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September 13, 1960

Mr. R. Sargent Shriver
The Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation
352 The Merchandise Mart
Chicago 54, Illinois

Dear Mr. Shriver:

I would like to supplement what I told you on the telephone about my trip to Africa in connection with the students' airlift. These are, of course, only my observations. The other members of the Committee will be back by September 13th when the planes arrive. And before I left Africa, we all discussed the desirability of having a meeting with you first before we prepare a formal report for submission to The Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation. We would like to arrange this at your earliest convenience.

First let me repeat again that I could not be more enthusiastic about the value of the airlift, both for what it is accomplishing for the students who will come on it as well as for its symbolic value as a dramatic and inspiring method of providing assistance to Africans to satisfy what is unquestionably their greatest need--education.

We saw evidence of a hunger for education not only on the part of the leaders, but among people who themselves are illiterate, that is as deep and determined as craving for food or thirst for water. I tried to describe to you on the telephone the fund-raising meetings among African natives situated 50 and 60 miles from Nairobi which were as moving and inspiring as anything I have ever seen. Words cannot do justice to the reverence these people showed for education and their understanding, despite their own illiteracy, of what it meant to Kenya. I have pictures, which I will show you when we meet, of old women and little children contributing pennies to enable their sisters and brothers to come to the United States to study. In Machatos, where the language spoken was not understood even by Tom Mboya, 5,000 Africans sat for over four hours listening to a discussion of why they should give financial aid to educate some 20 students from their area.

The Africans know, as they are pushing for the independence they will inevitably achieve, that they must develop people with education and special skills and training to meet the challenge of independence. They are all the more aware of this especially in view of what has happened in the Congo. They want learning in any form and while they seek the best, they will take whatever they can get. They look especially to the United States for help in providing training in agriculture and engineering and other scientific fields since these will be the main requirements to meet with independence. They are very favorably disposed toward the United States and responded enthusiastically to all references to the airlift and the support it was receiving from the Kennedy Foundation. Since, however, they are so determined on obtaining the education and training they need, the conclusion that they will seek it elsewhere unless supplied by us is inevitable.

I do not wish to imply by my enthusiasm for the airlift that there are no problems in connection with it. There are many. But they are mainly administrative so far as (1) the airlift itself is concerned. In addition, there are related matters of (2) supplementary funds which the Africans themselves wish to raise, (3) scholarship assistance from this country, (4) emergency relief for students who get into financial difficulties here, and (5) summer jobs for students, which have to be considered in connection with the airlift. We were able, however, to departmentalize these various matters in a way that helped illuminate the nature of the problems and the solutions that might be indicated.

All of this developed out of a series of discussions we had with Tom Mboya, Kariuki Njiiri and his wife Ruth, Dickson Oloo, and other Africans, all on behalf of the African Students Foundation, W. A. C. Mathieson, Minister of Education, and William Miller, Director of Education, for the Kenya Government, U. S. Consul Douglas Withers, Paul O'Neill and Miss Borrowdale of his office, and William Lyons of the USIS. In addition, Father Fournier and myself were able to visit Julius Nyerere in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, who had just the day before become Prime Minister as the head of what I believe is the first interracial cabinet in Africa under the Prime Ministership of an African. In my opinion, Mr. Nyerere is destined to become perhaps the most important African leader on the continent. I will enlarge upon the enthusiastic response to the airlift program he gave us in the course of the interview we had with him. You know, of course, that he is one of the African Directors of the African-American Students Foundation.

In the time I was there I did not have the opportunity to visit other East African areas: Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Zanzibar--all of which are a part of this program. Some students from these areas will be

included in the airlift this year, but the administrative problems are tremendous and tend to frustrate the basic objectives. However, the resolve of the African leaders is so strong, that I feel confident that the program will expand in these areas also.

At a conclusionary meeting with both Mr. Mathieson and Mr. Miller on behalf of the Kenya Government, and Mr. Mboya and Mr. Njiiri for the Foundation, the various matters under discussion and those which require further consideration were summarized as follows:

1. The Airlift. In regard to a complaint that had been made by implication if not directly that the airlift was being used politically by Mr. Mboya, the facts developed indicated, and this was acknowledged by everyone, that both last year and again this year participation on the airlift was permitted to anyone who obtained (a) a visa, and (b) showed proof that he had been admitted to an American educational institution.

Incidentally, all of the students on last year's airlift made arrangements for admission to a school here and for their supplementary funds above the cost of transportation through individual effort or the aid of others acting not in behalf of any organization but completely on their own. This is important to note in connection with questions of supervision of the program since obviously no one can insist that individuals making their own arrangements be subject to any restrictions beyond those required by the law. Only to the extent that organizations in the United States or in Kenya assist the students in some way can they, as part of their contribution, insist on compliance with standards. This is a matter I have discussed below in connection with the question of scholarship aid. It was a major point made by Tom Mboya who also stressed the importance of retaining the African initiative in the program and its basic reflection of the wants and desires of the Africans themselves.

2. Supplementary Funds Raised In Kenya. In order to obtain a visa, a student must show proof to the U. S. Consul that he has been admitted to an institution of learning in the United States and that he has enough money, either in the form of scholarships or in his own possession, to cover his tuition and room and board for one year plus \$300 for incidentals. In addition, the Kenya Government requires him or someone in his behalf to post a bond guaranteeing the cost of returning him to Kenya.

Practically every student has to raise at least the \$300 to get a visa. Some get their money from their families, others have to rely on outside help. It was in connection with the supplementary monies that the fund-raising

campaigns I mentioned above took place. There was also a tremendous amount of feverish activity on the part of these students all over town to raise the last few shillings to qualify for admission to the airlift. But, nevertheless, Tom Mboya and all of the other Africans connected with the airlift insist that these efforts be confined entirely to Africa and the Africans. They are not asking for any assistance to raise these supplementary funds. They believe they can and should be raised in Africa. While this is sometimes difficult, nevertheless, it has an inspirational quality for the Africans themselves since it impresses on them the importance of higher education and reflects their own estimate of their needs. Consequently, there is no further action in this regard required by anyone over here.

However, the arrangements being made in Kenya for raising supplementary funds might be of use to us in any possible expansion of scholarship programs. I mention in this regard an organization known as the Kenya Education Trust which was recently formed with a Board of Directors including members of the two principal African parties, the Kenya African National Union and the Kenya African Democratic Union, known respectively as ~~Kanu~~ and ~~Kadu~~. This Trust so far has been relatively ineffective for the reason that its application to the Kenya Government for a national fund-raising license has been denied. While we were sympathetic with the proposal that the Kenya Government grant such a license, we very clearly indicated that this was a matter beyond our jurisdiction which would have to be resolved locally. Of interest to us, however, is the fact that the negotiations between the Kenya Education Trust and the Kenya Government revealed that there were two issues mainly in dispute which, if resolved, could enable the Trust to be used in the administration of any expanded scholarship program. These issues were the requests by the Kenya Government (1) that it have a member on the Board of Directors of the Trust and (2) that any students receiving financial aid in order to study in the United States be required to prove that the "whole" cost of his training for the four years was covered before he left Kenya.

ck.?

It is entirely possible that the Trust will agree with the Kenya Government on the first point but on the second it is highly unlikely to back down. The Africans believe that the requirements of the U. S. Department of Immigration for the issuance of a visa which insures a student's expenses for one year should be sufficient. As a matter of fact, insistence on proof that the "whole" cost for the four years has been covered would undoubtedly mean that most, if not all, of the African students would not be able to come at all.

The Kenya Minister of Education mentioned under-financing as one of his objections to the airlift program in

our meeting with him. But admittedly proof of this obviously is lacking since none of the students who came on last year's airlift has been here long enough as yet to face the problems of the second year. Mr. Mboya expressed the hope that with the experience the students obtain here and their eligibility under the Immigration Law to apply for a job, and especially a summer one, after being in this country for nine months, should enable the students to make arrangements to get by after their second and succeeding years. This matter of succeeding years' financial support nevertheless requires further study in light of experience, but in my opinion it certainly should not be the basis for denying the students now coming here the opportunity to do so.

In our last meeting with the Minister of Education, Mr. Mathieson seemed to place emphasis mainly on the problem of the student who busted out after his first year. But it was brought out, as I discussed subsequently, that such students have their return passage guaranteed and would have to return since their visa would expire as soon as they were no longer enrolled in an educational institution.

There was a strong indication, however, that the Kenya Government could reach some understanding with the Kenya Education Trust on this requirement and, as a result of our meetings with both groups, further conversations were arranged which I believe could result in an understanding that would enable the Kenya Education Trust to function effectively. Actually, as Tom Mboya brought out at this last meeting, the question resolved itself to one of whether or not the objections put forth by the Kenya Government were for the purpose of frustrating the program or whether they were put forth in good faith. We told both groups that we assumed their good faith and were confident that they would be able to solve these problems. And we were assured privately by the Minister of Education and the Deputy Director that they would make every effort to do so.

3. Scholarship Aid. Certain scholarship assistance is now provided by the United States Government and through various organizations. They are administered largely through the International Institute of Education as part of programs that have been formally established with fixed procedures. These programs appear to be working very satisfactorily. The question of additional scholarship assistance is not involved with these programs.

As a result, however, of a letter which Mrs. Ralph Bunche wrote on behalf of the African-American Students Foundation to 475 accredited educational institutions in the United States which give four year courses leading to a degree,

it is clear that many additional scholarships can be obtained for students in Africa. The response to her letter was overwhelming and merely as a result of it, approximately 100 scholarships will be available in East Africa for next year. A similar number could have been obtained for this year except for the time factor. Tom Mboya estimated that less than 20 scholarships were obtained for students this year as a result of these efforts of the African-American Students Foundation.

If a concerted effort is made to obtain additional scholarships, the question of how they should be filled arises. The Kenya Government believes that there should be formal procedures of selection which would select and assign the students in terms of their qualifications and aptitudes with due regard for the needs of developing the East African institutions of higher education and not depriving them of the top quality students. Tom Mboya took the position that the African institutions were filled to overflowing and could not possibly satisfy the demand for higher education and I believe that the figures bear him out in this respect. Julius Nyerere took exactly the same position and told us during the course of our interview with him that under a program of stimulated primary and secondary school education which he was introducing, Tanganyika would have as many as 3,000 Cambridge School certified graduates a year by 1962. This is three times as many students as there now are in Macerere, the principal African institution of higher education.

There seems also to be a difference between these African leaders and the Minister of the Kenya Government on the values of the type of education that the students can obtain in the United States, especially from small institutions or institutions that have not the high standards of Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover, there is also a conflict as to whether or not higher education should be limited to the elite capable of fully enjoying its potentialities, or extended generally to all interested high school graduates. Tom Mboya and Julius Nyerere view Africa's needs as so imperative as to require what they call a crash program and expressed the view that even if the education received was not the best or the student fully up to realizing what was offered him, there were still tremendous benefits that were worth obtaining. Nevertheless, I think they would also agree that to the extent possible the method of selecting students for scholarship assistance should be made as effective as possible.

But again Tom Mboya emphasizes that any institution or organization which is to prescribe standards of selection can properly do so only if it is participating in the program by offering some form of aid or assistance to the African students. He said he was willing to consider such suggestions when, as, and if offers of assistance were made. In this

connection we agreed that further discussions would be necessary in the United States on the part of organizations interested in education for African students to see if we could evolve a coordinated program which could in turn be keyed to the efforts of the Africans themselves in association with the Kenya Government.

4. Emergency Relief For Students In The United States. The question was raised about aid for students who run into a financial jam for one reason or another while in this country. In talking with Prime Minister Nyerere, we were advised that the Tanganyika Government intends to handle this problem itself. In addition, the Kenya Government indicated that it had some funds for this purpose although it pointed out that any large dissipation of such monies for emergency aid would have to come out of other assistance it might be able to give the students. We were also told that the British Colonial Office intends to appoint a Student Liaison Officer, probably Mr. K. D. Luke, to assist the students in this and other respects. The African-American Institute and other organizations in the United States as well as the African-American Students Foundation have been rendering assistance in the past but we all agreed that it would be desirable to discuss ways and means in which such assistance might be given on a coordinated basis. This is a matter which the Kennedy Foundation Advisory Committee proposes to consider at greater length in formulating its report.

5. Summer Jobs. Quite obviously summer jobs for the students are highly desirable both as part of their training and the financial aid it brings them. Everyone expressed the view that efforts should be made to assist the students in obtaining summer jobs. The African-American Students Foundation has been helpful in the past. Undoubtedly on a coordinated basis much more can be done. It occurs to me that the AFL-CIO might well be involved in such a program. Here in New York City Mr. Harry Van Arsdale, President of the New York City Central Labor Council, was himself successful in placing quite a few students during the summer. From my association with persons in the labor movement, I have the impression that they might readily cooperate in such a program.

To summarize:

1. The Airlift. This appears to be operating satisfactorily except for administrative problems and admits students without any limitation except production of proof of admission to an institution in the United States and a visa.

2. Supplementary Funds Raised In Kenya. In order to obtain a visa, students must show that they have adequate

financing for tuition, room and board, plus \$300. Practically every student has to raise some or all of the monies to cover these requirements. This is being done in Kenya. The Africans are not suggesting that any outside assistance be given for this purpose and no further action by us in the United States is required in this connection.

3. Scholarship Aid. In addition to formal scholarship programs, it is apparent that many additional scholarships can be made available. In filling such scholarships, a method for proper selection of students and the supplying of information to educational institutions in the United States are desirable. It is possible that the Kenya Education Trust may serve as the means of proper selection and allocation of students as well as supplying information. Further discussions are to take place between the African members of the Kenya Education Trust and the Kenya Government to ascertain if they can resolve the questions of participation by the Kenya Government in the Trust and standards of financial support for students to go abroad. The organizations in the United States interested in scholarship assistance can join subsequently in discussions with the Kenya Education Trust to the extent that they wish to participate and support such programs. This is a matter requiring further consideration at this end by the Advisory Committee.

4. Emergency Assistance To Students. The British Colonial Office is establishing a Student Liaison Officer who will help with this problem. Tanganyika and to a lesser degree Kenya are also prepared to give some assistance. In addition, organizations in this country interested in helping students should coordinate their efforts. This is a matter for consideration by the Advisory Committee.

5. Summer Jobs. A coordinated program of obtaining summer jobs for the students should be developed in this country. This is also a matter for the Advisory Committee to consider.

In closing, may I extend again my congratulations to the Kennedy Foundation for its imagination and courage in supporting a program which is so inspiring and so important to our nation.

Sincerely yours

Theodore W. Kheel