

# U.S. Finds Itself Alone in Choosing Course in Congo

By ROBERT M. ANDREWS  
United Press International

"If this is the way the United Nations conceives its mission of pacification, it would do better to abandon the Congo to the cannibals."

The words were those of the official French television network. Paris was adding its dissent to cries of outrage over the UN use of armed force to drag fabulously rich secessionist Katanga province back into the Congo.

Paradoxically, Washington at one time considered leaving the Congo to the cannibals.

Yet, in the end, it threw its full weight behind UN efforts to reunify the Congo. Its motives are involved and - to many - obscure.

In choosing this course, the United States found itself alone among its allies, as seldom before.

**Promise Not To Oppose**

Even British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was understood to have told President Kennedy at Nassau that his government could go no further than to promise not to oppose Washington's Congo policy in public.

There also was criticism at home.

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations committee and a warm supporter of Katanga President Moise Tshombe, recently asked the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva to investigate the legality of the UN role in the Congo. He said he favors a reunified Congo, but accused the United Nations of carrying out a "flagrant, inhuman act of aggression" that exceeded its Congo mandate.

Rep. E. Ross Adair of Indiana, the second-ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs committee, asked the state department "why people in our government are pushing this harassment of the people of Katanga."

**Senators Complain**

Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) and Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) also complained.

In reply to all this, the Kennedy administration insisted its only goal was to isolate the Congo from the East-West cold war, to prevent it from becoming another Communist-infested Korea or Laos.

To back up its argument, policymakers pointed to recent, disturbing signs of renewed Soviet activity in the Congo. The same ominous activity was detected, and

thwarted, once before; but the danger remained, they said.

After its first heady taste of freedom from Belgian rule in July, 1960, the Congo suddenly fell to pieces. The army mutinied. Feuding tribes clashed. With civil war imminent, the infant Congolese government appealed to the United Nations to help it restore law and order.

**Dispatches Military Mission**

Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, with Security Council approval, promptly dispatched a UN military mission. The alternative, forbidden in the UN charter, was intervention by outside powers, with the risk of confrontation of Soviet and American arms.

Washington decided it could not turn its back on the prospects of anarchy and prolonged bloodshed in the Congo.

To do so would be tantamount to inviting the Russians to establish a Communist stronghold in the heart of Africa from which to spread dissension.

The Russians, it turned out, overplayed their hand and were forced to pack up and leave. Their chosen standard-bearer, Patrice Lumumba, was shot. His leftist heir, Antoine Gizenga, eventually was stripped of his power as deputy premier and jailed.

**Trouble Never Solved**

Once the immediate Soviet threat was eliminated, state department strategists

evolved the theory that the Congo's troubles would never be solved until Tshombe's Katanga province was persuaded to end its self-proclaimed secession and share its lifeblood of mineral wealth with the anemic Leopoldville regime.

Only then, they reasoned, could the Congo become a politically stable and economically viable state.

Except for Katanga's rich copper, cobalt, manganese and uranium mines, and the diamond mines of neighboring South Kasai province, the Congo had never been much more than an exotic bauble of Belgian King Leopold II, who carved it out for his own with Explorer Stanley's help in the 1870s.

The Congo is one-third the size of the United States, yet boasts only 13.9 million inhabitants. Of these, there are only 1.7 million Katangese in an area 1/12th of the Congo's size.

**A Financial Advantage**

But Katanga's mines, under British and Belgian control, gave her a disproportionate financial advantage over the rest of the Congo.

The vast Union Miniere Du Haut Katanga Mining complex exports \$240 million in minerals a year.

Of this, Katanga gets \$40 million a year in taxes, duties and royalties.

By comparison, the rest of the Congo exports \$37.5 million a year in diamonds, gold, tin, rice and cotton and palm oil. It was doomed to bankruptcy without a share of Katanga's revenues.

The Congo's total revenue in 1961 was \$78 million; Katanga's a staggering \$60 million.

**Half of Copper Exports**

France and Belgium, which together consume half of Katanga's annual copper exports, thus had a vital interest in the province's political future.

Although it consumes much less Katanga copper, Britain's capital investments are heavy. The so-called "Katanga lobby" in Parliament has exerted constant and ill-concealed pressure on Macmillan to protect British mining interests.

Aside from that, Britain considered Tshombe a faithful friend and a steady influence in Africa.

The British have preferred negotiating an eventual end of Katanga's secession. While slow, they said, it would have the advantage of maintaining peace of sorts.

But the United States made it clear recently that it could tolerate Tshombe's stalling no longer. "Time is running out," warned G. Mennen Williams, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, in a speech at

the University of Virginia.

The timing of the speech was significant. The peak of the Cuban crisis had passed. In the aftermath, the state department began receiving curious reports from Leopoldville about a furtive new Soviet activity.

The Soviet embassy staff in Leopoldville had suddenly doubled in size to about 50 persons. Russian diplomats were reported to be touring Leopoldville beer halls spreading the word that the Americans were trying to take over the Congo's riches, and that the Congo premier, Cyrille Adoula, was a "colonialist stooge."

Adoula was in serious trouble. His restive parliament had made a life-or-death issue of his inability to unify the Congo. He barely won a vote of confidence last November.

The Congolese deputies voted to free Antoine Gizenga, the old Lumumbist, who returned to Stanleyville ready, with Moscow's backing, to take Adoula's job it Tshombe were not soon subdued.

**Department Assessment**

The state department's assessment was this:

After the Cuban debacle, the Kremlin might well be looking around for another part of the world to make face-saving gains. Adoula's shaky rule made the Congo look promising.

The Russians' hints in Leopoldville of intervention again were more likely dropped for their political effect. They were believed trying to gauge the strength of radical Congolese elements and perhaps to hasten Adoula's downfall.

"The Communists are always waiting in the shadows - waiting for us to falter," said undersecretary of state George W. Ball.

Washington observers said the administration's urgent warnings of a direct Soviet threat in the Congo were perhaps overdrawn. But high U.S. officials emphasized the threat was potential, and just as real as it was 2 1/2 years ago.

Another reason for urgency was that the United States was working against time. Time was running out for Adoula. The threadbare U.N. treasury could not much longer support a Congo operation that costs \$10 million a month. India had warned she would with-

draw her 5,700 troops-the backbone of the UN mission - by the end of March because of its dispute with Red China.

**Maintain Law and Order**

Was Secretary General Thant exceeding the UN mandate in the Congo? The original mission of maintaining law and order was expanded in vaguely worded UN resolutions that gave U Thant wide discretion.

One, adopted Nov. 24, 1961, authorized the United Nations to use force to clear the Congo of foreign mercenaries and advisers. It also ordered Katanga to end its secession and back the Central Government's efforts to preserve its "National integrity."

The United Nations apparently decided to stake its authority and future effectiveness on a last-ditch attempt to solve the Congo problem, even with force.

As one state department observer remarked, "That is holding a tiger by the tail - he can't let go."

Some argued that the United Nations had no right to oppose Katanga's independence if that was what it wanted.

To this, high state department officials said the only historical basis for government in the Congo is that Belgium's 50-year-old Loi Fondamentale. This "fundamental law" established a single federation of the Congo's diverse tribes, which speak a total of 100 different languages.

**Simply No Legal Case**

"There simply is no legal case, no political case, no economic case and no moral case for Balkanizing the heart of Africa," one state department official said.

Washington denied it wanted to destroy Tshombe. On the contrary, its recent appeal to Tshombe to end his secession said specifically that "there is no desire to deny Mr. Tshombe a place in the future political life of the Congo."

Tshombe is one of the Congo's best-educated, cleverest and most capable politicians. The United States wanted him to cooperate in rebuilding the Congo before his resistance lost him the support of his people.

President Kennedy, reflecting at year's end on the Congo and other world trouble spots, said of his country's unpopular stand: "I don't expect that the United States will be more beloved, but I would hope that we could get more done..."



**ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND** - Bones of a pliocene horse, which lived 1 to 3 million years ago, were found in a graveyard excavation at San Diego, Calif. Amateur archaeologist Thomas Peterson studies one of them. (UPI)

## On the Air

By ELEANOR WIESE

A documented study of the dramatic event, of six critical years in recent Russian history—from the final months of Joseph Stalin's rule of terror in 1929 to the emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as undisputed leader of the Soviet Union in 1938—will be presented in two programs, a week apart, in the NBC White Paper series.

The first program, "The Death of Stalin," will be telecast today at 10 p.m. on KMED-TV, and its sequel, "The Rise of Khrushchev," next Sunday.

To sift truth from fiction and to present the most authentic accounts available of what were, in many cases, secret proceedings, producer Fred Freed and his staff sought out persons all over the world who were in the best position to know the facts. These included Communist and former Communist officials, leaders and diplomats of non-Communist countries and distinguished journalists, authors and political experts from the United States and abroad.

It took two months to locate K. P. S. Menon, former Indian ambassador to the U. S. S. R., who was the last non-Communist to talk with Stalin, 16 days before his death. In a filmed interview in Bangalore, India, Menon tells how the Red dictator revealed his apparent suspicions that he was surrounded by conspirators.

Chet Huntley is narrator for the two programs.

**G. E. TRUE, 9:30 p. m.** Sunday KBES-TV. "Firebug," dramatization of the behind-the-scenes activities of Forest Service personnel as they track down an incendiary.

**DISCOVERY, 7:00 p. m.** Monday KBES-TV. Viewers will see the traditional Chinese New Year celebration in New York's Chinatown.

**WINSTON CHURCHILL, 7 p. m.** Monday KMED-TV. The Burma-India campaign against the Japanese push. The Burma-Ledo roads and the airlift over "The Hump" are established.

**AS CAESAR SEES IT, 9:30 p. m.** Monday KMED-TV. Sid Caesar presents a series of sketches on movie goers, travel via communication satellites, and the trend to longer plays and movies.

**DICK POWELL SHOW, 9:30 p. m.** Tuesday KMED-TV. Emmy winner Peter Falk stars with Carol Lynley in "The Rage of Silence," the story of a deaf mute whose explosive temper erupts when he learns that he has mistaken sympathy for love. Another outstanding performance by actor Falk.

**WAGON TRAIN, 7:30 p. m.** Wednesday KBES-TV. Joan Fontaine guest stars as a frustrated singer whose plans for a career are blocked by her late husband's will.

**PERRY MASON, 8 p. m.** Thursday KBES-TV. Guest star Bette Davis portrays a woman attorney who defends a defiant youth accused of murder. Miss Davis is the first guest to substitute during Raymond Burr's absence for minor surgery.

**PREMIERE, 10 p. m.** Thursday KBES-TV. George Gobel heads a musical variety show which includes jugglers, trained poodles and pianist Peter Nero.

**ANDY WILLIAM SHOW, 10 p. m.** Thursday KMED-TV. Ann Southern sings, and "Bonanza" co-star, 300-pound Dan Blocker, dances the Bossa Nova.

**ARTHUR GODFREY SPECIAL, 8:30 p. m.** Friday KBES-TV. Godfrey takes viewers on a tour of "The Sounds of New York." Guests include dancer Chita Rivera, singer Linda Scott and jazz trumpeter Jonah Jones.

**DAVID BRINKLEY'S JOURNAL, 8 p. m.** Saturday KMED-TV. The controversial oil production process called strip mining, which has become a hot political potato in Pennsylvania, is studied.

**MEET THE PRESS, 6 p. m.** Sunday KMED-TV. Secretary of State Dean Rusk will be interviewed.

**TWENTIETH CENTURY, 6 p. m.** Sunday KBES-TV. "Italy's Booming North" reports on the prosperity explosion in Milan, which has become the mecca for Italians seeking the good life.

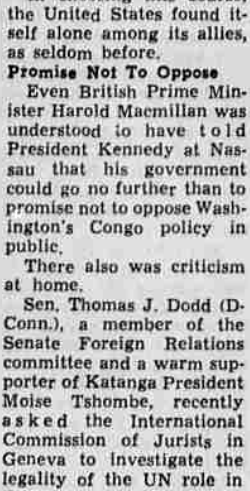
**STARLIGHT CONCERT, 8 p. m.** Sunday KBOV-FM radio. Brahms' First Symphony; Respighi's "The Pines of Rome"; Rimsky-Korsakov's Russian Easter Overture; and Chopin selections performed by pianist Van Cliburn.

**LOVE OF THREE KINGS, 2 p. m.** Sunday KMED-TV. Rebroadcast of the NBC Opera Company's production of Montemezzi's opera about love, infidelity and a blind king. Phyllis Curtin and Giorgio Tozzi of the Metropolitan Opera sing the leading roles.

**SPORTS SPECTACULAR, 2:30 p. m.** Sunday KBES-TV. The Harlem Globetrotters demonstrate their clowning wizardry against the American Giants in London.

**AMAZING PSORIASIS STORY**

Jan. 10, 1960 - Pittsburgh, Pa. "Doctored for psoriasis 30 years. Spent much money to no avail. Then used GHP Ointment and Tablets for 2 weeks. Scaly disappeared as if by magic. In 6 weeks skin completely cleared and clean. First time in 30 years. Thanks for your marvelous products." This much abbreviated report tells of a user's success with a dual treatment for the outward symptoms of psoriasis. Full information and details of a 14-day trial plan from Canam Co., Dept. 100J, Rockport, Mass.



MURRAY S. GARDINER



EDWARD R. HOPPE

Receive New Responsibilities

## Gardiner, Hoppe to Have New Positions With Utilities Firm

M. E. Sands, vice president and Southern Oregon division manager of California-Pacific Utilities company, has announced that two Medford employees, Murray S. Gardiner and Edward R. Hoppe, will be elevated to new responsibilities Feb. 1.

Gardiner will become Medford District manager in addition to retaining responsibilities as assistant division manager of the gas company's Southern Oregon and Shasta, Calif., divisions. He has been a Medford resident for many years and is well known throughout southern Oregon for his work in civic and fraternal organizations.

Last October, Gardiner was honored upon his 25th anniversary with California-Pacific, and was presented the President's Gold Watch award.

Sands said Hoppe, who has been responsible for Medford operations, will assume the duties of the newly created position of merchandise sales manager for the southern Oregon and Shasta, Calif., divisions, with headquarters in Medford.

Hoppe has more than 35 years of selling experience. During his 24 years of service with California-Pacific, Hoppe has worked as gas appliance salesman at Needles, Calif., Henderson, Nev., and Medford.



**DISCUSS STRATEGY**—District leaders of the Sacred Heart Hospital Community drive met to discuss the overall strategy to be employed in the up coming community drive to raise \$100,000. Pictured left to right are Richard Frey, Carl Bismark, and Ken Wright.

Redden criticized Appling's remarks.

Salem - Representative James A. Redden (D-Jackson) criticized Secretary of State Howell Appling's remarks made before the Oregon Republican club last week referring to the proposed four-cent cigarette tax as a "trick."

Redden stated that Republican Gov. Mark O. Hatfield had requested the tax legislation in his inaugural address and suggested that Appling "get together with the Governor" on proposed legislation.

"If this tax is a 'trick' and hence bad legislation, then the Secretary should advise the tricksters in the legislature just how we are to answer the needs of education and still afford relief to property taxpayers. The Secretary's 'insulated office' offers a platform for criticism, without forcing him to make his criticism constructive," Redden said.

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## Accomplishments of Chamber Reviewed

Outgoing Medford Chamber of Commerce President Murray Gardiner Friday night listed the most important accomplishments by the chamber during the past year and new President Bill Williams outlined material to be accomplished for the new year.

Before an estimated 150 people attending the annual chamber banquet at the Rogue Valley Country club, Gardiner listed as an important accomplishment the start toward developing and revitalizing the Medford downtown area. He told of the trip to Pomona, Calif., to inspect the revitalized downtown area there. Medford Architect Jack Edson showed colored slides of Eugene's downtown revitalized area.

Gardiner was presented the president's plaque by Manville Heisel, Medford lawyer. Williams stressed a better Medford business climate. Development of additional parking is a short range objective next year, he said. He also discussed development of additional parking through special assessment districts.

**Continuing Program**

A long range continuing program should be an effort for a more equitable taxation through the state legislature and congress. The property tax is unfair in many respects, he said.

The chamber should look into areas of commercial and industrial development and highway construction, the new president said. But, Williams urged. Businessmen should take a more active part in politics, but should not run to Washington, D.C., for assistance or subsidy.

People at each banquet table presented their ideas to table as to what the chamber should seek to accomplish for the new year. Suggestions ranged from setting air pollution problems to cleaning up old structures along the new freeway, to downtown area revitalization, and continued public school support.

Oregon packing plants should join a form of lobby to better themselves, Williams urged. Businessmen should take a more active part in politics, but should not run to Washington, D.C., for assistance or subsidy.

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