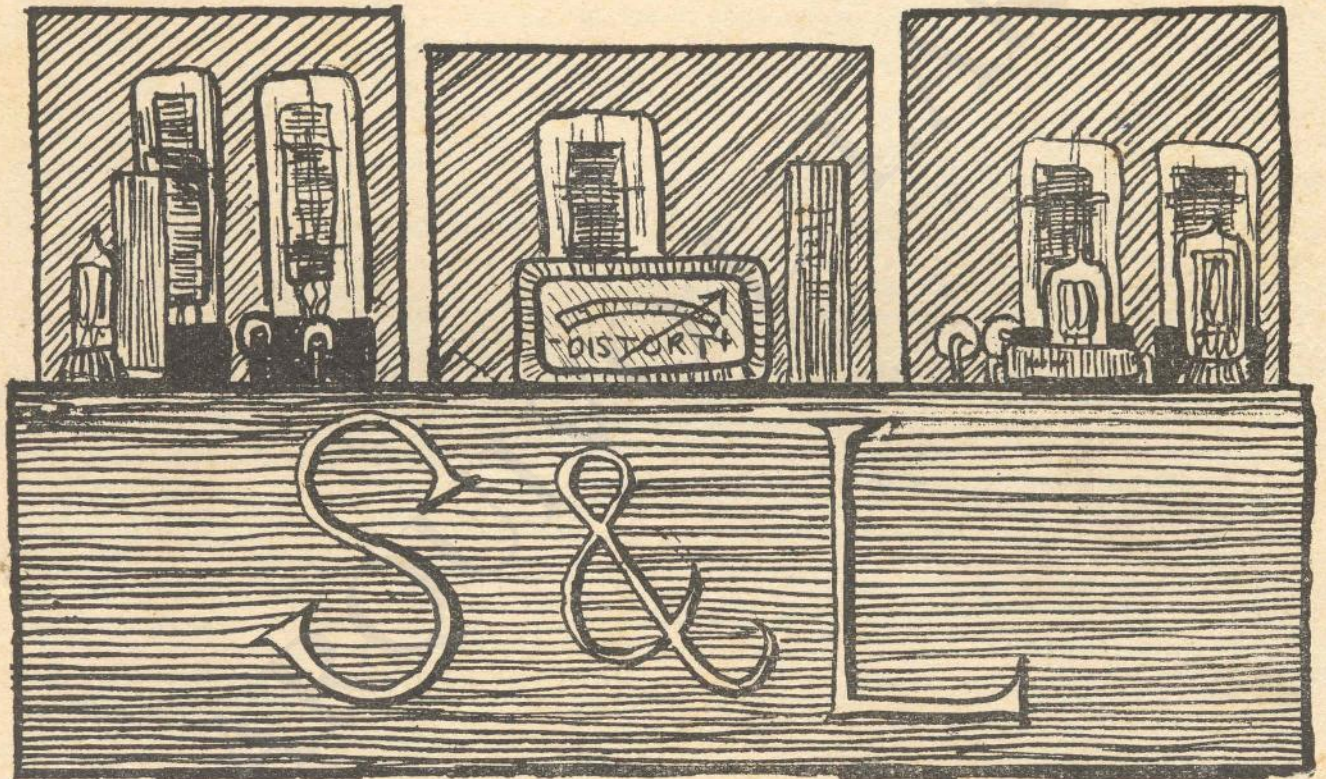


# AFRICA TODAY

APRIL 1962 / 35 cents



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**See page 4 for Daniel Friedenbergs description of this amazing apparatus.**

"IT'S A PROBLEM, ALL RIGHT," said the young lawyer sadly, stirring his highball mechanically. "We worked for the liberation of colonial areas because we believed in equal justice, equal opportunities, civil liberties and all that sort of thing. Now, as far as West Africa is concerned, we're being asked to forget about these things during the 'transitional period' . . ."

"Nonsense, my dear," cut in the lady long active with radical causes. "We have to publicly condemn the trend. Take this detention law just passed—why, it's feudal! We must denounce it in clear terms."

The anthropologist shuffled his papers for a moment, as if undecided on the best approach. "Why always so keen to judge?" he finally said. "Why not describe the effects of the growth of one-party systems? After all, the new governments are qualitatively different from the colonial administrations. For one thing, their base is more fragile; for another, their ultimate aims are still praiseworthy. A condemnation will only create antagonism and limit our effectiveness to encourage change for the better."

No one likes to be thought immoral; but then, no one likes to be thought naive either. Face to face with the Great Liberal Dilemma, the little group fell silent. Sounds from the street far below drifted up in the warm spring night. The civil official chewing salted peanuts was the first to speak again:

"I don't suppose anyone here has heard of the American businessman who went to West Africa last year to sell someone a complete textile mill. It's all the rage, you know, to package factories. He had, to be sure, neither money nor factory, but only the promise of a British group to provide the equipment. Anyway, his search provoked a good deal of competition over there; such a factory would provide many jobs and bring credit to the administration. He finally closed the deal with an important local chief who, in no time at all, had signed an irrevocable letter of credit with a London bank. For some unknown reason, the British group suddenly dropped their backing, leaving our businessman the job of finding the equipment. This he did by touring New England, casually purchasing obsolete machinery from failing or bankrupt firms. He paid, for example, \$45 for a splendid 50-year-old loom, which he then valued at \$2,000 for letter-of-credit purposes, and shipped to Africa. In this fashion, he expects to clear somewhere around a million dollars by the time the contract is fulfilled . . ."

"Ah, it's a rotten world," said the anthropologist, shaking his head.

"More drinks?" asked the host pleasantly.

A short jail term is becoming more and more necessary for the person who wants a well-rounded education in South Africa, and the government seems only too ready to oblige. Recently arrested for giving a lift home to Albert Luthuli were Peter de Lissoyvoy, 19-year-old Harvard student, and Jolyon Nuttall, a young South African journalist. Nuttall recently spent a year in New York as a correspondent for the Argus chain.

Two errors appeared in the March AFRICA TODAY chart of "UN vote on African Issues at the 16th General Assembly." The Congo (Leopoldville) vote on Resolution 19 should read No instead of Yes. And in the totals, under Resolution 21, the number of non-participants was zero rather than the 2 noted.

Incidentally, we will bring the chart up to date next month with a record of votes on the Ruanda-Urundi and the Southern Rhodesia issues.

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## South of Katanga:

### TRUMPETS...

**W**HEN TRUMPETS BLOW can whips be far behind? Not in South Africa, it seems.

Earlier this year the government proudly announced the creation of the first "Bantustan" in the Transkei. Here, "Bantus" would be able to "govern" themselves, but with just a little guidance from the whites.

Barely three months later, we learn from Umtata (capital of the Transkei) more of the shape and content of the "self-government."

The Transkei is ruled by a Territorial Authority, whose presiding officer, Chief Kaizer Daliwonga Matanzima of the Emigrant Tembu, is also the government's key man in implementing the new legislation.

Last year, the chief ordered a group of families moved from one area to another, as part of a government-imposed scheme. The men refused, were arrested, were fined, made an appeal, were ordered deported, arrested again, acquitted, and again arrested. To this day they are imprisoned without charges.

From Nqamakwe Prison, one of them writes: "We don't know when we shall be released . . . we have not even ploughed our land, and we don't know whether any ploughing has taken place. The 16 men who were arrested are here. Three were left behind, and they were tortured and tied to yokes."

When this rather extraordinary example of "self-government" was brought to the attention of the chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Transkei, he coldly replied that the orders are "in accordance with the best interest of Native Administration."

Chief Matanzima, in the meanwhile, is being groomed for his expected role of the Transkei's first "Prime Minister." This unhappy region, already the scene of many riots and much of it still governed under martial law, is thus to be transformed into South Africa's Katanga, without the riches. Thus the image of apartheid, for so long the world's shorthand symbol for brutal racist domination, is about to blunt its edges. We predict that a good many people in the US are going to find it a lot less embarrassing to support Verwoerd, now that he has at last found his Tshombe.

### and TIN HORNS

**S**URELY NOTHING could have been more distasteful to Her Majesty's Government last month, than the decision of the UN's Committee of 17 that the events in Southern Rhodesia were indeed the concern of the world body. Joshua Nkomo had called Southern Rhodesia "Britain's Algeria" to emphasize how deeply the settler support lay in Westminster politics. And now, quite suddenly, the whole mess was about to be exposed to strangers.

But once the Committee of 17 had decided that Southern Rhodesia was a non-self-governing territory (under the new constitution granted by Britain, 92 percent of the population have little or no say in their own affairs), one might have expected the US to abandon its stand that this was an internal matter. On the contrary, our delegate dug in, re-emphasizing that Britain knew best, that the present constitution allowed "for peaceful change" and that "progress was being made toward the objective of greater African participation in the government."

It had then to be re-established, this time by former Southern Rhodesia Premier Garfield Todd (who lost support and his office for being too "liberal") that the situation, far from being "peaceful," was in fact, one of "rapid deterioration, a condition emphasized by the rapid growth of military and police strength . . ." He went on to charge, with clear examples, settler repression of almost all civil liberties, including the simple right of protest. There was no question that, unless the trend were reversed, violence would erupt in Southern Rhodesia.

So much for the "peace" the US delegate had so piously invoked. As for the "progress . . . toward . . . African participation," Mr. Todd pointed out that, under the present constitutional voters requirements, it would be a good 200 years before Africans would get a majority in the legislature.

While the US was busy protecting the British rear, other nations were fortunately addressing themselves to the more urgent matter of making possible peaceful solutions in Southern Rhodesia. A proposal (ultimately accepted) to send a commission of inquiry to London, thence to Rhodesia, was opposed by the US on the grounds that "it would not help . . . to interfere by making concrete and detailed recommendations." In view of the fact that Britain was finding it increasingly difficult to suggest, recommend, or implement any ameliorative measures, the US position smacked somewhat of know-nothingism. In fact, this tolerance of Whitehead-Welensky provocation ("We'll fight if we must") might quite unintentionally propel Southern Rhodesia into the Security Council, where questions of threats to peace are debated. Then, to use an Indian image, things would really become Ka-tangled up.

The best hope continues to lie in a constitutional conference ending with a recognition of majority rule. If the commission of inquiry manages to sufficiently embarrass the British (and they do blush more easily these days in London), this hope has at least the chance of being realized.

# The Public Relations of Colonialism:

## Salazar's Mouthpiece in the U.S.

By DANIEL M. FRIEDENBERG

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC was shocked at the end of 1961 to learn that much of the information concerning the conflict between Katanga and the rest of the Congo had been deliberately falsified and manipulated. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams flatly stated that a propaganda machine working for Katanga invented "horrendous tales" of UN slaughter and Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, going still further, said that "there has been a clever big-money campaign to convince Americans that they ought to support Katanga's secession," specifically naming Michel Struelens, a Belgian, as the man heading the campaign.

The revelations of the State Department were due to the urgent desire on the part of the Kennedy Administration to debunk charges that its Congo policy was serving Communism by forcing wealthy Katanga and its anti-Communist ruling group into a neutralist central Government. The State Department was obviously interested, because of domestic pressures, in exposing Michel Struelens as a propagandist with a vested interest in order to discredit his activities.

Working in almost complete anonymity for close to a year, another propaganda machine with tremendous resources has been attempting to sway American public opinion in a still more sensitive African area. The propagandist is Selvage and Lee, Inc., agent for Salazar, the aging dictator of Portugal, and the subject which it is paid to discredit is the attempt on the part of the Angolan people to be free.

Without the resources of the State Department—which has been oddly silent on the matter of pro-Portuguese vested interests—it is difficult to obtain all the facts. Only by putting together varied information and relating hints disclosed elsewhere to the first six-month statement filed by Selvage and Lee with the U.S. Department of Justice, can we see the full extent and penetration of this Portuguese agent.

The first clue was revealed many months ago. On May 17th, 1961, *The New York Times*, in a dispatch dated Lisbon, Portugal, informed its readers that Selvage and Lee, Inc., an American firm engaged in the business of public relations, had been employed by "a private Portuguese banking and business syndicate" for an alleged \$1,000,000 contract "to publicize Portugal's policies and achievements in Angola and other overseas territories." *The New York Times* did not mention that several other respected American public relation firms had previously refused to take the contract.

The name of this "private Portuguese syndicate" was the Overseas Companies of Portugal. That it was

merely an intermediary through which the Salazar government could operate with anonymity was clearly shown by the statement later filed by Selvage and Lee, as required by the Foreign Agents' Registration Act, which revealed that the Overseas Companies of Portugal was organized in Lisbon in April—one month before the contract was let to the American firm. The placing of this contract was the first step in a major effort by the Portuguese dictator to mobilize public opinion in the United States for his suppression of the Angolan revolt. And it was not by coincidence that this contract shortly followed the speech in the UN Security Council in which Adlai Stevenson, alone among the Western powers, endorsed an Afro-Asian resolution calling on Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination for the people of Angola.

Just what is this firm of Selvage and Lee, Inc.? Who are these two men, Mr. Selvage and Mr. Lee?

James P. Selvage was Assistant Executive Vice-President of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) from 1933 to 1938 and became president of what is now Selvage and Lee, Inc., in 1938. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1940 and Assistant to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1943-44.

Morris Lee, Jr., worked in public relations in the early 1930s and then joined the NAM in the same capacity, leaving in 1939 to become a partner in Selvage and Lee, Inc.

The National Association of Manufacturers has always been the nesting ground for the most conservative interests in the United States. Specifically created as the voice of big business, the NAM loudly screamed during the 1930s—the period when Messrs. Selvage and Lee learned their trade—that Roosevelt was a Communist and the New Deal a socialist takeover of America.

This was the public relations firm hired through an intermediary by the Portuguese government, with an initial grant of \$150,000 as advance funds, in order to proclaim to the American people that the revolt in Angola was Communist-engineered and that the independence party, the Union of Peoples of Angola (UPA), and its head, Holden Roberto, were puppets of Moscow.

The problem faced by Selvage and Lee was that the

DANIEL M. FRIEDENBERG has contributed to many national publications, including Harper's, The New Republic, Dissent, Commonweal, and The New Leader.

majority of people in the United States sympathized with the revolt. For one thing, Salazar, with Franco, are the two remaining fascists still cluttering up West Europe and if their regimes are anti-democratic at home, it does not take much common sense to realize what they must be like in their colonies. For another, only isolated individuals still believe in the racial mission of the European powers in Africa and the fiction that territories located thousands of miles from the home country, many times larger and inhabited by peoples of widely different ethnic origin, are "integral parts of the national territory."

The only way to turn the tide and alienate the public sympathy of both the people and government of America for the rebels, was to "prove" that the revolt was Communistic.

Selvage and Lee faced another unique difficulty. For Protestant ministers working in Angola, and especially those of the Methodist Church, *knew* that the revolt was caused by unbearable conditions and not Communist infiltration. These practicing Christians not only knew the facts but had the audacity to proclaim this truth in magazines like *Look*, *Harper's* and *Newsweek*, as well as newspapers like *The New York Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor*.

Within a week of the signing of the \$1,000,000 contract, the methods to be employed by Selvage and Lee were made transparently clear. In answer to a letter of protest from Leonard M. Perryman, Director of the Department of News Service of the Methodist Church Board of Missions, James P. Selvage referred to Portugal as "a great ally during the war"—which is factually incorrect, since Portugal refused to fight its fascist brothers and indeed sympathized with them until it became apparent they would lose—and claimed it was the Communists who were pushing for action against Portugal. This would be the subsequent theme directed against any organization that felt compassion for the plight of the Angolan people.

The Methodists and other Christian denominations refused to knuckle down. When the Portuguese authorities began to arrest American ministers in Angola—the first nation to do so since Red China—a group of eighty churchmen and laymen in the United States and Canada, including prominent Protestants and Catholics, protested to President Américo Tomás of Portugal. The attempt on the part of Selvage and Lee to tar the Angolan revolt as Communistic did not succeed in budging Christian concern.

Now a curious thing occurred. On July 1st, 1961, *The Pittsburgh Courier*, "Largest Negro weekly newspaper chain in the world . . . avidly read every week by more than 700,000 Negroes from Coast to Coast," as the newspaper states proudly in its masthead, published a special 16-page Supplement eulogizing the Portuguese government for its glorious policy in Angola. The Supplement, filled with charming pictures of mixed white and black couples, was a paean to the wisdom of The Portuguese Way, as seen by George S. Schuyler, Associate Editor of *The Pittsburgh Courier*. Mr. Schuyler had just returned from a trip to the African colony by invitation of the Portuguese government.

In order for this extraordinary Supplement to receive the widest attention, George S. Schuyler sent a special letter to a variety of publicity and political organs, concentrating on those which would normally

not receive standard publications of the American Negro press. The letter commenced:

"Portugal and Portuguese Africa have been the targets of so much adverse propaganda, misrepresentation and downright falsehood in recent months that it was felt to be high time for a factual and unbiased picture to be presented."

At almost the very moment prominent white religious leaders, both Protestant and Catholic, were protesting, in their own words, "indiscriminate killings" in Angola that "threaten to explode into a war of extermination between Portuguese and Africans," at the time Adlai Stevenson as representative of the United States to the UN was voting against Portuguese repression in Africa, and within a month of the announcement from Lisbon that reforms were to be introduced in Angola giving more self-determination than the colony had ever known in 450 years of colonial rule—a leading Negro newspaper praised Portuguese rule in Africa, starting off its laudatory Supplement by stating unequivocally: "The central fact about Portuguese Africa . . . is that within its vast area of 794,959 square miles there is no racial or color discrimination."

Every man in our democracy has a right to his own opinion, George S. Schuyler included. It is worthwhile to note as part of the total picture, however, that the six-month statement filed by Selvage and Lee with the Department of Justice on Dec. 29th, 1961, included two interesting items. The first of these indicated that monies were disbursed for the distribution of selected material, including, of course, *The Pittsburgh Courier*. The second was that a freelance writer by the name of Philippa Schuyler was employed by Selvage and Lee. Miss Schuyler is the daughter of George S. Schuyler, and is better known as a concert pianist.

At this point it must have been evident to Selvage and Lee that the firm might be criticized for its more overt activities as a foreign agent. For a new organization now began to show its face. This group called itself the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, apparently to stir innocent Americans with the thought of persons of Portuguese descent rushing to the aid of their beleaguered homeland.

The first act of this Portuguese-American Committee was to publish a pamphlet, *On the Morning of March 15*, whose cover was blotched with blood-like crimson spots over a black background. The contents of this pamphlet consisted mainly of pictures showing dead bodies. "Over 200 Europeans and 300 innocent Africans and mulattos lost their lives on that day. They were tortured, butchered and mutilated with a degree of bestiality that is not condonable on any terms." The pamphlet concluded: "Are they [the natives in revolt] fit to merit the support of the United Nations, or any Christian, civilized society? Are they fit to enlist the support of the United States?"

It is never valid to compare figures of brutality, since all murder and sadism is wrong. But no mention is made in this pamphlet of the millions of slaves wrenched from Angola by the Portuguese and shipped to the New World, a goodly number dying before arrival. No mention is made of forced labor, 20th century slavery, still practiced in Angola. No mention is made of the napalm bombings, spraying Africans with flaming oil, used by Portugal to put down the revolt. And no mention is made of the 50,000 Africans

already killed since the rebellion broke out and the 200,000 Angolans who have fled to the Congo in order to escape the savage race warfare instituted by the Portuguese. We can reverse the question of the pamphlet: "Are they [the Portuguese] fit to merit the support of the United States, or any Christian, civilized society? Are they fit to enlist the support of the United States?"

Parallel to Selvage and Lee, the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs then proceeded to the smear technique. In November 1961 a broadside, signed by Martin T. Camacho, Chairman, was sent to prominent people in Washington. The aim was to label the American Committee on Africa, forthright in its sympathy for the revolt in Angola, as Communist-infiltrated. Various individuals were attacked for positions they had assumed in the 1930s and 1940s. A minister was flayed for signing a petition to save the Rosenbergs from the electric chair. Another person was quoted as having signed an appeal to recognize Red China and also expressing hostility to the Un-American Activities Committee of the House. A third was berated for a trip to Russia in 1932 to make a motion picture. After concluding that the American Committee on Africa was being used by "sinister forces which seek the downfall of this country," Martin T. Camacho exclaimed:

"Let me emphasize that the primary concern of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs in this matter of Angola is the security of the United States itself."

Each citizen may have a private interpretation of the nature of American security. But Mr. Camacho failed to note that a Statement on Angola calling for self-government, and circulated by the American Committee on Africa in the same month of November 1961, was endorsed by such "sinister forces" as Van Wyck Brooks, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Hans Kohn, Karl A. Menninger, Reinhold Niebuhr, Michael J. Quill, A. Philip Randolph, Victor G. Reuther, Pitirim A. Sorokin and Harold Taylor, among many others. The picture also becomes somewhat tainted when we learn that the Portuguese-American Committee is in effect, at least regarding the matter of Angola, a branch of Selvage and Lee. In the six-month statement filed by this public relations firm with the Department of Justice, it is revealed that expenses of the Portuguese-American Committee are paid by none other than the Overseas Companies of Portugal, the syndicate set up to finance Selvage and Lee. Furthermore we learn that Dr. Camacho himself is an employee of Selvage and Lee and that the offices of the Portuguese-American Committee distribute literature received from Selvage and Lee.

A provocative step in the campaign to stain Red the nationalist revolt centered around a proposed "White Paper" on Angola that NBC eventually produced over the television networks in the latter part of 1961. This program was based on an actual trip made into the north country of Angola, during the height of the revolt, by Robert Young of NBC.

Rumors reached Selvage and Lee that the program, though committed to a balanced outlook, would show actual atrocities carried out by the Portuguese against the Africans. Mr. Young had even been quoted in earlier press releases, coming from Leopoldville in the Congo, as sympathetic to the rebellion.

Much alarmed, James P. Selvage sent a letter to the Executive Producer of NBC. Copies of this letter, a Memorandum, and accompanying documents were forwarded to several other persons and I was fortunate in obtaining photostats.

Mr. Selvage piously stated his connection with "a group of some 40 industrial corporations and banks doing business in the overseas provinces of Portugal." With equal piety he claimed horror at the thought of pressure on NBC. "I would be one of the last persons in the world to seek any form of censorship of the news or views." His only claim was to point out that "the Angola invasion is a plainly earmarked Communist activity led as the 'attorney of record' by one Holden Roberto, who is under Moscow tutelage as he boasts in an attached letter." Mr. Selvage ended: "Selvage and Lee would under no circumstances take an account of this nature if it did not believe in the principle involved and that in helping a friendly NATO nation we are helping our own country."

The Memorandum enclosed for NBC was dated the same day and had obviously been drawn up for the specific purpose. It consisted of eight pages, listing fourteen points, and concluded with three suggestions. The first suggestion was, though of course Mr. Selvage had put himself on record as being against all censorship, "a provocative White Paper at this time . . . could only help recreate a new trouble spot for the United States government while the Kremlin rejoices—and benefits." Best not have the program. The second suggestion was that, if the program *had* to go on, the Portuguese reforms should be made a significant part of the over-all view. Writing of the reforms, Mr. Selvage made a bad slip, for he stated: "The most recent and most important of these will be announced early next week," a most peculiar statement for a man who, following his own claims, merely represented private Portuguese companies and who therefore could not know what the government of Portugal would announce a week hence. The third and last suggestion was to read George S. Schuyler's article in *The Pittsburgh Courier* in order to learn the truth about Angola!

Much of the Memorandum sent to NBC to discourage presenting the television program on Angola was of little import, dredging up the same old charges. The revolt was not a revolt, but an invasion of "foreign" de-tribalized Angolans and Congolese. Weapons were discovered with Czechoslovak markings. The invaders were Red-inspired, followers of Lumumba, Sékou Touré and Nkrumah. They used "the well-known Communist terrorist tactics of torture, mutilation and murder." Robert Young, the NBC reporter, was "utterly prejudiced." Sympathizers of the revolt had "a long list of smelly associations on record with the Un-American Activities Committee of the House." And most important, the Union of Peoples of Angola (UPA) and Holden Roberto, its head, were Communist.

It is to the great credit of NBC that the Angola television story was produced on schedule. Selvage and Lee failed utterly in its attempt, as a pressure group working for a foreign government—through the mechanism of a "private" syndicate—to influence the public policy and news service of the United States.

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Of all the charges made in the Memorandum sent by James P. Selvage to NBC, only one needs careful study. In making the flat statement that Holden Roberto, the leader of the revolt, was pro-Communist, Mr. Selvage referred to a circular letter sent out from the independence party headquarters in Leopoldville and signed by "Dr. Holden." I obtained a copy of this letter, which does indeed bear the UPA stamp. Written in French, the significant paragraphs are as follows:

"Here is, in a few words, our plan for the future. SEKOU-TOURE must rule in the northern part of Africa. Comrade NKRUMAH in the center and your servant HOLDEN ROBERTO in the south . . . Communism is not bad. During our stay at Moscow, we were able to see many magnificent things that the Westerners will never have.

"Courage, courage. Money, money and more money. First LUMUMBA and then us . . . LONG LIVE COMMUNISM. . ."

This letter, and this letter alone, is the only direct evidence linking the revolt in Angola to Communism. And the letter is a complete forgery.

The first time I saw the UPA letter I was baffled. I have had the privilege of knowing Holden Roberto for some time. Oddly, considering the tensions under which he is operating, Mr. Roberto in some ways is one of the least anti-Western leaders in Africa. For the Union of Peoples of Angola is, in Mr. Khrushchev's way of thinking, a bourgeois nationalist party and Holden Roberto a bourgeois nationalist leader. Mr. Roberto, by origin of the Bakongo people (southwest Congo and northwest Angola), has been emotionally tied to the Abako, the tribal party of the Bakongo that controls Leopoldville, the most "anti-Communist" of all Congo parties outside Katanga and the group most violent in its opposition to the late Patrice Lumumba. Of course Holden Roberto would accept Communist aid, as George Washington accepted aid from the despotic France of Louis XVI or as countries like Ethiopia, India and Tunisia accept aid from the Soviet Union today. But to accept diplomatic and economic Communist support in a life-and-death struggle is far removed from being a Communist—else we would have to consider the larger part of the world Communist today.

Holden Roberto recently returned to New York. I

showed him the letter and signature. He said that the stationery and stamp were stolen from the UPA office in Leopoldville by agents of the Portuguese. And he flatly stated that the letter was an absolute forgery, being neither his thought nor even mode of expression. In fact he said the false signature is not even a good imitation of the way he writes.

The work of Selvage and Lee continues—in fact, the original draw of \$150,000 received last May was soon exhausted and requisitions of an additional \$47,000 in July and October 1961 were honored by spot cash. *The Pittsburgh Courier* special Supplement and the Holden Roberto forgery are standard items in their special prefabricated kit of propaganda for the Salazar regime. In the November 1961 issue of *The Reader's Digest*, Brig. Gen. Frank L. Howley (Ret.) and Max Yergan, a Negro who has made his livelihood for almost twenty years by yellow journalism, most recently of the hack anti-Communist type, reported on Angola. General Howley, of the Walker and Van Fleet vintage, found after a short visit to the African colony under the auspices of the Portuguese government, "The head of UPA is Holden Roberto, who supported the Congo's pro-communist Lumumba and himself follows the communist line." And Max Yergan added that the only doubt existing on this question "is whether the leaders are themselves communists or merely accepting communist help." Thereupon a small printed letter was sent out with reprints of *The Reader's Digest* article to thousands of newspapers throughout the United States, starting:

"Dear Friend: 'Why do you Americans, our long-time friends, vote with the Russians in the U.N. and thus incite this awful terror?'", signed "Overseas Companies of Portugal," address 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City—the address of Selvage and Lee, Inc.

G. Mennen Williams and Carl T. Rowan, in their official capacities as top American State Department executives, spoke of a propaganda machine inventing "horrendous tales" of UN slaughter and "a clever big-money campaign to convince Americans" of a separate anti-Communist Katanga; by substituting "Angolan terrorists" for UN and "Portuguese colonials" for Katanga, we can see the same apparatus at work. Now that Belgium has resigned itself to an autonomous Congo, including Katanga, the U.S. State De-

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*Write for Details*

partment feels free to flay a dead dog. But Portugal, resisting change in Africa, is still a NATO ally of America and must be handled with more caution.

Several extremely important questions rise from the activities of this powerful lobby for a foreign power. Not since the days of the late unlamented Trujillo has there been quite so extensive a campaign to turn the natural sympathies of the American people for self-government into a blind alley by the smear of Communism. We are now starting to pay out some ten billion dollars to Latin America in an attempt to undo our folly in supporting dictators like Trujillo. But Angola to native Africans is as important and emotional a symbol as the Dominican dictator was to the Latin American peoples.

How often must we repeat our massive error in confusing the desire for economic and political liberation on the part of colonial peoples with Communism? How long can the American public be cozened into terrible mistakes by small pressure groups like the former Trujillo lobby or the present Selvage and Lee firm?

We must think straight on these overriding matters or we may end up alienating a large part of the world and forcing it into the eagerly waiting Communist embrace. If we insist on labeling men like Holden Roberto as "Moscow-trained" and Russian-directed, for lack of other avenues that is where they may have to go. It is a fundamental question whether a Michel Struelens, agent for Katanga, or Selvage and Lee, agent for "a private Portuguese banking and business syndicate," are not in fact exercising power incompatible with the national policy of the United States. They are legally registered under the Foreign Agents' Registration Act, it is true; but once registered, they seem free to act as though they are primarily motivated by the welfare of America rather than beholden to monies received from foreign countries—and these aims, to put it mildly, are often incompatible. The least that can be expected is that the U.S. Congress should pass a law requiring each piece of stationery, every pamphlet and written statement stamped with the brief phrase: "This organization is acting as a foreign agent." For without safeguards, our free speech and free press can become a tool in the hands of foreign interests.

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is necessary for the reconciliation of inter-ministerial differences as to emphasis. But even more importantly, it is required because political necessities—I did not say political expediences, but political necessities—must be taken into account and the plan presented so as to win indispensable broad sympathy and the enthusiastic support of the population.

This brings us to the most important determinant of economic growth and social advance—the right psychological attitudes, and consequently the right practical approaches. Ultimately, it is upon this factor that progress with respect to all the other factors depends. In this, I have three key suggestions to make. I suggest that:

1. The rich and poor alike must face squarely the stark realities of their common fate and promptly adjust their actions accordingly. All of us must accept without reservation an expanding world economy as an essential goal and gear our policies to achieve it. The first responsibility of each country is to speed its own development. Its second responsibility is to assist

other nations in accordance with its means. No nation is so rich that it cannot profit from an expanding world economy, and no nation is so poor that it cannot help other nations.

2. Assistance from one nation to another must not be considered an act of charity. Development assistance is an investment in a more peaceful and more prosperous world, an act of partnership between nations in their common interest. Further, helping low-income countries speed their development should be accepted as an objective worthy to be pursued for its own sake. Economic aid will not be effective if it is considered by the donor country as, or used as, an instrumentality in the cold war, or as one for obtaining a preferred commercial position.

3. The best way to avoid the intrusion of defeating factors in aid programs is to channel an increasing amount and proportion for aid through the United Nations. There are many reasons for this. One is that the underdeveloped countries prefer aid channeled through the United Nations. UN assistance is a completely cooperative endeavor, with a voice given to countries whatever their size and wealth and with all countries contributing to the cost. For instance: for every \$1 the UN Special Fund is contributing to projects it assists, the recipient countries are putting in more than \$1.40 of their scarce capital. Not only is the United Nations rich in experience in virtually every field of development activity, and able to draw on the whole world for its technicians, it is also able to insist upon the recipient countries putting forth the maximum of self-help. And that is vital. Therefore, each country granting assistance should use a pragmatic approach in determining the amounts of aid it wishes to provide through the United Nations, through regional organizations, or on a bilateral basis. The test should be, which channel will yield the most development per dollar, pound, or mark.

I would like to conclude this paper on a note of mutual congratulations. All of us who are engaged in this fascinating and at times frustrating business of assisting nations in speeding their development are very privileged persons. Why? Because we are engaged in the greatest of all the undertakings of the 20th Century, a colossal effort to wipe poverty, illiteracy, and chronic ill health off the face of the earth. If the progress that should be made in this first development decade is achieved, the momentum built up will assure our reaching that goal by the year 2000. That will make this the greatest of all centuries.

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