere in Uganda and at the Royal Technological College in Nairobi. Approximately 30 will obtain bursaries to schools in United Kingdom countries. Of the remaining number, at least 500 are qualified for higher education and African leaders informed me 300 to 350 want and prefer education in the United States. Add to this the backlog of students who have been unable to obtain higher education for one reason or another in years past and still desire to go. African leaders say this number exceeds 100, for a total of nearly 500 ready to come here from Kenya.

The Directors of the USIS in Kenya showed me four voluminous folders of inquiries from American schools and colleges who have received applications from Kenya students and who wished assistance in processing them. The Foundation office in Nairobi is flooded with perspective students. Not all of these, of course, are qualified to come to the U.S. But the opinion was widely expressed by African leaders and American consular officials that there will be a great deal of frustration and disillusionment if at least a sizable proportion of this demand for American education is not met, and without another Airlift that cannot be done.

Tanganyika: Prime Minister Julius Nyerere, one of the most respected leaders in all of Africa, told me that he expected over 100 qualified students to be available for

there are some 200 qualified applicants for whom there will not be places in East African institutions or scholarships in the United Kingdom.

Northern and Southern Rhodesia: I was advised in private talks that there are 50 qualified students who will not be able to go to the University College at Salisbury and would like to study in the United States.

In addition to the foregoing, the Foundation has received requests from students from the Portugese areas of Angola and Mozambique, where little or no higher educational opportunities are available for the ten million Africans, and from approximately 50 or more students in exile from South Africa seeking university training denied them by a South African government which has closed down their institutions. Inasmuch as the purpose of the Foundation is to meet educational need in areas where official programs are limited or non-existent, I recommend that the Foundation give serious consideration to these requests.

"This conference of PAFMECA has considered the whole question of the need for more educational facilities and fully appreciated the work done already through various voluntary, self-help programmes including the recent student airlifts.

"The conference emphasizes the need for all leaders to continue and increase the initiative for such self-help programmes and to advise the people to learn to work with more energy to supplement any scholarship help which may be made available by various overseas contacts and aim at being able eventually to help themselves.

"The conference agreed that subsequent student airlifts and other such programmes with other countries are necessary especially in the wake of preparation for independence and agreed that all PAFMECA leaders cooperate fully in these matters.

"The conference recognizes fully the policy of non-alignment to which Africa is committed and in this context PAFMECA is not committed to seeking educational facilities from only one country or groups of countries."