WORLD HORIZONS

Africa Searches For Men To Run Nation

By WARD CANNEL
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ACCRA, Ghana (NEA)—A continental vacuum in leadership plagues the development of sub-Sahara Africa today.

It is an ailment that will keep battalions of technicians, educators and truce teams from the rest of the world shuttling in and out of Africa for years to come.

This is not to say that Africa has no leaders.

On the contrary, one comes away from an audience with Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta overwhelmed by his personality. Even outspoken critics of Tanganyika's president Julius Nyerere and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah admit freely that they are dealing with leaders as forceful and convincing as any in the world today.

The vital gap in African leadership begins just below the presidential office, in those lieutenancies that keep mature nations running smoothly through the business of government and bridge the ravines between administrations.

In Tanganyika, for example, most white residents admit that the changeover from colonial to African government has been handled well. "But," a reporter hears again and again, "who is there to replace Nyerere?"

In part, of course, the vacuum at the top is the doing of colonial administrations which pursued a careful course of training nonpolitical African civil servants and squelched most African attempts at political maturity.

But in even larger measure, the responsibility for leadership lacks can be traced back to the African heritage of tribalism.

In areas where tribal life has been generally untouched by colonialism, among East Africa's Masai for example, the chief's word is law and the aged are venerated for their years alone. Property is communal and every man is every other man's brother.

Translated into terms of modern, booming Nigeria, for example, this tribal heritage confuses everyday life. A young executive in a prosperous firm or government ministry will think more than twice before he gives an order to an elderly clerk. A minister of state is under ancient imperatives to staff his offices with members of his own tribe, whether or not they are qualified.

Put together, ancient tribalism and recent colonialism conspire to apply further restrictions against the development of African leadership. Much of the Congo Republic's misery today stems from this unhappy combination. Six colonial provinces have been turned into 22 to satisfy a tribal hunger for governmental power and the result is a jungle of border disputes, tribe rivalries and a paralysis of government.

In individual terms, the pressure of colonialism and tribalism are driving more and more young Africans with European training in the arts and sciences into politics. An M.D. degree in the ravaged Congo today is the key to a political job—with a car, chauffeur and mansion—instead of a stethoscope, hypodermic syringe and weary work in a village clinic.

At the highest level, it is this pressure which drives the leader of a struggling new nation to reach out for a pan-African following and an important seat in the council of older, stronger richer countries.

It is what lures Ghana's Nkrumah to render public statements on the Cuban crisis (anti-U.S.) and the Indo-China border war (anti-India) while his country's economy declines and his people daily lose touch with their leader and turn instead to the solace of the homemade bomb.

Hard-headed European emissaries to Africa argue that the people's will on the emerging continent counts for nothing today.

"It is simply a matter of what the leaders want," one ambassador says. "The people don't know and don't care. Uprising and overthrow are impossible. There is nobody to lead the way."

There is considerable evidence to support his view.

In addition, according to the men who say they know, the urgent need for nation-building requires a monolithic state which can make decisions without the fear of political dissension.

But to a reporter who has wandered through uncertain days in Southeast Asia and Latin America, the requisites of nation-building have a way of growing into the cruelties of permanent revolution. The childhood of African nationalism is already beginning to bear a striking resemblance to grown-up countries across the world now frozen on a ferris wheel of government by overthrow while the governed stand angrily below without the price of admission.

With radio, television and sharpened political axes flowing into Africa today, the vacuum between leadership and the led will be filled. The only question—by whom?

Both the West and the Soviet bloc are offering university scholarships in an effort to have a voice in Africa's future. But, as one Israeli points out, after watching African students return from university study in his country:

"You cannot evaluate the results now or tomorrow. It will be years and maybe a generation before one knows what his students have learned."

On the African scene there are several programs aimed specifically at building leaders, among them Kenya's Public Administration school, the Congo's Louvanium University and Nigeria's Ibadan University. It is, however, still too early to tell whether graduates can resist the temptations of power and status once they leave the classroom.

The only project that can measure any results is the Ford Foundation's Sensitivity Training program in Nigeria and Uganda. This course, under the direction of American Dr. Robert Mitchell, brings business and government leaders together for seminars to explore the workings of leadership under controlled conditions.

"For its scope and short duration," Dr. Mitchell says, "it has been very successful. And it has proved several things.

"It has shown that the qualities that make leadership are the same for Africa as for any other country in the world—not only subject mastery but emotional appeal as well. There is no lack of leadership potential in Africa."

But finding a way for its expression and helping it to overcome its tradition of yielding to the white man's mastery are obstacles not so easily overcome.

One thing is certain, Dr. Mitchell says, Africa is searching intensely for a leader.

And if he appears?

"The world will have to contend with a continental strength and solidarity," says one of the most savvy political observers on the continent, "to rival that of the U.S. and Russia."

SYMBOL OF FREEDOM — A Tanganyikan official presents "Tangangyika Independence Necktie" to H. M. Onipembere, Nyasaland's minister for local government, as a symbol of African freedom.

Cut Agreed In Bank Tax

SALEM (UPI)—The Senate Tax Committee agreed Friday to reduce the bank tax from 9 to 8 per cent in a compromise move to end a dispute with financial institutions over the tax they should pay.

The agreement with the banks is that they will not claim refund of moneys paid under the 9 per cent rate and will not pay an estimated $750,000 due for 1957.

The banks took their protest over a 9 per cent tax to the courts, saying it was in violation of the law to single them out for higher taxes than other corporations. They conceded the 8 per cent rate would be more comparable to the 6 per cent, plus property taxes, paid by other corporations.

The committee meeting was capped by a sharp exchange between Sens. Vernon Cook, D-Gresham, and Walter Pearson, D-Portland.

Cook termed the compromise a "horrible injustice," and said the banks were "blackmailing the state into agreement."

Pearson denied the banks had blackmailed anyone, and said he was "getting tired of Cook's personal attacks on the intentions of senators. If it happens much more I will ask Cook's expulsion from the Senate."

FRANCO JUAN CARLOS MUNOZ GRANDES

Spain Faces Bleak Future When France Leaves Scene

By WARD CANNEL

MADRID, Spain (NEA)—There is always the possibility, of course, that Gen. Francisco Franco may live forever and convert the agony that daily creeps closer upon his country.

Despite his 70 years and the adamant demands of mortality, Spain's dictator appears to be playing that long shot by making no real provision for a political successor. What moves he has made leave the future bleak if not bloody:

The appointment, for the first time in his 32-year iron-fisted rule, of an assistant dictator—Gen. Augustin Munoz Grandes, a man sometimes described as being "five minutes younger than Franco and not nearly as healthy."

Public cordiality toward the Bourbon pretender to the vacant throne — Don Juan Carlos. Monarchy would be acceptable to Spain's tight, undergroun Communist party as a perfect setup for an overthrow.

The easing of the shackles on political action—within reason, of course — but enough to reveal that Spain today has neither the discipline nor the optimism necessary to the building of democratic institutions, parties or leaders.

Nor can Spain count on the traditional substructure of government to carry herself through a transition without revolution. A generation of rule-by-anarchy has kept the dictatorship intact and left the nation broken.

Spanish labor unions, for example, are administered by government appointees and directed by employers.

The Spanish army is demoralized and corrupt. It is not unusual for high-ranking officers to work part time as lobbyists and representatives for munitions, engineering or manufacturing firms.

The Catholic Church in Spain, probably the most effective arm of civil government, is itself in turmoil, with the younger clergy often pitted against their elders on issues such as social welfare and agrarian reform. But because of its long history as an ally of both government and big business, the Church, observers in Spain say, is widely considered an untrustworthy friend of the people.

Even the Falangist party, on which Franco rode to power, has been effectively emasculated as a political force for continuity in the true tradition of all radical revolutions from Stalin to Castro.

"We have been governed by dictatorship built on anarchy," says a government official and staunch supporter of Franco, "and now we must pay for it.

"The only thing that could have worked would be a balance between the old Falangists and the Socialists. But we don't have an organization for either."

Meanwhile, very real pressures for upheaval are building in Spain today as the economy comes to depend increasingly on three mainstays—tourism, U.S. aid through military agreements and remittences from Spaniards working in booming Germany, France, Switzerland and the lowlands.

Last year, for example, tourism brought Spain $450 million—three times what it was in 1959 and half what it's expected to be in 1966. Should a recession hit the opulent nations, however, tourism will be the first extravagance to go.

United States bases in Spain are equally tentative, especially as submarine, intercontinental missile and orbital warhead potential become realities.

Most dangerous of all to the Spanish situation today, however, is the status of workers, both at home and abroad.

While the economy gains $250 million annually from her men employed outside of the country, a cutback in Europe's prosperity could send 100,000 hungry Spanish workers home, with the recent memory of better times and a long exposure to more democratic ways of life.

In addition, the traditional new frontier for young Spanish pioneers, Latin America, is closing her doors to migration because of political and economic turmoil. In vastly underdeveloped Spain, this adds some 200,000 new workers to the job market yearly without an escape hatch.

But the possibilities of migration to other parts of the world are discouraged by big employers, labor observers say, because it tends to reduce the reserve of cheap labor and forces wages up. As one foreign observer put it:

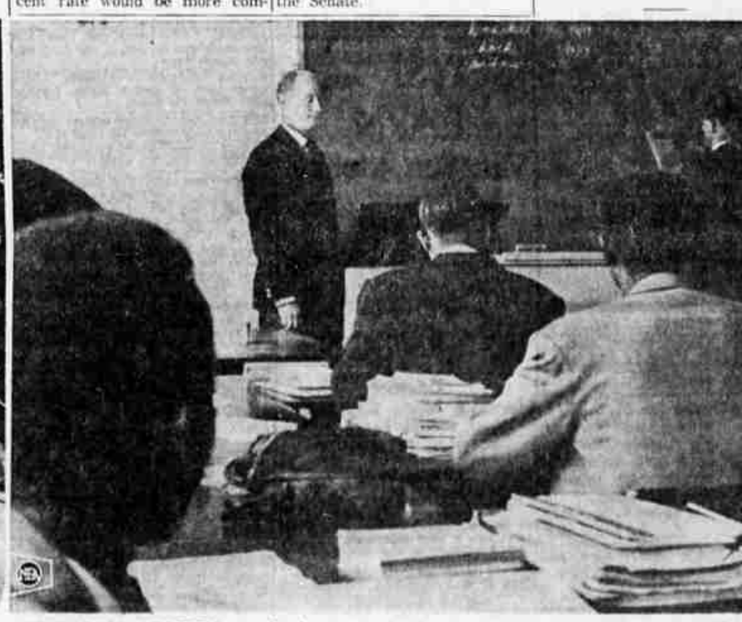
"Spanish employers cannot really conceive of running a business with less than a 20 per cent margin of profit."

Proof of the increasing pressure on the Spanish job market comes from the experience of the Intergovernmental Committee For European Migration in Madrid which is restrained from the outright recruiting of migrants for overseas positions. But after a recent newspaper account of Spanish migrants in Australia, says an ICEM official, "it took us a week to dig out from under the flood of requests for more information from all over Spain."

But whether the mass of Spanish peasants and workers is considered by the government or no matter. Certainly the Spanish press makes no mention of the situation or need to be aware that change comes with time—an omission that worries many of the country's newsmen.

"The people," say most journalists queried, "are completely unprepared."

A POLITICAL FORCE — Africans stage protest march in Accra, Ghana, against French nuclear tests in the Sahara.



PREPARING LEADERS — Students receive lessons in government operation in Kenya's Public Administration School, Nairobi.

Truman Backs Memory Of Yank In Nicaragua

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President Kennedy and former President Harry S Truman have crossed history books over an American who was a president himself before a firing squad cut short his career.

William Walker was a tyrant, Kennedy told a group of students at the San Jose meeting of Central American states.

Not so, said Truman when word of Kennedy's remark got back to Independence, Mo. Walker was a man "endowed with an unusual capacity for leadership," said the former president.

Most Americans had no opinion. Few had even heard of William Walker.

But in Central America, the name meant a lot. And in Spain, students turned out to demonstrate before the U. S. Embassy, annoyed because Kennedy put the Spanish conquerors in the same class as Walker.

Lot Of Men

Who was Walker? He was a lot of men. A doctor, a lawyer, a newspaper editor, an author, a general. Also the president of Nicaragua—the only American to be elected head of a foreign nation. It was this last job that caused all the trouble for the Nashville-born Walker.

In 1855, "General" Walker landed in Nicaragua with a 58-man army he had recruited along San Francisco's Barbary Coast. Denying he was a freebooter, he produced an official invitation from one of the warring factions in Nicaragua to show he had been legally invited to help bring law and order to the revolt-torn nation.

Walker brought order. He also took over the entire nation. Before he was through, he had been elected president, recruited 2,500 Americans for his army, fought wars with Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, got short-lived diplomatic recognition from the United States, and came within a few musket balls of setting up an empire that stretched from Mexico to Panama.

Dead At 35

Five years after he landed in Nicaragua Walker was dead, shot by a firing squad at the age of 35.

It was not really the rifle bullets that killed Walker's dream of empire, but rather a mistake he made in a choice of business partners.

As Walker saw it, the real power in Nicaragua lay in the possibility of a canal linking the Atlantic and the Pacific. Even in his time, more than a half-century before a canal actually was built in Panama, plans were being made for one that would run through Nicaragua. The man behind these plans was Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, who already had won the right of transit from an earlier Nicaraguan government.

Supports Walker

When Walker arrived in Nicaragua, Vanderbilt supported him, hoping he would be able to stabilize the government. Walker needed Vanderbilt's steamship line. It carried passengers from New York and New Orleans to Nicaragua, and then shipped them overland to a Vanderbilt ship waiting on the Pacific side for the journey to California.

This was the quickest way for Americans to reach California in the Gold Rush days of the 1850's. But to Walker, it was his only means of getting recruits shipped down by his agents in the United States.

It was over the steamship line that Walker made his mistake. In a stock battle for control of the line, Walker sided with Vanderbilt's enemies, and forced the commodore out. But the victory turned to defeat when Vanderbilt regained control of the line and cut off Walker's supply of recruits.

Blaze Of Glory

But Walker went out in a blaze of glory. He fought off the combined armies of the Central American republics for months before he finally surrendered—then not to his enemies but to an American warship.

Kennedy, trying to use history as a guide for today's problems, said the hemisphere will never be secure until Russia goes the way of men like William Walker.

According to Kennedy, Walker ranks in history alongside George III of Britain, the Spanish conquerors, and Maximilian.

Truman Disagrees

But Truman doesn't agree. He thinks Kennedy has his history confused.

Walker's purpose, Truman said, "was to unite the Central American nations into a kind of United States patterned after our own."

Rather than comparing Russia's tactics with Walker's, Truman hinted there would be no problem if Walker had his way.

Both Kennedy and Truman can find historians who will back up their arguments. Some say that Walker was, as Truman put it, "a kind of revolutionary idealist." Others tabbed him as nothing more than a bandit who was out for what he could get.

Market Recovers After Big Slump Of '62

NEW YORK (UPI) — "Black Tuesday" 1962 was a Wall Street epic.

On May 29 last year, the stock market hit the bottom of an incredible plunge — the worst since 1929—and began to rally in a 14-million-share blizzard of trading. At the lowest point that day, stock values were down $80 billion from the highs of the previous December.

But even more fantastic is the condition of the market one year after the big decline, which was supposed to have shattered investor confidence for years. Some $75 millions of the loss already has been recovered and the popular averages are within striking distance of their all-time highs.

Contrasting Factors

It took more than a decade to repair the damage caused by the "crash" of '29. Why has it taken just one year to bring the market back this time?

The 1929 bust was followed by a deep, decade-long Depression. In contrast, there have been explosively positive factors to back up the present recovery:

First, a removal of most of the economic and social forces which clobbered the market last year, and second, the attainment of a business level which was only being anticipated, and in the wrong areas, when the market stood at its December, 1961, high.

Bearish Influences

The removal of 1962's bearish influences can best be seen by reviewing them, and then making a re-examination in the light of the current situation.

—First, the basic law of business — free operation of supply and demand — was apparently revoked by the assertion of government control over prices in our most basic industry, steel.

—Then it seemed that the roots of American business ethics and behavior might be challenged by a government agency which began a sweeping investigation of the securities industry — objective unknown.

—Meanwhile, the government said that the basic force behind the postwar market boom, inflation, was petering out and might be replaced by an even more dangerous opposite, deflation. Furthermore, the U.S. ran into a frightening series of gold flights to foreign lands which, if unchecked, could have undermined the currency and forced a devaluation.

Causes Removed

A year later, the President has given approval to selective steel price increases within the supply-demand framework, apparently removing cause one. The Securities & Exchange Commission has released a mild criticism of the securities industry and asked for legislation to help it do better, removing cause two.

The government is continuing to budget huge deficits, giving new rise to inflation talk and eliminating cause three. Finally, assurances have been given against a dollar devaluation, and the gold reserve situation, while still unsolved, seems to be levelling out—at least subduing the last cause for the 1962 dive as a market factor.

Business Improves

Accompanying this removal of causes are some genuine business kickers which did not exist when the market hit a record high in mid-December, 1961.

Yank Tries Three-Star Restaurant

DIVONNE, France (UPI)—Alan Lewis is trying to do what no American has ever done before—run a three-star restaurant in France.

There are only 12 restaurants in this exalted category in all France, according to the authoritative Guide Michelin. Naturally they are all operated by Frenchmen and all have French chefs.

But Lewis, whose group, Restaurant Associates, runs a notable series of restaurants in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, thinks he is on the verge of breaking into this exclusive fraternity.

It has been an uphill fight for the past two years, ever since Restaurant Associates bought 137 acres of this resort town near Geneva, including a gambling casino, two hotels, thermal baths, theater, night club, tennis court and three swimming pools.

Divonne had been coasting along on a reputation built at the turn of the century when Russian royalty and American and British millionaires came primarily for the roulette and chemin-de-fer.

When Lewis and his colleagues took over in June 1962 they instituted a big-name entertainment policy and set out to make Divonne an all-year rather than a seasonal resort.

The big-name policy paid off and Divonne, according to Lewis, now is the most profitable of France's 149 casinos—its nearest rivals are Nice and Enghien. He considers this somewhat of a triumph for American methods which have been introduced without affecting the continental charm of the resort.

Motorists Can Prevent Thefts

CHICAGO (UPI) — Chicago's police superintendent, O. W. Wilson, says savvy motorists can prevent many of the 900 car thefts that occur in the United States each day.

He suggested that when parking a car, the motorist should:

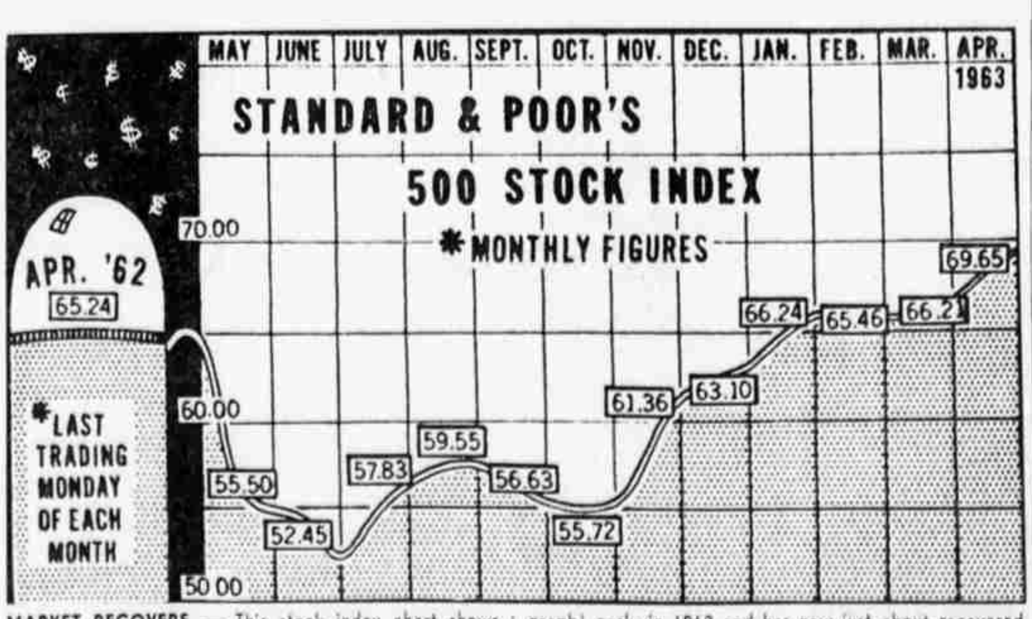
—Lock ignition and remove keys.

—Close windows and lock doors.

—Keep clothes and other personal property out of sight.

—Keep the trunk key when using a commercial garage for parking.

—Not leave behind any license registration cards or other identifying credentials that a thief could misuse after stealing the car.



MARKET RECOVERS — This stock index chart shows fluctuations from May, 1962, through April, 1963. The market was hit by an $80 billion plunge (extreme left of graph) early in 1962 and has now just about recovered its former strength.

— UPI Telephoto