



Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States

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Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States

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ACTIVITIES OF NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN THE UNITED STATES

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HEARINGS

REC'D JUL 24 1963 AM

BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF S. RES. 362, 87TH CONGRESS, AND
S. RES. 26, 88TH CONGRESS, AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE
ON FOREIGN RELATIONS TO STUDY THE ACTIVITIES OF
NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS
IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 8

APRIL 12 AND MAY 6, 1963

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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WASHINGTON : 1963

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Note.—This hearing was held in executive session, and released July 23, 1963, pursuant to committee determination.

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EXECUTIVE SESSION

ACTIVITIES OF NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES
OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1963

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in room 4219, New Senate Office Building, Senator J. W. Fulbright (chairman), presiding.

Present: Senators Fulbright (chairman), Sparkman, Hickenlooper, and Williams.

Also present: Mr. Marcy, Mr. Pincus, Mr. Sifton and Mr. Yingling of the committee staff.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

This morning we continue with our investigation relative to the activities of nondiplomatic agents of foreign principals where those activities have tended or were intended to influence policies or interests of this country.

The first witness this morning is Mr. Kenneth T. Downs.

Mr. Downs was the account executive of Selvage & Lee, Inc., most active in connection with that firm's Portuguese account.

You have had an opportunity, Mr. Downs, to see the opening statement outlining the purposes and procedures to be followed at the hearing; have you not?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And without objection that statement will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The statement referred to follows:)

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT

Executive session hearings on the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals, April 12, 1963

The CHAIRMAN. We continue today the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, held pursuant to Senate Resolution 362, of the 87th Congress, 2d session, and Senate Resolution 26, agreed to March 14, 1963. Copies of these resolutions will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The resolutions are as follows:)

[S. Res. 362, 87th Cong., 2d sess.]

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Senate of the United States has special constitutional responsibilities in matters bearing upon the foreign relations of the United States; and

Whereas the discharge of this responsibility requires a thorough review and full public disclosure of the nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments and the extent to which they attempt to influence United States policies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to conduct a full and complete study of all nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments, and their contractors and agents, in promoting the interests of those governments, and the extent to which such representatives attempt to influence the policies of the United States and affect the national interest.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized (1) to make such expenditures; (2) to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate; (3) to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents; (4) to take such testimony; (5) to employ, upon a temporary basis, such technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (6) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government as it deems advisable.

Sec. 3. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$50,000 for the period ending January 31, 1963, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Sec. 4. The committee shall complete its study by June 30, 1963, but it shall submit to the Senate not later than January 31, 1963, such results of the study herein authorized together with such recommendations as may be found to be appropriate.

[S. Res. 26, 88th Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to continue its study of the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals including, without limitation, foreign governments, foreign political parties, and individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, organizations or other combinations of individuals, whether foreign or domestic, acting in the place of, or in the interests of, or on behalf of a foreign government or foreign political party, or any other foreign principal, tending or intended to influence the foreign or domestic policies or interests of the United States.

Sec. 2. The committee is further authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to give thorough consideration to existing and proposed legislation relating to the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals, as aforesaid, and to make such recommendations with respect thereto as may be found by it to be appropriate.

Sec. 3. For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized from March 1, 1963, to January 31, 1964, inclusive, (1) to make such expenditures; (2) to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate; (3) to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents; (4) to take such testimony; (5) to employ, upon a temporary basis, such technical, clerical, and other assist-

ants and consultants; and (6) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government as it deems advisable.

Sec. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution which shall not exceed \$48,600 for the period ending January 31, 1964, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Sec. 5. The committee shall complete its study and submit to the Senate not later than January 31, 1964, such results of the study herein authorized together with such recommendations as to existing or proposed legislation as herein authorized as may be found by it to be appropriate.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is authorized by these resolutions to inquire into the activities of nondiplomatic agents of foreign principals where those activities have tended or were intended to influence policies and interests of this country.

During the first week of February, the committee heard testimony from the two Departments of the executive branch most directly concerned with the activities of nondiplomatic agents.

Today's hearing is a continuation of the series of hearings to which individual nondiplomatic agents will be called. The purpose of this series of hearings will be to examine some activities carried on by selected nondiplomatic agents. Once the nature of these activities is understood, the committee will be in a better position to consider the need for the enactment, amendment, or repeal of legislation relating to activities of all nondiplomatic agents.

The scope of the committee's investigation is limited to activities of representatives, who are neither recognized nor accredited as members of the diplomatic corps. The committee's investigation will involve, however, activities of nondiplomatic agents which either are of the nature of activities traditionally carried on by diplomats, or bring the agents in contact with members of the diplomatic corps.

The term "representative," as used in the resolutions, includes any person acting on behalf of, or in the interest of another whether in the field of law, public relations, economic consultation, information or press services, lobbying or in other areas.

The fact that the representation is gratuitous, noncontractual, or pursuant to oral or written agreement, the duration or scope of the representative's duties, will not be relevant in determining the scope of the committee's inquiry.

The foreign principals with which the committee will be concerned, pursuant to the resolutions, will include foreign governments, foreign political parties, and individuals and associations acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, foreign governments or foreign political parties. The committee will be concerned as well with individuals or associations whose activities are of the nature of those traditionally performed by governments. In such a case the foreign principal acts in the place of a government. Finally, the resolutions also direct the committee's attention to foreign principals having no connection with foreign governments or foreign political parties where the activities of agents of those principals tend or were intended to influence policies or interests of the United States.

The influence upon U.S. policies or interests to which the resolutions direct the committee's attention may, needless to say, be direct or indirect. Influence may be brought to bear not only in the

establishment and formulation of U.S. policies and interests, but also in their furtherance and execution. The influence may, moreover, either aid or impede those policies or interests; we are more interested in the nature of the activities themselves than in the direction they take in each particular case.

With respect to the object of the activities of nondiplomatic agents, the resolutions are concerned with policies and interests which may be formed or furthered by either the legislative or executive branches of our Government. The particular policies or interests involved may be expressed, for example, in proposed or adopted legislation, statements of departmental policy, or in the general course of conduct of our Government.

With respect to the procedure to be followed by the committee, I note that today's hearing is being held in executive session in order that the committee will be in a position to determine whether the character of the testimony heard warrants public disclosure. In making that determination the committee will bear in mind the national security and the interests of individuals named in the course of testimony as well as the legislative purposes of this investigation.

Pursuant to a committee order unanimously adopted by a majority of the committee then being present in a meeting held January 15, 1962, duly called by the chairman, the legal quorum of the committee or of any of its subcommittees for the purpose of taking sworn testimony has been fixed at one. Authority for this action may be found in rule 253(b) of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

Attendance at this hearing has been limited to members of the committee and of the committee staff as well as the witness. I note the presence of the following members of the committee: Senators Sparkman, Hickenlooper and Williams; also present are members of the committee staff: Messrs. Carl Marcy, Jack Yingling, Walter Pincus, and Charles Sifton.

The witness whose testimony will be heard today has been called to appear pursuant to subpoenas addressed to him and dated April 3, 1963. A copy of this subpoena will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The subpoena is as follows:)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Mr. Kenneth T. Downs, Selvage and Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, New York, Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, on April 11, 1963,¹ at 10:00 o'clock a.m., at their committee room, S-116,¹ Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee and to bring with you the below listed papers, documents, records, etc., to wit: All correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, teletype messages, and other written communications to and from all persons, all books, records, files, memoranda, documents, papers of every kind and description in your possession or under your control relating to activities engaged in by Selvage and Lee, Inc., on behalf of, or in the interests of the Overseas Companies of Portugal, tending or intended to influence the formulation or furtherance by the people of the United States, or by its

¹ Or at such date or dates and at such place or places to which the meeting of the Committee shall be adjourned.

Government of United States policies or interests, and engaged in during the period January 1, 1961 through and including January 31, 1963; and

All journals, ledgers, books of account, other financial records and supporting documents or papers of every kind and description within your possession or under your control, including, but not limited to, canceled checks, bank statements, vouchers, vendors' invoices, sales invoices, contracts, and other supporting papers relating to the activities engaged in by Selvage and Lee, Inc., as hereinbefore described, during the period January 1, 1961, through and including January 31, 1963.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this third day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations.

The CHAIRMAN. The subpoena served on the witness will require his attendance at this and subsequent meetings of the committee at which he is requested to appear until such time as he is finally excused by the chairman.

Upon being excused, the witness is invited to report to the offices of the committee, room S-116, Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., to sign appropriate vouchers for travel allowances and witness fees upon the committee.

A transcript is being taken of the testimony and proceedings at this hearing. Each witness will be given a reasonable opportunity to inspect the transcript of his testimony in order to determine its accuracy and to make representations to the committee on that subject.

Counsel for each witness may attend the hearing for the purpose of advising the witness as to his rights.

Objections by each witness to questions posed during the hearings should be addressed to the chairman.

Each witness will be permitted to present a prepared statement as to matters of fact and opinion relating to the subject matter concerning which he has been called to testify.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

It is the committee's practice, Mr. Downs, to require witnesses testifying as to matters of fact to do so upon oath or affirmation.

Will you please rise?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state for the record your name, and home, and business address?

TESTIMONY OF KENNETH T. DOWNS, ACCOMPANIED BY E. RILEY CASEY, ATTORNEY AT LAW

Mr. Downs. My name is Kenneth T. Downs. I am living at 240 Central Park South, New York 39. My business address is Selvage & Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You are accompanied by counsel, I believe, sir?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

INTRODUCTION OF COUNSEL FOR WITNESS

The CHAIRMAN. Will counsel state his name and address for the record?

Mr. CASEY. My name is E. Riley Casey. I am an attorney in the Commonwealth Building, Washington, D.C., with the law firm of Gall, Lane & Howe.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any prepared statement you wish to make to the committee, Mr. Downs?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir, I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are associated as you stated with the public relations firm of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your position?

Mr. DOWNS. Vice president.

WITNESS' BACKGROUND

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state briefly your background? Did you have any Government service? I believe you had been in the Government?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just prior to your association with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

How far back do you wish me to go, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a few years. Just a very brief biographical statement.

Mr. DOWNS. My central formation is journalist. I worked in this country and abroad for some 17 years in newspaper work until the outbreak of World War II; U.S. Army, 4 years, and then I worked for military government and the State Department in Berlin. I was first public affairs officer for the State Department in Berlin. And after that I worked for 8 years with Time, Inc., here in Washington as their corporate representative, and then I received a Presidential appointment in 1958 as an Assistant Director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization.

I joined Selvage & Lee in February 1960.

In February 1961, I beg your pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. February 1961?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As vice president.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You registered, I believe, with the Department of Justice as an employee of Selvage & Lee working on the firm's account with Overseas Companies of Portugal?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you worked with their account since it was first opened by the firm?

Mr. DOWNS. I have, sir.

EVENTS LEADING TO CONTRACT WITH OVERSEAS COMPANIES OF PORTUGAL

The CHAIRMAN. Will you describe for us the events leading up to the contract between Selvage & Lee and the Overseas Companies?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. In about mid-April or early April, I received a call from our New York office saying that we were to be invited to submit a bid for an account representing a group of Portuguese private business and financial interests, and I was asked to come up to New York and speak to two attorneys which this group had sent to New York.

I did so, and drew up—after an afternoon of discussion—drew up a proposal for them and following that was invited to come to Lisbon to discuss it further.

I did so, this was late in the month of April, and I believe I was told there were three other firms, U.S. firms, being consulted to do the same thing, and I got the contract and completed the negotiation for it which became effective May 1, 1961.

Does that answer the question, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. I think so. With whom did you carry on these negotiations? You said some representatives. Could you identify them, please, for the record?

Mr. DOWNS. The initial representatives were Prof. Raul Ventura, who is a professor at Lisbon University, professor of law, and is representative of some of the clients, legal counsel to some of the clients, we now represent. The other was Dr. Alexander Riberio da Cunha.

Then, upon going to Lisbon I continued the negotiations with Dr. Alexander Pinto Basto, who is chairman of the board of the Benguela Railroad of Angola. You wish the names of all the others I talked to?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, just for the record who they are. Who is Mr. De Cunha, what is his position?

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. da Cunha is a lawyer who works for the Overseas Ministry of Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his job? Is he an official in the Overseas Ministry?

Mr. DOWNS. He is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what his position is?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, he is, I believe, I am not absolutely certain of this title but I think it is director of political affairs, or something similar to that, of the Overseas Ministry.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a government official?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir, he is.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his connection with the Overseas Companies?

Mr. DOWNS. He was an adviser to Dr. Alexander Pinto Basto. He is his nephew, and went over on a leave of absence, I understand, so that he could personally consult his, advise his, uncle who was the chairman of our group.

The CHAIRMAN. That is Mr. da Cunha you are talking about?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who signed the letter contract dated May 2 on behalf of your clients?

Mr. DOWNS. Dr. Pinto Basto, Mr. Manuel Queiroz Pereira, who is a banker, Dr. Manuel Espirito Santo, Captain da Cunha, Commander Vilhena.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a captain in the army?

Mr. DOWNS. He is a retired naval captain, sir. He is director of the Diamond Co. of Angola. There were others that I would have to get a document to refresh my recollection on. Those were the principals.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this group formed before you signed the contract on May 2?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

IDENTITY OF PRINCIPAL

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, we will show you a covering note and memorandum, dated May 12, 1961, addressed to you, Mr. Kenneth Downs and signed J. P. Selvage and ask you if you have seen this memorandum and covering note? We just want to identify these for the record.

The first one is addressed to you, I believe, isn't it?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(Copies of the documents referred to follow:)

From the desk of
JAMES P. SELVAGE

Miss Ava Dyer --

Dear Ava:

This memorandum is strictly
for files.

Thank you.

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.

to: Kenneth Downs

from: J. P. Salvage

DATE: May 12, 1961

As soon as you get to Lisbon next week, let's be sure to get
the name of the group we are representing so that we can register with
the Department of Justice, as it is obviously necessary.

/s/

The CHAIRMAN. Read it for the record. They are very short.
Mr. DOWNS (reading) :

As soon as you get to Lisbon next week, let's be sure to get the name of the group we are representing so that we can register with the Department of Justice as it is obviously necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. What puzzled me about it is this was 10 days after you signed the contract. Who did you sign the contract with?

Mr. DOWNS. As I recall the language of the contract, this is from memory, sir, and I may not be exactly accurate—"for purposes of this contract * * * will be called the group."

They had been formed and they had raised funds but they had not adopted a name.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Government involved in this original contract?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. da Cunha was an official in the Government; was he not?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir, he was.

The CHAIRMAN. And he participated in the negotiation of the contract?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; not in the negotiation. He participated in the original inquiry with Dr. Ventura as to what—with certain American advisers over here who I don't know and I can't identify—as to what were considered good public relations firms in the United States.

CREATION OF OVERSEAS COMPANIES AND ITS RELATION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL

The CHAIRMAN. This little point may not be important but I don't quite understand it. The contract was signed in order to serve purposes which ordinarily are the business of the Government. Why did they have to set up a group of private companies?

Mr. DOWNS. As I understand it, sir, the Portuguese had been advised for quite a long time to begin to defend themselves before world opinion and particularly before American public opinion, and had not done so.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Government, isn't it?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing wrong with the Government doing this, that is why I don't understand why you signed a contract and then created this group. What is the real reason for that?

Mr. DOWNS. The group was created before the contract was signed, sir. If I may explain a little of the history of this as I understand it?

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I want, I want to try to understand it. When was the group created and why?

Mr. DOWNS. It was created in March of 1961, and as I understand it, these businessmen and financial interests who all have interests in Angola, felt that their country faced a very grave emergency, and they were advised by American friends that they had better forget the Government and if they were going to do anything for their country and for their businesses and for themselves and for their society, they had better get up the money themselves and move and not wait for Government, the slow-moving wheels of Government machinery and they did so.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Government interested in any of these companies?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It doesn't own any shares or any parts of these companies?

Mr. DOWNS. I think in one company they do, and that is the power company that has built the Cambambe Dam. It is not a government company; it is considered a private company, but they have put up some of the financing for that. Apart from that, so far as I know, they have no interest in any of the other 85 companies.

LETTER DATED MAY 31, 1961, REPORTING ACTIVITIES TO PORTUGUESE
OFFICIAL

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated May 31, 1961, addressed to His Excellency Alexander da Cunha and signed "James P. Selva" and ask you if you received a carbon copy of this letter.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

MAY 31, 1961.

HIS EXCELLENCY ALEXANDER RIBEIRO DA CUNHA,
Avenida A. A. Aguiar—32, Lisbon, Portugal.

EXCELLENCY: Since the initial press attacks on Portugal, following the Angolan outbreaks, and more particularly the debate in the United Nations, the atmosphere in the United States is beginning to show improvement. I am sure you will be pleased to learn that progress is being made in presenting Portugal's side of the Angolan story to the American people.

For instance, five articles are enclosed which I feel reflect a more accurate picture of Portuguese-American relations than some Washington and foreign correspondents have been presenting to our newspaper readers.

The column by Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau, stresses that the administration's policy on Angola is being questioned by people in high places. For your information, the Chicago Tribune is an influential newspaper in the Middle Western section of the United States. In addition to this newspaper, Mr. Trohan's column is syndicated to about 40 other newspapers.

The "American Way" column by George Peck has a wide following in our 50 States. It is syndicated once a week to 4,077 weekly and small daily newspapers. You will agree, I am sure, that Mr. Peck leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to where he stands, and where he feels the United States should stand on Portugal and Angola.

The third item is an editorial distributed from Washington by the U.S. Press Association to 1,500 small, but thoroughly read, newspapers. Because of the strong stand it takes in favor of Portugal, it probably will be well received by the editors.

The letter from Ambassador Fernandes to the editor of the New York Times should do much to offset some of the one-sided stories which have appeared in that newspaper.

Other newspapers also are taking the administration to task in their editorial columns for its stand in the U.N. on Portugal. Some are beginning to mellow from their original attitude. For instance, the story by Benjamin Welles from Lisbon, which was carried in Sunday's New York Times, shows great restraint compared with other stories which have appeared in this newspaper. I am enclosing a copy of the story, which probably appeared in the European edition.

I do not mean to imply that there has been a radical change in the thinking of the liberal press. But I believe it does show that the press generally wants to be fair and will be when it can get unbiased information.

As you know, the Soviet Union and Asian and African delegates are pressing for an "authoritative international inquiry" by the United Nations committee into the Angolan situation. From reports we have received, a call probably will be issued for a meeting next week. This meeting could be the signal for another rash of anti-Portuguese stories.

We are working closely with your Ambassador to the United Nations and will do all possible to assist him in making a strong case for Portugal. Likewise, our Washington office is cooperating fully with your Ambassador to the United States.

While this report indicates only a beginning, I feel that it shows progress in the right direction. We will make similar reports to you from time to time as the situation warrants.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

JAMES P. SELVAGE,
Chairman of the Board.

cc: K. Downs, Lisbon.

Enclosures: Chicago Daily Tribune, May 24, 1961, W. Trohan column; New York Times, May 28, 1961, B. Welles column; "The American Way" June 4, 1961; New York Times "Letters to The Times" May 30, 1961; U.S. Press Association, May 19, 1961.

It carries at the bottom a notation which says, "Carbon copy to K. Downs at Lisbon."

I just assume you did, on the second page?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir, I think I saw this letter.

The CHAIRMAN. You received a copy of it?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And this, Mr. Ribeiro da Cunha you have already identified as an official in what we would call the Department of State or the foreign office?

Mr. DOWNS. The Overseas Ministry.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any difference in that than the foreign office of the usual European country?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. It is a separate ministry which governs the oversea provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. DOWNS. It handles their affairs, I should say.

The CHAIRMAN. It relates to their colonial empire rather than to general diplomatic relations; is that correct?

Mr. DOWNS. They call it Overseas Provinces, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am sorry. I think we understand what they mean. Overseas Provinces, if you like.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The last two paragraphs of this letter read, and I quote:

We are working closely with your Ambassador to the United Nations and to do all possible to assist him in making a strong case for Portugal. Likewise, our Washington office is cooperating fully with your Ambassador to the United States. While this report indicates only a beginning, I feel it shows progress in the right direction. We will make similar reports to you from time to time as the situation warrants.

Were reports similar to this submitted from time to time to Mr. da Cunha?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this the only one?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. I think—I don't know. Mr. Selvage was in and out of the thing, and he was not too familiar most of the time with what we were doing, but he would occasionally write a letter, and we never, when I took over direction of the account, reported to any government official formally, although I was in very close touch with many government officials.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Selvage, who wrote this letter, was the chairman of the board of Selvage & Lee, was he not?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir, he was.

The CHAIRMAN. So that this represents the responsible action of the firm itself?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This is what I was trying to clarify. It would seem Mr. Selvage at that time felt he was responsible to and was reporting to an official in the Overseas—what do you call it?

Mr. DOWNS. Overseas Ministry.

The CHAIRMAN. Overseas Ministry; is that not correct?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know what he thought, sir. Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha and Dr. Ventura were the only Portuguese that Mr. Selvage had met.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the letter is a fairly thorough report of the activities of the Selvage and Lee firm?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes; I would say so.

The CHAIRMAN. It states here that you were not only reporting to Mr. da Cunha but that you were working closely with the Ambassador to the United Nations and in the second paragraph that you—I mean in the first paragraph—were also working closely with the Ambassador to the United States?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that this is actually what did take place, isn't that correct?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I wanted to know.

MEMORANDUM DATED OCTOBER 18, 1962: "WORK IN PROGRESS REPORT"

I show you a copy of a memorandum from Mr. K. T. Downs to S. B. Bledsoe dated October 18, 1962, entitled, "Work in Progress Report," and ask you if you prepared and sent such a memorandum?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(Copy of document referred to follows:)

OCTOBER 18, 1962.

Selvage & Lee, Inc.

S. B. Bledsoe.

Paul Wagner.

From: K. T. Downs.

Re: Work in progress report.

DEAR SAM AND PAUL: A brief note on work in progress:

1. Mike Teague will be leaving the 24th for Angola and Mozambique with the Independent Television team from London.

There is just a possibility of a real big strike in this one. ITV and CBS have a working relationship. I talked to Les Midgley at CBS, which has never done a big show on Portuguese Africa, and he is interested.

He said he will certainly want to look at all the footage they have and is cabling Blaine Littell now in Rhodesia to see whether he can go over and work with them on some of the [illegible]. In any case it will be a big show in England, which will please the clients, even though that is not our bailiwick. I am sure that even if Midgley does not make a special show, a lot of the footage will see light in one way or another with CBS over here. Midgley, as you know, produced "Eyewitness."

2. Mike and Miss Vidigal also have made a lot of progress on two important brochures—"The Economy of Angola," and "The Mozambique Book." They should be ready soon after Mike's return to Lisbon at the end of November.

3. Hugh Kay's publishers are interested in sending him down to Angola to do a comprehensive series, "A Year and a Half Later." We are encouraging this and helping them over a difficulty or two. This should produce an excellent source of material for Catholic papers in this country and a good reprint brochure.

4. Shaw has assisted the Foreign Minister here in the press arrangements for his speech in the Assembly, which is scheduled to come off today. I have seen him twice briefly, and we have agreed to wait until after this speech is out of the way before taking up a couple of rather pressing problems—"The Voice of the West" and Portuguese participation in the World's Fair. Everybody here was very pleased with the Goa booklet.

5. I have an appointment with Carl Rowan tomorrow morning at the U.S. mission. I will see how this one goes and then will try for Stevenson, although I may wait until Ronnie Tree returns to New York, which I understand will be within a week.

6. I have seen two of our important clients here—Espírito Santo and Queiros Pereira. Both are bankers. Both are more and more interested in the problem of facilitating and promoting U.S. investment in Portugal.

7. Ray Baker is doing a lot of pinch-hitting for dead and disabled editors of the canned services. There will be one column available apparently in a series he is doing for the American Way. Tuesday we prepared a couple of editorials for the U.S. Press Association. No charge on either of these.

8. You have probably seen the reprint done on Rodwell's series. We are planning another with the Synon series (which was excellent) together with two or three outstanding recent editorials, especially the one from the Globe Democrat.

9. We have been plagued with flu here, but when everyone regains his health, we are going to start a really concentrated effort on "Letters to the Editor" and editorial material.

10. Andre de la Verre has just finished winding all the documentaries on Portugal on reels and will bring them over to show to us next week.

Regards,

KENNETH T. DOWNS.

Copies: Washington, Luanda, Lisbon, Mozambique, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You will note there in paragraph 4 of the memorandum it reads as follows:

Shaw has assisted the Foreign Minister here in the press arrangements for his speech in the Assembly, which is scheduled to come off today.

This again would indicate that you were working very closely with the Government of Portugal, would it not?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir; we have from the start.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to clarify that as to who the principal really was in your case.

Mr. DOWNS. They were not the principals, sir. The objectives which the group which has hired us certainly are the objectives of all Portuguese who wished to see their country survive.

However, they were not our principal and I should like to make it clear we never received either pay or direction from the Government or any agency of the Government. This has been—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Shaw?

Mr. DOWNS. He was an employee of ours, and if I may just clarify that, sir, this is not a commercial account as such. It is a political account, and we, in our first negotiation with them, made it a condition that they introduce us to the Foreign Ministers, the Ambassadors, the Overseas Ministry and other members of the Government from whom we would get information and material to work on in the furtherance of our contract, and we have worked with them very closely.

DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OVERSEAS COMPANIES
AND THE GOVERNMENT

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; part of your duties under your contract was to work with, in this instance the Foreign Minister and other officials of the Government, and the Ambassador?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, for information, sir. Not for taking direction or working for them as such.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if they had a suggestion that was appropriate to you you wouldn't reject it because it came from them, would you?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean you worked together with them? If I understand the situation in Portugal, these arrangements between the Overseas Companies and yours would have to have been with the blessing of the Government, would it not?

Mr. DOWNS. I can't answer that, sir. I should certainly assume that the Government would be highly sympathetic to this. But these companies are all independent, and I think if they had wished to undertake this campaign on their own, they could have done so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the Government would have permitted you to assist the Foreign Minister and their Ambassadors if they had not approved of and participated in this contract?

Mr. DOWNS. They did not participate in it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you already have testified they were the substantial owner in one of the principal companies?

Mr. DOWNS. In one company; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is that dam, which is one of the largest projects in Angola, isn't it? I have read about it besides this case. I have heard of it as being one of the probably two or three largest dams in Africa.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes; it is their largest hydroelectric project.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is quite something.

One of your releases or stories stated, I believe, until the Aswan Dam is completed it is the largest one in Africa, isn't it?

Mr. DOWNS. I am not sure. It is one of the largest.

The CHAIRMAN. Quite large?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't see that there is any reason for you not to acknowledge it. Everything would indicate this is a matter in which the Government has a very deep interest, this activity.

Mr. DOWNS. I should think they should, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and the relationship between the group of companies and the Government was a very intimate relationship, wasn't it?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; I would not say so any more than the relations of any important group of industries with any government.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Government of Portugal does not have quite the same relationship to its domestic economy, as, say to our own Government does to United States Steel in our own local country, does it?

Mr. DOWNS. I am not an expert on this, but I would venture to say that they have considerably more freedom from Government inter-

ference in Portugal, perhaps than they do even in this country today, and I don't say that facetiously, I mean that, after 2 years of observation over there.

MEMORANDUM DATED SEPTEMBER 21, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum dated September 21, 1961, from Mr. K. T. Downs, yourself, to Mr. S. B. Bledsoe and ask you if you prepared and sent this memorandum?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

(Copy of document referred to follows:)

SEPT. 21, 1961.

S. B. Bledsoe

K. T. Downs

Suggested names newsmen to see Ambassador:

Joseph Alsop: Columnist, Herald Tribune

Marguerite Higgins: Columnist, Herald Tribune

Roscoe Drummond: Columnist, Herald Tribune

Edward Folliard: Post

Charles J. V. Murphy: Fortune (senior editor Time, Inc.)

Con Ecklund: Milwaukee Journal

Walter Trohan: Chicago Tribune

Bob McCormick: NBC

Scotty Reston: New York Times

David Sentner: Hearst papers

Paul Ward: Baltimore Sun

LA Times

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. S. B. Bledsoe?

Mr. Downs. He is vice president of Selvage & Lee, and head of our Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. He is stationed here?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This memorandum, you will note, contains suggested names of newsmen to see the Ambassador. I assume the Ambassador referred to there is the Portuguese Ambassador, is he not?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, again, what is the service here that was performed for the industrial clients? Wasn't this related rather to the Government?

Mr. Downs. No, sir; this was relating to the contract, the work that we contracted to carry out for our group.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would the Ambassador want to see these newsmen?

Mr. Downs. Well, the Ambassador is a very effective spokesman for Portugal in America.

The CHAIRMAN. For the Government—he is an employee of the Government?

Mr. Downs. He is an employee of the Government, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You picked some pretty well-known names there, didn't you?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Among the best. You left out one or two, though. I would not wish to name them.

MEMORANDUM DATED AUGUST 6, 1961

I show you a copy of a memorandum dated August 6, 1961, from Mr. Downs, yourself, to Messrs. Selvage and Bledsoe and ask if you prepared this memorandum? It is a rather difficult copy to read, at least my copy is, but it can be read. It isn't very clear, but you prepared the memorandum, didn't you?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

MEMORANDUM, AUG. 6.

To: Messrs. Selvage, Bledsoe,
From: Downs.

Briefly, in chronological order:

Dined Alex Tuesday. Relieved that Shaw here. Things going pretty well Angola militarily, but worries about Soapy visit.

Lunched Dr. Pinto Basto Wednesday, presenting Shaw. Met with group Pinto Basto, Querroz Pereira, Espirito Santo in afternoon. I explained we are sending Shaw despite language deficiencies because of his skill in handling U.S. press, which might make difference between success and disaster during Soapy visit. I suggested Shaw might get loan of General [illegible] daughter in Luanda for short period to assist. They did not think this possible, but Espirito Santo suggested sending from here Miss Maria Pinto da Cunha as an assistant for a month or so. This met with unanimous and hearty approval. She is a very smart society girl in midforties. [Deleted.] Speaks good English, once did tour of United States at Chicago World's Fair in official capacity. We met her next morning, with Espirito Santo and she agreed to take on assignment and, after some arm twisting, leaving Monday.

Group worried about possible act of violence during Soapy visit. Others don't share this concern.

On Thursday spent 2 hours at foreign office with Dr. Theotonia Pereira, Fragosa, Alex, and others. Discussed Soapy strategy. Agreed he gets red carpet and is kept constantly on the hop, busy from morning until night. His schedule Aug. 10-11 Luanda; 12 Nova Lisboa; 13 to Lobito by car; 15 Livingston; 20-25 Laurenco Marques; 25 Lumoala. I instructed Shaw to follow him to Mozambique if in his judgment this needed. He has visa.

Important: Group getting restive about receiving second progress report, picking up where first left off. Suggest this be done immediately, or at least that draft be done by time I'm back and I'll put together.

Confidential: Last night Alex told me he is pushing Governor of Mozambique to pressure on Group to extend our coverage to that province I am following policy you set last time here—making no move in this direction until we get out Luanda and Lisbon bases covered. I did tell Alex for his information that I felt you would not ask any added fee for Mozambique, but that operating expenses would be increased.

John Reed of Peabody got back from Africa day we arrived. He had been there since I went down in May, working on film. I understand one and all are disturbed about Peabody performances.

New Ambassador agrees with you on tactics, Jim. Only brief statement on arrival in New York. Wants no press conference in Washington. Rather present his credentials, have strategy conference with us, and work on selected targets of opportunity. Agrees press conferences not much good except in case of major announcement.

Shaw left Friday night. Maria goes tomorrow night.

P.S. Dined Dr. B in his home in Betor last night. With characteristic bluntness, he said, "Look here, I don't want to talk shop here old boy, but I was shocked that your man Shaw has no languages." I appeased him, but this problem remains serious. Man from [illegible] flying in at his expense to see me tomorrow, I hope. Larsons phoned from N.Y. to tell me of real hot man, the Pan Am station manager in Paris, Ham McKinney. Admiral's son.

Portuguese, French. Very interested, but wondering breaking long service with Pan Am. Dave tipped me because he knows McK has often talked of wanting to get into PR. He may fly here tomorrow; taking 25 G job with Murchisons.

The CHAIRMAN. Part of it read, I won't read it all, as it relates to this general subject. You state at one point, you will find it there: "On Thursday I spent 2 hours at foreign office with Dr. Theotonia"—I am sure I don't pronounce these words correctly—"Theotonia Pereira"—

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. "Fragosa, Alex, and others."

Who are these people, just for the record? Who is Dr. Theotonia Pereira?

Mr. DOWNS. Dr. Theotonia Pereira was then Minister of State, I believe his title was, and he is presently Ambassador to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Minister of State in the Portuguese Government?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that correspond to Secretary of State or close to it?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. There isn't anything quite comparable over there. It would be closer to vice president, I should think or vice premier.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Fragosa?

Mr. DOWNS. Fragosa is Deputy Foreign Minister.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Alex?

Mr. DOWNS. Alex was Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the full name of Fragosa?

Mr. DOWNS. No, I beg your pardon, I think Alex is, in this case was, Dr. Pinto Basto. I am not absolutely sure. I don't recall which of the two were there.

The CHAIRMAN. Both first names were Alex.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir, the nephew is named after the uncle.

Fragosa is—

The CHAIRMAN. What is his full name?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know. I can supply that, sir. I can't think of it offhand.

AFRICAN VISIT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAMS

The CHAIRMAN. The next sentence is:

Discussed Soapy strategy.

What does that mean?

Mr. DOWNS. That was speculation, I presume, I don't recall, because Soapy was discussed from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Soapy?

Mr. DOWNS. He is the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this the Honorable "Soapy" Williams, former Governor of Michigan?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir, the Honorable Soapy Williams, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that mean, "We discussed the Soapy strategy?" Was Soapy giving you strategy or was it your strategy relative to Soapy?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't recall offhand but I assume, I would say, it was a pretty good guess it was our strategy in reference to Mr. Williams who was contemplating a visit to Africa at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what it would appear. The next sentence says:

Agreed he gets the red carpet and is kept constantly on the hop, busy from morning until night. His schedule: August 10-11 Luanda; 12 Nova Lisboa; 13 to Lobita by car; 15 Livingston; 20-25 Laurenco Marques; 25 Lampala. I instructed Shaw to follow him to Mozambique if in his judgment this needed.

What is the significance of that statement?

Mr. DOWNS. Well, we were planning—I might say that the first thing that I did upon entering this account, the Portuguese had, after the outbreak of terror in Angola, had shut off Angola to the press, and upon making my first exploratory trip down there, upon my return, the first thing that I recommended was that they open this up at once without restriction, to the world press, and we wanted, we were in very close conference with them on his schedules, what his program would be, so that we could make our plans with reference to correspondents who would be applying to go down there and what we could do to assist these correspondents and to get a man down there ourselves which was sort of an emergency operation for us, because it is difficult to find qualified newsmen who speak Portuguese.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Secretary's visit to Portugal and to Angola and Mozambique would be approved and carried out in consultation with the Portuguese Government, would it not—

Mr. DOWNS. Oh, yes, indeed. We didn't make his schedule at all.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Not with you?

Mr. DOWNS. This was information which I received from the officials there as to his schedule and program.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, these officials were consulting you as to how you should handle Soapy?

Mr. DOWNS. I was consulting them, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they are the ones who were to handle and approve his schedule, were they not?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He couldn't go without their approval?

Mr. DOWNS. That is correct, sir. But we had our plans for coverage as much as we could assist in it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, here again, I don't quite understand your reluctance to acknowledge what appears to me quite evident from this and other documents that you are really working with the Portuguese Government. I don't know what significance this is but I just want to understand it.

Mr. DOWNS. Sir, I have not denied at all that we worked very closely with members of the Portuguese Government. We have from the start, and we still do, but we do not work for them.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a distinction that is difficult for me to follow and I don't quite understand why you wish to make it. You are, of course, entitled to do so, but I don't understand it.

Mr. DOWNS. I am trying to state the facts, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a visit of the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, and you are in consultation with officials of their

Government. You all agree that he gets the red carpet, and is kept constantly busy. Why would you want to keep him "constantly"—as you put it—"constantly on the hop, busy from morning to night"?

Mr. DOWNS. I am not keeping him constantly on the hop. This was the plan of the Portuguese Government.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. It was agreed in your consultation with them after a 2-hour conference that this is what should be done.

Mr. DOWNS. It is not my agreement, sir; I was reporting on what had happened. I had nothing to do with the scheduling of his trip there.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you discussed it with them.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And this came out of your discussion, I didn't mean you dictated it but I mean you discussed it.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And as the representative of America, and with the wide knowledge of Washington and of—well, I assume you knew Mr. Soapy Williams very well, did you not?

Mr. DOWNS. I have only met him, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In any case, what was the object of keeping him "constantly on the hop," and "busy from morning until night?"

Mr. DOWNS. Those were the Portuguese plans, sir. I think that, as I recall—I haven't seen this memorandum since for almost 2 years and I have to think back to that time, but as I recall they said, "We think that the best policy for the Assistant Secretary is to keep him moving, show him as much as we can and not get into trouble holding press conferences and interviews which might stir up misunderstanding." That was their idea as I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it the fact he was considered sympathetic or unsympathetic to the policies of the Portuguese Government?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't think I should speak for them on that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you think?

Mr. DOWNS. I thought he was unsympathetic.

The CHAIRMAN. Unsympathetic?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

EXTENSION OF CONTRACT TO COVER MOZAMBIQUE

The CHAIRMAN. The memorandum continues:

Confidential: Last night Alex told me he is pushing Governor of Mozambique to put pressure on group to extend our coverage to that Province.

Who is Alex there?

Mr. DOWNS. This was—I am not certain of this, but I think it was—Dr. Riberio da Cunha, and—

The CHAIRMAN. And he told you that he is—

pushing Governor of Mozambique to put pressure on group to extend our coverage to that Province.

What does that mean?

Mr. DOWNS. To include Mozambique in our contract.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your contract cover only Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. At that time, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time. It continues:

I am following policy you set last time here—making no move in this direction until we get our Luanda and Lisbon bases covered.

What do you mean, "Luanda and Lisbon bases covered?"

Mr. DOWNS. Staffed.

The CHAIRMAN. Staffed?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Governor of Mozambique, was he an official of the Government?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Not of the group?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say this statement here is an accurate statement?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, I would.

ROLE OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT IN CONTRACT MATTERS

The CHAIRMAN. Well, here again you have the Government being—that is, pushing the group to extend the coverage. Again it would appear that the Government is much more your client than the group, would it not?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. If we were dealing with the Government there would be no need for them to pressure these reluctant businessmen to contribute to the pool. It took a year to do it, as a matter of fact.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be true. They are pushing them to pay for it. But the Government is the one that wants it done, is it not?

Mr. DOWNS. Not the Government as such, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The officials of the Government.

Mr. DOWNS. This is Dr. Riberio da Cunha, an official of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. The Overseas Ministry?

Mr. DOWNS. I had suggested to our group fairly early on that that they should include Mozambique because there were indications that the same subversive activities were to be carried on there by the same groups that were operating in Angola, and they said that there was some reluctance—since there was no bloodshed in Mozambique—there was some reluctance to raise the money to do it. I said that I thought that they should not be caught as they were in Angola—wait until a lot of men, women, and children were slaughtered before putting out their side of the story, and I urged this for quite a long time, and Dr. Pinto Basto was in complete sympathy with it, but he found it a little difficult to get interest aroused in Mozambique, and I enlisted anyone that I could to push this along, to enlarge the contract.

The CHAIRMAN. It would appear from this that the Government is pushing the group to do this.

Mr. DOWNS. This was the Governor General who knew these men generally.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. da Cunha?

Mr. DOWNS. And Dr. da Cunha, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it true that the Portuguese Government was responsible for the group employing Selvage and Lee; is that not correct?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To put it another way, was the Government responsible for the group's employing somebody, and the group selected you?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; I don't believe that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, from this it would certainly appear that the Government is the moving party pushing the group to extend coverage to Mozambique.

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. We enlisted the aid of two Government officials to try to persuade these businessmen that it was in their interest to do what the men in Angola were doing. They did not have to do it and, as a matter of fact, when we renewed the contract in May of 1962, Mozambique did come in on a rather small participation. It was one company down there which really turned the wheel on it. It was the Sena Sugar Co.

The CHAIRMAN. This memorandum indicates that Selvage and Lee contemplated opening offices in Lisbon and Angola. Was this done?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the principal purpose of opening these offices?

Mr. DOWNS. In Lisbon, of course, it was liaison of principals and for gathering of information and material.

In Luanda it was for the same purposes, and for especially taking, assisting, correspondents and visitors who should come to Angola.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, this would relate to the previous statement about arranging such visits as that of Assistant Secretary Williams in order to supervise and arrange such visits?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. We had nothing whatever to do with Mr. Williams' visit. We did have a good deal to do with helping the press who were there, who went with him, who came to cover his visit there.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any other visitors whom you thought were important?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

MEMO OF OCTOBER 12, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum from Kenneth T. Downs to Mr. Paul Wagner, dated October 12, 1961, and ask you if you prepared this memorandum.

I notice you sent copies to Bledsoe, Selvage, Lee, and Shaw.

You prepared that memorandum, did you not?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(The memorandum referred to follows:)

OCTOBER 12, 1961.

To: Mr. Paul Wagner.

From: Kenneth T. Downs.

DEAR PAUL: Many thanks for your useful and informative memos.

I believe that my memos have answered most of the points you raised.

I passed on your note concerning John Reed's advice to Camacho to Riberio da Cunha today and will show it to Pinto Basto when I have lunch with him on Friday.

I spent yesterday morning at the Embassy, and the Ambassador said he is afraid we are going to have more trouble at the U.N. Assembly. He said he has seen no signs of a change of heart on the part of our delegation there. He is deeply concerned about the missionary problem here. I have seen Xana three times on this, and he has promised me that they will come up with charges

very soon. This is a top priority thing, and I will keep pressing as much as I dare to do. The trouble here is that the PIDE takes a much more hard-nosed view of the matter than the Foreign Office, and this group is very independent, being responsible only to the Prime Minister.

Your photostats of clips are coming in regularly, and I can't tell you how helpful they are.

You are the wizard organizer, and I should not presume to advise you how to handle your flow of traffic. But what do you think of developing a code of four or five stamps, one indicating photostats to me, New York and save-for-clipbook file, for example; another perhaps Luanda and Lisbon only, etc., and let the girls take it from there. I know what a frightful mass of stuff you have there and how hard it is to keep track of everything. I also know how much harm can be done when anything is lost. I think I told you, for example, during my quick look at the clipbook in New York, that Baker had left out several of our very best exhibits, including the Walter Trohan story and the Herald-Tribune page 1 play of the reforms.

Incidentally, I hope you will tear out all of that junk he had on the George Peck and Country Weekly editorials. One example of each of these is enough with perhaps a note explaining that they had appeared in "x" number of newspapers.

Forgive me if I keep harping on this business of visiting Congressmen, but this I think is of absolute top priority importance, if we can do it. They make news while they are there, after they come back and they are established "experts" that we can continue to use. Have you or Sam heard any more from Tom Dodd on his plans?

Things going all right here, though we are still in the throes of getting organized in a place where the simplest matters of organization move very slowly.

K. T. D.

KTD: jh

cc: Messrs. Bledsoe, Selvage, Lee, Shaw.

CONGRESSIONAL VISITS TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN. The next to the last paragraph reads, you will note, as follows:

Forgive me if I keep harping on this business of visiting Congressmen, but this I think is of absolute top priority importance, if we can do it. They make news while they are there, after they come back and they are established "experts" that we can continue to use. Have you or Sam heard any more from Tom Dodd on his plans?

Does this relate, does this mean Senator Tom Dodd of Connecticut?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he make a trip to Portugal or Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Paul Wagner?

Mr. DOWNS. He is in our Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. Washington office?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean when you said:

They make news while they are there—

and so on—

and they are established experts that we can continue to use.

What did you mean by that?

Mr. DOWNS. You must recall, sir, that—I am sure you are familiar with the fact that—until the terror started in Angola, about 99 people in this country or more out of 100 did not know whether it was a country or a goat; and the libraries were very short of reference material on the area.

The newspaper reference morgues contained practically nothing except some hostile propaganda put out by certain committees in this country, and so very, very little was known, and we wanted very much to have everybody who possibly could to go to Angola and see it and report on it, and we think it is that Congressmen are listened to, perhaps, more than journalists. We were sure that this country, and what they found there, would make a good impression on them, and we have desired for a long time that Congressmen go there and see it.

We would be very happy if a representation from this committee would go there. They are experts on it. Certainly representatives of this committee would be expert on it, and they would be listened to.

Does that answer your question, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate the compliment. I am not sure that I agree with your evaluation of their relative influence, but I think I get your point.

You say:

I keep harping on this business of visiting Congressmen.

In other words, were you trying to induce Congressmen to visit Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. I had requested the Washington office to do this.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you offer to pay their travel expenses to Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you in any case pay the expenses of these Congressmen?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a program for the visit of Senator Dodd?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not arrange his visit?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He went on his own?

Mr. DOWNS. He did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of your people accompany him?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

MEMO OF NOVEMBER 2, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum dated November 2, 1961, from Kenneth T. Downs to Mr. Fred Shaw, and I ask you if you prepared this memorandum? Here again the copy went to Mr. Lee, Mr. Bledsoe, and Mr. Wagner.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your memorandum?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(The memorandum referred to follows:)

NOVEMBER 2, 1961

To: Mr. Fred Shaw.

From: Kenneth T. Downs.

The Jones mission sounds very good. Barring bad luck, it should be very productive and rewarding. I assume his visa was arranged there as I have heard nothing about it here. I am sorry he missed Lisbon.

Clark's decision showed good judgment and integrity and speaks well for him. Hope something can develop there later.

Are you thinking of hooking up a good writer with Senator Dodd? It should be a tremendously mutually advantageous arrangement both for the Senator and the writer who would have easy access to information. And, of course, S&L might do pretty well just in passing. If somebody with a broadcasting connection who could make tapes for the Senator for broadcasts home, that would be good too. The O'Brien organization recently sent an MP there who had made an advance connection with BBC. I am told his broadcasts were very good.

I am enclosing a piece by George Martelli which appeared last week in the Daily Telegraph. Martelli accompanied the British MP on the trip organized by O'Brien. This is the only copy I have, so would you have a photostat sent down to Sam and Paul.

Certainly glad to hear of your schedule with Ascoli, Starnes, Frisden and Kelly. You are moving fast, and I know the results are going to be very good. Please give my best wishes to Si and Virginia when you see them.

I have a sensational feature picture of a soldier with two little colored refugees on his lap in a troop transport out of N'Gage. I got this from Queros Pereirs. I am having copies made this afternoon and will then shoot it along to you. I suggest you might offer this as an exclusive to Look or Life, and if it doesn't go there, give it to one of the photo services.

Regards,

KTD

CC: Mr. Lee, Mr. Bledsoe, Mr. Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. You will notice the third paragraph of this reads:

Are you thinking of hooking up a good writer with Senator Dodd? It should be a tremendously mutually advantageous arrangement both for the Senator and the writer who would have easy access to information. And, of course, S&L might do pretty well just in passing. If somebody with a broadcasting connection who could make tapes for the Senator for broadcasts home, that would be good, too. The O'Brien organization recently sent an MP there who had made an advance connection with BBC. I am told his broadcasts were very good.

Did you send a good writer with Senator Dodd?

Mr. Downs. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. Downs. I suppose the Washington office fell down on the job, Senator.

In any case, no arrangements were made with Senator Dodd at all to go, for his trip to Angola and, as I recall, he went to Angola after visiting Katanga, and only spent a weekend there.

The CHAIRMAN. Only a weekend there?

Mr. Downs. In Angola.

The CHAIRMAN. In Angola.

Mr. Downs. But no one accompanied him. I happened purely by chance to see him in Luanda while he was there. That was an accident, because I didn't even know he was coming.

O'BRIEN ORGANIZATION

The CHAIRMAN. What is the O'Brien organization referred to?

Mr. Downs. That is a public relations firm in London.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you related to them, are they associates of yours?

Mr. Downs. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. No relation?

Mr. Downs. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the last paragraph you say:

I suggest you might offer this as an exclusive to Look or Life, and if it doesn't go there, give it to one of the photo services.

Did, in fact, Look or Life take pictures?

You state there:

I have a sensational feature picture of a soldier with two little colored refugees on his lap in a troop transport out of—

and so forth.

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; that was not used.

The CHAIRMAN. There was such a picture?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It wasn't used at all?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

MEMOS OF NOVEMBER 7, 1962 AND NOVEMBER 28, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, will you identify this memorandum dated November 7, 1962, from Kenneth T. Downs to S. B. Bledsoe relative to "the itinerary of Dirksen and Mansfield group," as well as a letter to you dated November 28, 1962, from Wayne Wasson relative to Senator Ellender's visit to Mozambique. The first one is dated November 7, 1962, and the second one, November 28, 1962.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(The documents referred to follow:)

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.

To: S. B. Bledsoe, Paul Wagner.

From: Kenneth T. Downs.

Date: November 7, 1962.

DEAR SAM AND PAUL: Can you get the itinerary of Dirksen and Mansfield group and names of the other members? I wonder whether any of our areas should be alerted.

Is there any possibility at this time of getting anyone from Congress to Angola and Mozambique?

The Foreign Minister suggested in our last conversation that he would like to see some Congressman or another big name go to Africa to do some writing and talking. He wondered whether Dean Acheson, for example, might do this. I think we should give some thought to this.

Regards,

KENNETH T. DOWNS.

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.,
Mozambique, November 28, 1962.

To: Ken Downs,

From: Wayne Wasson.

Senator Ellender of Louisiana arrives tomorrow from South Africa via private plane at 11 a.m. and departs the following morning at 0800.

I was informed by the American Consulate of this fact by phone and was asked if I could be available to meet the Senator providing there was time (They added, however, that such a short stay would probably obviate such a meeting) and if I could further insure that CITA could provide a fast whirl out to Motola if the Senator so desired.

I consider this an unusual request in view of the fact that both CITA and the Consulate are both governmental agencies, however a phone call to the Director of CITA sufficed to make standby arrangements and I shall make every attempt to be included in such a party.

I am on excellent footing with both organizations.

Please find enclosed clippings from the South African papers concerning Mozambique. I have placed an order for the Salisbury papers and shall also clip those. Because of the Cuban crisis and the Indian war there has been little local news therefore have not had enough material for a newsletter.

Mike and I agreed to start the clipping service with all English material going to you and the Portuguese material going to him in Lisbon. This service will be in lieu of the newsletter.

I forgot to mention in my last letter that Dr. Vilaca was in town and I had the opportunity to introduce him to Michael.

Sincerely,

WAYNE.

ARRANGEMENTS WITH PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER

The CHAIRMAN. Here again you will note the last paragraph on the November 7 memorandum which reads as follows:

The foreign minister suggested in our last conversation that he would like to see some Congressman or another big name go to Africa to do some writing and talking. He wondered whether Dean Acheson, for example, might do this. I think we should give some thought to this.

The foreign minister there, is that the Foreign Minister of Portugal?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. DOWNS. Dr. Alberto Franco Nogueira.

The CHAIRMAN. And he suggested to you "in our last conversation"——

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you converse with him from time to time relative to these arrangements?

Mr. DOWNS. To these particular arrangements? No; but I conversed with him from time to time on many matters.

The CHAIRMAN. In this case it was relative directly to your activities in pursuance of your contract, wasn't it?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet you still persist that the Government had no direct involvement in this contract?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was suggesting to you in this instance that you get Dean Acheson or a Congressman, is that right?

Mr. DOWNS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And big names.

MEMO WITHOUT DATE

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum from Fred-eric W. Shaw to Kenneth T. Downs, which is without date, and ask you if you received a copy of this memorandum. It is incomplete.

There is one—the third page is missing, apparently. It skips from the second to the fourth page. One page is missing. I wonder if you could supply the third page from your records?

Mr. DOWNS. I will try to, sir.

(A copy of the complete document referred to follows:)

To: Kenneth T. Downs.

From: Frederic W. Shaw.

SELVAGE AND LEE,

Av. Antonio Augusto Aguiar, 40 r/c,

Lisbon

Here is a recapitulation of reports on my 2 months' stay in Angola.

I arrived in Luanda four days prior to the expected visit of Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams and party, and was joined there two days later by Maria Pinto da Cunha, who was to prove an invaluable asset during our work there.

I immediately met with Major Pedro Gomes Cardoso, the intelligent and energetic new director of CITA, with whom I worked in closest contact throughout my stay. He and I, in that first meeting, worked out the principal that anything the correspondents wanted to see, no matter how much difficulty it might involve, we would do our best to make it possible. We also discussed technical problems, such as cable and radio transmission facilities, so as to have them ready when correspondents arrived.

First correspondents came two days later. They were Hugh Kay, of the Catholic Herald, and Al Meyers, of U.S. News & World Report. The next day in came Harold Milks, of the Associated Press, Robert McCormick and Louis Hepp, of National Broadcasting Company, Sandy Gall, of Reuters, and Henry Tanner, of the New York Times.

I set up my room in the Hotel Continental as a sort of press headquarters, where we all met to discuss any problems, plans for trips, arrangement of interviews, and the general philosophy of the story they were down there to report. I must say here that all these men were good, objective reporters, most of them pretty well schooled in African affairs. But since they had not before been allowed into Angola, a number of them had a chip on their shoulder against the Portuguese, and my first mission was to remove same. I believe the results show that this was successfully done, since not one prejudiced story was written during their stay and I believe every one of them left in a pro-Portuguese frame of mind. I might point out here that this should pay off in the future on any writing or broadcasting they do on the subject of Portuguese Africa.

These men were shown the war area, given briefings by military commanders, visited rehabilitation centers and hospitals, and given a chance to see and feel the multiracial aspects of the society. They were allowed to visit the jails, and a special effort was made to show them the conditions under which contract laborers lived and worked.

They quickly dropped Governor Williams, who was unnecessarily rude to them and said absolutely nothing, and concentrated on the "war" story. Unfortunately, having covered the military situation and its attendant issues, most of them had to leave Angola for their regular posts, without having time to deal with other aspects of the life there. All, however, expressed a desire to come back and do a much more thorough report on the country and the efforts the Portuguese are making on behalf of the natives.

Blaine Littell, of Columbia Broadcasting System, came in at the time most of the others were leaving and did a number of good broadcasts before he was ordered to the Congo to cover the Katanga crisis. He will be returning to Angola once that has subsided.

Because working with the correspondents was an around-the-clock job, I did not have a chance to visit nearly as much of the country as I would have liked—or to see nearly all the operations of our client group. I did, however, visit Cassequel CADA and the Benguela Railway, and was tremendously impressed by all three.

Colonel Clark and I have discussed the matter of his doing stories on these and other installations during periods such as now, when there are no correspondents to be handled.

To sum up, I believe that our two months' work with the correspondents in Angola was quite successful. We established procedural patterns for telling the story properly and did groundwork for the future by just getting people used to the fact that everybody had to help in seeing that Angola's story was told to the world in an objective way, and that there was nothing to hide.

Needless to say, this could not have been achieved without the wonderful cooperation of everyone with whom we came in contact in Angola—and here Maria was a priceless asset since she could open any door in Angola.

But I should like particularly to mention the assistance of Carlos d'Almeida Pinheiro, who was available for anything at any time. Jaime MacGowan, Tonio Pinto Coelho, Salvio Guimarães, João, Coronel Lucena, Professor Lavradio and the staffs of Cassequel, CADA and Benguela RR also went out of their way to be helpful.

This trip made an Angolan patriot of me, and I'm looking forward to being a "missionary" in darkest New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Shaw? Did you receive such a memorandum?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

ASSISTANCE TO OFFICIALS AND NEWSMEN

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it fairly clear that this letter shows that you and the Government, through CITA—what is CITA?

Mr. DOWNS. It is their information office in Luanda.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Government information office?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Doesn't this show that you not only made plans for the visits of U.S. officials but also for the visits of U.S. newsmen in Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. We made plans for the coverage of U.S. officials and for the assistance of U.S. newsmen; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You made plans for the assistance of officials and newsmen?

Mr. DOWNS. Not of officials, sir; of newsmen.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "assistance," you mean facilitating their travel and visiting Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. Helping them in any way we could with travel problems, any other problems they had, and especially with information, introductions.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to interrupt you.

Mr. DOWNS. And that sort of thing. That is all right.

PURPOSE OF ASSISTANCE

The CHAIRMAN. Was the purpose of these plans to remove what you believed to be prejudices concerning Portugal from the minds of these visiting officials and newsmen?

Mr. DOWNS. The purpose was to have them look at conditions as they were in Angola, and to supply them with any information that they desired.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Shaw states the purpose in here. He says:

I set up my room in the Hotel Continental as a sort of press headquarters where we all met to discuss any problems, plans for trips, arrangement of interviews, and the general philosophy of the story they were down there to report. I must say here that all these men were good, objective reporters, most of them pretty well schooled in African affairs. But since they had not before been allowed into Angola, a number of them had a chip on their shoulder against the Portuguese, and my first mission was to remove same. I believe the results show that this was successfully done, since not one prejudiced story was written during their stay and I believe every one of them left in a pro-Portuguese frame of mind. I might point out here that this should pay off in the future on any writing or broadcasting they do on the subject of Portuguese Africa.

In other words, that was the purpose of your involvement in these visits, was it not?

Mr. DOWNS. Oh, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say in the next paragraph on this page:

They quickly dropped Governor Williams, who was unnecessarily rude to them and said absolutely nothing, and concentrated on the "war" story.

"They quickly dropped Governor Williams" refers to whom?

Mr. DOWNS. The visiting newspapermen.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the newspapermen, could you tell us?

Mr. DOWNS. I was not there, sir. This was a report from Mr. Shaw, as you recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOWNS. But I do recall there was Henry Tanner of the New York Times; Harold Milks of the Associated Press; Littell of the Columbia Broadcasting System; Robert McCormick of the National Broadcasting Co. There were others. I recall those.

The CHAIRMAN. On the first page you state they were Hugh Kay of the Catholic Herald, and Al Meyers of U.S. News & World Report.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read the paragraph:

First correspondents came 2 days later. They were Hugh Kay of the Catholic Herald and Al Meyers of U.S. News & World Report. The next day in came Harold Milks of the Associated Press, Robert McCormick and Louis Hepp of National Broadcasting Co., Sandy Call of Reuters and Henry Tanner of the New York Times.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those were newsmen?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Blaine Littell of the Columbia Broadcasting System, you say, came in at the time.

The third page, as I mentioned, was missing, and then the fourth page—

Mr. DOWNS. I will try to supply that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember the date of this letter?

Mr. DOWNS. This, I believe, was, must have been in early September or late September of 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1961 or 1962?

Mr. DOWNS. 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. 1961.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In this case:

Williams and party was joined there 2 days later by Maria Pinto da Cunha, who was to prove an invaluable asset during our work there.

This was the same da Cunha?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. That was, that is a girl, Maria.

The CHAIRMAN. A girl? Who is she?

Mr. DOWNS. She is a lady from Lisbon who was sent, who I sent down there to assist Mr. Shaw, who spoke no Portuguese, and she acted as his interpreter and general assistant.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she Portuguese?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she related to the da Cunha that we mentioned a moment ago as an official—

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. No relation?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say this, to the best of your knowledge, is in late September of 1961?

Mr. DOWNS. 1961, yes, sir.

STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENTS OF OCTOBER 31, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you now a statement of disbursements by Selvage & Lee rendered to the Oversea Companies of October 31, 1961, and ask you if you recognize this statement?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You will note on page 6 of this statement the following item appears:

Correspondents expenses in Angola—\$3,000.

(The page referred to follows:)

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

NEW YORK • WASHINGTON • CHICAGO • RICHMOND
500 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK
OXFORD 8, 0500

Associação Portuguesa das Empresas do Ultramar
Rua do Ataíde, 7
Lisbon, Portugal

October 31, 1961

- 6 -

✓ A. T. Johnston - see attached	8/15-22	\$ 18.08
- see attached	9/22-25	16.75
✓ W. M. Kitzmiller - see attached	9/8-29	125.20
✓ J. Hallowell - see attached	8/22-10/15	1,370.29
F. Shaw - Air fare Lisbon - Angola - Lisbon	8/4	839.18
- Air fare N. Y. - Washington	10/11	19.14
- see attached	7/16-10/27	854.91
✓ B. Teixeira - see attached	9/21-30	727.03
✓ P. Wagner - see attached	9/5-21	93.42
Antonio De Fonseca - translation services		150.00
✓ Correspondents expenses in Angola		3,000.00
Services Rendered - S. TEIXEIRA	10/6	125.00
S. TEIXEIRA	10/6	50.00
S. TEIXEIRA	10/16	125.00
B. ESCOB	10/16	50.00
S. TEIXEIRA	10/23	125.00
MARC H. FLEURY	10/23	500.00
REILLY	10/24	50.00
MARVIN CHAMBERLAIN	9/15-22	400.00
	9/22-29	400.00
Monte Castelo	9/29-10/6	400.00
	10/7-16	400.00
	10/17-24	400.00

The CHAIRMAN. Are the correspondents referred to in this item the same as those referred to in Mr. Shaw's memorandum to which we have just referred?

Mr. DOWNS. Where is that item, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Page 6.

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know what that item is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay the expenses of these correspondents?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; none of them.

The CHAIRMAN. None of them?

Mr. DOWNS. I would imagine, and I am not certain of this, that this covered a sum given to Mr. Shaw who was only down there for about

2 months, for his expenses and entertainment and travel. I don't know, sir, but I would have to check this up to let you know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you gave it to Mr. Shaw, then he used it to pay correspondents' expenses in Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure of that?

Mr. DOWNS. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I do not understand why it would carry the notation, "Correspondents expenses in Angola." Are you saying that is incorrect?

Mr. DOWNS. As I say, I would say this is probably his bill for entertainment and travel of his own down there, and he may have locally taken some of them on trips. That I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I asked. Did he pay for their local expenses?

Mr. DOWNS. I know that he did not—most correspondents don't accept this, you know, and I am sure that nobody of the caliber of these people did, nor was it offered to them. There might have been a local junket or two, I just don't know, and I would have to check it, and I can let you know. I simply cannot be accurate on this at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can you consult your records and can you ascertain what that was for?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you do that for us?

Mr. DOWNS. I will.

MEMO OF JANUARY 29, 1963 RE MONEY FOR DR. LANIER

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I didn't anticipate that answer, but here is a memorandum you gave to Mr. Sifton; it is from Kenneth T. Downs, dated January 29, 1963. You will remember this memorandum, I believe, won't you, which reads as follows:

I talked to Fred Shaw today and he confirmed that it was he who paid Dr. Lanier—

Mr. DOWNS. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

the \$3,000 about which you inquired. He said that Dr. Lanier preferred to make his own travel arrangements on part of the trip and asked that he be given the cash with which to do it. The accounting office drew the money and gave it to Mr. Shaw to transmit to Dr. Lanier.

It is signed "Kenneth Downs."

Do you remember this memorandum?

(A copy of the memorandum is as follows:)

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.

TO: Tim Cabral

β

RE: Money for Dr. Lanier

FROM: Kenneth T. Downs

DATE: January 29, 1962

I talked to Fred Shaw today, and he confirmed that it was he who paid Dr. Lanier the \$3,000 about which you inquired. He said that Dr. Lanier preferred to make his own travel arrangements on part of the trip and asked that he be given the cash with which to do it. The accounting office drew the money and gave it to Mr. Shaw to transmit to Dr. Lanier.


Kenneth T. Downs

KTD:sg

Note Mr. Cabral thinks that Dr. Lanier was a former newspaperman.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir; I do. I did not know that referred to that particular one. I thought Dr. Lanier had come later than that.

I do recall a payment to Dr. Lanier made by Mr. Shaw. He was not a correspondent and he had nothing to do with this.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Dr. Lanier?

Mr. DOWNS. He was Dr. Rafael O'Hara Lanier. He was former U.S. Minister to Liberia, and was working for the Phelps—Stokes Fund at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he formerly a newspaperman?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He had been Minister to Liberia?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. U.S. Minister?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He wasn't at this time?

Mr. DOWNS. Oh, no; former, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. DOWNS. He was a Negro educator by profession.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the Tim Cabral?

Mr. DOWNS. Tim Cabral is now an employe of Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do?

Mr. DOWNS. He is Portuguese and he works in our New York office. He was formerly an employe of the Benguela Railroad.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this is the \$3,000 that this correspondents' expenses in Angola refers to?

Mr. DOWNS. As I told you, sir, I am not absolutely sure.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought this refreshed your memory.

Mr. DOWNS. That this is the—I know there was a \$3,000 payment made, and —

The CHAIRMAN. To whom?

Mr. DOWNS. To Dr. Lanier.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. DOWNS. And it may be this is the one. I am simply not sure of it. I did make an inquiry at the time Mr. Sifton and Mr. Cabral were going over the books to find out what the \$3,000 item was, and it may be this one, I am not sure, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you check your books to ascertain whether or not it is the same \$3,000 or if it is not the same, what the item of correspondents' expenses in Angola is? You can, can you not?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any canceled check to Dr. Lanier of \$3,000? Can you supply the evidence on that?

(The following letter was subsequently submitted by Mr. Downs:)

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
Lisbon, April 27, 1963.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In accordance with your request, I have inquired about the \$3,000 item in our October 1961 accounts with the Overseas Companies of Portugal. I was told that this sum indeed was paid to Dr. R. O'H. Lanier, of the Phelps-Stokes Fund at that time for the purpose of defraying expenses on a trip to Europe and Africa which was to include visits to Portugal, Angola, and Mozambique. Selvage & Lee purchased a ticket for him in New York for part of his trip, but Dr. Lanier requested \$3,000 to cover further travel and expenses for an expanded itinerary he planned to arrange as he went along.

Sincerely yours,

KENNETH T. DOWNS.

Mr. DOWNS. I can supply the check, but I believe that this check, I think possibly Mr. Sifton knows more about this, he talked to Mr. Cabral, but if my recollection is correct, this check was made out to cash and cashed by a woman in our accounting department for Dr. Lanier and paid in cash to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will put this January 29 memo in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall when Mr. Lanier traveled to Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. I believe it was in November 1961. It might have been October, but it was in the fall of 1961, the late fall.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 861

STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENTS JANUARY 31, 1963

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will show you a statement of disbursements by Selvage & Lee dated January 31, 1962, rendered to the Overseas Companies and ask you if you recognize this statement, for the record? Those are records of your company?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir; I believe they are.
(A copy of the document is as follows:)

TRAVEL EXPENSES

Aerocissimo Portuguesa Das Expressas do Ultramar
Rua do Atafide, 7
Lisboa, Portugal

January 31, 1962

- 4 -

✓	Simax Stationery Co., Inc. - 6 Aeco Binders legal size	12/29	\$ 8.38 ✓
✓	Statler-Wilton Hotel - K. Comacho	12/9	117.65 ✓
✓	Thermo-Fax Sales, Inc. - 1000 sheets white 8 1/2 x 11	12/2	56.14 ✓
	- one month rental on Thermo-Fax	12/15-1/14	99.00 ✓
	copy machine.	12/20	56.14 ✓
	- 1000 sheets white 8 1/2 x 11		
✓	The Voice of the Azores - announcements 11/25-36 12/23	12/4	15.00 ✓
✓	Voz DA Colonia - Portuguese Radio Program - 4 announcements	12/3	16.00 ✓
✓	Western Graphic Arts - Supplying and Addressing 5,000 110 White Envelopes.	1/3	105.65 ✓
✓	United Air Lines, Inc. - Air fare Lisbon-Lusaka-Mozambique- Lisbon. K. Downs, J. Hallowell, Lanier	11/13-16	5,228.58 ✓
	- V. Gold Boston - Washington	12/6	64.46 ✓
	- P. Wagner - Wash. N. Y. - Wash.		37.23 ✓
✓	R. Baker - see attached	11/23-12/22	110.45 ✓
✓	S. B. Eliasos - see attached	10/3-31	95.85 ✓
✓	M. T. Comacho - see attached	12/3	16.30 ✓
	- see attached	12/7-10	24.59 ✓
✓	V. Gold - see attached	12/2-31	11.40 ✓
✓	A. Johnston - see attached	12/8	17.10 ✓
✓	Ma. M. Kitemiller - see attached	11/8-23	14.70 ✓
✓	Mia Pimenta - see attached	12/7-10	50.15 ✓
✓	F. W. Shaw - see attached	12/27-1/15	234.50 ✓
	- see attached	1/16-36	167.25 ✓

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you will notice on page 4 of the statement there appears the following item, "United Airlines Airfare Lisbon-Luanda-Mozambique. K. Downs, J. Hollowell, Lanier \$5,228.58."

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Wouldn't this indicate that you paid Dr. Lanier's travel directly to United Airlines?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

His trip from the United States, as I recall, and part of his trip to Africa were paid directly.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, would it be your theory that you paid his expenses, his travel, and then gave him \$3,000 in cash in addition?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. I believe the \$3,000 in addition as I recall—I did not make these arrangements—as I recall, they were made in New York, and I was in Lisbon at the time but to the best of my knowledge, his round trip ticket was purchased from New York to include parts of Africa, but he had plans for a good deal of independent travel in Europe afterward, and wanted to make his own arrangements, as I recall. He did, I believe, go to—

The CHAIRMAN. Who would know exactly what was this arrangement and what was paid?

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. Shaw, I think, made the arrangements.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he in this country?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. New York?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is still in your employ?

Mr. DOWNS. No. He is not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is he doing now?

Mr. DOWNS. He is working on Newsweek magazine at the moment, sir.

EXPEDITING NEWSMAN'S VISAS

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a letter dated November 20, 1961, from Paul Wagner to Charles P. Arnot of ABC, African News Bureau, with a copy directed to Downs, and ask you if you received a copy of this letter?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the letter is as follows:)

bc: Downs, Shaw.

NOVEMBER 20, 1961.

Mr. CHARLES P. ARNOT,
*American Broadcasting Company, African News Bureau, P.O. Box 30373, Nairobi,
Kenya, Africa.*

DEAR CHARLIE: I cabled Ken Downs in Lisbon this morning to expedite your visas for Angola and Mozambique. We didn't get your cable in September, and didn't know you had applied for a visa.

Since you went away, Fred has returned to New York. His office is Selvage & Lee, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36. Ken has moved with his family to Lisbon. He plans to stay about a year, working on our account with the Overseas Companies of Portugal. Ken's address is:

KTD
Downs
Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Av. Antonio Augusto Aguiar, 40
Lisbon, Portugal

I'm happy to report you are back on the air—at least over WRC. I heard your report this morning on the carved-up Italians. Same kind of a job Holden Roberto and his friends did on the Portuguese in Angola last March.

Stay in one piece.

Kindest regards,

PAUL WAGNER.

VISAS TO ANGOLA

The CHAIRMAN. The first paragraph reads—this is from Wagner—refresh my memory, who is Wagner?

Mr. DOWNS. He is in our Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. Washington office. The first paragraph of this reads:

I cabled Ken Downs in Lisbon this morning to expedite your visas for Angola and Mozambique. We didn't get your cable in September, and didn't know you had applied for a visa.

What connection did you have with the Portuguese Government which enabled you to expedite the granting of the visas?

Mr. DOWNS. I could not expedite them, sir, but I could urge them to do it, and that is what I frequently did.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be fair to infer from this letter to Arnot, referring to his September cable to you notifying you of Arnot's application for a visa that it was known to American newsmen that Selvage & Lee had some connection with the granting of visas to Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know; no, sir; I wouldn't say that. Charles Arnot happened to be a personal friend of Mr. Wagner's, and mine, and they had been in touch about his going there, and he apparently had experienced delay in receiving a visa. Mr. Wagner said we would try to speed it up for him, if possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have to clear the visas for applicants, news people who wanted to go to Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

EXCHANGE OF CABLES AUGUST 2, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you copies of an exchange of cables dated August 2, 1961, between Downs and Bledsoe, and ask you if you sent and received such cables?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This first cable is very short and it says:

John Richardson Gibson, Wall Street Journal applying visa desire reading on him soonest.

The second cable, in reply reads in part as follows:

Advise OK Gibson.

Whom were you to advise that Gibson was OK?

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. Bledsoe was advising me.

The CHAIRMAN. And then were you to advise the Portuguese Visa Office that Gibson was OK?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of saying "desire reading on him soonest"? What do you mean by that?

Mr. DOWNS. He happened to be a newspaperman that I didn't know personally. I did not like to recommend the special expediting of visas to anyone I did not know personally.

The CHAIRMAN. So after Bledsoe says he is OK, then you do expedite it, then you did expedite it?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Gibson tell you he had applied for a visa?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. I don't know Mr. Gibson.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did tell you?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't recall, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Bledsoe did, I guess.

Mr. DOWNS. No. This was my query to Bledsoe. I don't recall who told me, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. But it would be somebody in the Government who knew that he had applied, wouldn't it?

Mr. DOWNS. Quite possibly so.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

IDENTIFICATION TO VISITING NEWSMEN

The CHAIRMAN. How would your men in Lisbon and in Angola and Mozambique identify themselves to visiting newsmen and U.S. officials, as a practical matter?

Mr. DOWNS. As representatives of Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have any specific instructions on this matter?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it their general practice to state to these newsmen, to reveal Selvage & Lee's connections with the Overseas Companies?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that Gibson exchange, if the report had been that Gibson was not OK, could you stop the granting of a visa?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you advise the Government not to issue the visa?

Mr. DOWNS. I might have. I can tell you this, sir, I never advised the Government to turn down the visa of any journalist.

The CHAIRMAN. Was their practice to ask you about the character of applicants for visas?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. I would not say it was a practice. Many people have gone in there that I didn't even know were going. I asked the Government to keep me——

The CHAIRMAN. Advised?

Mr. DOWNS (continuing). Advised as much as possible. They did this sometimes, and sometimes they did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you never turned down an applicant who was a newsman. Did you ever suggest they turn down the application of anybody——

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Other than newsmen?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; I did not. We pushed all the time to get as many people to go there as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of who they were?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would there be an inquiry as to whether or not this one is a good one?

Mr. DOWNS. Because, Mr. Chairman, as I told you, they had closed off Angola completely. The Portuguese do not know very much about press or public relations. That is why they hired a professional firm.

The CHAIRMAN. I can well understand that.

Mr. DOWNS. And they tend to have a suspicion of newsmen, and I think it has been rather well founded so far as the American press is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. I can well understand that.

Mr. DOWNS. So this has been a continuing campaign for me to let them in, open up, show them everything, and they have cooperated very well in it. But nonetheless they do tend to sometimes say "What do you know about this one?" And somebody had said something bad about them. And, as I say, I had never recommended withholding of a visa from any correspondent or anyone else.

MEMO OF OCTOBER 10, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum dated October 10, 1962, from Kenneth T. Downs to Michael Teague and ask you if you prepared and sent this memorandum?

Did you send that memorandum?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir; I did.

(A copy of the memo is as follows:)

To: Michael Teague
From: Kenneth T. Downs

OCTOBER 10, 1962.

DEAR MIKE: Can you throw any light on your plans for me. I fervently hope that you will stay on until May, but if not, would you give me as much warning as possible. Sam's sweetness and light policy, to which I have loyally adhered, is not working too brilliantly so far. It takes two to tango. However, it is still too early to make any Large Decisions.

I am anxious to hear how your first meeting with Dr. Pinto Basto comes off. What is the latest from Xana?

I am sending Dr. Pinto Basto copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. You might explain to him that we wrote some twenty speeches. Much of the material in some of the speeches was ours. Joe Martin, Speaker of the House under Eisenhower, for example, used Sam's stuff without change, apart from abbreviation. You might point this out to Dr. Pinto Basto and tell him that it required a great amount of work on the Hill to get the time allocated for these speeches.

Patrick Clark recently did the same thing for Spain, but he paid for his. We didn't put out a penny. In all fairness Comacho [sic] should be given a good deal of credit on this one. It was his tireless pressure on some of the Massachusetts Congressmen that made it possible, and he is the one who at the last minute got Speaker McCormack into the act.

Regards,

KENNETH T. DOWNS.

The CHAIRMAN. Before I read it, will you identify for the record Dr. Pinto Basto. This is the same man you referred to a moment ago?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Michael Teague to whom this is addressed?

Mr. DOWNS. He is now in charge of our Lisbon office.

The CHAIRMAN. Lisbon office?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On October 10, 1962, what was he doing?

Mr. DOWNS. He was at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. He was at that time?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

SPEECHES IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The CHAIRMAN. The third paragraph, you will note, reads as follows:

I am sending Dr. Pinto Basto copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. You might explain to him that we wrote some twenty speeches. Much of the material in some of the speeches was ours. Joe Martin, Speaker of the House under Eisenhower, for example, used Sam's stuff without change, apart from abbreviation.

Sam is Sam Bledsoe?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

You might point this out to Dr. Pinto Basto and tell him that it required a great amount of work on the Hill to get the time allocated for these speeches. Patrick Clark recently did the same thing for Spain, but he paid for his.

Who is Patrick Clark?

Mr. DOWNS. He is a lawyer here, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Charles Patrick Clark?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What else is he besides a lawyer?

Mr. DOWNS. That is all as far as I know.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you say:

Patrick Clark recently did the same thing for Spain, but he paid for his.

Does he represent Spain?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir; I believe he does.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean "he paid for his"?

Mr. DOWNS. He is a lawyer; and when he undertakes public relations work he has to go into the very expensive process, so I understand, I don't know Mr. Clark, of paying for any writing, speech writing, or any of the public relations work as such that is done.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you get the information that he paid to get similar speeches made on the floor of the House?

Mr. DOWNS. I heard that from the Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in the Washington office?

Mr. DOWNS. I was out of the country at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in the Washington office?

Mr. DOWNS. I think either Mr. Bledsoe or Mr. Wagner, I am not sure which.

The CHAIRMAN. They told you that Mr. Clark had to pay for having his speeches made?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you didn't?

Mr. DOWNS. I what?

The CHAIRMAN. And your firm did not? That is what that means?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, I have to go. May I just ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Senator Hickenlooper.

PREPARATION OF SPEECHES

Senator HICKENLOOPER. When you say he paid for his, what do you mean? Do you mean he paid somebody to make the speech or to draft it?

Mr. DOWNS. No. The drafting of speech writing is a very expensive operation, and I understood, and I do not know that this is a fact, this was what I heard in our office in Washington, that he had, since he is not a public relations man, in order to have speeches made, he had to go out and pay for the writing and the preparation of material, and the sort of thing that we do without extra charge.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Well, it was the connotation of that term that I was concerned with; that is, that he paid for his. I mean, I want to get that clarified as to what you meant by that.

Mr. DOWNS. I shouldn't say, sir—this, I must say, sir, is a most unfortunate memorandum which was dictated in haste as a personal note to Mr. Teague, and I must say the purpose of it was to impress our clients with the work we were doing for them, and the language, I think, all the way through is unfortunate. I mean, I have a reference to a little internecine warfare in our own office in the first paragraph, and the reference to Mr. Clark, I can well understand your question, sir, could be misconstrued. But I wished to say—

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I merely wanted to clarify what you meant by such a term.

Mr. DOWNS. Certainly no implication whatever that there was anything improper done, but that he was going into a field which was not a lawyer's field—public relations—and had to pay writers to do the work.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Downs, I call your attention to the preceding paragraph or sentence in which you say:

You might point this out to Dr. Pinto Basto and tell him that it required a great amount of work on the Hill to get the time allocated for these speeches.

That doesn't say to get the speeches written; it says get the time allocated for the speeches. The next sentence follows:

Patrick Clark recently did the same thing for Spain, but he paid for his.

That would certainly seem to relate to getting the time allocated for making the speeches and not writing them, does it not?

Mr. DOWNS. That was not intended, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, that is what the language would lead a reasonable person to believe, would it not?

Mr. DOWNS. It could. It is a very carelessly written paragraph.

REFERENCE TO MARTIN CAMACHO

The CHAIRMAN. You say "we didn't pay" or "put out a penny." Then you say:

In all fairness Comacho [sic] should be given a good deal of credit on this one. It was his tireless pressure on some of the Massachusetts Congressmen that made it possible, and he is the one who, at the last minute, got Speaker McCormack, into the act.

That is for getting the time, not writing the speeches, isn't it? He didn't write speeches.

Mr. DOWNS. He did not write speeches—I don't know. I think he prepared some material. I am not sure. You will have to ask him.

The CHAIRMAN. I think later it will appear that you prepared Camacho's speeches; I would say that from other evidence.

Mr. DOWNS. Some we have and some he did.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not a speech writer; he is a lawyer, isn't he?

Mr. DOWNS. He is a lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. It says:

It was his tireless pressure on some of the Massachusetts Congressmen that made it possible, and he is the one who, at the last minute, got Speaker McCormack into the act.

This certainly does not relate to the preparation of speeches. His pressure on Congressmen was to make the speeches, not to write them, wasn't it?

The difficulty is getting them to make it, not getting the speech prepared. Is that not correct?

Mr. DOWNS. Well, I was not here, sir, and I cannot tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. We all know that. We know that is true; that is common knowledge aside from this.

Isn't that true, that it is a whole lot easier for you to prepare a speech than it is for you to get a Congressman to make it; isn't that correct?

Mr. DOWNS. I think it is, in some instances. In some instances it isn't, sir. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you say:

You might explain to him that we wrote some 20 speeches.

Did you, in fact, write 20 speeches?

Mr. DOWNS. That was my understanding, and I have been told since this was not exactly accurate; that we prepared material for 20 speeches or a certain number. I think 14 speeches were delivered, as I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Fourteen out of the twenty that were prepared?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it accurate that Joe Martin made such a speech?

Mr. DOWNS. He did make a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he—

used Sam's stuff without change, apart from abbreviation.

Mr. DOWNS. Whether this is accurate or not, I do not know, sir. I thought it was at the time I wrote this.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. DOWNS. This was in the Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. Sam Bledsoe?

Mr. DOWNS. No, I don't believe Mr. Bledsoe said that. I am not sure. I think Mr. Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wagner told you. When you say "Sam's stuff," it was speeches prepared by Mr. Bledsoe?

Mr. DOWNS. Material prepared by him; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, wouldn't you say it is fair to conclude from this memorandum that Mr. Basto got the impression that you were able to prepare speeches and have Congressmen deliver them on the floor?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. That was the—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you or your firm inform these Congressmen when they were given these speeches that they were prepared by your firm?

Mr. DOWNS. I cannot answer that question, sir. I was not here in Washington at the time. I had just returned.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can? Can Mr. Bledsoe?

Mr. DOWNS. I think Mr. Bledsoe or Mr. Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. They can.

WORK IN CONNECTION WITH CONTRACT

This is an activity in pursuance of your contract, is it not, sir?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. I might say, sir, that—you will be talking to Mr. Bledsoe and you can ask him, but I think, perhaps I let my enthusiasm get away with me a bit here, and I don't know whether it was his fault or my fault. But he has since told me that speeches were not prepared as such; that material was prepared for speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. And in some cases, as we would conclude from this, they would use material without changing anything except abbreviations. Whether they did or not, obviously they could change some of it, but they would use it.

Mr. DOWNS. Sir, this is hearsay on my part. I didn't see the materials.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. But that is certainly what the memorandum would lead one to conclude.

Mr. DOWNS. That is what the memorandum would lead one to conclude.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is what Mr. Bledsoe or Mr. Wagner told you at that time?

Mr. DOWNS. To the best of my recollection, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the statement here with regard to Camacho's "tireless pressure on Massachusetts Congressmen," accurate?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what they told you at the time?

Mr. DOWNS. That was my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the nature of that pressure is or was upon Massachusetts Congressmen?

Mr. DOWNS. I think persuasion. Again, I am not the best one to testify on this because I was not present.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you can testify that at the time that is what they told you?

Mr. DOWNS. That that was my impression; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you have already testified to the best of your knowledge Mr. Charles Patrick Clark is a registered agent of the Spanish Government?

Mr. DOWNS. I am told so; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any reaction from Dr. Pinto Basto to this memorandum?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any reason to believe he did not accept it as being a statement of fact?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. As a matter of fact, this memorandum was not intended for him. This was to Mr. Teague who was to convey the information orally to him.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did send Mr. Basto the Congressional Record?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which carried the speeches?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

MEMORANDUM OF APRIL 26, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum dated April 26, 1962, to Mr. Paul Wagner, from Kenneth T. Downs, signed with the initials "KTD" and ask you if that is your signature on the memorandum?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the memo is as follows:)

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.,
Lisbon, April 26, 1962.

To: Mr. Paul Wagner.

From: Kenneth T. Downs.

DEAR PAUL: I talked a couple of weeks ago to the Director of SNI about the NEA visit, and he has promised full cooperation on their arrival here in Lisbon. We will work out a good reception and briefing for them.

Larry Clark is working out a schedule for the Angola visit which he will discuss with SNI here and plan in detail with CITA when he returns to Luanda next month. This is going to be a somewhat tricky one because of limited transportation and hotel facilities. It may be that if as many as 35 come, they may have to be handled in shifts. Anyway, we will do the best we can, try and figure out how much of the tab can be picked up, etc. It would be helpful for us to know as early as possible what the likeliest number of visitors will be.

KTD

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wagner was your representative in Lisbon, is that correct?

Mr. DOWNS. No; in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. In Washington at that time?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you at that time, in Lisbon?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

NEA VISIT TO AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN. It reads:

I talked a couple of weeks ago to the Director of SNI about the NEA visit.

I ask you what is SNI?

Mr. DOWNS. That is the tourist office, information office, in Lisbon.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the NEA?

Mr. DOWNS. That is the National Editorial Association.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. And it continues:

—and he has promised full cooperation on their arrival here in Lisbon.

Who is the Director of SNI, who was he?

Mr. DOWNS. His name is Baptista.

The CHAIRMAN. And "he" refers to Baptista?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

and he has promised full cooperation on their arrival here in Lisbon. We will work out a good reception and briefing for them.

Larry Clark is working out a schedule for the Angola visit which he will discuss with SNI here and plan in detail with CITA—

which is the information agency, is that correct, sir?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

when he returns to Luanda next month. This is going to be a somewhat tricky one because of limited transportation and hotel facilities. It may be that if as many as 35 come, they may have to be handled in shifts. Anyway, we will do the best we can, try and figure out how much of the tab can be picked up, et cetera. It would be helpful for us to know as early as possible what the likeliest number of visitors will be.

Who is Larry Clark?

Mr. DOWNS. That is Col. Lawrence Clark, who was our representative in Luanda.

The CHAIRMAN. In Luanda?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have already identified CITA and NEA?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. They went to Lisbon and then Luanda in Angola.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this trip made, in fact?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who extended the invitation to the NEA to make this visit?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't believe that anyone extended an invitation to them, sir. They make a trip like this every year or every 2 years to some foreign part of the world. The last one was in Asia, and for January 1963, they had selected Africa. Some of the people arranging the trip came to us to discuss the facilities and arrangements in Angola, and that is how this connection developed in which we assisted them as much as we could in that visit.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they come to you?

Mr. DOWNS. Because they knew we were representing a large interest in Angola and Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this trip made?

Mr. DOWNS. It was made in January of this year, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This year?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the members of this organization go on to Luanda?

Mr. DOWNS. They did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They went to Lisbon and Luanda in Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

SELVAGE & LEE'S PART IN THE NEA TRIP

The CHAIRMAN. You arranged the trip, that is, you set it up?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. We helped with the facilities and arrangements in Lisbon and in Angola. They visited other African countries, as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you in fact, as you put it here, pick up the tab for this visit?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. We picked up the tab for certain entertainment and travel in Luanda, and that is all. We paid no expenses that I recall; possibly a cocktail party or something.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't pay their travel expenses?

Mr. DOWNS. Oh, no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you entertained them while they were in Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And in Lisbon?

Mr. DOWNS. Very little. We did very little of the entertainment as Selvage & Lee. Most of it was done by individual clients in Angola.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the last statement you made was that you said you paid only the local entertainment costs and maybe some local expenses?

Mr. DOWNS. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the Government of Portugal paid any part of these expenses?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't believe that the Government paid any expenses, certainly no travel expenses. They might have entertained them at a reception or something of that sort, nothing beyond that so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor did the group or any private company pay any expenses?

Mr. DOWNS. Not as expenses.

Now, there were certain trips made which individual companies of the group paid for the transportation, entertainment, and so on, but as individual companies, I believe. I was not there. This is what I was told.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the NEA informed about your part in arranging for the trip prior to departing for Lisbon?

Mr. DOWNS. We didn't arrange the trip, sir. We assured the NEA we would help them to the best of our ability in getting—they are all editors, newspaper people—in getting information and to help them in any way we could to facilitate travel or any problems that came up. We offered our services.

The CHAIRMAN. You said:

We will work out a good reception and briefing for them—
which is very hospitable on your part.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did that, didn't you?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You briefed them upon the conditions, et cetera, in Angola?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Larry Clark, who is your man, worked out the schedule, didn't he; I mean that is part of it?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say, "it is going to be a tricky one," you mean by that because of the size of it it is very difficult to arrange, isn't that what it means?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would think from this that you took a very important responsibility in its arrangement.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, I think we did, sir. We helped them a good deal down there, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not wish to press you on it, but these are new activities for me, and I apologize for being ignorant of the methods and procedures used in these activities. I am just trying to make the record as clear as I can about it.

LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 17, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated September 17, 1962 from Paul Wagner to David A. Randall of Travel Consultants, Inc. with copies to Lisbon and Luanda offices of Selvage & Lee.

Attached is a "Tentative Itinerary—Angola." Is this the itinerary proposed by Selvage & Lee for the NEA trip?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(The document referred to follows:)

cc: Lisbon, Luanda, New York.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1962.

Mr. DAVID A. RANDELL,
Travel Consultants, Inc.,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR DAVE: Our Lisbon office has informed us that the invitation to the NEA Study Mission has been approved formally. We also are making arrangements for a briefing reception and banquet for Saturday, January 5. We are doing nothing about hotel reservations in Lisbon, at your request.

In Angola, our Luanda representative, Larry Clark, has made arrangements for lodging during the stay in Angola. We will not be able to stick to the 18 singles and 25 twins throughout Angola, but there will be accommodations. In Luanda, Clark has commitments for 10 twins at the Hotel Continental, 10 twins at the Grande Motel Universo, with the balance at the Hotel Turismo. In Benguela, M'Ombaka does not have 26 twins, but it does have space. As the attached itinerary indicates, one night will be spent on the Benguela railway.

Clark has talked to Air Congo (Sabena) for the January 19 charter, but we have no confirmation. The size of the group has complicated the airlifts inside Angola, which will be Luanda—Nova Lisboa and Lobito-Luanda, but Clark says he is confident that these arrangements can be made.

The tentative agenda is attached.

Sincerely,

PAUL WAGNER.

Enc.

cc: Theodore A. Serrill, N.E.A.

TENTATIVE ITINERARY—ANGOLA

19-23 JANUARY 1963

- 19-1030 Ar: Luanda
Move to hotels and lunch
- 1430 Tour of Luanda
Briefing session w/government officials
Cocktails and buffet at Secil Cement.
- 20-0700 Visit to Cambambe Dam—all day.
- 21-0730 Lv: Luanda for Nova Lisboa
Tour of Nova Lisboa, railroad shops, brewery, etc.
- 1230 Board special train of CFB
Lunch on board
Visit to Cuima iron mine.
Dinner and spend night on train.
- 22-0900 Ar: Benguela
Tour of Benguela and Lobito
Lunch at Cassequel sugar plantation
Banquet offered by the Governor of the District of Benguela at M'Ombaka Hotel
Spend night at the M'Ombaka.
- 23-0900 Lv: Lobito for Luanda
Conference with the Governor General before departure for Leopoldville on afternoon Air Congo flight.

Hours listed are purely tentative. Meals not listed are to be arranged. Transportation to Cambambe Dam will most likely be by special train.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this is written by Mr. Wagner, one of your representatives here in Washington?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is David A. Randall? Is he here in Washington?

Mr. DOWNS. I presume he is. It is addressed to him. I don't know him, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Theodore A. Serrill at the bottom?

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. Serrill is with the National Editorial Association.

The CHAIRMAN. What is he, the executive secretary?

Mr. DOWNS. I imagine so. I am not sure. Something of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this itinerary set out here mainly—was it followed, as far as you know?

Mr. DOWNS. As I recall, it was—there were shifts and changes, various changes.

The CHAIRMAN. But, generally speaking?

Mr. DOWNS. No, this isn't January 1963. This is dated September 17, 1962. I think it was essentially the same.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter is dated September 17, 1962, but the itinerary is for January 19 to 23, 1963. That is what you testified to before.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And as far as you know it was in the main followed?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were at this time in Lisbon?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you—

Mr. DOWNS. No, I beg your pardon. September, I believe, I was back in the States by then. I came back in September.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time of the trip were you in Lisbon?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. January of 1963?

Mr. DOWNS. No, I was in New York then, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in New York. Who handled the trip in Lisbon?

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. Teague had taken my place.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Teague had taken your place in Lisbon?

Mr. DOWNS. And Colonel Clark was Luanda.

The CHAIRMAN. And Colonel Clark was Luanda.

Mr. Wagner says:

Our Lisbon office has informed us that the invitation to the NEA study mission has been approved formally.

Who approved it?

Mr. DOWNS. I think that was Mr. Serrill or whoever was running it for the NEA. I assume that is what it meant there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who sent the invitation to the NEA?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't—I am afraid I lost you there, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On the first part of the letter, if you will refer to the letter of September 17, it says:

DEAR DAVE: Our Lisbon office has informed us that the invitation to the NEA study mission has been approved formally.

First, what is the invitation and who issued the invitation, sir?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't your office issue it?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. I rather imagine this was either the tourist information office or—

The CHAIRMAN. The Portuguese Government?

Mr. DOWNS. Portuguese, some—the Portuguese information office, I should think, or one of the—this is not for the visit to Lisbon. This is for some things that were paid for them. There was a dinner and a briefing and that sort of thing. I think that is in reference to one of those things which was under discussion. Teague had asked if he could arrange for an invitation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the way that whole paragraph reads, the invitation would appear to refer to the invitation for the visit as a whole.

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir; that is not correct. They had made these plans without any reference to us or the Portuguese Government for an invitation long before we came into the thing. This was for part of the program, and I don't know which particular part it was. I don't know which particular part it was in reference to, but I imagine it was one of the formal banquets or whatever they had over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who, on this side, who was in New York at this time handling this affair in New York?

Mr. DOWNS. Well, I was there, sir, but I had very little to do with it. It was mostly done in Washington and Lisbon.

The CHAIRMAN. In Washington by Mr. Wagner?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As you have already testified.

What led me to assume that the invitation related to the overall visit is because the next sentence there says:

We also are making arrangements for a briefing reception and banquet for Saturday, January 5. We are doing nothing about hotel reservations in Lisbon, at your request—

which is why I assumed that the invitations to the briefing and banquet were separate from the invitation referred to in the first sentence.

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know what that was. It was not an invitation to visit the country. That I know because this was on their itinerary. It would have to do with the program which had been under discussion for a period of months, some detail of the program. What it was I don't know. Mr. Wagner can probably supply the answer to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in Lisbon actually conducted the briefing session?

Mr. DOWNS. I think the Foreign Minister, as I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. DOWNS. No; I wasn't there.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean by "you" no one in Selvage and Lee did it, but you think it was a member of the Government?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But these activities, I mean your part in arranging the briefing and the banquet, and so on, were part of your activities under your contract with the group, is that not correct?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Larry Clark is the man in Luanda who picked up from there and arranged whatever was necessary in Luanda?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

MEMO OF DECEMBER 17, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum from Isabel Metello to Mr. Kenneth T. Downs, dated December 17, 1962, with reference to "NEA group," and ask you if you received a copy of such a memorandum? This refers to this same trip?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive that memorandum?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Isabel Metello?

Mr. DOWNS. She is Mr. Teague's secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. And she was in Lisbon at the time?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will just insert the letter in the record. It just pertains to the previous arrangements.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(The document referred to follows:)

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.,
Lisbon, December 17, 1962.

To: Mr. Kenneth T. Downs.

From: Isabel Metello.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL.

Re: N.E.A. Group.

DEAR MR. DOWNS: I've been in touch, this morning, with the Overseas Ministry (Dr. R.C.); the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Dr. Nogueira's Secretary);

and S.N.I. (Dr. Ramiro Valadão), to try and confirm the different arrangements made for the NEA group while they stay in Lisbon.

Dr. Ramiro Valadão from S.N.I., told me that everything had been confirmed with the Overseas and Foreign Ministries, and that the situation was as follows:

1—On Saturday the 5th, at around 4:30 p.m. a reception would be given to the whole group together with the Press, assisted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, during which Dr. F. N. could be interviewed, if the journalists wanted to. No "briefing" would be arranged before that only for the group. After the reception an *informal* dinner would be offered by S.N.I., at the Folklore on the same night. (9 p.m.)

2—On Sunday, the 6th, the Overseas Ministry was offering the group a lunch at the Hotel de Seteais, during which there would be given a "briefing" by the Overseas Minister. This lunch would only be for the group and guests (no Press), he said.

This has been confirmed by Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha [sic].

3—*Transportation*—Dr. Valadão told me that S.N.I. *will not* supply the group with transportation.

I talked to Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha about this, and he told me that we (Selvage & Lee) could easily hire two buses to take the group to the various places, and pay for it, as it wouldn't be very expensive.

I phoned a Bus Company to get some information on prices and they told me the following:

Per bus:

Visit to Lisbon, to see all typical and interesting places of the city—500\$00 (Dr. Valadão, as the group won't have anything to do on Sunday afternoon after the lunch, 4 p.m. more or less, suggested that they could be taken around Lisbon to see the city and its suburbs).

Bus to get the people from the Airport to the Hotels will cost 250\$00—per bus.

Bus to take the group to the reception (Foreign Office) will also cost 250\$00—per bus.

As to go to Seteais, the Company has a special fare which includes tour of Queluz, Sintra, Estoril, Cascais, Mafra, and all other interesting suburbs, including lunch hour (in this case being at Seteais), which is 1,150\$00—Dr. Valadão suggested that the group should leave Lisbon early in the morning of the 6th, go around all these places, go for lunch at Seteais, and then after lunch, go around Lisbon.

This means that the total expenses for transportation (two buses, 39 seats each) will be of about Esc:5,000\$00.

The definite times of the different lunches, dinners, briefings hasn't been really confirmed yet, but since I am also waiting for a confirmation from the Foreign Office, saying that the things Dr. Valadão said about the reception, etc., have been talked over with the Minister (as I don't really trust very much Dr. Valadão's confirmations, since once he had told Mr. Teague that everything had been arranged with the Foreign Office and when Mr. Teague went to see Dr. Franco Nogueira he didn't even know what Mr. Teague was talking about), I will very soon write you another memo with everything confirmed *properly* by everybody, with times, places, etc.

Well, Mr. Downs, I hope you find everything going OK, and can understand my English.

All best wishes,

Sincerely,

ISABEL.

cc.—Wash.

MEMO OF NOVEMBER 30, 1963, CONCERNING "PUBLISHERS AUXILIARY"

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum dated November 30, 1962, from P. Wagner to Ken Downs with reference to "Publishers Auxiliary" and ask you if you received a copy of this memorandum? That was dated November 30, 1962. That is Mr. Paul Wagner, isn't it?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive that?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the memo is as follows:)

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
Washington, D.C.

To: Ken Downs.
From: P. Wagner.
Date: 11-30-62.
Re: Publishers Auxiliary.

KEN: A 2-page spread in the Aux would cost \$2,560, less 15 percent commission placed through our ad agency. Composition cost is extra. However, Chuck Lueck of NEA says they will split composition costs with us. I would guess our share of composition would be \$300. No commission is permitted on the \$300, of course.

If we want to offer mats to newspapers, this cost would be extra, but small.

I don't have a copy of the Aux in which there is a promotion page. Nancy Mahood of NEA is sending one to you in New York. The back of the attached rate card shows the circulation. The rate card is old, so pay no attention to the prices, etc. The Aux was purchased January 1, 1962, by NEA. I just happened to have the old rate card in my desk.

PW

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Publishers' Auxiliary?

Mr. Downs. This is an auxiliary—the Publishers' Auxiliary, which is a publication put out, I think, weekly or periodically by the NEA.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the official publication of the NEA?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

The first paragraph reads:

A two-page spread in the Aux would cost \$2,560, less 15 percent commission placed through our ad agency. Composition costs are extra. However, Chuck Lueck of NEA says they will split composition costs with us. I would guess our share of composition would be \$300. No commission is permitted on the \$300, of course.

If we want to offer mats to newspapers, this cost would be extra, but small.

What do they mean by a two-page spread, is that an ad in the Auxiliary, the publication?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir. They sell space in this paper and that is the cost of it, and we contemplated and are still contemplating a special, buying a special section in this for Angola, Mozambique—

The CHAIRMAN. Does this relate to a two-page spread that Selvage & Lee was to insert in the Auxiliary?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you, in fact?

Mr. Downs. No, we have not done it. We have had it under consideration for some time.

The CHAIRMAN. So it has not been published?

Mr. Downs. It has not been done; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When such a spread is inserted, is it labeled as advertising?

Mr. Downs. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does this mean, "if we want to offer mats to newspapers, this cost would be extra, but small"?

Mr. Downs. They make up mats of these pages and frequently when a commercial company or anyone advertising in this publication buys one of these things, they have mats made which they offer to newspapers who do not subscribe to the Auxiliary or for any publishing purposes. It cuts down reproduction costs.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever inserted any advertisements in the Publishers' Auxilliary?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At any time?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When these mats are made available to newspapers are they carried as advertising or as news?

Mr. DOWNS. Oh, yes, sir; advertising.

The CHAIRMAN. You pay for them or do they do it—

Mr. DOWNS. For the space?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOWNS. That would depend entirely on arrangements made with an individual publication.

The CHAIRMAN. You make it available and sometimes they may print it without payment and sometimes you have to pay for it, is that right?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. We have never done any of this. We have never bought any advertising in this campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Then to finish it, this is merely a proposal—that is, if you would, this is what it would cost?

Mr. DOWNS. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not do it?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

FUNCTION OF PUBLISHERS' AUXILIARY

The CHAIRMAN. I don't quite understand the Publishers' Auxiliary function. This is the NEA official publication. Do they solicit advertising for it? Is it a moneymaking operation?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't think it is a moneymaking operation. I don't know too much about it, sir. I have seen it. It is a house organ type of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. I never heard of it before.

Mr. DOWNS. And they do sell these spreads to commercial companies and other outfits that want to buy it. It is circulated to all newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it circulated—for what purpose is it circulated, if it is not advertising? I never heard of it, frankly, before. This is the first time I hear of it.

Mr. DOWNS. Frankly, it is not generally known.

The CHAIRMAN. It goes only to newspapers?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes. It has a circulation of less than 20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if this goes to, say, small town editors, then the editors, do they pick up articles in it, is that the purpose?

Mr. DOWNS. I think sometimes they do, sir; yes. I am not sure. I cannot—

The CHAIRMAN. I never heard of it, frankly. It is a new one on me.

Mr. DOWNS. Frankly, I am not too expert on it myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The NEA, that is the Newspaper Editors Association?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir. Newspaper Editorial Association or Newspaper Editors—

The CHAIRMAN. Next week there is an ASNE—

Mr. DOWNS. That is the American Society of Newspaper Editors. That is a different thing.

The CHAIRMAN. These are two different organizations?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Competing organizations?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. I think there are some who are members of both.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the NEA primarily for small papers and the ASNE for big papers?

Mr. DOWNS. The NEA is essentially for small dailies and weeklies, small dailies and weeklies of all sizes, whereas the ASNE embraces the whole field of editors.

The CHAIRMAN. And this is their house organ. Does the ASNE have a similar one?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know, either.

MEMO OF DECEMBER 27, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum dated December 27, 1962, from Isabel Metello to Kenneth T. Downs, and ask you if you received a copy of this memorandum. You received that?

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.,
Lisbon, December 27, 1962.

To: Mr. Kenneth T. Downs.

From: Isabel Metello.

DEAR MR. DOWNS: This is to recapitulate our telephone conversation of a few minutes ago.

What happened was the following:

On Wednesday (26) morning Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha called me, to say that he had been with Maria Pinto da Cunha, and that she had told him she was going to Africa with a group of American journalists. He sounded quite surprised, and told her that the only group he knew about was the one that was coming over to Lisbon, and had never heard that this same group was going to Africa, so he decided to make sure, phoning this office. I told him, that in fact, the N.E.A. group was also going to Angola, and he seemed very surprised for not having been informed of it, nor the Overseas Ministry, as the group wouldn't be able to get through without the Minister's knowledge of it. He then told me to give him all the details about the visit (for what I gave him some copies of the group's program in Angola), and said he was going to send cables over to Angola to inform the Government officials over there, at the same time that he was going to inform the Overseas Minister. So, this part is cleared (I say, and so did he).

A few minutes after, Maria Pinto da Cunha, phoned this office, to say that she had been with Dr. Q. P., P. B., and Espirito Santo (and also R. C., as I mention above), talked to them about her going to Angola to Africa, the places and companies the group was going to visit and see, and neither of three had ever heard of such thing. Dr. P. B. was rather surprised to know that the group was going to Benguela, and said that he had not been informed neither by us nor by the BRR people in Angola. The same was said by the other two. I talked to Maria Pinto da Cunha and decided to send the three of them a letter informing them of the visit and attaching a copy of the program in Angola (am enclosing a copy of the letter I wrote to Dr. Queiroz Pereira). (Both other letters read the same, but, of course, were addressed to each one.) The letters went this afternoon, and up to now haven't heard anything from neither of the three, but hope they will agree with everything.

Maria Pinto da Cunha also wanted to know when she was supposed to leave for Africa, how long she was going to stay there, and also whether she was also going to Mozambique (as you mention in the letter you wrote her). I wrote her, this afternoon, a small memo, enclosing a copy of the program, a copy of the letter I wrote to the three *big bosses*, and telling her about having to leave around the 10-12th, but that when Mr. Teague arrives he will talk it over with her.

Also, went to see Dr. Valadão, from SNI, this morning to confirm all times of briefings, receptions, dinners, etc. He was very nice to me, and the confirmed times are as follows:

Sat. 5th—4 p.m. briefing "only" for the group by Dr. F. N., followed by a reception for "everybody" at the Ministry.

9 p.m.—Dinner at the Folklore. Informal (no speeches, questions or anything of the sort), but formal in dressing (dark suits, he said).

Sat. 6th—1 p.m.—Lunch with briefing at Seteais, by the Overseas Minister.

Dr. Valadão suggested, or said, that going for a tour of Queluz, etc., after lunch is not a good idea, as the lunch will not end before 4 p.m., and around 5 p.m. is already night, in Lisbon. So, he suggested, that since we have two buses for the group, we could have one ready in the morning of the 6th, to take the ones that wanted to, to go for a drive around all interesting places and suburbs. This sounded a good thing to me, so, since there will not be time to get an answer from you about it, I'll arrange everything with the Bus company for this purpose, and will ask Mr. Teague, what he thinks about the idea, and will only then confirm it with the bus company.

Dr. Valadão also wants to know the exact number of people that will be coming over. I've asked you this question on the phone and will be awaiting your cable on it.

I think, or hope, that everything is cleared, and understood by everybody, now. Nobody was upset, but only sort of surprised, so everything should be all right by now.

Well, Mr. Downs, this will have to go in tonight's mail, so I better end off now.

My best wishes to your family and Jackie.

All best wishes,

Sincerely,

ISABEL

NEA TRIP TO LISBON AND ANGOLA

The CHAIRMAN. The only point that I wanted to clarify is that the earlier letter to you on December 17 referred to the NEA going to Lisbon, and down at the bottom of it you say:

This has been confirmed by Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha.

This letter which is 10 days later, on December 27, is a letter where Miss Metello says:

On Wednesday (26) morning Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha called me, to say that he had been with Maria Pinto da Cunha, and that she had told him she was going to Africa with a group of American journalists. He sounded quite surprised, and told her that the only group he knew about was the one that was coming over to Lisbon, and had never heard that this same group was going to Africa, so he decided to make sure, phoning this office.

It looks as though there was some confusion at this time about this visit; is that correct?

Mr. DOWNS. It does, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, could it be that they were invited to Lisbon only by da Cunha, and then did you arrange the trip to Angola in addition?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. This had all been laid on, as the memos indicate, going back to the spring of 1962. This was the plan. They were not invited. This was the plan of the NEA. This was their itinerary.

We then assisted them in any way we could with invitations and plans to specific briefing and receptions along the way, and I think that possibly Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha might not have been informed.

The CHAIRMAN. He must have been informed about the African part of the trip.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes. She also refers to two of our most important clients, Dr. Pinto Basto and Dr. Queiroz Pereira, who are also unaware of it. They had simply forgotten. They had been told long before.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO CHAIRMAN CONCERNING NEA TRIP TO AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN. At this point I wish to insert in the record two letters addressed to this committee, one dated January 30, 1963, the other dated February 13, 1963, from certain publishers relating to the NEA trip.

(The documents referred to follow; see App. 3 for additional letter:)

EVENING HERALD,
Rock Hill, S.C., January 30, 1963.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: Since hearings will start shortly on lobbying by American firms and individuals for the benefit of foreign countries, I am passing on now information received in a personal letter from the Publisher of the Evening Herald, who has not yet returned from a trip around Africa. Our Publisher, Mr. Wayne C. Sellers, is with what is referred to as a "Study group" of the National Editorial Association. After he reached Johannesburg he wrote in this personal letter in part as follows:

"We had 5 days in Angola and I was terribly upset by it all. I have never seen such blatant brainwashing and we free loaded through all of it, including terribly expensive lunches, dinners, cocktail parties, etc. One of the American consulate staff told me at lunch yesterday there was a significant side we weren't seeing. We were taken on a tour of fancy schools, hospitals, and such. I am disturbed that many of our group seems to have fallen for it and I am more greatly disturbed that Ted Serrill, National Editorial Association Executive Secretary, did not explain in advance what was to happen and that Angola businessmen with axes to grind were paying for our visit there. We have not yet had an explanation from him and I am going to challenge him about it. I am gratified that Lowell Jessen of Turlock, Calif., former California Newspaper Publishers Association president, and one of the few really professional newspapermen, feels exactly like I do. In fact, he dug deeper than I did. We talked about it at length last night.

"I stayed out of some of the Angolan activities and tried prowling around Benguela because I knew I would stay emotionally aroused as I watched what was being done to our group and hearing them say, 'This is really the stuff. These Portuguese and Angolans have the answer. We could use some of this.' (Those aren't literal quotes). What made it worse to me was that American public relations people staged the whole show with the obvious purpose of changing our national policies. The firm is Selvage and Lee and they have an office in Luanda. A member of their staff has also traveled with us wearing a badge showing he is with the South Sioux City, Nebr., newspaper. He told me he owns it but has been with this firm since leaving the Eisenhower administration.

"The Milburn McCarty firm of 230 Park Avenue, New York, represents the Adoula Government of the Congo and one of their men was interpreter for Adoula when we met with him.

"The consular official in Luanda said ours was one of the few groups they had not had an opportunity to brief because there wasn't time in our schedule.

"What upsets me so much is that so many of our people who seemed to be so impressed overlook the fact that Angola and Portugal are just as much of a dictatorship as Spain or Russia."

Ordinarily, I would have waited until the return of Mr. Sellers to ask his permission that this information be put before the Committee. He probably would have been glad to supply it, but in a somewhat more formal shape. However, because of the time element involved, I thought it better to send this on to you

now. After he is back in Rock Hill February 11, 1963, I'll discuss with him whether he wishes to send any additional information to your Committee.

Sincerely,

TALBOT PATRICK, *President.*

EVENING HERALD
Rock Hill, S.C., February 13, 1963.

MR. WALTER PINCUS,
Senate Foreign Relations Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PINCUS: This follows up your long distance telephone conversation with Herald Publishing Co. President Talbot Patrick, who had sent Senator Fulbright a copy of portions of a personal letter I had written him about some observations I had made in Angola.

I appreciated the fact that Mr. Patrick had written Senator Fulbright and that he had talked to you when you called him about the matter because I feel that we were taken advantage of by the firm of Selvage & Lee.

In Lisbon, government officials talked to us in a completely straightforward above-board manner and expressed their viewpoints in a way to which no one could object.

On the other hand, we were not told in Angola that an American Public Relations firm had worked out the arrangements and was guiding the Angolese officials. I could not find any fault with the Angolese officials expressing their viewpoints, but it seems to me that an American public relations firm out to create public opinion contrary to the foreign policy of the United States should tell us in advance what it is doing.

Paul Wagner, an employee of Selvage & Lee, accompanied our group from New York to Luanda, Angola, where he left the party. Mr. Wagner was identified in the trip roster as being connected with the South Sioux City, Nebr., Star; and it was after questioning that I discovered he was a Selvage & Lee employee and was not actively working on the Star, which he said he owned. His name is not listed in the Editor & Publisher, 1962, yearbook, a directory of newspapers, as being connected with the Star.

In Luanda Larry Clark was shown our itinerary as the agent for our tour who made arrangements for our hotel accommodations and transportation there and in whose care our mail should be addressed. In other cities we visited on the African Study Mission regular commercial travel agents took care of our arrangements, and it was after questioning that I discovered that Mr. Clark is an employee of Selvage & Lee, stationed in Luanda, rather than a travel agent.

For your information, I am enclosing the copy of a news story which Mr. Wagner prepared for some members of our group.

I believe the news story speaks for itself.

Sincerely,

WAYNE C. SELLERS.

(Enclosure to the above letter is as follows:)

Angola, Africa.—The Portuguese came to Africa to stay, and the results of this determination are apparent in this West African province of Portugal.

The Angolan cities and towns visited by the National Editorial Association Study Mission to Africa were clean, modern and prosperous. Their contemporary western appearance continued to surprise the 55 American newsmen and women who spent the better part of six days inspecting school industries and cities in central Angola.

Since leaving New York on January 4, the editors and publishers representing nonmetropolitan newspapers in 22 states have visited five other sub-Sahara West African areas, all now independent nations. Four are former colonial territories. Nigeria was British, Senegal and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) were French, and the Congo (Léopoldville) was Belgian. The fifth, Liberia has been independent since its origin in 1817 as a home for American Negro ex-slaves.

None of the five could be compared with Angola. There were mostly contrasts.

Léopoldville, the capital of the Congo, appears nearly as modern as Luanda, the capital of Angola, but there the similarity ends. When the Belgians freed the Congo in July, 1960, the Congolese army revolted and began killing Belgians. The survivors fled, except in Katanga, where there was little trouble. Elsewhere, the result was chaos because the Belgians had operated industry, the

government and the public utilities and services. Now the United Nations, largely with funds from the United States, is trying to put this humpty-dumpty together again.

In Angola all the signs are of progress. Industry is humming, government is functioning, and much new construction is underway. The slum areas, which covered the greatest portion of Dakar, Monrovia, and Lagos, are small in Luanda, Nova Lisboa, Lobito, and Benguela, and are not much different from many American cities.

But Angola is undergoing the most serious crisis of Portugal's 500 years in Africa.

The so-called "winds of change" sweeping Africa have not left Angola unblown. In March, 1961, a rebellion organized from Léopoldville, which is not far from the Angolan border, swept through an area adjoining the Congo. The fighting was confined to this border area, which is about one-tenth the size of Angola. It involved the Bakongo tribesmen who live on both sides of the Angolan-Congo border.

Many thousands of Angolans, both white and black, died before the insurgents were driven into the Congo. The Portuguese now have somewhere around 40,000 troops of mixed races in this province, mostly in the northern area. There is only sporadic guerrilla activity in the north now, but the threat of the great upheaval elsewhere in Africa seems always in the minds of the Portuguese in Angola.

If the French, the British, and the Belgians could not stay in West Africa, how can the Portuguese expect to remain?

The ultrahospitable Angolan hosts who arranged the study mission agenda attempted to show the newspaper people the differences between Portuguese colonization and that of other European countries. These differences appeared to be the reason for coming to Africa, multiracialism, education, and economic development for the sake of Africa as well as the European nation.

First, the Portuguese regard Angola as a part of the homeland. They explain they came to stay and built a place for themselves and their children, just as our American ancestors left the east coast of the United States and went westward. The Portuguese became Angolans, just as Americans became Nebraskans, Iowans, or Indianans. In fact, the majority of white Portuguese in Angola today were born here. They have no plans to go back, and generally do not even have known relatives in metropolitan Portugal.

Second, the Portuguese have a policy of multiracialism and practice it to a reasonable degree. The signs of this were everywhere in the four cities visited by the Americans. There are large numbers of people of mixed blood, who are not Negroes, whites, or Indians any more. They now are just Portuguese, Negroes, whites, and mulattoes also live side by side in residential sections of the cities.

Probably the most surprising sight to an American is the occasional poor white family living alongside, and in as poor circumstances, as his equally poor Negro neighbor.

The schools are integrated, although the word integration has the wrong connotation as it is used in America. Assimilation is probably better, because here the races are mixing in schools without any visible prejudices.

Assimilation, once an official policy, was abandoned in the Reform decrees of August, 1961. Assimilation was based on gradually educating and westernizing the natives so they could become full fledged Portuguese citizens.

This multi-racial living, while far more advanced than anything the study mission had seen thus far, is not perfect by any means. Prejudice is not confined to race alone in the rest of the world, and cannot expect perfect race relation in Angola, even by the Portuguese who obviously are very proud of the multi-racial character of their province. For example, in one Luanda technical secondary school, about 25 percent of the students were natives despite the fact that probably three-fourths of the city is Negro.

In Nova Lisboa, which is about three hundred miles inland, the students are probably only 15 pure natives.

These exceptions to a perfect multiracial society are probably due to the fact that civilization is not generally outlined in the generation, and Portugal did not put many resources into Angola until Salazar came to power in 1928.

Although assimilation as a policy has been abandoned officially the bush native still needs to be westernized as far as cleanliness, health, education, and economics are concerned. The mere granting of full citizenship and political rights didn't make the bush native civilized. He still drinks water from the rivers

or streams, regardless of their purity. He ignores sanitation, loafs while his wives work, and avoids education other than that handed down through the generations by his tribal leaders.

One educated white Angolan, who is a metallurgical engineer, described in general terms the long process of civilization of a native from the bush.

The first step comes when a native goes from the bush to work on a farm, a factory, or a business as an unskilled laborer. Usually he is an unreliable employee in Angola, just as he is in the Firestone Rubber Company plantation in Liberia. This native seldom, if ever, becomes a skilled worker. Once under the influence of western civilization, however, his sons and daughters have an opportunity to attend school, at least in the primary ages. Like most children in the United States, these children go to school only because their parents insist. If the parents do not insist, the child does not stay in school despite compulsory education laws. And in Africa, the native who comes from the bush to be a common laborer doesn't often insist.

However, some children stay in school and go on to a Portuguese technical school, at least one of which is located in each of the 15 regions of Angola. These native children in the second generation are much more likely to attend technical schools and become skilled workers. Some of these have ascended to jobs as foremen where they supervise white and colored employees without difficulty.

Their children are much more likely to finish high school, or even go to Universities in metropolitan Portugal under scholarships provided by the government. Officials said 15 percent of the students in higher education in metropolitan Portugal are from the provinces. An Angolan University, however, has been authorized, and will begin teaching students in 1963.

At a briefing in Luanda, government spokesman said about 75 percent of the Native children available to schools were getting some degree of instruction. Some 50 percent attend classes sponsored by Protestant or Catholic missions, and about 25 percent are in government schools. However, Angola is sparsely settled, with only nine persons to the square mile on the average. If the child lives in small tribal villages far from westernized towns or cities, he seldom attends school.

Dr. Franco Nogueira, the Foreign Minister of Portugal, told the newspapermen when the Study Mission was in Lisbon earlier this month that Portugal's record for education was as good or better than any other area in tropical Africa. The editors had no grounds thus far on their trip for disputing this.

But Portugal cannot stay in Africa by just matching the educational efforts of other European powers, or solely by the fact that skin color is not a basis for discrimination, as important and unusual as this latter fact is.

The final factor that goes with racial assimilation and education is economic development for the sake of Angola, not the colonial power. The economic development must be attained at the same speed at which natives are educated. Political trouble will result if the educated natives cannot find work to match their education.

The Study Mission was taken from industry to industry in the four Angolan cities visited. In addition, small groups went by special planes to the world's largest coffee center at CADA, and the great mining operations at Cuima and Cassinga, near Nova Blanca. The mines are operated by the Mineral Company of Angola, whose resident director and technical consultant is Lewis W. Ferguson of Texas. Mr. Ferguson and his wife have lived in Angola since about 1952, and are ardent supporters of the Portuguese methods in Africa.

Probably the most ambitious new development in Angola is the Cambambe dam, located on the Cuanza river some 90 miles southeast of Luanda. Now generating electricity, this project is located near extensive deposits of iron, manganese, bituminous coal and phosphates.

The power supply will make development of these rich deposits practical. The proposed fertilizer plant to utilize the phosphates is envisioned as supplying fertilizer, so needed to increase and agriculture output in Angola. Most of the West Africa soil depletes quickly when planted to cereal crops.

The newsmen also visited the gigantic Cassequel sugar plantation near Lobito, the Lupra Manufacturing plant at Benguela, the large port of Lobito, and even the modern and efficient Cuca Brewery at Nova Lisboa. In each city, they were proudly escorted to hospitals, and schools where the multi-racial character of the society was apparent.

Portuguese spokesmen also pointed out that practically none of the Angolan development is financed by the United States. Most of the capital comes from

private Portuguese interests, and occasionally the government participates in development projects. Total U.S. aid to Angola since World War II has been approximately 37,500 dollars in loans that are being repaid.

The Portuguese were so anxious to show their programs that the Study Mission left Angola practically exhausted. The schedule in each city was arranged by local industries, and the pace was fast and arduous in order to see everything. Each noon and evening meal was a lavish European style buffet or dinner with varieties of Portuguese wine and anywhere from six to twelve courses.

The 55 members of the Study Mission were escorted by a horde of interpreters so communications with the Portuguese-speaking Angolans would be no problem. Their most illustrious traveling companion was Buriti Da Silva, who is one of the four Negro Deputies in the seven-man delegation from Angola to the Portuguese National Assembly in Lisbon.

Deputy Da Silva, who is a very westernized and very much assimilated Native, is a political campaigner of the American type. The seven deputies all are elected at large, so the area visited by the Americans was all in Deputy Da Silva's domain. He didn't miss a chance to shake hands with his constituents, and many of the American editors kidded him about his constant and energetic campaigning.

Mr. Da Silva was an excellent example of Portuguese colonization, and his presence probably was no accident. He disdained private vehicles, and rode the tour buses through the heat along with the editors.

A feature of the Angolan trip was an overnight ride on the Benguela railroad, which runs from the Port of Lobito across Angola and Katanga to Elizabethville in the Congo. It is the shortest route to the outside world for the Union Mineire [sic] copper, manganese and other mining products. The editors discovered it also has some of the most comfortable overnight compartments in the railroad industry. The coaches were steel outside, but were completely paneled with highly burnished wood on the inside.

The concensus of discussions among the Study Mission was that the Angolan Portuguese were not changing their basic system of educating and assimilating the Natives. But they desperately were trying to with all their resources to speed up the process in order to avoid the catastrophe that struck the former Belgian Congo.

The Portuguese, who have been pretty well abandoned by the United States as far as Africa is concerned, seldom mentioned their disillusionment with the United States and the NATO alliance. The military briefing merely pointed out that some of the weapons used by the terrorists from the former Belgian Congo were American made. The briefer also only mentioned that these were manufactured for the United Nations troops in the Congo.

The editors got the message, though, that the Portuguese hoped and prayed the United States would see the light before they permitted their staunchly anti-Communist NATO ally to be bled white.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else? Have you got anything you would like to add, Mr. Downs, any comments you would care to make to the committee before we adjourn?

Mr. CASEY. Will the Chair indulge us a moment?

Mr. DOWNS. Well, if the chairman will indulge me for about—

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. DOWNS. If the chairman will indulge me for about 2 or 3 minutes, I would like to make two or three observations.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. DOWNS. In the first place, I would like to say that I think your inquiry is a very good one and I hope we can be helpful to it.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate that.

MR. DOWNS' COMMENTS ON FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT

Mr. DOWNS. I believe that being essentially a newspaperman and an information man, I don't like anything that restricts information to the public. But I certainly see the need for an act of the sort which

is under review; I believe that is the purpose of this inquiry. But I would like to make one or two observations, if I may.

I think that it is an extremely broad act. I think that it could be simplified and still protect the interests of the public in identifying sources of foreign propaganda interest, and I think also that something—I don't know whether it is in the power of this committee, but I think one of the things that it is important for us to note is the application and enforcement of the act.

I don't think that we would be here today, I don't think we would be on this account, were it not for the consistent, highly organized activities of certain organizations in this country, such as the American Committee on Africa, which is a propaganda organization, which is working for or appears to be working for foreign political parties who are opposing the interests of our clients. They have not been required to register or comply with this act, although it seems to me that they should under the act, as I understand it, as I read it.

This is my observation.

The CHAIRMAN. You know, one example which has recently been in the press was of an individual who clearly should have registered and didn't, and is presently under indictment. I don't know enough about the one you mentioned as to whether they should or should not. Of course, it is not the function of this committee to enforce the act.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir; I understand that.

The CHAIRMAN. I would agree with you that one of the reasons why we are having this hearing is the belief that the act needs reformation, and also much better enforcement. I think maybe the act may be faulty, and this has contributed to the difficulties of enforcement and has led to some laxness in the enforcement.

As you know, it is an old act passed originally in 1938.

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And has not really been reviewed. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that any committee or anybody else has seriously looked into how it operates and how it affects our operations.

There are many facets of it. I mean, yours is only one facet, as you well know. There are many other types of activities and lobbyists. One which has received much publicity is the sugar lobbying, for example. I do not think you have ever been engaged in that aspect of the study.

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But there are many aspects of it. What we are trying to do is, first, understand how the representatives do operate and as a result of that, I hope we will learn enough to develop a better act and if possible, a simpler one and one easier to enforce. That is one of the objectives of the committee. Where somebody who should file and has not, that is the duty of the Department of Justice to look into, and go after them and to enforce it. That is not our problem.

ARTICLE IN WASHINGTON POST RE AFRICAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Mr. DOWNS. When it is not enforced, sir, I think you can readily see it opens the possibility of the American public being in the position of receiving, receiving a very distorted view on important problems.

You may have noticed in the Washington Post this morning that a Dr. Mondlaine is here and has announced that the terror—he is head-

ing the so-called liberation movement of Mozambique—he is enjoying the hospitality of this country for the last year at Syracuse University. He has been very active in anti-Portuguese propaganda around the country.

He has now accepted this post, resigned from Syracuse and gone to Dar es Salaam, which is to be apparently the sanctuary base for new operation against Mozambique, and announced today that within a year Mozambique will be liberated, and he has announced he will use force if necessary.

Mozambique is the territory of a friendly nation. He is here as a guest in Washington, D.C., today, and he made this announcement out of Howard University. He has come over under the sponsorship of one of these American African committees, which is not registered with the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the committee you referred to?

Mr. DOWNS. It is the American—may I check this? I have it in my bag.

The CHAIRMAN. Surely.

Mr. DOWNS. This is today's story in the Washington Post, and the committee is, it is the African Committee for Cultural Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any evidence that that committee is employed by any foreign principal to engage in these activities?

Mr. DOWNS. I don't—this is the point of the act, I think, sir, that needs clarification. I don't know whether this principal employs them, but they have brought him over as their guest to this thing, and they are, they have certainly advertised this meeting well in advance, put out their program.

Here is another, the American Committee on Africa which next week is inviting this same Eduardo Mondlaine and Holden Roberto, president of the Angolan Front of National Liberation, to a public speech in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the act they have to be a representative of a foreign principal. We have got all kinds of domestic committees of innumerable kinds. We have the Committee of One Million, and you know all of those various committees which, so far as I know, are not registered, but under the act do not have to register. They are merely groups of American citizens who are acting on their own.

If you have any evidence that this committee is employed by any foreign principal, whether they be in government or foreign firms, to lobby for their purposes, then I think they would come under the act. But if it is just a group of Americans who, under our system, can do and say about anything they like and are not affected by this act, that is something else.

If they lobby before Congress then there is another requirement that they have to register with the Senate and the House. That is a different act with which we are really not concerned here. That relates to domestic lobbying.

But if you have any evidence about this group that they are employed and subsidized or are in the employ of a foreign principal, of course not only would we be interested, but primarily the Department of Justice would be interested.

Mr. DOWNS. But, sir, this gets right to the heart of the matter that I was trying to make, and I am afraid not very clearly. Isn't the

essential purpose here of what you are trying to protect, trying to do is to protect the American public from being misinformed or misled; isn't that essentially it?

The CHAIRMAN. By a foreign principal.

Now, it is not our jurisdiction or purpose to protect them from being misinformed by domestic lobbyists, if you like, or agitators or publicists because, in the first place, you know under our Constitution there is the right to petition to the Congress and so on, which is in the Constitution, and any kind of a group, no matter how extreme, may come and petition the Congress and lobby and so on, which is not at all covered by the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

This committee is concerned only with where they are representing a foreign principal.

Mr. DOWNS. But the point seems to be that we stick at a technicality here. They are representing a foreign principal. When the American Committee on Africa, which has brought Holden Roberto to this country eight times, I understand, in the past 3 or 4 years, they are bringing him here again, and they are representing his point of view, they do put out his statements and information.

Now, whether he pays them or not, it seems to me, is beside the point, if they are doing his work.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will admit this is what you would call a gray area. We have all kinds of domestic organizations, you know, the Irish and Poles and the Jews, and pretty near all the various nationalities that have come to this country and they form these committees.

I speak without any thorough knowledge, but my impression has been that they are just a group of American citizens who, due to a sentimental attachment for various other countries, do agitate and work in their behalf.

Wherever there is any evidence that one of them is set up and paid by a foreign government or foreign principal, then they should be registered. But if they are not, they don't have to register. This distinction of the actual effect of their activities is a very difficult one. Some of them may be doing exactly what a paid agent of a foreign government might also do but, as in all cases, the law has to draw some lines somewhere, and I think one of the basic requirements is that they be in the employ of a foreign principal.

The fact that they may voluntarily engage in activities which are favorable to a foreign government, if they are not in the employ of it, is their exercising of their right as American citizens to petition the Government and to propagandize.

Mr. DOWNS. Well, sir, doesn't that open the door to all sorts of things? Suppose I represent some very rich men and rich companies. We have laid our cards very clearly on the table. You know where the money is coming from. You know where the orders are coming from. You know what we are doing.

But suppose someone might take a lesson in this case and say in the future if we are going to do things of this sort, we will put our money in America, and they would pay it. We would come under no questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. If it could be proved that they put the money in America, then they would come under the act, in my opinion. It is a matter of proof. None of these things is perfect. But if it is a

domestic outfit—well, take a well-known one, or several well-known ones. The labor unions, the American Farm Bureau Federation, they have to register with the Congress and have to report what they pay and what their expenses are. That is a different act from this one.

If they engage in lobbying, and they are a recognized lobbyist under the definition of the domestic law, then they register under that.

I would certainly agree that this is far from perfect. We are just doing the best we can, and we have the responsibility only for the foreign agents' registration.

But these other things may affect you, I quite agree.

Mr. DOWNS. I understand the act as it is, sir, and you very clearly stated it. Again, I am not trying to be quarrelsome, but you asked me to volunteer a point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand we are just discussing the act.

Mr. DOWNS. It seems to me that the essential things we are trying to do here is not be bookkeepers but protect the American public from poisoned sources of information, isn't that essentially it: not on domestic affairs, but representing a foreign political party or principal, and the fact of who is the bookkeeper, who is the paymaster, it seems to me, is not as important as the end product.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you raise a very difficult question. Take an organization like the Council on Foreign Relations, which is a well-known and I think somewhat respected organization, although there is much criticism of it whenever they take a view or a policy that is contrary to one of our domestic groups, they are subject to great criticism, but they are a group of American citizens. They have an established organization.

So far as I know, they have not and—I don't know this, this is just purely from superficial knowledge—never have been under the employ or influenced by any foreign principal.

The fact that their policies may coincide with a foreign principal's interest is coincidental.

Although I agree with you that the distinctions in some of these cases are very difficult. Some are quite clear, and then you get into a gray area, as you always do with nearly every law where it is very difficult to draw the line.

Mr. DOWNS. In the case of the American—

The CHAIRMAN. But we hope—all I can say is that we hope—when we get through with these hearings that the committee, in its best judgment, will be able to make recommendations to at least clarify and tighten up the law and make it simpler in its administration and, I would hope, have better administration.

That is about all I can say.

This is a new activity for me and for the committee, and we know very little about it. We know very little about how either the official representatives who do register, operate, or the unofficial ones, for that matter.

We are just doing the best we can, is all I can say.

Mr. DOWNS. I think it is a point well worth considering. I do not know what the answer to it is myself.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know, either. I don't know what the answer is to any of this. We are rather novices at this particular busi-

ness. This grew up, you might say, from two or three rather flagrant instances, and it inspired the committee to think that it ought to look into the matter.

One of the cases, as you know, last year, was the sugar lobbying which was publicized rather widely, and where foreign governments in effect, I would say, succeeded, through their employees in this country, in thwarting the official policy of the U.S. Government. Those are the flagrant, obvious cases that come to our attention.

Now, the gray area, the difficult cases, are very hard for us to deal with. If we can do anything with the obvious cases, we will do fairly well. But I think if anything can be done about the others, they should be done. I am afraid it has to be handled on the domestic level.

We have a lot of organizations in this country that are doing a lot in propaganda, as you know. We have got all kinds, ranging all the way from the Birch Society to the Committee of One Million, and—

Mr. DOWNS. Yes; I know.

The CHAIRMAN. And dozens of others, hundreds of them, actually.

Mr. DOWNS. It is a terribly difficult thing to do by regulation, I know.

The CHAIRMAN. It sure is.

Mr. DOWNS. The American Committee is one which really sticks in my craw because I am quite familiar with what they are doing and this—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any concrete knowledge or information as to the way they are financed and operated?

Mr. DOWNS. That is a very mysterious thing. They say by contributions, that they raise money in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Domestically?

Mr. DOWNS. They pass the hat.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOWNS. And since they are not required to register, nobody knows where their money is coming from.

The CHAIRMAN. It could be if they engage in lobbying, they would be subject to the domestic lobbying act and should register with the Congress. I don't know whether they do or not.

Mr. DOWNS. I don't know whether they are lobbyists except in the United Nations. But this pamphlet announcing their purposes and activities is quite interesting. It says:

Of equal importance is the committee prepares background and position papers on African issues in the U.N. with special recommendations for U.S. policy.

As I say, they are sponsoring the trip of Holden Roberto, a terrorist with blood on his hands, to this country. They have had him over here seven or eight times, and they can do or say anything they wish, apparently, without any supervision or reporting to anyone.

This same Holden Roberto also, I think, was advised by the Department of Justice—Mr. Casey can correct me on this—that he had to register. They finally got around to that late last year. So he has some representative up here as his public relations operation. But the real operation is the American Committee on Africa, which carries on his work and doesn't register.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I would not deny that this is a very difficult area.

Let me see, you will, I believe, confirm, and send us a letter about the \$3,000. We would like to clarify that, which is about the only thing I can think of. You can do that from your records?

(Letter appears on p. 860.)

Mr. DOWNS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, you are returning to Africa?

Mr. DOWNS. No, sir. I am going to Lisbon some time before the end of this month.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I appreciate your accommodating us this morning, and I again apologize for yesterday's difficulties.

Mr. DOWNS. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to come this morning so that I could be free to move next week.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I thought it might help your situation. I do not want to inconvenience you unduly.

Mr. DOWNS. I appreciate it very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the committee adjourned.)

EXECUTIVE SESSION

ACTIVITIES OF NONDIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES
OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, MAY 6, 1963

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 a.m., in room 4219, New Senate Office Building, Senator J. W. Fulbright (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Fulbright, Smathers, Hickenlooper, and Williams.

Also present: Mr. Marcy, Mr. Pincus, Mr. Sifton, and Mr. Yingling.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

This morning we continue with our investigation relative to the activities of nondiplomatic agents of foreign principals where those activities have tended or were intended to influence policies and interests of this country.

We have already had Mr. Kenneth Downs, vice president of Salvage & Lee which is the subject under consideration this morning, so I will not insert in the record the preliminary statement which was inserted at that time. I think the committee is familiar with that.

I may say, that there is a conference this morning and some of the members will be late. They will come along a little later. They had to go to a conference with the House this morning.

Mr. CAMACHO, will you give your full name to the reporter, for the record and your address, please, sir.

Mr. CAMACHO. Martin Thomas Camacho, 256 Pleasant Street, Arlington, Mass.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, have you had an opportunity to read the opening statement outlining the purposes and procedures to be followed at this hearing?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection that statement will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The statement referred to follows:)

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT

Executive session hearings on the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals

The CHAIRMAN. We continue today the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, held pursuant to Senate Resolution 362,

of the 87th Congress, 2d session, and Senate Resolution 26, agreed to March 14, 1963. Copies of these resolutions will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The resolutions are as follows:)

[S. Res. 362, 87th Cong., 2d sess.]

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Senate of the United States has special constitutional responsibilities in matters bearing upon the foreign relations of the United States; and

Whereas the discharge of this responsibility requires a thorough review and full public disclosure of the nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments and the extent to which they attempt to influence United States policies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a full and complete study of all nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments, and their contractors and agents, in promoting the interests of those governments, and the extent to which such representatives attempt to influence the policies of the United States and affect the national interest.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized (1) to make such expenditures; (2) to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate; (3) to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents; (4) to take such testimony; (5) to employ, upon a temporary basis, such technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (6) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government as it deems advisable.

SEC. 3. The expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$50,000 for the period ending January 31, 1963, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

SEC. 4. The committee shall complete its study by June 30, 1963, but it shall submit to the Senate not later than January 31, 1963, such results of the study herein authorized together with such recommendations as may be found to be appropriate.

[S. Res. 26, 88th Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to continue its study of the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals including, without limitation, foreign governments, foreign political parties, and individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, organizations or other combinations of individuals, whether foreign or domestic, acting in the place of, or in the interests of, or on behalf of a foreign government or foreign political party, or any other foreign principal, tending or intended to influence the foreign or domestic policies or interests of the United States.

SEC. 2. The committee is further authorized under sections 134 and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to give thorough consideration to existing and proposed legislation relating to the activities of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals, as aforesaid, and to make such recommendations with respect thereto as may be found by it to be appropriate.

SEC. 3. For the purposes of this resolution the committee is authorized from March 1, 1963, to January 31, 1964, inclusive, (1) to make such expenditures; (2) to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate; (3) to require by subpoena

or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents; (4) to take such testimony; (5) to employ, upon a temporary basis, such technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants; and (6) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government as it deems advisable.

SEC. 4. The expenses of the committee under this resolution which shall not exceed \$48,600 for the period ending January 31, 1964, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

SEC. 5. The committee shall complete its study and submit to the Senate not later than January 31, 1964, such results of the study herein authorized together with such recommendations as to existing or proposed legislation as herein authorized as may be found by it to be appropriate.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is authorized by these resolutions to inquire into the activities of nondiplomatic agents of foreign principals where those activities have tended or were intended to influence policies and interests of this country.

During the first week of February, the committee heard testimony from the two Departments of the executive branch most directly concerned with the activities of nondiplomatic agents.

Today's hearing is a continuation of the series of hearings to which individual nondiplomatic agents will be called. The purpose of this series of hearings will be to examine some activities carried on by selected nondiplomatic agents. Once the nature of these activities is understood, the committee will be in a better position to consider the need for the enactment, amendment, or repeal of legislation relating to activities of all nondiplomatic agents.

The scope of the committee's investigation is limited to activities of representatives who are neither recognized nor accredited as members of the diplomatic corps. The committee's investigation will involve, however, activities of nondiplomatic agents which either are of the nature of activities traditionally carried on by diplomats, or bring the agents in contact with members of the diplomatic corps.

The term "representative," as used in the resolutions, includes any person acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, another whether in the field of law, public relations, economic consultation, information or press services, lobbying, or in other areas.

The fact that the representation is gratuitous, noncontractual, or pursuant to oral or written agreement, the duration or scope of the representative's duties, will not be relevant in determining the scope of the committee's inquiry.

The foreign principals with which the committee will be concerned, pursuant to the resolutions, will include foreign governments, foreign political parties, and individuals and associations acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, foreign governments or foreign political parties. The committee will be concerned as well with individuals or associations whose activities are of the nature of those traditionally performed by governments. In such a case the foreign principal acts in the place of a government. Finally, the resolutions also direct the committee's attention to foreign principals having no connection with foreign governments or foreign political parties where the activities of agents of those principals tend or were intended to influence policies or interests of the United States.

The influence upon U.S. policies or interests to which the resolutions direct the committee's attention may, needless to say, be direct

or indirect. Influence may be brought to bear not only in the establishment and formulation of U.S. policies and interests, but also in their furtherance and execution. The influence may, moreover, either aid or impede those policies or interests; we are more interested in the nature of the activities themselves than in the direction they take in each particular case.

With respect to the object of the activities of nondiplomatic agents, the resolutions are concerned with policies and interests which may be formed or furthered by either the legislative or executive branches of our Government. The particular policies or interests involved may be expressed, for example, in proposed or adopted legislation, statements of departmental policy, or in the general course of conduct of our Government.

With respect to the procedure to be followed by the committee, I note that today's hearing is being held in executive session in order that the committee will be in a position to determine whether the character of the testimony heard warrants public disclosure. In making that determination the committee will bear in mind the national security and the interests of individuals named in the course of testimony as well as the legislative purposes of this investigation.

Pursuant to a committee order unanimously adopted by a majority of the committee then being present in a meeting held January 15, 1963, duly called by the chairman, the legal quorum of the committee or of any of its subcommittees for the purpose of taking sworn testimony has been fixed at one. Authority for this action may be found in rule 253(b) of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

Attendance at this hearing has been limited to members of the committee and of the committee staff as well as the witness.

Also present are members of the committee staff: Carl Marcy, Jack Yingling, Walter Pincus, Charles Sifton.

The witness whose testimony will be heard today has been called to appear pursuant to subpoena addressed to him and dated May 13, 1963. A copy of this subpoena will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The subpoena is as follows:)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Mr. Martin T. Camacho, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, 20 Pemberton Square, Boston, Massachusetts, Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, on April 11,¹ 1963, at 10:00 o'clock a.m., at their committee room, S. 116¹ Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee and to bring with you the below listed papers, documents, records, etc., to wit: All correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, teletype messages and other written communications to and from all persons, all books, records, files memoranda, documents, papers of every kind and description in your possession or under your control relating to activities engaged in by Selvage and Lee, Inc., or by the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs on behalf of or in the interest of The Overseas Companies of Portugal, tending or intended to influence the formulation or furtherance by the people of the United States, or

¹ Or to such date or dates and at such place or places to which the meeting of the Committee shall be adjourned.

by its Government, of the United States policies or interests, and engaged in during the period January 1, 1961, through and including January 31, 1963:

All journals, ledgers, books of account, other financial records and supporting documents or papers of every kind and description within your possession or under your control, including but not limited to, canceled checks, bank statements, vouchers, vendors' invoices, sales invoices, contracts, and other supporting papers relating to the activities engaged in by Selvage and Lee, Inc., or by the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs as hereinbefore described, during the period January 1, 1961, through and including January 31, 1963.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States, to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this third day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

J. W. FULBRIGHT,

Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations

The CHAIRMAN. The subpoenas served on the witnesses will require their attendance at this and subsequent meetings of the committee at which they are requested to appear until such time as they are finally excused by the chairman.

Upon being excused, the witnesses are invited to report to the offices of the committee, room S-116, Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., to sign appropriate vouchers for travel allowances and witness fees upon the committee.

A transcript is being taken of the testimony and proceedings at this hearing. Each witness will be given a reasonable opportunity to inspect the transcript of his testimony in order to determine its accuracy and to make representations to the committee on that subject.

Counsel for each witness may attend the hearing for the purpose of advising the witness as to his rights.

Objections by each witness to questions posed during the hearings should be addressed to the chairman.

Each witness will be permitted to present a prepared statement as to matters of fact and opinion relating to the subject matter concerning which he has been called to testify.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

Mr. Camacho, it is the committee's practice requiring witnesses testifying before the committee as to matters of fact to do so upon oath or affirmation.

Will you please rise? Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CAMACHO. I will.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you accompanied by counsel?

**TESTIMONY OF MARTIN THOMAS CAMACHO, ARLINGTON, MASS.;
ACCOMPANIED BY E. RILEY CASEY, ATTORNEY AT LAW, OF
GALL, LANE & HOWE, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give his name?

Mr. CASEY. I am E. Riley Casey, attorney at law, of the law firm of Gall, Lane, & Howe, Commonwealth Building, Washington, D.C.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, do you have any opening statement you care to give to the committee before you proceed?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would like to give a closing statement.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. I just wondered if you wished to make any preliminary statement at this time.

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, you are familiar with an organization known as the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify that committee for the record?

Mr. CAMACHO. That committee, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, was established back in 1961, it consists of U.S. citizens of Portuguese extraction.

The CHAIRMAN. When in 1961, Mr. Camacho?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sometime either in October, September or October of 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. About September or October of 1961?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The date perhaps we will develop later. I just wanted to get our bearings on what period we are talking about.

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't have the exact date, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. CAMACHO. What I was looking at was when I first thought of the forming of this committee I was thinking in terms of incorporating it, and I have the original paper which was signed, our agreement of association, but afterward I decided not to incorporate.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of that, if you could give it?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is undated, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is undated.

MR. CAMACHO'S BACKGROUND

Will you give the committee some background on your own professional career including your connection with the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

I am of Portuguese birth. I was born in San Martin, on the island of Madeira, on June 15 of 1913. I am one of 15 children, and I came to this country in December of 1917.

I had graduated from high school at the age of 20, law school, Suffolk University School of Law in 1937. I passed the bar the same year. Then I was—I worked during the 7 years for the, the Wonder Bread, not Wonder Bread, but Continental Baking, Happy Homes. While I was going to law school and I became interested in the trade union movement around 1936 or 1937, right after the decision in the *Jones-Laughlin* case upholding the National Labor Relations Act, and I continued with a lively interest in the trade union and in fact stayed at work in a bake shop because it was the only way that I could have realized my ambitions to become a union leader.

But I lost out in several elections by one vote, by two votes, and by three votes, I believe, and then the war came along, and I enlisted

and was a special agent in military intelligence in the security unit in Boston. I attempted several times to go overseas but Lieutenant Colonel Clark didn't permit it, and then when the war was over, I became interested in getting into Harvard University with a friend of mine, a fellow by the name of Luiz Guerra, who is now an Ambassador, Portuguese Ambassador.

He met a professor by the name of Berrion, who introduced me to another man by the name of Payson Wild and I was admitted into the graduate school in Harvard which was an unusual thing because I don't have an A.B. but I had this law degree.

Then I went to Harvard for a month and a half, and Senator Walsh, who was then alive, had arranged for an appointment with the National Labor Relations Board as an attorney in the review section on representation cases and I took on—took this position as a review attorney, and then gave that up in the fall of 1946, rushed to Harvard and finished up 2 years of graduate study to June of 1948, at which time I passed my oral examinations and, for the Ph. D. degree. I had received in 1948 the M.A.

Then I received an appointment to go overseas to the occupied Japan as an A.F. of L. representative on the recommendation of Frank P. Fenton of the American Federation of Labor who has since passed away.

I went to Japan as a regional labor officer, labor specialist, economic adviser and I was there until I resigned on May 15, I believe, of 1951.

I came back and the adjustment was difficult, and I worked around then for approximately a year, in 1952, when the President was running for the first time for the Senate against Heury Cabot Lodge. I worked 9 months, a full 9 months for him in that election and headed a committee, the Portuguese-American Committee for the election of Senator, the then Senator Kennedy.

Following that, I commenced to write my thesis, and I wrote it inside of 5 months, I believe, and the fellows who supervised it were Arthur Holcombe of Harvard and the present Ambassador to Japan Reischauer. I wrote it on the thesis of the administration of the SCAP labor policy in occupied Japan.

Then after that I commenced to practice law and in 1948, when I was through, I had about \$1,300 to my name and in 1954, when I received my Ph. D., I believe, or 1953, I had—1954—I had \$2,600 to my name, and commenced to practice law, and being interested in all Portuguese things I became involved in 1960 in what was known as the Prince Henry Quincentennial Anniversary celebrations and I have a book here, and I headed up this whole group, the names are here, wrote the proclamation here, and became very much interested in these things, and then out of this Prince Henry Committee, we had a pontifical high mass, we had a banquet of about 800 people at the Sheraton Plaza. We had a tremendous parade.

So, I became acquainted with people in all walks of life, that is people of Portuguese descent, and then in February or January I read for the first time a resolution which was proposed by Ceylon and the United Arab Republic and, I think, Ghana, relative to dismemberment of Portuguese overseas provinces.

And February 1 I made my first open speech on this subject in which I said——

The CHAIRMAN. February of what year?

Mr. CAMACHO. What is that?

The CHAIRMAN. February 1.

Mr. CAMACHO. February of 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. At an inauguration of officers of the Santo Cristo Center in Cambridge, Mass., at which time I said, from my understanding of history, the provinces of Maderia, the Azores and Angola and Mozambique were just as much a part of Portugal as my right arm is part of my body, and I continued with this lively interest in what was going on, and I followed this business of the taking over of the Santa Maria by Enrique Galvão.

And I sent a telegram to the President of how dismayed I was that it was interpreted—

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. CAMACHO. What is that, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

ACTIVITIES DURING 1961

Mr. CAMACHO. Right after the act of piracy of the Santa Maria, I believe it was around, in the early part of January, perhaps of 1961, but it was in 1961 on the occasion of the taking of the Santa Maria by Capt. Enrique Galvão.

Then I delivered several speeches on the radio on the same subject, and I brought up this speech of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson on March 15, 1961, in the Security Council.

Then I went further than that. I was contacted by the President's brother, Senator—Mr. Kennedy—Edward Kennedy, and through a man by the name of Judge Morrissey—they asked me if I would do something to help out the Senator, he wasn't a Senator then. I spoke to them, I said, yes, there is a subject that you could bring together a large number of people, and I put out this pamphlet which has the picture of the Senator, and it is dated Sunday, May 14, 1961. It was on Mother's Day, and we had a tremendously large crowd there, approximately 450, and he spoke—

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity did you make such statements or such speeches?

Mr. CAMACHO. I didn't quite understand you.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity were you making such statements then? Merely in your private capacity as a citizen?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir, absolutely. In my private capacity. Everything that I have said up to now is in my private capacity as a citizen, sir.

At the time I put the pamphlet out Portugal and continental Africa—will the proposed independence of Portuguese Africa promote Western thought and institutions of freedom or will the proposed independence serve to put them into the Communist camp? What is the importance of Angola and Mozambique?

This was put out absolutely as a private citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. That was early in 1961?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sunday, May 14, 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I have a folder in which the speech which I delivered at that time set forth, I wrote—

The CHAIRMAN. To make it clear why don't we put the whole thing in the record?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I would be very happy to put the whole thing in the record. All right.

(Portions of the folder submitted by Mr. Camacho appear in appendix I, beginning p. 1183.)

The CHAIRMAN. That was 1961?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

ASSOCIATION WITH SELVAGE & LEE, INC.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become connected with Selvage & Lee?

You are connected with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I am connected with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. When did this occur and under what circumstances?

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, that has been one of the irritating things since I have been involved in this work, and I am very happy and welcome your question. As to when, I will give you the whole background of how I became connected with Selvage & Lee.

In July of 1961, I went to Camp Drum as the Assistant Judge Advocate during the summer field training there and I believe it was July 1 when I went there. Then sometime around the 14th or 15th, one of those days, I received a telephone call from New York. The telephone call came from a man whose name is Antonio Colaço, with the cedilla under the "c".

This Antonio Colaço was in New York and I am not—I think he was with the Portuguese Mission to the United Nations at that time, although I am not certain.

This man had been consul to the Portuguese Consulate in Boston for approximately 2 years. I became acquainted with this man, and we were very friendly, during the Prince Henry celebrations when I was—I believe, the general chairman of the committee on the Prince Henry, yes, here it is, it is Antonio M. Calação, honorary chairman of that committee. He told me at the time that I would receive a telephone call from Washington, that I would be asked to come to Washington to present a memorial to Congressmen.

Now, the memorial that he referred to was, and is right here in the same document which is going to be put into evidence here, the memorial is this document right here.

(See app. 1, p. 1184.)

On June 10 which was a Saturday, I dictated this memorial to a woman by the name of Maria.

The CHAIRMAN. June or July?

Mr. CAMACHO. June, excuse me, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This was before these other things took place?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir, that was on June 10, which was a Saturday, of 1961. I dictated this memorial to a girl of Portuguese descent from the Cape Verde Islands, and it was presented that same night around

5 o'clock at the Portuguese consulate at 31 Commonwealth Avenue in Boston.

I was asked to prepare this resolution. When I presented it that Saturday afternoon, it was considered by some that the activities that were going on were of a jubilant nature, that a document of this nature or character would not go well.

So in a sense they would give it the attention and the thought that it should be given.

So the document was left there. And actually my memory is rather vague as to what happened to this document from the time that I left it there to the time that I was called to make the presentation, to present it to the Congressmen in July of 1961.

But this document, this memorial is what I came down to Washington for in July of 1961.

I received a telephone call from Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in Washington?

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not—my memory isn't sharp on who it was but I understand, and I would, if I am deciding, I would say it was from some man by the name of Bernardo Teixeira, who is, I think he is a press attaché in the Portuguese Embassy here in Washington. He is the only one that I can point to as having, according to my own recollection, who called me after this call from Antonio Colaço. He called me, and he told me to come down here, to come to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you call it?

Mr. CAMACHO. In Portuguese it is Teixeira.

Back in Massachusetts another friend of mine by the name of Roy Teixeira and they call him Teixeira, but in Portuguese the pronunciation is Teixeira.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in Washington and called you to come to Washington?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In July.

PRESENTATION OF MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say he probably called me either on a Friday before the 19th, the 19th was a Wednesday, and I think he called me on the Friday before the 19th.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in the Portuguese Embassy here in Washington?

Mr. CAMACHO. I know he is in the Portuguese Embassy in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. He is now?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was then?

Mr. CAMACHO. He was then according to my information.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not sure but I think he does work for Selvage & Lee. But I am not sure of his employment connection. I have no knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, proceed.

How did you get the connection with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Then I came to—what I did was, it was asked of me—I think I put, either put a call through to Colaço again or Calaçõ called me after the Teixeira call, I am not certain, but I think I spoke to Colaço twice, and the thought that was given to me was to bring a delegation to Washington.

So, I did call Ida Pementa.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is she?

Mr. CAMACHO. She was a woman who is now my secretary in this work which I am doing with the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. She is from Peabody, Mass. She had served on the Prince Henry committee as, I believe one of the secretaries, yes, corresponding, she served as the corresponding secretary on the Prince Henry celebrations committee, and I called Antonio de J. Cardozo. I called him. Now, this man Cardozo is a Negro from the Cape Verde Islands.

He is a man with whom I was associated for a period of years in his office in the practice of law. I asked him if he would come to Washington.

I also called the man to whom I have already made reference, a Teixeira, Roy Teixeira, and I asked him, Roy—and I asked him if he would come along, and he said that he would come along.

And I asked also that Maria Debrito, the girl that I made reference with regard to dictating the memorial and it was agreed that these people would come along, that is, Roy Teixeira, Maria Debrito, Antonio de J. Cardozo, Ida Pementa and her sister, Dolores, and, of course, I would come along.

Now, I believe I left Camp Drum on Wednesday the 19 of July, and, by plane, and I believe it was a Wednesday night, I am not certain or positive, but it was on a Wednesday night that I first met with members of the firm of Selvage & Lee, and they had a dinner down at the Sheraton Carlton Hotel.

And present at that dinner was Antonio de J. Cardozo, Ida Pementa, Dolores Pementa, and myself. The people that I remember who were there from Selvage & Lee was Samuel Bledsoe, a man by the name of Kenneth Downs, Paul Wagner, and this Bernardo Teixeira, to whom I have made reference.

The CHAIRMAN. That was on July 20?

Mr. CAMACHO. That was on July 19, sir, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. July 19?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, the night of July 19, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Proceed. What happened?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well—

The CHAIRMAN. Did they employ you that night?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened?

Mr. CAMACHO. That night, at the dinner there was some discussion as to this business of the demands being made on Portugal relative to the dismemberment of the Overseas Provinces of Angola and Mozambique, and then I was asked if I would issue a statement, and I said—

The CHAIRMAN. Who asked you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I believe it was Sam Bledsoe who asked me.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. And I read over the statement that he submitted to me, and I corrected it rather extensively, if my recollection permits me. I corrected it, and I have that statement also, Senator, included in this paper, in this booklet that I have here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. Bledsoe, is he the vice president of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And local Washington representative?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

Then we had some more discussion as to the problems involved with regard to the United Nations' attack on Portugal, and it was asked whether I would be willing again to go and visit with the several Congressmen and Senators to present this memorial.

The CHAIRMAN. Who asked you? Bledsoe?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think it was Mr. Bledsoe who asked me. But, of course, I must say that this Mr. Colaço to whom I have made reference as the former consul in Boston—it was my understanding that the reason for my coming to Washington was to present the memorial.

PRESENTATION OF MEMORIAL

The CHAIRMAN. Present the memorial to whom?

Mr. CAMACHO. To Congressmen.

The CHAIRMAN. Just any particular one or a number of them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Any number of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Any number of them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

So I, on the 20th, which was a Thursday, I presented the memorial to the Congressmen, and again there is a picture in my presentation with Senator Benjamin Smith, that is also included.

This has been prepared purposely giving you everything that I have been engaged in.

We went in to see Senator Saltonstall, and Senator Saltonstall made arrangements for me to have a conference with the African Division of the State Department. I had a conference with the African Division of the State Department on the afternoon of Thursday, Thursday afternoon, July 20.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let me go back to get my own mind straight.

Mr. Teixeira asked you to come to Washington for this meeting, is that right, from Fort Drum?

Mr. CAMACHO. First the call came to me from Antonio Colaço.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. From New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. The consul that I had been acquainted with and had been chairman general, honorary chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. I didn't forget that, but then you say he told you to expect another call. You had another call, was that from Teixeira?

Mr. CAMACHO. To the best of my knowledge, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he asked you to come to Washington?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he was working with Selvage & Lee at that time?

Mr. CAMACHO. I do not know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did come?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did come, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who paid your transportation?

Mr. CAMACHO. Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. They paid the transportation?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they pay the transportation for the Pementas who also came?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Cardozo?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, this was a meeting called at the request of Mr. Bledsoe and his associates, to discuss with you the matter which you—

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, what I want to make clear in all fairness, is that when I came here to Washington I did not know any such group as Selvage & Lee. I did not know that Selvage & Lee would be paying for the costs of the transportation of coming here to Washington. It was after I arrived in Washington that I was introduced to such an organization as Salvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. It is Selvage if you don't mind, S-e-l-v-a-g-e. They may "salvage" things but it is S-e-l-v-a-g-e.

Mr. CASEY. It always comes out "salvage" the way he pronounces it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you had this meeting and they proposed you present this petition to Congressmen, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did present it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir; I read it to Congressmen.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of which Congressmen you presented it to?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't have a list, but I think my memory would help me out. I read it to the present Speaker of the House, John W. McCormack, who was then I think the majority leader of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. And I presented it to Senator Saltonstall.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I presented it to Senator Benjamin Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I read it to—

The CHAIRMAN. To the President?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; that didn't come then.

DISCLOSURE OF SOURCE OF MEMORIAL

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, did you state that this was prepared by Mr. Bledsoe and presented to you with the suggestion that you present it?

Mr. CAMACHO. What was prepared?

The CHAIRMAN. This statement, this petition.

Mr. CAMACHO. I didn't present the statement to the Congressmen.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you did, a document.

Mr. CAMACHO. It was the memorial that was presented.

The CHAIRMAN. What is a memorial but a statement?

Mr. CAMACHO. But the way—

The CHAIRMAN. A formal statement, a formal memorial.

Mr. CAMACHO. I dictated this memorial on Sunday, June 10, 1961. It was my work, and I was just asked to present the memorial.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. To the Congressmen.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you stated before Mr. Bledsoe presented a statement to you to be presented to someone.

Mr. CAMACHO. He presented a statement which is included here, that is the finished product.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. As a press statement.

The CHAIRMAN. As a press statement?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not—this statement here didn't go to the Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we are making progress. There were two statements, a memorial and press statement?

(See app. 1, p. 1185.)

Mr. CAMACHO. But the Congressmen were not presented with the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The press statement?

Mr. CAMACHO. Excuse me.

The CHAIRMAN. That was given to the press, I take it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we are making progress. The memorial was presented to the Congressmen?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you prepared the memorial?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Bledsoe help you prepare it?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir. No one put a dot on that except myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, at that time did Mr. Bledsoe propose that you work for Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was not at that time that the matter of working for Selvage & Lee came up. It was afterward, after I returned home.

The CHAIRMAN. But they did pay your transportation to come here?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you went to call on Senator Saltonstall, did any member of Selvage & Lee accompany you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wagner?

Mr. CAMACHO. Paul Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Did he go with you when you visited any other Congressmen?

Mr. CAMACHO. To the best of my recollection he was with me in each visit that I made to the Congressmen. The only time that he was absent was when it was presented to the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Wagner identify himself to Mr. Saltonstall as being a representative of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. If he did he didn't do it within my hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know he did not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

EMPLOYMENT WITH SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. I got off of a few preliminaries here. We might return to this for a moment or let me pursue this.

When did you, when did Selvage & Lee ask you to represent them and become, is it correct to say, an employee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Employee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. When did that happen?

Mr. CAMACHO. From the time that I returned which was, which would be, would have been, Friday night, the 21st of July, let's say the 21st to September 6, the day that I became associated with Selvage & Lee—

The CHAIRMAN. September 6?

Mr. CAMACHO. September 6, that is the day that I became connected with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. As an employee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Or as a counsel for the Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. There were negotiations that went on.

The CHAIRMAN. Between whom?

Mr. CAMACHO. Between myself.

The CHAIRMAN. And whom?

Mr. CAMACHO. Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, who in Selvage & Lee? Bledsoe?

Mr. CAMACHO. No—yes, I think I did talk to Mr. Bledsoe but the fellow with whom I primarily dealt was Paul Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. Paul Wagner.

Is he in the Washington office of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT WITH SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed. September 6, what did you do?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, the question was raised as to whether I would assume these—continue with the work, and at the time Mr. Bledsoe said that to do it, you know, that I would be doing it for no pay at all, and the question that I had to decide within my own mind was could I do it, could I continue to do the work because what they were asking me to do was much more extensive than what I had been doing as a citizen, as an interested citizen in the problem.

So, I discussed the matter with my wife, and I told her that I would like to do it and do it for nothing. And she asked me whether I was plainly out of my mind, because we have three children, and I had just built a home, and she said my first obligation was to my family.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what happened? Go ahead.

Mr. CAMACHO. Then I decided—

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing wrong with being obliged to your family. We all are. What happened?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, the next thing that happened was that I told Selvage & Lee that I couldn't undertake the task without being paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

What was the nature of the agreement?

Mr. CAMACHO. Then they asked me as to how much did I want. When I had made my mind up that I couldn't do it for nothing without compensation, and the question came up as to compensation, I discussed the whole matter with a neighbor of mine [deleted] who has been in public relations work. He lives right next door to me. [Deleted.] We sat in, I think it was, a Sunday afternoon and we went over the whole thing, and the question that was asked, was what was I earning approximately in the law and, without figuring the year, I started to say approximately \$400, and he says, "That is what you should ask for," and that is what I asked for.

The CHAIRMAN. \$400?

Mr. CAMACHO. A week.

The CHAIRMAN. A week.

Mr. CAMACHO. Frankly, Senator, at the time, I had mixed emotions about this to the extent that I was almost ready to welcome a declination so as to relieve me of this whole business.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Selvage & Lee ask you to do this? Do this work for nothing?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you told them that you would have to have \$400 a week?

Mr. CAMACHO. I first expressed I would be willing to go along doing it for nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. But as I say, the discussion took place with my wife—

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. I only want to know what happened. I mean, was there a written agreement?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just an oral agreement, \$400 a week?

Mr. CAMACHO. I at first, in fact, I wrote sort of a preliminary outline of an agreement and then I threw it away.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no written agreement?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir; no written agreement at all. No written agreement was ever presented.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you received any funds from Selvage & Lee from—between July 1961 and September 6, 1961?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. CAMACHO. I do not recall. It was a check covering—I do not recall exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that for?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was to cover some services and my trip down here, the expenses of my trip down here. It was an insignificant amount, whatever it was.

The CHAIRMAN. What services, you said they covered your services, what services?

Mr. CAMACHO. For the time I put in down here. I don't recall the amount at all.

MR. CAMACHO'S REGISTRATION WITH JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

The CHAIRMAN. Are you registered, Mr. Camacho, under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, as an employee of Selvage & Lee working on that firm's account with the Overseas Companies of Portugal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, when I first was asked about it—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you registered first?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir; I am registered.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. Is the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs registered with the Department of Justice as an agent of a foreign principal.

Mr. CAMACHO. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you would know so, don't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it registered?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think it was registered in January, sometime of 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you or did Selvage & Lee ever receive any notice from the Department of Justice with respect to the committee's failure to file?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of that notice?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think the notice was sent, was first sent to Selvage & Lee, and then it came to my attention.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you comply with the notice?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you filed this, I believe, on January—you say "January"—1962?

Mr. CAMACHO. I believe so. It was a short form at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. I will show you a copy of the short form registration statement and ask you to identify it this way.

Mr. CAMACHO. My memory isn't clear on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will show you a form.

Mr. CAMACHO. That is my signature, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then that is a copy of the form?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir. I recognize it.

The CHAIRMAN. That was filed as you will note the date January 8, 1962.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

Com. 3

Form No. FA-4
(Rev. 12-17-60)

Buy at Bureau No. 43-8315-6
Approval expires 1-31-62

FILED
JAN 8 1962

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Registration Section
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SHORT-FORM REGISTRATION STATEMENT

Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as Amended

REGISTRATION NO. 1454

This statement is required to be filed by all officers, directors, partners, or associates in conjunction with a registration statement filed in the name of a corporation, partnership, association or other combination of individuals, as the case may be, and by all persons who render services or assistance to the registrant in other than a clerical or secretarial capacity, with or without compensation, for or in the interests of any foreign principal of the registrant.

THIS STATEMENT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR FILING UNLESS IT IS COMPLETE AND ACCURATE.

1. Name and address of registrant. **SELVAGE AND LEE, INCORPORATED**
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
2. (a) Your full name.
MARTIN THOMAS CAMACHO
 - (b) All other names ever used and when each was used. Prior to becoming a naturalized citizen in 1936, my Christian name was: **MARTINHO FERNANDES CAMACHO**
 - (c) All present business addresses. **20 Pemberton Square, Boston, Massachusetts**
1348 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts
 - (d) All present residence addresses.
256 Pleasant Street, Arlington, Massachusetts
3. (a) Date and place of birth.
June 15, 1915 - Madeira Island, Portugal
 - (b) Citizenship or nationality.
Citizen of the United States of America by naturalization.
 - (c) If present citizenship not acquired by birth, indicate when, where, and how acquired.
United States District Court at Boston on June, 1936
4. All visits to or residence in foreign countries during the past 5 years.

Name of foreign country	Purpose of visit or stay in foreign country	Date and part of each departure from and entry into United States
Canada	Pleasure	July, 1961, Niagara Falls

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 913

5. All clubs, societies, committees, and other nonbusiness organizations in the United States or elsewhere including any active or reserve military or naval forces, of which you have been a member, director, officer, or employee during the past 2 years.

Name and address of organization	Nature of connection with organization	Duration of connection
Holy Name Society, Saint Anthony's Church, Portland St., Cambridge		10 years
Knights of Columbus, Cambridge Council, No. 74, Prospect St., Mass.		Past President 4th Degree Knight 1961
Portuguese-American Council No. 1, Springfield St., Cambridge, Mass.		10 years - Past President and member
Civic League of Mass., Elm St., Cambridge		10 years - Attorney and member
Clube Recreio Madeirense, Inc., 1348 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass.		8 years - Member
Liberty Club and Band, Inc., Hampshire St., Cambridge, Mass.		6 years - Non-Member
Santo Cristo Center, Inc., 1020th Revere Corps., Boston Army Base, (indefinite) Major, U.S.A.R.		
Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, 20 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Massachusetts	Chairman	4 months - 1961

6. (a) A full description of all activities of any kind in which you are now or expect to be engaged for or in the interests of the Registrant or any foreign principal of yourself or of the Registrant.

Activities will consist in making contacts with members of Congress, State Department, group organizations and individuals with the view of informing the aforesaid as to the actual conditions in Portugal and her overseas provinces. Also, study, analysis and presentation of the current Afro-Asian policy of the United Nations and the policy of the United States of America. To this end all means of public communication will be sought - radio, television, newspapers; also, private communication by use of the mail, telephone, etc. Studies in political, economic and social subjects will be made. Pamphlets and other forms of literature will be prepared and distributed.

(SEE ATTACHED PURPOSE CLAUSE MARKED "EXHIBIT A" AND MADE A PART HEREOF.)

(b) A brief description of all other businesses, occupations, and public activities in which you are now engaged.

I am engaged in the general practice of the law. I have offices at: 1348 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass., and 20 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

7. (a) Describe in detail the financial arrangement pursuant to which you are rendering services or assistance to the registrant for or in the interests of any foreign principal of the registrant.

Since September 1, 1961, I have become affiliated with the public relations firm, Selvage and Lee, Inc., rendering services as stipulated above in No. 6 (a), for which services Selvage and Lee is paying me a fee of \$400 weekly and also paying office expenses of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

(b) Furnish the following information as to all amounts or thing of value received by you, as compensation or otherwise, during the 3 months preceding the filing of this statement, directly or indirectly from the registrant or from any foreign principal of yourself or of the registrant.

Date funds received	Name of person from whom received	Purpose for which received	Amount or thing of value received
Sept. 1, 1961	Selvage and Lee, Inc.	rendering services, also travel, hotel and meals.	\$400 weekly

914 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

Form No. 7-Ant
(U.S. 12-17-60)

3

8. (a) Speeches, lectures, talks, and radio and television broadcasts delivered by you during the past 3 months.

Date delivered	Where delivered	Kind of audience	Subject matter discussed
10/18/61	Algonquin Club, Boston, Mass.	Talk to political group	Portugal and Her Overseas Provi
10/25/61	Parker House, Boston, Mass.	Talk to Portuguese-American citizens	" "
11/1/61	Sheraton-Biltmore, Providence, R. I.	Talk to Portuguese-American citizens	" "
11/16/61	Sheraton-Plaza, Boston, Mass.	Press Conference to Newspaper and Television Media	American Committee of Africa

(CONTINUED ON ATTACHED SHEET)

(b) All newspapers, magazines, articles, books, pamphlets, press releases, moving pictures, radio and television programs and scripts, and other publications, prepared or distributed by you or by others for you, or in the preparation or distribution of which you rendered any services or assistance, during the past 6 months.

Description of publication	By whom written, edited, or prepared	By whom printed, produced, or published	By whom distributed
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SEE REGISTRANT'S DISSEMINATION REPORTS

9. List all of your connections, not fully described above, with all foreign governments, foreign political parties or officials or agencies thereof.

Name of government, party or official or agency thereof	Nature of your office, employment, or other connection	Nature of any subsidy or other financial arrangement
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NONE

I certify that I have read the information set forth in this statement and am familiar with the contents thereof and that the information herein contained is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Martin T. Camacho
(Signature)

Dec 29, 1961
(Date of signature)

Martin T. Camacho
(True or print name)

(Two copies of this statement shall be filed. Both copies shall be signed by the person for whom the information contained herein is given. A third copy should be prepared and retained for future reference.)

CONTINUATION OF NO. 8:

REGISTRATION NO. 1154

<u>Date delivered</u>	<u>Where delivered</u>	<u>Kind of audience</u>	<u>Subject matter discussed</u>
12/3/61	St. Francis Xavier School Auditorium, No. Carpenter St., East Providence, R.I.	Talk to Portuguese-American citizens	Portugal and Her Overseas Provinces
12/9/61	Statler-Hilton Hotel, Hartford, Conn.	" "	" "
12/21/61	WBZ-TV, Boston, Massachusetts	Television statement to Betty Adams Program "News at Nine"	India's Invasion of Goa, Damao and Diu
12/24/61	WBZ-TV, BOSTON, Massachusetts	TV Discussion with Betty Adams Program "Deminsions"	Portugal and Her Overseas Provinces
12/14/61	City College, NYC	Speech to Students	" "

FILED
 JAN 8 1962
 Registration Section
 of Agents

FILED
JAN 7 1962
Information Section
OF JUSTICE

PUBLIC INFORMATION

REPORT

PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

To promote the national security of the United States of America and to foster the ideals of freedom and democracy. To support any and all measures which will promote better understanding between the United States of America and Portugal, and to maintain the friendly and traditionally good relations between both countries; to promote and encourage studies in international affairs in general, and in particular to promote and encourage studies relating to all aspects of Portugal and her Overseas Provinces.

To exercise every use of public information media to counteract false information relating to Portugal and her Overseas Provinces, and at the same time to take positive steps in making known the truth regarding the social, political and economic facts bearing on Portugal and her Overseas Provinces.

To promote ways and means whereby United States citizens of Portuguese extraction and others may work together with purpose, energy and integrity toward the establishment of better understanding between the United States of America and Portugal; to do any and all things set forth herein in any part of the world as principals, agents or otherwise, and in furtherance and not in limitation of the general powers conferred by the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to engage in the following activities:

To receive funds and expend the same for the purposes herein set forth; to collect, maintain and operate a library of books, documents, manuscripts, newspaper clippings, letters, literature, discs or other recording media, films, engravings, pictures, and to exhibit from time to time such of the aforementioned as may seem desirable; to present lectures, films, conferences, and other things relating thereto which may be used as a basis for the education of the public, provided that the same be not inconsistent with the laws of the United States Government, nor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to carry on all manners of activities consistent with the accomplishment of the foregoing purposes and to disseminate information regarding the same.

PREPARED AND SUBMITTED BY:

Martin T. Camacho

October 7, 1961

17p

BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Martin T. Camacho, a prominent Boston attorney, is the chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. The committee is located in Suite 908-909, 20 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

Dr. Camacho was chairman of the committee on the quincentennial anniversary celebrations of Prince Henry the Navigator in the Greater Boston areas during the year of 1960. He received his law degree, LL.B., from Suffolk University School of Law in Boston in 1937, and was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar the same year. He was awarded a master of arts from Harvard University in 1948, and the degree of doctor of philosophy in political science from Harvard in 1954. He was commended by the chairman of the Board of Bar Examiners for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for having "received an excellent mark upon the written examination; and upon the oral, a mark which has not been exceeded by any mark which has ever been given upon an oral."

He served under SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in occupied Japan) from December 1941, to June 1951, as an economic adviser (labor specialist) Kanto military government/civil affairs region, Tokyo, Japan, and he was awarded a certificate of achievement for his exceptional work in Japan by Maj. Gen. W. F. Shepard. Dr. Camacho is the author of a two-volume dissertation on the administration of the SCAP labor policy in occupied Japan written under the supervision of Prof. Arthur M. Holcombe and Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard. The latter is presently U.S. Ambassador to Japan.

Dr. Camacho is a member of organized labor. During the years of 1937 to 1942, he was active in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America in the Greater Boston area and represented various locals as counsel. He also served as Associate Counsel in the Representation Section of the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D.C., in 1946. He studied labor and labor relations under the late internationally known labor economist, Prof. Sumner Slichter of Harvard.

During World War II, Dr. Camacho served as a special agent in Military Intelligence from April 1942, to January 1946, and he is presently a major and active in the U.S. Army Reserves.

He is also a member of the advisory board of the division of the blind for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Dr. Camacho undertook the leadership in forming the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs after presenting a petition to the President of the United States at the White House urging resolution of recent differences between the United States and Portugal. The petition was signed by approximately 60 Portuguese-Americans—many of whom attended a gathering on Portugal Day observance in Boston last June 10.

Dr. Camacho is a native of Madeira Island, Portugal, and came to the United States with his parents in December 1917. He is one of 15 children, the youngest, Rev. Angelo Camacho, being the first U.S. citizen of Portuguese descent to have been ordained as a priest in the Dominican Order.

He resides with his wife, Palmyra, and three sons in Arlington, Mass., a Boston suburb.

Miss Ida F. Pementa of Peabody, Mass., is committee secretary, having requested a leave of absence as secretary from the General Electric Co., Lynn, to serve as secretary to the committee.

Five of her relatives were killed in the terrorist massacres last March 15 and 16 in Angola.

REASONS FOR NOT FILING EARLIER

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you not file it in September of 1961?

Mr. CAMACHO. I didn't know anything about the requirements of filing, and I was not told anything about the requirements of filing.

The CHAIRMAN. Selvage & Lee did not tell you anything about it?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They never—did Selvage & Lee tell you when you were employed on September 6, that they represented the Portuguese in their activities?

Mr. CAMACHO. The Portuguese what?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Portuguese principal. They call it the Overseas Companies, don't they? Did they not tell you they were representing the Overseas Companies?

Mr. CAMACHO. They told me they were representing someone over there but I didn't know who they were representing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you they were registered as foreign agents?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, they didn't tell me they were registered as foreign agents in July when I met with Mr. Bledsoe.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they in September when you became an employee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I believe they did tell me that, yes, they did.

The CHAIRMAN. But they did not say that you should register?

Mr. CAMACHO. There was no talk of my registering as a foreign agent or registering with the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. You do know now, don't you, that the law requires an agent to register and file within 10 days after he accepts a responsibility or representation of a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed in this registration of January 8, 1962, you state—under 6(a) which requires a full description of all activities of any kind which you are now or expect to be engaged in—you state as follows:

Activities will consist of making contacts with the Members of Congress, State Department. To this end all means of communication will be sought.

This indicates that you will do it in the future. The fact is you have been doing that for long prior to this registration, isn't that the fact?

Mr. CAMACHO. When I formed this organization, this committee, we wrote up a purpose clause, and that is part of the purpose clause.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was filed long after the activities that took place in pursuance of your agreement with Selvage & Lee, wasn't it? Wouldn't it have been more accurate to say "I have made these in the past."

Mr. CAMACHO. Three months after, approximately 3 months after September 6 when I became associated with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. You had already been doing those activities, and as you state there, that you will do them, had you not? I don't know if it is very important. I merely want to get the record straight.

Mr. CAMACHO. I was doing some of those activities, there is no doubt, I was doing some of those activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want the record straight. I don't know that there is any great question about it. I merely wanted to draw attention to the form in which you filed, which was as you now state some 3 or 4 months after the time when you should have filed under the requirement of the law.

Mr. CAMACHO. Up to the time that I was told by Selvage & Lee that there was a question of my registering, I knew nothing about this registration act, that is now being referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date that you were told that you should register?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sometime in December.

The CHAIRMAN. You were told by whom?

Mr. CAMACHO. Selvage and Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see if we can make some headway. Is Dolores—

Mr. CAMACHO. Ida Pementa.

The CHAIRMAN. Ida Pementa is your secretary?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And her sister is Dolores Pementa.

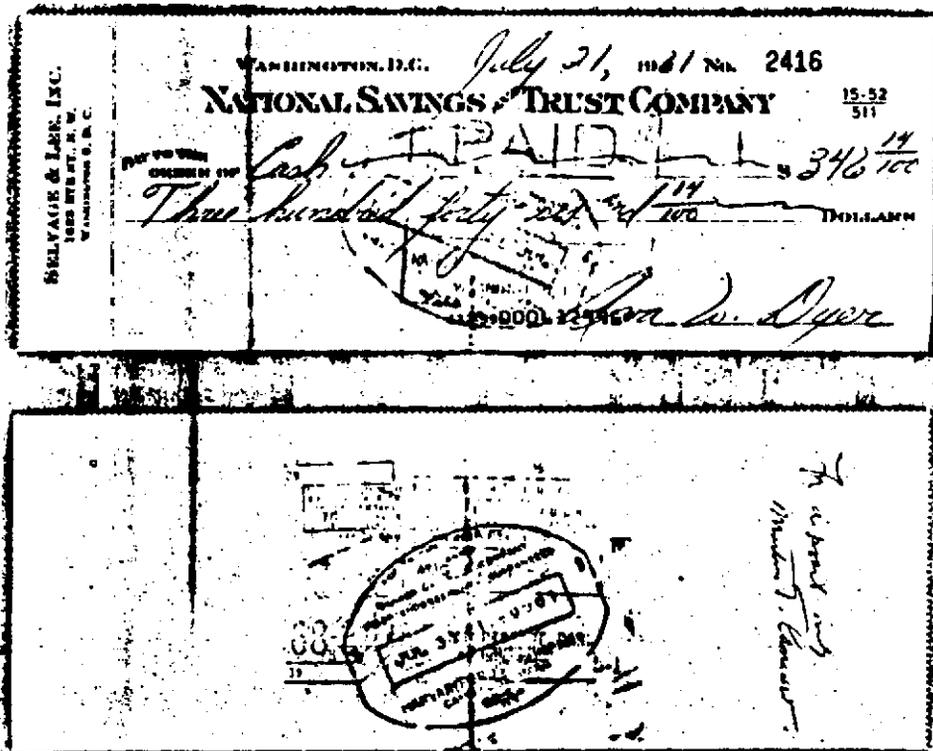
Mr. CAMACHO. That is right, sir.

SELVAGE & LEE PAYMENTS TO MR. CAMACHO PRIOR TO EMPLOYMENT

The CHAIRMAN. With regard to the check you mentioned a moment ago as to the amount, will you identify this check for the record? This check is in the amount of \$346.14 endorsed by you; is it not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, it is.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)



The CHAIRMAN. That was for what?

Mr. CAMACHO. That covered the expenses of transportation, for Ida Pementa, myself and Dolores and I think Mr. Cardozo. That is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid the expenses of Cardozo and Ida Pementa?

Mr. CAMACHO. As far as my memory recalls, I paid those expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, I just note that this check does

not appear in the report by Selvage & Lee to the Department of Justice.

Mr. CAMACHO. Which one?

The CHAIRMAN. That check is not itemized.

Mr. CAMACHO. This one here?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. I mention for the record that in addition to that check, I believe there was a check of \$240 on August 22, which was reported, for research on Portuguese-American community. Do you recall that? Selvage & Lee reported that.

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not certain. But as I have said, there was a check given to me for some amount, I don't know exactly what amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you do any research prior to August 22, 1961, for Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I looked into the whole subject matter of this problem as negotiations were going on as to whether I would become associated with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were paid for that?

Mr. CAMACHO. I received a check from them.

The CHAIRMAN. \$240?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They reported this to their principal, it is in their own report.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

(Copy of the document referred to follows:)

Abstract from bi-monthly Selvage & Lee Washington office reports, September 1961

Report for period ending September 20, 1961 :

9/15—American Airlines—Teixeira to Los Angeles—9/21—9/27	\$352. 75
9/12—B. Teixeira—Cash—Services rendered 9/22 and 9/29	250. 00
9/5—Sherman Briscoe—Services rendered	500. 00
9/19—Sherman Briscoe—Services rendered	500. 00
9/5—S. B. Bledsoe—Research	100. 00
9/6—Martin Camacho—Services rendered 9/1—8	400. 00
9/16—Wald & Co.—Research by J. Synon	50. 00
9/15—Wald & Co.—Research by J. Synon 9/8—15	400. 00
9/19—Moss Kendrix—Services rendered 9/18—10/18	500. 00

Report for period ending August 31, 1961 :

8/18—B. Teixeira—Cash—Services rendered	125. 00
8/21—M. H. Kendrix—Cash—Services rendered	500. 00
8/22—Martin Camacho—Research on Portuguese-American Community	240. 00

The CHAIRMAN. This was for your work in connection with this matter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

FIRST PROPOSAL FOR PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The CHAIRMAN. When was it first proposed to you to set up the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think when the first proposal was made was on July 19 of 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made this proposal to you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think it was Mr. Bledsoe.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bledsoe.

Just for the purposes of the record, Mr. Casey, this is an executive session, I don't know whether you understand that this record is not for publication. Of course, you are quite free to advise your client, but I hope you understand that it is, you are not to make this public until the committee itself authorizes the publication of the record.

Mr. CASEY. I am aware of that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are aware of that?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And whatever notes you are making are not to be given to the press.

Mr. CASEY. Exactly, sir. I make them solely in the attorney-client relationship to advise him.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted you to understand.

Mr. CASEY. I appreciate that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bledsoe made the proposal some time in July, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

LETTERS DATED SEPTEMBER 25 AND OCTOBER 3, 1961

Mr. CHAIRMAN. For the record, I wish you would identify—I show you copies of two letters, dated September 25, 1961, and October 3, 1961, addressed to S. B. Bledsoe and the Honorable Pedro Theotónio Pereira, Ambassador of Portugal, respectively, and signed "Martin T. Camacho," and ask you if you prepared and sent such letters?

Mr. CAMACHO. I wrote this letter of September 25, I wrote that letter.

(Copies of the documents referred to follow:)

SEPTEMBER 25, 1961.

Mr. S. B. BLEDSOE,
Selvage and Lee, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SAM: I am enclosing the final draft of the Purpose Clause of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. It has been my experience to date that when I speak with people that I know in an effort to arouse their interest in the matter of the relationship between the United States of America and Portugal, and the formation of the Committee to counteract the propaganda against Portugal, they are very curious as to the overall purposes of the Committee.

I feel that I am going to have this Purpose Clause mimeographed and send a copy of the Purpose Clause to selected members of the Portuguese-American community in the New England States together with an enclosed application for membership in the Committee and/or a request that the individual applicant be placed on our mailing list.

It will be a relief to get into location and get our work off on a systematic plane.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

OCTOBER 3, 1961.

HON. PEDRO THEOTONIO PEREIRA,
Ambassador of Portugal,
Portuguese Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am enclosing a copy of the Purpose Clause. I have gone over this very carefully, and before I have this matter printed, I would like to have your opinion regarding the following:

First paragraph: Reads in part as follows—"and in particular to promote and encourage studies *regarding Portugal.*"

Should read:

- (1) regarding Continental Portugal and her overseas provinces, or
- (2) regarding Continental Portugal and Overseas Portugal?

I have also discussed this matter with Commander Cabral, and I believe he will be in touch with you and please let me know what your thinking is on the matter.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

The CHAIRMAN. To Mr. S. B. Bledsoe?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write the letter of October 3, 1961, to the Ambassador of Portugal?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify for the record that the Pedro Theotónio Pereira is the Ambassador of Portugal, was, or still is?

Mr. CAMACHO. Still is.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Bledsoe is the head of the local office of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Both these letters refer to drafts of a purpose clause of the Portuguese-American Committee, do they not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that clause, will you identify the clause?

Mr. CAMACHO. I was looking around for the clause here and I don't seem to find it, I may have it here. I think perhaps you have a copy of it there from my own files.

PURPOSE CLAUSE OF MR. CAMACHO'S COMMITTEE

The CHAIRMAN. Was this purpose clause a part of the charter or constitution of your organization?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, it was part of the setup in our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. And at this time you were a full-time employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. At the time of these two letters?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this purpose clause approved by the membership of your committee at a meeting of the committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was approved but with a small selection that is set forth here in the names listed on this agreement of the association. It was discussed.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you submit that for the record, please, sir?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir. It was also mailed out to several, a number of people.

(The information referred to follows; the purpose clause is attached to short form registration statement filed Jan. 8, 1962:)

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF CORPORATIONS AND TAXATION

236 STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

AGREEMENT OF ASSOCIATION

General Laws, Chapter 180, Section 3, provides that : "The corporation shall be formed in the manner prescribed in and subject to section thirty of chapter sixty-nine, section nine of chapter one hundred and fifty-five, and sections six and eight to twelve, inclusive, of chapter one hundred and fifty-six, except as follows :

The corporation shall have no capital stock and the agreement of association shall omit the statement of the amount of the capital stock and the share value and number of shares. The fee to be paid to the state secretary upon the filing of the certificate of organization shall be twenty-five dollars."

We, whose names are hereto subscribed, do, by this agreement, associate ourselves with the intention of forming a corporation under the provisions of General Laws, Chapter 180.

The name by which the corporation shall be known is

The location of the principal office of the corporation in Massachusetts is to be the Town or City of _____ Street

The purposes for which the corporation is formed are as follows:--

(If seven days' notice is waiver, fill in the following waiver.)

We hereby waive all requirements of the General Laws of Massachusetts for notice of the first meeting for organization, and appoint the day of _____, 19____, at _____ o'clock _____ M., at _____ as the time and place for holding said first meeting.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereto signed our names this day of _____ in the year 19____

(Handwritten names appearing on the Agreement of Association :)

- Anthony Arruda
Martin T. Camacho
John R. Marques
Palmyra Camacho
Anthony Nordeiro
Joseph Lojses
Dolores M. Pemeta
Germano Pereira
Ida F. Pemeta
Manuel M. Sears
Jeffrey Vasconalos
Antonio de J. Cardozo

FORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any minutes of the meeting at which this was approved?

Mr. CAMACHIO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a formal meeting of the committee?

Mr. CAMACHIO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were chairman of the committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you become chairman of the committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. In forming the committee, I talked with these people here.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are they?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, there is John R. Marques, Anthony Madeiro, Joseph Lopes, Dolores Pementa, Germano Pereira, Ida F. Pementa, Manuel M. Sears, Jeffrey Vasconcelos, Antonio de J. Cardozo, and Anthony Arruda.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have a meeting with you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I spoke to them individually.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you elected chairman of the committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; not by any formal election.

The CHAIRMAN. You assumed that office on your own?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the membership of the committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir. The membership of the committee, here are—

The CHAIRMAN. Was it an executive committee, that group?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, it was the people that I originally got hold of in the very outset of assuming this type of work.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any meeting of the committee, formal meeting?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; never had any formal meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you testified that you at one time considered incorporating it but abandoned that, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it an association?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would call it an association.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it registered with the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it pay taxes on its receipts?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have a charter or bylaws?

Mr. CAMACHO. It has a purpose clause.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is the one referred to?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all the formal documents?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

QUESTION OF DISCLOSURE OF COMMITTEE'S SUPPORT BY A
FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

The CHAIRMAN. When you formed this committee, did you inform these people you have mentioned, that you were in the employ of Salvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I told them what I was doing.

The CHAIRMAN. That isn't answering my question.

Did you inform them that you were in the employ of Salvage & Lee? Being paid by them?

Mr. CAMACHO. I told them that I was being paid but I didn't tell them I was with Salvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you tell them you were being paid?

Mr. CAMACHO. By some firm.

The CHAIRMAN. What firm?

Mr. CAMACHO. In Washington. You are asking me whether I mentioned the name of Selvage & Lee. I cannot recall whether I did or did not mention the name of Selvage & Lee to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell the members of that committee that you were in the employ of a registered agent of a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell them that the Portuguese group, this Portuguese group were in fact supplying the financial support for this activity?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I told them that the costs and the expenses were being supplied by this, someone in the firm in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. But did you tell them that it was being supplied by a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not. What did you tell them that you were being paid for, was that to mean they would not be called upon for any financial contributions themselves?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is right, sir. That was made clear from the very beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did Selvage & Lee propose to you, suggest to you, that you set up this committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In your letter to the Ambassador which you just identified you request him to make recommendations with respect to the clause, do you not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. With regard to your relations with Selvage & Lee, they agreed to pay you \$400 a week as your salary, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they also agree to pay any expenses which you may incur in the course of your work?

Mr. CAMACHO. They did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And these arrangements continued?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they still continue?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are still there?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The CHAIRMAN. You started to give the list of the members of the committee in addition to that small group, did you not, start to do that?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have it available?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you supply it for the record?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have here the purpose clause which, if you wish—

The CHAIRMAN. Can you supply that for the record?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

(See short-form registration statement, dated Jan. 8, 1962, p. 912.)

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the committee are there?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think that there are—they are all these here. These are cards.

The CHAIRMAN. Cards?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the nature of the cards?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, the card is addressed to the Portuguese-American Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it say on the other side?

Mr. CAMACHO. And then on the other side it says, "I" and then in parentheses, "(am, am not) interested in becoming a member of your committee. I" in parentheses, "(am, am not) interested in being placed on your mailing list."

Name, Antonio Arruda, then I cannot read his address here. But this fellow is from Hartford, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. Now that card, do you consider that constitutes being a member of your committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; because it says, "I am interested in becoming a member of your committee."

The CHAIRMAN. Do they pay any dues?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, he says he is interested. Is there no evidence that they said they would join?

Mr. CAMACHO. Here is the evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all there is?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is all there is. Then there was sent a membership card.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have those?

Mr. CAMACHO. They were sent a membership card, I have a form of the membership card.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have the returns as to how many actually joined?

Mr. CAMACHO. I could count them now for you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have them there?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have the returns.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, will you submit them there for the record?

Mr. CAMACHO. I will submit—these are the only cards we do have.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you had returns in which they were membership cards. Those cards, if I understand you correctly, merely say "We are interested in receiving your publications and information about it."

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, now, it is more than that. It says, "I am interested in becoming a member of your committee."

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. And they check it off.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Then they mail it back to us.

The CHAIRMAN. A printed card?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of them are there? Let the staff count them if you like and we will proceed.

Mr. CAMACHO. Sure.
(See App. 2, p. 1190.)

LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 29, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated November 29, 1961, addressed to Mr. Frank Vida, Hartford, Conn., signed "Martin T. Camacho" and ask you if you prepared and sent such a letter.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

NOVEMBER 29, 1961.

Mr. FRANK VIDA,
101 Hamilton St.,
Hartford, Conn.

DEAR MR. VIDA: I have been informed that you are a person who has maintained a keen and abiding interest in matters pertaining to Portugal and her relationship to the United States of America. Within the past few months, I have been very active in setting up an organization to establish means of communication with the view of counteracting the false information which is so prevalent today regarding the Portuguese and Portugal, especially with regard to activities in Portuguese East and West Africa.

I would like an opportunity to personally talk with you, and for this purpose I am very happy to extend to you a most cordial invitation to meet with me for dinner in the Meeting Room 408 at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Hartford, Connecticut, on Saturday, December 9, 1961, at 6:30 P.M.

I am inviting a small number of people and the affair will be informal. I certainly would appreciate very much if you would forthwith call me (collect) indicating whether you will be present.

My telephone number is: Capital 7-7511.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

P.S. Enclosed is a copy of my biography which was released for a Press Conference held in Boston.

MTC.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I did send such a letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this letter, the purpose of it, soliciting members for Portuguese-American Committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; to become interested.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the purpose of soliciting members?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this letter in any way indicate to Mr. Vida or to the other persons receiving it your connection with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. The letter is dated November 29, 1961. It does not indicate anything in it that I was connected with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you indicate to them in any other way that you were employed by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. On the nature for which there was a dinner conducted, December 9, 1961, on that evening I did indicate to them my connection with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Indicate to whom?

Mr. CAMACHO. To the group that gathered in Hartford, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. CAMACHO. There were a group of men I had contacted.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not certain as to the number.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately how many?

Mr. CAMACHO. About probably 29.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you indicate to them you were employed by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. By oral expression.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say to them?

Mr. CAMACHO. I told them what I was doing, what I had been doing, how this committee was set up, that I was interested in having them become members. There were no dues, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell them you were being paid \$400 a week by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. There was one group I told that to. There was another group that I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell that group that you were being paid by Selvage & Lee—

Mr. CAMACHO. I told them I was being paid. I don't recall whether I was being paid \$400 a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell them you were being paid by an agent for a foreign principal?

In other words, did you explain—

Mr. CAMACHO. No, no; I am really trying to think out the answers, Senator. I didn't tell them that.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you tell them?

Mr. CAMACHO. I just told them I was being paid by a firm, Selvage & Lee, in promoting this type of work and I gave them my background as to how I became engaged in the work.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Yingling says there are 71 of those cards: Is it fair to say there were 71 members of your committee?

ORIGIN OF IDEA TO FORM PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN GROUP

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, if that is the number that he has counted.

Senator, may I go back on one matter so as to make sure that the record is straight?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. When this man Colaço called, I think that he also suggested about forming this committee or group so that the idea did not originate alone from Mr. Bledsoe.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Colaço; refresh my memory, is he the consul of the Portuguese—

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it fair to say he participated in the origination of this committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. It isn't fair to say that.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it fair to say?

Mr. CAMACHO. My recollection is when he told me I would receive the call from Washington, that he told me something about forming a committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And that Mr. Bledsoe would talk to your further about it, is that right?

Mr. CAMACHO. That someone would talk to me further.

The CHAIRMAN. Someone?

Mr. CAMACHO. Someone.

The CHAIRMAN. And that someone turned out to be Mr. Bledsoe?

Mr. CAMACHO. To the best of my recollection it turned out to be Mr. Bledsoe.

The CHAIRMAN. Those cards, you will leave the cards with the committee. Are the addresses of those people on there?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee should write to each of those members, would they, you believe, state that they were told about relationship with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know what they would answer to, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never submitted to them any written evidence of your employment, did you?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho—

Mr. CAMACHO. They were sent a purpose clause, they were sent a letter.

LETTER DATED JANUARY 9, 1963

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the letter is the letter we put in the record?

Mr. CAMACHO. For example, here is a letter which is dated, if you will permit me, sir, here is a letter which is dated, which I would like to submit to you—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of it?

Mr. CAMACHO. The letter is dated January 9, 1963, and it says:

(The letter is read in its entirety. A copy of the letter read by Mr. Camacho is as follows:)

PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Boston, Mass., January 9, 1963.

My dear Fellow American:

Several months ago you returned a card to the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs indicating your interest in Committee membership. (We hereby enclose a membership card.) Since that time, you have received literature outlining our objectives and indicating what is being done to accomplish our purpose.

The Committee has endeavored to make factual presentations and logical arguments without resorting to name-calling or emotional diatribes. We have asked United States government officials to examine the facts. We have not attempted to disparage the present Administration or its leaders. We feel they are reasonable men, and will make the correct decisions if they have all the facts.

Since January 1962 we have observed a marked change in the official United States attitude toward Portugal. There is now an apparent willingness and disposition to listen to the Portuguese viewpoint on its African provinces. In fact, in December 1962, the United States voted twice in the United Nations in favor of its NATO ally, Portugal, on United Nations resolutions directly affecting the Portuguese African provinces of Angola and Mozambique. These votes

were a reversal of the previous United States position in the United Nations on Portugal's territories. Four times between March 15, 1961, and January 31, 1962, the United States had voted against Portugal in the Security Council and the General Assembly. The Committee sincerely welcomes these recent steps which certainly are improving relations between the United States and Portugal.

I would like very much to meet with you personally and discuss some of the events and activities that have taken place within the past few months. I plan to show slides of Angola and Mozambique, which I took on my trip to Africa last spring.

This program will take place on :

Date: Sunday, January 20, 1963.

Time: 2:30 P.M.

Place: San Cristo Center, 1164-1166 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass.

It is very important that you fill out the enclosed card indicating whether you plan to attend. We certainly would appreciate hearing from you and shall look forward to seeing you on January 20, 1963.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

Mr. CAMACHO. And then at the bottom of this letter :

This is to advise you that the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs is associated with Selvage & Lee, Inc., New York, N.Y., which firm is registered under Title 22, United States Code, Sub-Chapter 2, as public relations counsel for the Overseas Companies of Portugal, Rua do Ataide, 7, Lisbon, Portugal. This is an organization of companies with business interests in Portugal and the Portuguese Overseas Provinces. Copies of this material are being filed with the Library of Congress and the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. A copy of the registration, No. 1454, is on file with the Department of Justice and is available for inspection. Such registration does not reflect approval of the contents of this material by the United States Government.

That was at the bottom of the letter, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was what date?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is January 9, 1963.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first time that your letters have included that identification of the interest?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know of no previous example?

Mr. CAMACHO. Right at the moment, I don't know of any previous.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of the people to whom you sent that letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. That was one of the matters that these gentlemen saw down there, mailing list, I can furnish that list to you.

(A copy of the list referred to appears in the App. 2, p. 1190.)

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a large list?

Mr. CAMACHO. What is that?

The CHAIRMAN. A large list?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; it is a large list.

LETTER DATED JANUARY 5, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated January 5, 1962, addressed to the editor of the Baltimore Sun and signed Martin T. Camacho and ask you if you wrote and sent such a letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I wrote this letter.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

JANUARY 5, 1962.

EDITOR, BALTIMORE SUN,
Baltimore, Md.

DEAR EDITOR: I read the report of your Philip Potter from New Delhi on December 23 regarding India's conquest of the Portuguese state of India. It was an excellent report, and it certainly portrayed the deceitfulness and a moral depravity of the present rulers of the Indian union.

I, however, cannot understand Mr. Potter's statement when he says, "The Portuguese had been singularly obtuse and stubborn in not realizing that the remnants of their once great holdings in India, whatever the feelings of the 700,000 inhabitants, were bound to become a part of the Indian union." Portugal occupied the areas of Goa, Damao and Diu from approximately 1510 to the date of the invasion by the Indian union. Nehru had from time to time insisted that it was the wish of the inhabitants of Goa, Damao and Diu to have these areas in which they lived annexed to the Indian union, and this was a big lie.

The many provocations by the Indian union, and especially by Mr. Nehru in countenancing, for example, the "Satyagraha" or so-called passive resistance or non-violence, consisted of hired mobs that would dash across the borders of Goa, Damao and Diu and attempt to create an incident to justify intervention by the Indian union. The "Satyagraha" also served to test whether the inhabitants in those areas would join with Indian Union mobs to demonstrate opposition to the government of Portugal and a desire for annexation to the Indian union.

The only "justification" the Indian union had was that due to a geographic juxtaposition of these areas with the Indian union, these enclaves were to be annexed; thus, if the latter is a "justification" for the action of the Indian union in gobbling up the Portuguese state of India, and if the feelings of the 700,000 Portuguese inhabitants are not to be taken into consideration, then, indeed, we have certainly hit a new low in the modern international morality, and I am surprised that such a competent reporter such as Mr. Potter should indicate sympathy with such a view.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter is a comment on a news story by a reporter on the Baltimore Sun staff relating to India's attack upon the Portuguese colony of Goa?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Portuguese colony of Goa?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get that information?

Mr. CAMACHO. This information here?

The CHAIRMAN. Did Selvage & Lee supply you with that information?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have a very emotional feeling about this. This information came from myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Selvage & Lee did not supply it to you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall Selvage & Lee giving me the information here. Now, it may be that the news clip from, of the statement of Mr. Potter. Mr. Potter's statement came to my attention through Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. They sent you a copy?

Mr. CAMACHO. But this letter is my letter, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, there is no question about it. You have already identified it. But the article to which the letter refers appear-

ing in the Sun, was called to your attention by Selvage & Lee. Is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think so, sir; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this letter written in pursuance of your employment by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. This is—

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Was it part of your duties?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, but this is the type of a letter that I would have written whether I was with Selvage & Lee or not with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. That could well be. But this letter was written as part of your duties as an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I was then in the employment of Selvage & Lee on January 5, 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. And they called the article to your attention and as part of your duties you wrote this letter, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the editor of the Baltimore Sun know you were in the employ of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, I don't know. This is a photostat and usually letters that are being sent out have had some identification with Selvage & Lee.

(See App. 2, letter dated July 5, 1963.)

The CHAIRMAN. At this time, this is in 1962, I thought you just testified that the first one you could recall was in 1963, the previous letter was 1963?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Will the chairman indulge us a moment, please?

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing on the letter to indicate that you were employed by Selvage & Lee, as there was on the previous letter you read, is there?

LETTER DATED AUGUST 24, 1962

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, sir, you see, you are asking me this question, in fairness to myself, sir, for example, I am looking at another document which is dated August 24.

The CHAIRMAN. What year?

Mr. CAMACHO. Of 1962. And right there is the same identification.

The CHAIRMAN. That is August 1962.

Mr. CAMACHO. In other words, I am not certain as to when this identification with Selvage & Lee started.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. CAMACHO. I am pointing to a letter now dated August 24, 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you supply for the record when you began to identify your letters as an employee of Selvage & Lee?

(See App. 2, p. 1190.)

Mr. CAMACHO. I cannot but I could look into it.

STATEMENT FOR STATIONERY DATED SEPTEMBER 1, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, I show you a copy of a statement rendered by the Lawyers Stationery Co. of Boston to Martin Camacho, Esq., dated September 1, 1962, and ask you if you received a copy of this statement?

Mr. CAMACHO. This is addressed to me. It must be mine. I received it.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

Lawyers Stationery Co.

Professional Stationery Detective Commercial Printing Engraving Non-Plate Process Blank Certificates Bonds
 Corporation Seals Low Blanks Special Forms Bond Paper Filing Equipment Diaries Typewriting Supplies

13 PEMBERTON SQUARE • BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS • PHONE CAPITAL 7-2729

STATEMENT

Sept. 1, 1962

Martin Camacho, Esq.
 20 Pemberton Sq.
 Boston, Mass.

August 31 \$21.00 - Letterhead with registration notice for
 Portuguese-American Committee on
 Foreign Affairs

THANK YOU

*Pd 9/11/62
 Check # 206*

The CHAIRMAN. Well, with respect to what services by the stationery company did you receive this statement?

What does it say on it?

Mr. CAMACHO. "Letterhead with registration notice for Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs."

The CHAIRMAN. Does this not refresh your memory as to the date when you began to include the registration notice on your letterhead?

Mr. CAMACHO. It does, but here is a letter that is dated previous to that, which has the registration head on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I thought this might narrow it down so you could tell when you started doing this?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is not initialed—here you are showing me a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. An invoice dated September 1, 1962, and the question is whether this refreshes my memory with regard to when I commenced to put on my correspondence the identification.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CAMACHO. And then I show you a letter which is August 24, 1962, in which the identification is added and that is before September 1, 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the date, you will notice on the bill, it says, August 31. I would assume that prior to that time, but briefly, shortly but prior under normal business practices, sometime during the preceding month, they supplied you with letterheads, which would cover August 24. It doesn't matter whether it is August 24 or 25, but this is approximately the time, isn't it? And this statement could, would in the normal course of business, have covered whatever they did during August, wouldn't it? They had already supplied you the letterheads. They are sending you the bill to pay for it, aren't they? I don't think that is anything very unusual.

Mr. CAMACHO. It could have been a reorder.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Camacho, can you produce for us any previous statements of this nature indicating that you had done it prior to this time?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir, at this time, I cannot. All I can say is I can look into the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Can you submit for the record any previous statement of this kind indicating that you had had letterheads of this kind printed prior to this time?

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

Mr. CAMACHO. Anything like that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't have it with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I don't mean at the moment. Can you do it later?

Mr. CAMACHO. I could certainly look into my records and do it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it fair to say that in the absence of any previous evidence of this kind that sometime during the month of August 1962, you received letterheads carrying this registration notice? Is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Would you read that back?

The CHAIRMAN. I say, is it fair to assume that sometime during August of 1962 you received this letterhead with this registration notice?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And in the absence of any evidence to the contrary this would appear to be the first time, would it not?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have a feeling that I did that before this date.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am asking you to give any evidence you have to the committee to justify that feeling, that is all I am asking.

Mr. CASEY. Will the chairman indulge us a moment?

Mr. CAMACHO. There was a little tab, Senator, that we had with this statement, "This is to advise you"—this tab was put into every mailing that was sent out by the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. And this was done much prior to the September, this September invoice which you have shown me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any bills or evidence of any kind indicating when you received those tabs and when you started this practice?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have but I can't put my finger right on them now, but I can get them for you.

STATEMENT FOR STATIONERY DATED SEPTEMBER 14, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a statement from the same Lawyers Stationery Co. dated September 14, 1962. You will notice there that they bill you for the printing of those tabs, among other things, which is shortly after this same period which would indicate that this is about the period when you began to include those tabs. That is a bill, is it not, for the tabs, among other things?

along the first, perhaps even in December of 1961 and I am sure they were sent out with the literature in January of 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any evidence to that effect?

Mr. CAMACHO. I can get you the evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. That will be fine.

Can you produce something similar to that?

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I can produce something for you.

LETTER DATED OCTOBER 16, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter addressed to Dr. Martin T. Camacho from Paul Wagner dated October 16, 1962, and ask you whether you received such a letter together with the attached letter referred to therein?

Did you receive that letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is quite apparent I have received it. I have approved by "MTC", which initials there are mine.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you did receive it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

(A copy of the letter referred to follows:)

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL,
Washington, D.C., October 16, 1962.

Dr. MARTIN T. CAMACHO,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR MARTIN: The enclosed letter to the editor will be sent to the San Bernardino, Calif., Sun, along with a copy of the Ronald Waring article. The letter then will be reproduced and sent to all daily newspapers. A copy of the editorial will be included. We want to stop this line that the Portuguese are attempting to blackmail the United States with the Azores.

Sincerely,

PAUL WAGNER.

[Handwritten note: Approved by M.T.C.]

[Handwritten note: Corrected copy by: M. T. Camacho, 10/17/62.]

OCTOBER 15, 1962.

EDITOR, THE SUN,
San Bernardino, Calif.

DEAR SIR: Your editorial, "Air-Base Blackmail," in your issue of September 1, 1962, indicates that you have been misinformed about the differences between Portugal and the United States.

You charge that Portugal is smarting because of this country's refusal to "support the tiny country's colonial policies in Africa, even threatens to quit the United Nations." Subsequently your editorial implies that Portugal is trying to blackmail the United States into changing its colonial policies by threatening not to renew the lease which this country has held to the Azores, Portuguese islands in the Atlantic.

What are the facts?

Portugal has been a member of NATO since its inception, is staunchly anti-Communist, has been friendly to the United States and has turned over the valuable bases in the Azores free of charge.

Portugal has two large provinces in Africa, Angola in West Africa and Mozambique in East Africa. The Portuguese Government considers these areas as much a part of the country as we consider Hawaii and Alaska integral parts of the United States.

In March 1961, terrorists invaded Angola from the nearby Congo, murdering and torturing men, women and children. The pamphlet enclosed: "On the Morning of March 15" gives an idea of some of the barbarities.

Coincident with the invasion, the United States began voting against Portugal—and with the Soviet Union—at the U.N., in support of a campaign designed to force Portugal out of Africa. This country even voted to condemn the Portuguese for defending themselves against the Angolan terrorists, a verdict which Arthur Krock, distinguished columnist of the "New York Times," termed a form of "lynch law."

From March, 1961, until recently every vote on the Angolan question at the UN by the United States has been against Portugal. Do you wonder then that the Portuguese are upset? In return for friendship and the Azores, we have joined with the militantly nationalist Afro-Asian bloc at the UN and the Soviet Union in an effort to dismember Portugal.

What is likely to happen if the Portuguese are driven out of Africa?

Angola and Mozambique are no more ready for self-government than was the Belgian Congo. You must be well aware of the continuing strife and chaos which followed the freeing of the Congo, which was hastened by the policy of the United States of vigorously opposing African colonialism.

If the UN campaign against Portugal succeeds, the prospect is for two more new countries in Africa, unable to fend for themselves, subject to tribal strife and economic deterioration and moving every day closer to a situation where the Soviet Union will pick up the pieces.

The Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique is not perfect, but it is idyllic compared to the Congo and most of the newly emerged African states. The Department of Commerce recently produced a report which shows steady economic progress by Angola, despite the terrorist invasion. I am enclosing an article by the well known author, Ronald Waring, on the situation following the attacks upon Angola.

If Angola and Mozambique are separated from Portugal at this time, the present government of Portugal might fall. Would this be salutary from our standpoint? We have only to remind you that our own State Department helped overthrow Batista in Cuba. We got Castro in return. Do you think we benefited by the swap?

Prime Minister Salazar is under almost constant attack from the left, along with almost every other conservative Government head. Curiously enough, leftist and Communist dictators are given tender treatment by the groups and individuals that are so vociferous against the conservatives. For example, few voices are raised against Tito, Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, even though Tito has made it plain that he would side with Soviet Russia in the event of all-out war. Moreover, our Government has given Tito hundreds of millions of dollars in an effort to woo him away from Russia and plans to give him still more. It should also be pointed out that Portugal is a free country by comparison with the rigidity and oppression in the Communist countries. Actually, the powers of Premier Salazar are in line with those of De Gaulle in France, who seldom is criticized in the American press and almost never on the grounds that he is a dictator.

It is obvious that the Afro-Asian bloc at the UN has a double standard of morality with regard to colonialism and aggression. The nations concerned are quick to condemn Portugal, whose race policies are enlightened; but they are completely indifferent to colonialism on the part of Russia and Red China. The attitude of the bloc toward Portugal is in sharp contrast to the aloof attitude in evidence when giant India invaded the Portuguese states of Goa and Diu. This was a naked act of aggression and violated the UN Charter. The Afro-Asian bloc did not care.

Furthermore, the United States appears to have double standard where colonialism is concerned. We have backed the Afro-Asian bloc in insisting that the European nations abandon their colonies in Africa and Asia. Nevertheless, this country recently took part in a deal whereby Dutch New Guinea became, in fact, a colony of Indonesia.

The Dutch formerly held New Guinea. The Government agreed to turn over the area, which is inhabited by a primitive race called Papuans, to the U.N. But Sukarno, the Indonesian dictator, wanted control of New Guinea and threatened to fight for his objective. Some skirmishes did take place between Dutch and Indonesian troops.

The solution of this matter lay through the so-called Dunker plan, a scheme worked out by Ellsworth Dunker, former U.S. diplomat. Under this arrangement, Indonesia has taken over the Papuans, pending a plebiscite to be held some years from now. It is apparent that Sukarno can rig the election to suit himself. In fact, the Dutch have said, somewhat bitterly, that they consented to the ar-

rangement which made the Papuans vassals of the Indonesians only because of pressure by the United States.

This rather questionable transaction by which we rewarded Sukarno for chauvinism, is disturbing in view of U.S. insistence that Western powers must retire from Africa as a matter of high principle. Domestic politics also may be helping shape our colonial policy. In August, 1962, John Kenneth Galbraith, Ambassador to India, said in New Delhi, that the administration, in considering colonialism, was not unmindful of the Negro vote in this country.

This would seem to suggest that our anticolonial policy in Africa, which contrasts sharply with our policy in New Guinea, is fashioned by the feeling that the Negroes in this country want it that way:

Or to put it in other terms, the administration, if Ambassador Galbraith is right, seems to feel that the Negroes in this country back racism in Africa, since most of the leaders in the new African states are frankly racist, while asking equality here. This puts our own Negroes in an untenable position and, in my opinion, one which they will resent once they understand the full import of the situation in which their spokesman are placing them.

It is becoming more evident every day that progress in Africa depends upon cooperation between the whites and the other races on the continent. If we insist upon helping drive the Portuguese out of Africa we must be prepared for the debacles and disasters which are certain to follow. The whites in Africa south of the Sahara will be driven together to resist the expropriation of their property if racism continues unchecked. Race war on a scale heretofore unknown is almost certain to follow. The Soviet Union is well aware of the fact that this development fits in perfectly with its plans for domination of Africa. There is no more enthusiastic supporter of our African policies, or so-called anticolonial policies than the Communists.

The Portuguese have pursued multiracial policies for generations. The race feeling, so prevalent in other parts of Africa and, even in the United States, is absent in Portuguese-African provinces. If there is to be cooperation between the races which is necessary for the future of Africa, the pilot plants should be Angola and Mozambique. The Portuguese have put sweeping reforms into effect since the fighting in Northern Angola last year. Many objective newspapermen and commentators have visited this area since March 1961, and almost all attest to stability and progress. The fighting last year was confined to a small area in Angola. This refutes the claim of the terrorists that they represented substantial elements in Angola and that there had been a spontaneous uprising against the Portuguese. The majority of the troops which repelled the invaders were Negroes and Negroes held many high governmental positions in Angola and Mozambique.

Under the circumstances, to claim that some hesitancy on the part of Portugal about giving us—free—occupancy of the Azores bases is blackmail is astounding. What you apparently expect the Portuguese to do is to cooperate enthusiastically in American policies aimed at their own destruction.

I do not question in the least that the statements in your editorial were made in good faith. But your view, if I may say so, includes only a tiny portion of the elephant. I am hopeful that you will find some time to devote to this subject, which is extremely complex. If you do find time to go into it, you will find that the Portuguese are guilty, not of blackmail, but of standing in the way of sinister forces whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom was the enclosed letter to the San Bernardino Sun written, if you know?

Mr. CAMACHO. That was written, I would say that was written, in the office of Selvage and Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not written by you?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was reviewed by me and corrected by me, and added; there were insertions added.

The CHAIRMAN. I see, but the original that was sent to you was written in Selvage and Lee's office?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send a similar to the enclosed letter to the San Bernardino Sun as corrected by you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Right on top here it says "Yes," I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that letter to the San Bernardino Sun signed by you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that letter carry any notation that you were employed by Selvage and Lee to the editor of the San Bernardino Sun?

Mr. CAMACHO. It could very well have had the tab attached to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether it did or not?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the article by Mr. Waring? Who is Ronald Waring?

Mr. CAMACHO. Ronald Waring, as I understand, is a former military man, I believe an Englishman, who wrote an article which counteracted the alleged charges of brutality and suppression and the so-called alleged rising expectations of nationalism in the area of Angola.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir, I have no information to that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the letter to the San Bernadino Sun in fact reproduced and sent to daily newspapers as proposed in Mr. Wagner's communication?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say "Yes."

The CHAIRMAN. Was this letter to the Sun ever labeled and filed with the Department of Justice as required by the act?

Mr. CAMACHO. My answer to that question would be "Yes," because we were filing everything that was sent out with the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this letter filed?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have no definite recollection as to this specific letter.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not file it, did you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, the way it—the way that type of a thing is handled through my secretary, Ida Pementa. She fills out these forms and she sends them along and they are filed with the Department of Justice. I have not made one single statement out myself with regard to passing on to the Department of Justice literature or speeches made by me.

The CHAIRMAN. But you sent the letter to the Sun and as far as you know it was printed?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that it was. Well, you intended it to be printed, didn't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. That was the purpose of sending it out.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent it to the Sun with the intention that it be printed?

Mr. CAMACHO. It has right on top here, sir, "Corrected copy, MTC, room 11," whatever it is, "10-17-62" which would indicate to me or refresh my recollection that the letter went out in accordance with the requests under the signature of Paul Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

QUESTION OF INTENTION OF LETTER BEING PRINTED

The CHAIRMAN. And you sent it with the intention that it be printed by the San Bernadino Sun, didn't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you what purports to be a copy of a memorandum from Kenneth Downs to various officers and employees of Selvage & Lee, dated October 2, 1961.

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. If they printed it, sure I intended it, if they would print it in their newspapers, as a letter to the editor.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. As far as I know that was the purpose of it. It could very well be the letter was sent out as a matter of information to the editor and not to be printed as a whole letter but for them to glean from it information or details by which they could answer these questions that are raised in the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Camacho, you have already testified before your lawyer advised you that you sent it with the intention of being printed, didn't you? You have stated that very clearly.

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not trying to hedge, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it strikes me you are.

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not trying to hedge, Senator, I am only thinking in these terms, whether a letter of that nature, which is sent along was intended to be printed or was intended to pass on information.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew about your own intention before Mr. Casey advised you, didn't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. But I would say this, if they would print it it would fulfill my own purposes.

In other words, if this Baltimore——

The CHAIRMAN. This is the San Bernadino Sun in this case.

Mr. CAMACHO. If the San Bernadino Sun would print the entire letter it would go along with what I wanted to see done.

The CHAIRMAN. That is quite clear, you made it clear in the first instance.

MEMORANDUM DATED OCTOBER 2, 1961

Mr. Camacho, I show you what purports to be a memorandum from Kenneth T. Downs to various employees and officers of Selvage & Lee dated October 2, 1961.

Do you have it before you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You have, Mr. Camacho, this copy of the memorandum from Kenneth T. Downs dated October 2, 1961, to Mr. Selvage, Mr. Lee, Mr. Bledsoe, Mr. Wagner.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

OCTOBER 2, 1961.

To: Messrs. Selvage, Lee, Bledsoe, Wagner.
From: Kenneth T. Downs.

I have not had a formal meeting with the clients yet, but I have seen two or three members of the group individually and saw Ribeiro da Cunha briefly last night upon his return from Geneva.

They are concerned about the NBC broadcast and wonder what can be done to counteract its effect. I suggest that a good strong letter from the Camacho group, together with The Morning of March 15th pamphlet—the missing evidence—addressed to leading TV writers could be useful.

On my first day here Dr. Manuel Fernandes of the Benguela Railway came over to see me to ask about the film. He had just come from Geneva where he testified in the case which Ghana had brought against the Portuguese in Angola before the ILO. This is an unusual case. It is the first time in the history of the ILO that a nation has brought a complaint against another country for alleged violation of international agreements on labor standards. It obviously was a propaganda move from the start. Dr. Salazar agreed last spring to let a commission go into Angola to investigate charges, and the Ghanians have stalled ever since on hearings. They were finally held last week, and Dr. Ventura and Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha represented the Portuguese government. Dr. Fernandes was there as a witness for the Benguela Railway. Fernandes said that the Portuguese witnesses for the Portuguese case were most effective. The Ghanians produced six witnesses who did more harm to their case than good. But then the Ghanians announced that they were going to call into evidence film taken by Frank Young for NBC. He asked me what I knew about this film, and I told him. They are now considering whether they should ask NBC for the McCormick film as a counter if necessary.

You can see that Young's product is serving many purposes—NBC, the Salamanca Committee in the U.N., and Ghana at Geneva.

I have a meeting scheduled with Ribeiro da Cunha tomorrow afternoon and then will get more precise details on the ILO case which I recite here from memory of what he has told me of it before.

KTD

Mr. CAMACHO. I have read that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It reads in part as follows; the second paragraph:

They (the Overseas Companies of Portugal) are concerned about the NBC broadcasts and wonder what can be done to counteract its effect. I suggest that a good strong letter from the Camacho group, together with the morning of March 15 pamphlet, the missing evidence, addressed to leading TV writers could be useful.

Can you identify for the record the NBC broadcast referred to?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was a documentary, I think it was entitled "Journey to War," by Young and McCormick of the NBC. That was the broadcast. I saw the broadcast.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you copies of letters——

Mr. CAMACHO. Incidentally, Senator, I never saw this letter before.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a memorandum.

Mr. CAMACHO. I never saw it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not addressed to you. Kenneth T. Downs and so on, but you recall the broadcast it refers to?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I certainly do.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is all.

LETTERS TO THREE SENATORS PREPARED BY SELVAGE & LEE REGARDING
ANGOLA

I show you copies of letters dated September 26, 1961, the first one addressed to the Honorable John O. Pastore, one addressed to, dated September 26, to the Honorable Warren G. Magnuson, Senator Magnuson, and September 27, the Honorable Thomas J. Dodd, Senator from Connecticut.

Did you write those letters?

Mr. CAMACHO. This letter came from Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. They prepared it?

Mr. CAMACHO. To the best of my knowledge they prepared it.

It was sent to me, and at the time I read it and passed on it, and that is the full story with regard to this letter.

(Copies of the letters are as follows:)

bc: S. B. Bledsoe.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1961.

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: The NBC documentary, "Angola: Journey to a War," broadcast on the night of September 19, was a biased and malicious document. We are enclosing a copy of a pamphlet which is being distributed by a committee of Portuguese-American citizens, of which I am chairman. We are anxious to foster friendship between the United States and Portugal, an ally and member of the NATO alliance and a land long friendly to the United States of America. We apologize for the horrors disclosed, but we feel the pamphlet necessary to offset some of the flood of propaganda aimed against Portugal as a part of the overall world Communist conspiracy to destroy NATO and the free world.

The NBC Angola documentary helped to foster this Communist conspiracy. It gave the impression that the uprising was a spontaneous thing caused by Portuguese oppression of the natives. Actually, the Portuguese have pursued for generations an enlightened multiracial policy and many authorities have praised racial harmony in Portuguese Africa.

The Portuguese in Angola were the victims of terrorists who swarmed across the Congo border and murdered men, women, and children without mercy and to the accompaniment of obscene and depraved brutalities and tortures. One of their leaders, Holden Roberto, has said in a newspaper interview that the atrocities were deliberate and calculated. This is a terrible admission. The Portuguese have defended themselves, and for this they are represented among other charges as suppressors of nationalistic rising expectations.

It is our feeling, after inquiring into this matter, that the uprising in Angola has Communist leadership, backing and financing. Again, we feel that it is a part of the overall Communist conspiracy to destroy the United States and the free world.

In its unfair and distorted presentation, NBC unwittingly is serving the Communist cause. Furthermore, NBC, in our opinion, deliberately went out of its way to defame the Portuguese and to becloud the truth. We think this statement can be proved.

I am sure that had NBC used as much initiative in preparing a documentary regarding the Soviet Union's past and present deeds in suppressing human freedom by enslaving and debasing man throughout the world, NBC would have performed not only a patriotic service to the United States but would have contributed to the West in the present struggle for the hearts and minds of men.

We think this is a matter which should be thoroughly investigated by Congress, and we are hopeful that you will introduce resolutions to that effect.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO,
Chairman, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

bc: S. B. Bledsoe.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1961.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: The NBC documentary, "Angola: Journey to a War," broadcast on the night of September 19, was a biased and malicious document. We are enclosing a copy of a pamphlet which is being distributed by a committee of Portuguese-American citizens, of which I am chairman. We are anxious to foster friendship between the United States and Portugal, an ally and member of the NATO alliance and a land long friendly to the United States of America. We apologize for the horrors disclosed, but we feel that the pamphlet is necessary to offset some of the flood of propaganda aimed against Portugal as a part of the overall world Communist conspiracy to destroy NATO and the free world.

The NBC Angola documentary helped to foster this Communist conspiracy. It gave the impression that the uprising was a spontaneous thing caused by Portuguese oppression of the natives. Actually, the Portuguese have pursued for generations an enlightened multiracial policy and many authorities have praised racial harmony in Portuguese Africa.

The Portuguese in Angola were the victims of terrorists who swarmed across the Congo border and murdered men, women, and children without mercy and to the accompaniment of obscene and depraved brutalities and tortures. One of their leaders, Holden Roberto, has said in a newspaper interview that the atrocities were deliberate and calculated. This is a terrible admission. The Portuguese have defended themselves and for this they are represented among other charges as suppressors of nationalistic rising expectations.

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We think this is a matter which should be thoroughly investigated by Congress, and we are hopeful that you will introduce resolutions to that effect.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO,
Chairman, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

bc: S. B. Bledsoe.

Hon. THOMAS J. DODD,
*U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.*

SEPTEMBER 27, 1961.

DEAR SENATOR DODD: The NBC documentary, "Angola: Journey to a War," broadcast on the night of September 19, was a biased and malicious document. We are enclosing a copy of a pamphlet which is being distributed by a committee of Portuguese-American citizens, of which I am chairman. We are anxious to foster friendship between the United States and Portugal, an ally and member of the NATO alliance and a land long friendly to the United States of America. We apologize for the horrors disclosed, but we feel the pamphlet necessary to offset some of the flood of propaganda aimed against Portugal as a part of the overall world Communist conspiracy to destroy NATO and the free world.

The NBC Angola documentary helped to foster this Communist conspiracy. It gave the impression that the uprising was a spontaneous thing caused by Portuguese oppression of the natives. Actually, the Portuguese have pursued for generations an enlightend multiracial policy and many authorities have praised racial harmony in Portuguese Africa.

The Portuguese in Angola were the victims of terrorists who swarmed across the Congo border and murdered men, women, and children without mercy and to the accompaniment of obscene and depraved brutalities and tortures. One of their leaders, Holden Roberto, has said in a newspaper interview that the atrocities were deliberate and calculated. This is a terrible admission. The Portuguese have defended themselves, and for this they are represented among other charges as suppressors of nationalistic rising expectations.

It is our feeling, after inquiring into this matter, that the uprising in Angola has Communist leadership, backing, and financing. Again, we feel that it is a part of the overall Communist conspiracy to destroy the United States and the free world.

In its unfair and distorted presentation, NBC unwittingly is serving the Communist cause. Furthermore, NBC, in our opinion, deliberately went out of its way to defame the Portuguese and to becloud the truth. We think this statement can be proved.

I am sure that had NBC used as much initiative in preparing a documentary regarding the Soviet Union's past and present deeds in suppressing human freedom by enslaving and debasing man throughout the world, NBC would have performed not only a patriotic service to the United States but would have contributed to the West in the present struggle for the heart and minds of men.

We think this is a matter which should be thoroughly investigated by Congress, and we are hopeful that you will introduce resolutions to that effect.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO,

Chairman, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. I note that on the second page you say :

In its unfair and distorted presentation, NBC unwittingly is serving the Communist cause.

Does that refer to the previous broadcast you mentioned that you said you heard?

Mr. CAMACHO. Just to that previous broadcast of Angola, "A Journey to War" by Young and McCormick.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Just to that.

The CHAIRMAN. It says:

Furthermore, NBC, in our opinion, went deliberately out of its way to defame the Portuguese and to becloud the truth. We think this statement can be proved.

That is a statement—this letter was prepared by Selvage & Lee but signed by you, wasn't it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The last paragraph says:

We think this is a matter which should be thoroughly investigated by Congress. We are hopeful that you will introduce resolutions to that effect.

Were such resolutions introduced?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, did the Senators who received these letters know that this letter, these letters, were prepared by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this expression, "In our opinion"—is that intended to convey the belief that this is the opinion of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. CAMACHO. It certainly was intended to convey my opinion and the opinion of the committee that I am representing.

The CHAIRMAN. It says "our opinion," and the way it would read it was intended to convey—

Mr. CAMACHO. The answer is "Yes."

The CHAIRMAN. That it was the committee's.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was such an opinion ever discussed with the members of the committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

DISCLOSURE TO SENATORS OF THE LETTER'S SOURCE

The CHAIRMAN. Was this sent on your letterhead?

Mr. CAMACHO. I noticed the date, Senator, September 26, 1961, and I don't know whether by that time we had stationery under my letterhead. You see, this was, I was employed on September 6, and this is the 26th of September 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this letter labeled with the label that you previously referred to?

Mr. CAMACHO. At this time, sir, my answer would be that this letter was not labeled.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you at any time inform Senator Pastore that you were in the employ of *Selvage & Lee*?

Mr. CAMACHO. I cannot answer that.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Because I have no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no recollection of telling him?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir; I have no recollection of telling him.

The CHAIRMAN. Or Senator Magnuson?

Mr. CAMACHO. Or any of those that are here.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any of these Senators?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I remember.

Mr. CASEY. Excuse me a moment, sir.

Mr. CAMACHO. I told Senator Dodd that I was connected with *Selvage & Lee*.

The CHAIRMAN. You told him about your connections?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no doubt about that.

The CHAIRMAN. But none of the other?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have no definite recollection as to the others.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you tell Senator Dodd about your connection with *Selvage & Lee*?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was sometime in 1962, the early part of 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. Subsequent to the sending of this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

DISCUSSION OF DISCLOSURE TO NEWS MEDIA

The CHAIRMAN. I show you another letter addressed to you by Paul Wagner dated February 12, 1962. It reads:

(The Chairman read the entire letter; a copy of the letter read is as follows:)

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL,
Washington, D.C., February 12, 1962.

Mr. MARTIN T. CAMACHO,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR MARTIN: The enclosed clipping indicates the NBC documentary, "Angola—Journey to a War," is on the educational TV circuit. We are reproducing the Robert Estabrook series in the *Washington Post*, and will get you copies shortly. Suggest you send a letter to your NBC friends with a copy of the Estabrook articles. Enclosed is a suggested letter.

kindest regards,

PAUL WAGNER.

[Handwritten note: O.K.—Filed: February 20—Folder—NBC.]

Is the documentary referred to in this letter the same as the documentary referred to in the Downs memorandum of October 2?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write other letters with respect to this documentary?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think I wrote—I have a recollection of writing to General Sarnoff—yes, General Sarnoff, and also to two other or either, one or two other members of NBC.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your letters to General Sarnoff and the other members of NBC indicate that you were in the employ of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not certain.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no recollection of informing Mr. Sarnoff, or General Sarnoff, that you were in the employ of Selvage & Lee.

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not certain.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is it fair to say you do not recollect—

Mr. CAMACHO. I do not recollect.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Having informed any of them that you were in the employ of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is fair to say that, until I have the contrary evidence produced.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any, if you have any contrary evidence, will you submit it for the record?

(See App. 2, and App. 3.)

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. What makes me hesitate, I know that—you see, Senator, if I were aware of the ramifications of the registration, this Registration Act that these activities have now taken place with your committee all of these things would have been done. But the trouble was I hadn't taken time out to study it, I had no knowledge of the Registration Act so when we started to comply it was nothing, being told. "You do this and you do this," and every time it came to my attention where compliance was required we complied. It wasn't—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Camacho, you are a distinguished graduate of the Harvard Law School, aren't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not, no, Harvard, I have a doctor of philosophy from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, but I am not a graduate of the Harvard Law School.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you were.

Mr. CAMACHO. No, I am a graduate of Suffolk University School of Law, I have two degrees from Harvard, that is the master's degree and a Ph. D.

The CHAIRMAN. You know this law has been on the books since 1938, don't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Frankly, I knew nothing about this law, and I am ashamed to say it, and I was involved for 4 years in investigation work for the U.S. Army as a special agent in all these German organizations that operated prior to the Second World War, but I had, I must confess, no knowledge of this act.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these letters you sent to the Congressmen and General Sarnoff and members of NBC, submitted to the Portuguese-American Committee before they were sent?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they had no knowledge you were sending such letters?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 15

The CHAIRMAN. The Downs memorandum to which we referred just a moment ago refers to a pamphlet called, On the Morning of March 15.

Are you acquainted with such a pamphlet?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a copy of the pamphlet?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is a copy of the pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you describe very briefly its contents?

(A copy of the document referred to is in the committee files.)

Mr. CAMACHO. The pamphlet—I notice this is the one, Senator, that does not have the tab attached.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean the one.

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, this is a pamphlet. There are other pamphlets where the tab of the Selvage & Lee was noted in the last page, and then there were others where the tab was included with a letter on, I think it was entitled "Depravity," and the tab was on these, it was sent out with these pamphlets.

The CHAIRMAN. At what date was this tab attached?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was soon after the Department of Justice got hold of Selvage & Lee, and I think, Mr. Casey was in communication with us but just as soon as we knew about it, we put tabs, these tabs—

The CHAIRMAN. You know about the date, about when?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sometime in early, in the latter part of 1961 when these things were going out.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, is it fair to say that since you did not register as a foreign agent until January 1962, that prior to that time you did not identify yourself as a foreign agent?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, that is a fair statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these pamphlets were sent out prior to the inclusion of a tab?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would have to get information from my secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be several thousand?

Mr. CAMACHO. I wouldn't know the exact number, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a large number?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say—

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't ask for the exact number. Would it be several thousand?

Mr. CAMACHO. It could be several thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you say when that pamphlet or a similar pamphlet was first issued?

Mr. CAMACHO. This was the first pamphlet that was sent out under the name of the committee, and I would venture to say that this one was put out some time in the latter part of 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. On the inside back cover of the pamphlet it states:

You have seen, in the preceding pages, a photographic record of some of the events of March 15.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And:

Now you may well ask, "Are those who inspired and order these acts fit to govern?"

"Are they 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?"

And it says:

Issued by the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, 20 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

Is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this pamphlet in fact issued and distributed by your committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. And it was sent to those whom we had names that were members of the committee or had indicated that they wished to have been members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it sent to Members of Congress?

Mr. CAMACHO. That I do not know, sir. I don't know whether it was sent to Members of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the origin of this document identified in any way apart from the sentences from the inside back cover which I have just read?

Mr. CAMACHO. Was the origin—

The CHAIRMAN. Of that document identified in any way apart from the sentences which I have just read on the inside of the back cover.

Is there anything else in the document to identify its origin?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, in answer to your question, these pamphlets were sent out to a group of this Portuguese mailing list which I have, which I acquired during the Prince Henry celebrations that I have referred to, and when it was first sent out it did not have any other identification aside from what—

The CHAIRMAN. I just read.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

PREPARATION OF THE PAMPHLET

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, who made up that pamphlet?

Mr. CAMACHO. The pamphlet came to my attention through Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they supply you with the pamphlet?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not make it up?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did not make up this pamphlet, any of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any of these pictures?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, I don't know whether Selvage & Lee took the pictures.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Selvage & Lee prepared the textual material in the pamphlet?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is my opinion that someone in Selvage & Lee prepared the text.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. But I do know, I talked with the man who took—

The CHAIRMAN. The pictures?

Mr. CAMACHO. He gave me to understand that he had taken photographs.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was it?

Mr. CAMACHO. He was a fellow in Luanda.
 The CHAIRMAN. What was his name?
 Mr. CAMACHO. I don't have his name.
 The CHAIRMAN. Was he employed by Selvage & Lee?
 Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.
 The CHAIRMAN. How do you know?
 Mr. CAMACHO. Because he told me that he had taken some pictures, and I think he made reference to this pamphlet.
 The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not he sold them to Selvage & Lee?
 Mr. CAMACHO. No, I don't think he sold them.
 The CHAIRMAN. Who was he employed by?
 Mr. CAMACHO. The Portuguese Government.
 The CHAIRMAN. The Portuguese Government.
 Then the Portuguese Government supplied those, an employee of the Portuguese Government supplied those pictures.
 Mr. CAMACHO. It could be that this is a joint effort. I wouldn't say that all the photographs would come from one source.
 The CHAIRMAN. But you talked to a man employed by the Portuguese Government who took some of them at least.
 Mr. CAMACHO. I talked with a man who made me believe as I listened to him that he was responsible for taking some of these pictures.
 The CHAIRMAN. Was that pamphlet printed by the Portuguese Government?
 Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.
 The CHAIRMAN. Who printed it?
 Mr. CAMACHO. To my understanding, Selvage & Lee.
 The CHAIRMAN. Selvage & Lee?
 [Deleted.]

REQUESTS FOR REPRINTS OF MARCH 15 PAMPHLET

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, I show you copies of three letters dated April 18, 1962, November 26, 1961, and February 13, 1962, addressed to the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs from the Los Angeles County Young Republicans, Inc., San Francisco Chapter of Young Americans for Freedom, and the National States Rights Party, respectively, and ask you if you received these letters.
 (Copies of the documents referred to follow:)

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,
 February 13, 1962.

DEAR FRIENDS: Just a note to tell you that we have distributed the 100 copies of "On the Morning of March 15," to important southern Senators, Congressmen and a couple of Governors.

We could easily place 200 more copies in the right hands if you still have any stock left on hand. We are working silently in support of your movement and feel we can help best in that way.

I will be in New York City late this Spring and may get up to Boston—if I do, I will be sure to drop in at your office.

Faithfully,

DR. EDWARD R. FIELDS, (for National States Rights Party).

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM,
San Francisco, Calif., November 26, 1961.

PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIRs: We should like to obtain sample copies of your publications. Also, please inform us of your bulk rates for such publications.

If your group has any representatives in this area, or if there is any similar group active here, we should like to have their names.

With best wishes for your efforts at informing the American public about the Angola affair.

Yours respectfully,

LAURENCE J. FOURNIER,
Chairman, Education Committee.

THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY
YOUNG REPUBLICANS, INC.,
Los Angeles, Calif., April 18, 1962.

PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Boston, Mass.

GENTLEMEN: If at all possible, I would like to know if we could receive free 10,000 each of your booklets "Behind the Terror in African Angola," "The Communists and Angola," and "On the Morning of March 15." We would then arrange for distribution of this literature to our 6,000 members and their friends.

Please let me know if this quantity can be obtained or even greater amounts.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT A. GASTON, *President.*

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say we received those letters.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The Young Republican letter requests 10,000 copies of "On the Morning of March 15" for distribution to the group's 6,000 members and friends.

Was this request complied with by your committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. My answer is "No."

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Because our policy has been to grant only up to 25 copies free.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter of the National States Rights Party reads:

We have distributed the 100 copies of "On the Morning of March 15" to important Southern Senators, Congressmen, and a couple of Governors. We are working silently in support of your movement and feel we can help best in that way.

Why do you think they felt they could work best silently? What significance did that have?

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not sure, Senator, but I think, I have a feeling, that this is the same organization that about a month and a half ago or perhaps a month ago, that I received a call from a man by the name of Isidore Zack, who is head of the Anti-B'nai B'rith, Anti-Defamation League, and Isidore Zack has been known to me for 20—since the war, and he is a member of the New England Intelligence Association, Military Intelligence Association, been the secretary for years. He spoke to me about this group. Now, I hope I have, I believe it is the National States Rights Party, and he asked me some questions, I don't know just exactly but the point involved was that he said something

to me about they being an anti-Semitic group and I told him I had no knowledge as to just what these groups were. I told him that I had a limited objective. I have not associated with any other group. There have been all kinds of calls, Senator, to have me join this and that organization, and I have refused to do so.

I have also informed these people of the objectives of, the limited objectives, of the Portuguese-American Committee and there have been many attempts to have me align with them, the John Birch Society, calls from there, calls from throughout the South, and even with the Christian Crusade and things of that nature and I have kept away from them, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You have kept away from them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did, in fact, Mr. Fields call on you as he indicated he might in this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say since this letter is written in this fashion that he made this, that I received this letter, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I say did he call on you? He says:

I will be in New York City late this spring and may get up to Boston and if I do I may call on your office—

did he call on you, have you ever met Mr. Edward R. Fields, to your knowledge?

Mr. CAMACHO. I cannot recall. My answer would be "No." I don't have—I have no recollection meeting this man.

The CHAIRMAN. That is quite all right. I just want to know. I mean as far as you can possibly recall you don't recall meeting Mr. Fields?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir; maybe I met him but I have no recollection right here as you are asking me did I meet him.

QUESTION OF DISTRIBUTION OF DOCUMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I asked you. I know I meet lots of people that I can't recall, either. I just want to know, do you recall meeting him.

Did you report or did Selvage & Lee report, if you know, in any registration statement with the Department of Justice that the States' Rights Party was distributing documents of this kind for you?

Mr. CAMACHO. To my knowledge, no.

Mr. CASEY. Will you indulge us for a moment?

Mr. CAMACHO. They weren't distributing them for us, they were doing that on their own.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the letter says:

Dear Friend, just a note to tell you that we have distributed the 100 copies of "On the Morning of March 15" to important Southern Congressmen, Senators, Congressmen, and a couple of Governors. We could easily place 200 more copies—

which would indicate they had already distributed 100.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send them 200 more?

Mr. CAMACHO. You will note up in the right-hand corner—I can get you the information as to whether we distributed them but I cannot answer you. But I can get you the information as to whether this

request for an additional 200 was sent out. I can get you that information.

The CHAIRMAN. But this is clear that you had already sent them 100.

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no doubt about that, that is clear.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent them for distribution, didn't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, Senator—

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't want them to keep them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, Senator, every organization and every organization that has requested literature from the committee—

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

Mr. CAMACHO (continuing). Receives it for the purpose of distribution. But that doesn't make them an agent of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. But you sent them with the intention that they distribute them. Why else would you send them?

Mr. CAMACHO. An organization or an individual requests 15 pamphlets, 200 pamphlets. We certainly know the individual is not going to keep them within himself, that they are going to distribute them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I mean, I don't wish to quibble about it but isn't it quite clear that they state, "We have distributed a hundred," you sent them there for that purpose.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; the letter does state that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, isn't that true, that you did?

Mr. CAMACHO. I say that when the Portuguese-American Committee sends out literature, whether it is this pamphlet or any of the many pamphlets—

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CAMACHO (continuing) that it sends it out knowing that the matter is to be disseminated among other people.

The CHAIRMAN. And with the intention that they distribute them.

Mr. CAMACHO. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I wanted to ask you.

Mr. CAMACHO. The only thing is I didn't want you to think that we were in any way getting an association, a working association between the Portuguese-American Committee and themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course, the record speaks for itself. All I am asking is just the factual statement, did you send it to them with the intention that they be distributed?

Did you send out additional documents to the Young Americans for Freedom? That is one of the other letters—Young Americans for Freedom.

Mr. CAMACHO. My answer to that one is the same as the answer to this National States' Rights Party. That I could check to make sure of what was sent out.

The CHAIRMAN. I can understand you can't recall every single one of these. But in view of the nature of the letter, and in view of the fact you sent them to some of the other people, it would be quite reasonable to assume that you did, you have no reason, do you, why you shouldn't send them to this group?

Mr. CAMACHO. The only time where I would—I go along with what you just said. But the only time I would differ would be where they ask for these in large numbers.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. CAMACHO. Where they have to pay for them. We don't let them have them under those circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. But you see no reasons why you shouldn't have sent the Young Americans for Freedom some pamphlets.

Mr. CAMACHO. I have no reason, they could have asked for 25 and I would have sent them.

The CHAIRMAN. The only limiting factor is you couldn't send them 10,000 without being paid?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. These were supplied to you, however, without cost, were they not, by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. However, I mean obviously these are pretty costly, and Selvage & Lee, there was some limit as to how many they were willing to supply you without costs, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir; they had their budget.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

REQUEST FOR REPRINTS NOTED IN MEMO OF AUGUST 13, 1962

I show you a memorandum to Mr. Paul Wagner dated August 13, 1962, signed "Ida" and ask you if you have any knowledge of the matters referred to in this memorandum.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

MEMO

Date: August 13, 1962.

To: Mr. Paul Wagner, Washington Office.

Paul, how should I handle the following requests—copies of request are attached:

American Friends of Katanga, Max Yergen, Chairman.

John Birch Society.

John H. Defar, M.D., Nevada

National States' Rights Party.

With the forthcoming investigation, I am wondering if these people should be associated with our Committee in the distribution of our material.

IDA.

[Handwritten note: Mail per P. Wagner.]

Mr. CAMACHO. This letter I recall Ida discussing it with me. I know, this strikes a chord within my memory, that I know something about this, that this was discussed.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Ida?

Mr. CAMACHO. Ida is my secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Ida Pementa?

Mr. CAMACHO. Ida Pementa.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that writing in the left-hand corner there your writing?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir; that apparently is——

The CHAIRMAN. Is Ida's?

Mr. CAMACHO. You mean "Mail per P. Wagner"?

The CHAIRMAN. "Mail per P. Wagner"?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is not mine.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Ida's?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think that is Ida's.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, you say you recalled this.

Mr. CAMACHO. I recall discussion on something of this nature where there had been certain organizations that have requested this literature that we have not sent it out to them. For example, that group that is headed by some man by the name of Rockwell.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Fascist, the Nationalist Party.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, we have had no truck with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Did you suggest to your secretary that she make this inquiry to Mr. Wagner contained in the closing paragraph?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sometimes she exercises some initiative in these matters and she may have inquired but the chances are that I, having read this thing, would suggest to her that she make the inquiry of Paul Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. Ask Mr. Wagner whether or not they sent them to these people?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I am not certain as to this particular item as to whether I said it to her or whether she persisted on her own initiative.

The CHAIRMAN. Look at the last paragraph. It says:

With the forthcoming investigation, I am wondering if these people should be associated with our committee in the distribution of our material.

I wonder if you could explain the significance of that paragraph?

Mr. CAMACHO. Ida Pementa is a very efficient and dedicated individual. She is in this thing for the same objective, the limited objective which we have, with regard to Portugal and its overseas provinces. She does not want to associate herself with any group which she considers to be detrimental in promoting our limited objective.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, she is working for you.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you both have that same view, I take it.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir. And that is the only view that we will have and the only view that we have told the members of our committee, those who have indicated—

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, this first sentence—phrase, “With the forthcoming investigation,” to what investigation does that refer?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know whether it—frankly—

The CHAIRMAN. This is August of 1962.

Mr. CAMACHO. I know it.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you received notice of the investigation of this committee by that time?

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, I can't say “Yes” to that question. The only time—

The CHAIRMAN. What other investigation could it have referred to, that you know of?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know of any other one?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, although I remember—

The CHAIRMAN. You discussed this with Ida, didn't you? You said you did.

Mr. CAMACHO. I remember that when I started in this work, Senator, Professor Holcome told me that whatever I was doing there was always a chance for an investigation by the U.S. Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. This says:

With the forthcoming investigation.

There wasn't any probability about it. There was an investigation underway, wasn't there? Isn't that the purpose of the memorandum? It says:

With the forthcoming investigation I am wondering if these people should be associated with our committee.

Isn't it quite clear what it means?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is quite apparent from the way it is written that she had this investigation in mind or some investigation in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know of no other one she could have had in mind?

Mr. CAMACHO. In can't—I do not know of any other.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure you didn't have this in mind?

Mr. CAMACHO. I?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. No. You are asking me now as personal?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not understand. You did or did not have this investigation in mind. I don't see anything to quibble about it.

Mr. CAMACHO. No, from my own point of view this wouldn't have any bearing on my distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not? You say, it says:

Paul, how should I handle the following requests—copies of requests are attached, American Friends of Katanga, John Birch Society, John H. Detar, M.D., Nevada, National States Rights Party.

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, suppose I had in mind the investigation which is being conducted by your committee—

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CAMACHO (continuing). It would not be for me, it would not be the determining factor as to whether distribution is to be made to these organizations. If I felt that an organization was not to be associated with us, I would knock it off.

The CHAIRMAN. What was on Ida's mind, in your opinion? You say she is a trusted and intimate associate of yours in this business.

Mr. CAMACHO. I wouldn't say—she is a trusted but not an intimate.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean you know her well.

Mr. CAMACHO. I know her well.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have confidence in her?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I have confidence in her.

The CHAIRMAN. And you confer about these matters. You said in the beginning you had conferred about this matter with her.

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, let's put it this way, then, if—all I can recall is that there was a discussion as to whether the distribution to these various organizations, that is all I can tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. With this note there, I don't know what it means, but one meaning of "mail per P. Wagner" could indicate that you decided to mail them, that is the response; isn't that correct.

Mr. CAMACHO. She could have written that herself, that is not my handwriting.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. Is that what you think the meaning was or did you in fact know, did you in fact mail to any of the Friends of Katanga any of these pamphlets?

Mr. CAMACHO. If by reading the "mail per Paul Wagner" those pamphlets were distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Your opinion is that they were distributed?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, there were pamphlets distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. To them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, with regard to Ida since she plays an important part, does Selvage & Lee pay her?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. She is an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much does she get?

Mr. CAMACHO. \$110.

The CHAIRMAN. A week?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir. She is doing this at a sacrifice; she worked for the General Electric.

CONGRESSIONAL VISITS

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of what appears to be a list of Senators and Congressmen to be visited during the period April 30, 1962, through May 4, 1962, and ask if you can identify the document?

Mr. CAMACHO. All these names are familiar to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can you identify the document?

Mr. CAMACHO. I cannot identify this particular document.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this document not come from your files?

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

Subject: Washington Trip.

Re: Visit to Congress.

Date: April 30 to May 4, 1962.

List of Senators and Representatives:

Senators:

Office of Thomas J. Dodd (D.), Connecticut ✓

Mr. Robert Martin (sic), Advisor

Albert Gore (D.), Tennessee ✓

Office of Hubert H. Humphrey (D.), Minnesota ✓

Mr. Jack Pietrow ✓

John O. Pastore (D.), Rhode Island ✓

Office of Claiborne Pell (D.), Rhode Island ✓

Mr. Robert McAllister

Office of Benjamin Atwood Smith II (D.), Massachusetts

Mr. McIntyre

Representatives:

Ralph F. Beermann (R.), Nebraska

Horace Seely-Brown, Jr. (R.), Connecticut ✓

Hastings Keith (R.), Massachusetts

Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (R.), Massachusetts

Foreign Relations Committee

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D.), Massachusetts ✓

Subject: Washington Trip.

Re: Visit to Congress.

Date: May 10, 1962.

List of Representatives:

Horace Seely-Brown, Jr. (R.), Connecticut

Cornelius E. Gallagher (D.), New Jersey

Ralph R. Harding (D), Idaho

John S. Monagan (D.), Connecticut

William T. Murphy (D.), Illinois

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D.), Massachusetts

(Horace Seely-Brown, Jr., wants a brief summary of what findings.)

Porter Hardy Jr., 301 Old House Office Building	John McCormack, Capitol Building
Henry S. Reuss, 1718 New House Office Building	Thomas O'Neill, 317 OHOB
Elizabeth Kee, 1016 NHOB	Florence Dwyer, 1631 NHOB
John S. Monagan, 1528 NHOB	Robert Barry, 1430 NHOB
George Meader, 305 OHOB	Donald C. Bruce, 422 OHOB
Robert P. Griffin, 1221 NHOB	Ralph Beermann, 1232 NHOB
George Miller, 506 OHOB	W. J. Bryan Dorn, 221 OHOB
B. F. Sisk, 421 OHOB	Craig Hosmer, 530 OHOB
John Francis Shelley, 505 OHOB	James B. Utt, 322 OHOB
Robert Wilson, 114 OHOB	Thomas E. Morgan, 502 OHOB
Horace Seely-Brown, 1401 NHOB	Marguerite S. Church, 1530 NHOB
Dante B. Fascell, 1127 NHOB	William T. Murphy, 1628 NHOB
	John H. Rousselot, 1239 NHOB

Mr. CAMACHO. This document—I mean, I cannot by memory, I recall a similar document, in other words, every name that is here I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in fact this document did come from your files, is that not so, it is a copy of a document that was in your files if you want to be precise?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, if it was in my files then I had it.

The CHAIRMAN. It was. Don't you recollect if there was such a document?

Mr. CAMACHO. I recollect a similar document but as to one I don't recollect.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this is a copy. We acknowledge that. We are not pretending this is the original.

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir, if this document came from my files, then I must have seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you no recollection that such a document was in your files?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have the recollection of a document of this nature.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you, in fact, make a trip to Washington on April 30 to May 4, 1962? Do you recollect that?

Mr. CAMACHO. I saw these men; I can tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you see them, in Washington or in Boston?

Mr. CAMACHO. In Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you did, didn't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you hesitate? I don't know that such an answer can prejudice you.

Mr. CAMACHO. It is not that question, I am telling you the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I am asking. Did you come to Washington?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why don't you say "Yes"?

Mr. CAMACHO. I came to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Just say so. It will shorten this up and everybody will go home much happier and quicker if you will just say "Yes."

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that refresh your memory that you did come to Washington on April 30 to May 4?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. I came to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you visit all or some of the names on this list?

Mr. CAMACHO. I visited not all. I visited many of the names that are listed here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that is right. That is all I wanted to know. Did you visit them alone or with anyone in your company?

Mr. CAMACHO. I visited these fellows alone, to the best of my knowledge. I visited these men alone, that is those that I visited, I visited alone.

IDENTIFICATION OF PRINCIPAL TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

The CHAIRMAN. How did you identify yourself to these Members of Congress when you visited them?

Mr. CAMACHO. When I had the opportunity to identify myself, and what I was doing, I identified myself fully.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean "had the opportunity." When you went into their office or requested an appointment, didn't you have an opportunity to identify yourself with all of them?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is difficult, very difficult, trying to see some of these men, and when they do see you, some of them cast off identifying statements and others want identifying statements.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you volunteer to them what you were doing?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. You take men like Horace Seely-Brown, and O'Neill, and Martin; those men, I identified myself fully to those men.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean? How do you mean "fully"?

Mr. CAMACHO. Told them I was working for Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. You did?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that Selvage & Lee were working for the Portuguese Government or Portuguese principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. I told them that I was working for Selvage & Lee, and I told them what Selvage & Lee were doing.

The CHAIRMAN. That they were employed by a Portuguese principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. In some instances, I told them they were employed by a Portuguese principal.

The CHAIRMAN. What instance did you tell them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Mr. Thomas P. O'Neill, for example, I told him.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the only one? Do you know him personally?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he your Congressman?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, he was my Congressman, and Torbert Macdonald is the Congressman from the area in which I live at the present time. But I have known Thomas P. O'Neill for many years. He is a friend of mine.

The CHAIRMAN. You think Congressman O'Neill—is he still in the Congress?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You think he would tell us that he knew you were working for Selvage & Lee who represented a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. He will tell you that I told him that I was being paid by Selvage & Lee, and he will also, I believe, tell you that Selvage & Lee were hired by a foreign, some association from Portugal, and he will tell you further that I used his office the same as if I were in my

own office. That I used his staff there the same as if I were in my own office, he will tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you use it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose?

Mr. CAMACHO. On this Portuguese day that took place last year.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you use it for? Did you send out letters from his office?

Mr. CAMACHO. I used—I had the facilities of his office.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send out letters from his office? Use his staff?

Mr. CAMACHO. I used his staff.

The CHAIRMAN. To send out letters?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think that—no, not letters; but his staff called up other Members of the Congress with whom I was able to converse.

For example, I think he called Senator Gore's office and I had an interview with Senator Gore through the good offices of Mr. O'Neill.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman O'Neill's staff made appointments for you with other Members of Congress?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Did they, when they asked if you could see Senator Gore, inform them that you were working for Selvage & Lee who represented a foreign principal.

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they know it?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall anything like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell any of the other Senators or Congressmen?

Mr. CAMACHO. I do not recall that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall that?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they send out any letters on your behalf?

Mr. CAMACHO. My recollection is they did not send out any letters.

The hesitation comes in after the Portuguese Day, the various talks that were given were printed in pamphlet form and distributed. I don't know whether some were distributed by his office. I know we distributed quite a pile, quite a number of them, but that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay Mr. O'Neill's staff for any work they did for you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, I paid nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know at that time that Senator Gore was chairman of the African Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. If Senator Gore—you see, so many of these men, and the recollection, if I saw a picture, I want to make sure it was Senator Gore. He is a nice looking man, he was formerly a Representative.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CAMACHO. Then he is the man I spoke to; I enjoyed talking to him.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a very fine looking man and he will appreciate your compliment. He is young, vigorous, very active, and very intelligent.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, that is the man.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did have a conference with him?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I did have a conference with him.

The CHAIRMAN. That was set up by the staff of—

Mr. CAMACHO. Tip O'Neill.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman O'Neill.

Mr. CAMACHO. I think Congressman O'Neill himself called him.

The CHAIRMAN. When you spoke to Senator Gore, did you tell Senator Gore that you were representing Selvage & Lee, which was registered as a representative of a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is hard for me to remember—

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that is important?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, it is very important. Now, it is very important, Senator, that this identification be brought out. But in some instances, it wasn't brought out, and I don't recall in what instances it was brought out, in what instances it was not brought out.

Let me give you just one illustration of the difficulty.

For example, I identified myself fully with Representative Murphy from Illinois. I identified myself fully to Tip O'Neill.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "fully," do you mean you explained your relationship with Selvage & Lee and their relationship to their Portuguese principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well—

The CHAIRMAN. Or did you just say you were a graduate of Harvard?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, no, I told them I was being paid—

The CHAIRMAN. You did?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir; I told them I was a lobbyist and I was being paid by Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were working on behalf of the Portuguese principal; is that correct?

You didn't know Senator Gore prior to this time, did you?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you went into his office, didn't you volunteer an identification of your interest in being there? You, not being a constituent, had no particular claim upon his attention, did you, unless you made known your purpose.

Mr. CAMACHO. If Senator Gore asked me to identify myself, I identified myself, and I would say that I did identify myself to Senator Gore.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't mean your name.

Mr. CAMACHO. I identified myself as to the fact I was working for Selvage & Lee.

Again, it is hard, maybe I am culpable to the fullest extent that you want me to be.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not trying to assess your culpability. I want to know the facts. Did you in fact or not do it? Did you say, "Senator Gore, you are very kind to allow me to come here. I come in behalf of my principal Selvage & Lee, who are representing a foreign principal; I want it understood that is the capacity in which I address these remarks?"

Did you say anything similar to that to Senator Gore?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not having definite memory or recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. This wasn't very long ago, you know.

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, I saw quite a number of these people.

The CHAIRMAN. This is just a year ago, almost to the day; just about a year ago.

Did you say anything similar to that to Senator Gore?

Mr. CAMACHO. I certainly told him that I was working for Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell him that you were chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs; you told him that, didn't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I told him that, and told him——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go any further than that, and tell him that you were in the employ of Selvage & Lee which represented a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. I cannot answer you "yes" or "no" to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Because my recollection is that to many I fully disclosed myself, telling them I was working for Selvage & Lee. To some I did not, because I didn't have the opportunity to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the purpose of telling them you were chairman of the committee, Portuguese-American Committee, and not telling them that you represented Selvage & Lee which represented a foreign principal.

Mr. CAMACHO. I repeat that in some instances I identified myself by stating that I was working for Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. And in other instances——

Mr. CAMACHO. Well——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you at any time say that Selvage & Lee represented a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Foreign principal?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you?

Mr. CAMACHO. In some instances, I did say that; in other instances I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you identify one instance in which you said that?

Mr. CAMACHO. To Tip O'Neill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the only one you can identify?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, he is the only one I am sure I can identify.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the only one; you are sure you told him.

Mr. CAMACHO. I think to Representative Murphy.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you known Representative Murphy before?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir; but he is very learned in African affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. That is William T. Murphy of Illinois?

(See App. 3.)

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you can recall no other one that you identified?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not for certain.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of your visit to these Congressmen?

Mr. CAMACHO. The purpose of the visit to these Congressmen, it was principally to see if we could have a Portuguese Day set up in the Congress of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean, "We could have it." Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Myself and the committee that I represented.

The CHAIRMAN. And Selvage & Lee. You were doing this in behalf of your employment with Selvage & Lee, were you not?

Mr. CAMACHO. I was doing it—yes, I was doing it in behalf of Selvage & Lee, who certainly wanted to get the day set up.

The CHAIRMAN. It was partly in your duties as an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps this report—

Mr. CAMACHO. And may I add, it is not just Selvage & Lee, but I as an individual with my own personal convictions wanted such a thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

REPORT DATED JULY 2-3, 1962, ON WASHINGTON TRIP

Perhaps it would refresh your memory a bit—I show you a report, Mr. Camacho, dated July 2-3, 1962—this is what, 2 months later, 2 or 3 months later from the other and ask you to identify that document, if you will.

Mr. CAMACHO. The statement I made here a little while ago, I said, "P.S.—Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts made available to me the facilities of his office and his staff in any work with the Congress of the United States," it is right here in the back, the statement I just testified to.

The CHAIRMAN. This document is a document which you prepared?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir; dictated.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

TRIP REPORT, WASHINGTON

Visited Congress; by Martin T. Camacho; date, July 2-3, 1962

Visited: Representative Silvio Conte (R.), Massachusetts, Pittsfield District.
Representative William H. Bates (R.), Massachusetts, Gloucester, Peabody, and Salem Districts.

I conferred with Rep. Conte and Rep. Bates. The conference took place in Rep. Bates' office. Both men have constituencies of Portuguese-American citizens. Both demonstrated a sympathetic attitude with the points of view of the Portuguese relative to the problems of Angola and Mozambique, and both displayed a good overall, general knowledge of the subject.

Rep. Conte stated that he had just returned from a breakfast with Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Rep. Conte made some off-the-record statements relative to what Sec. of State Rusk had to say regarding United States foreign policy and Portugal. The substance of these statements indicate that Rep. Conte felt that Sec. of State Rusk considered the United States-Portuguese situation encouraging.

Rep. Bates declared that receiving views from people who were expert in matters of public interest was an essential part of a Congressman's work and that he appreciated very much my views and that he could not agree with me more.

7-2-62.

Visited: Representative Harlan Hagen (D.), California.

Spoke with with Rep. Harlon Hagen approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. He walked with me down to the House and introduced me to Rep. Armistead I. Selden, Jr. (D), from North Carolina.

Both men were very sympathetic to what I had to say with regard to Portugal and Portuguese East and West Africa. Rep. Hagen suggested that I speak at length with every representative on the Foreign Relations Committee, especially the members of the subcommittee dealing with African affairs. He advised that he considered William T. Murphy, Rep. of the State of Illinois, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and of the subcommittee on African affairs, was one of the most effective members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and that I should work closely with him.

He wanted to introduce me to Rep. William Murphy, but I told him that I had already met Rep. Murphy and would soon be in touch with him again.

Rep. Armistead I. Selden, Jr., appeared to be impressed with the brief report that I gave him on United States foreign policy relative to Portuguese East and West Africa. Rep. Selden is a dynamic type of man who demonstrated a willingness to help.

7-2-62.

Visited: Mr. Donald Henderson, Secretary to Senator Albert Gore and Staff Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Spoke to Mr. Henderson. I found this man to be very cooperative and friendly. He was very knowledgeable in the foreign relations problem of Portugal relative to the United States and the United Nations. He seemed to indicate a warm and sympathetic understanding of the Portuguese side of the problem but was extremely nervous and hesitant about my reporting anything that he had to say, although he was very frank in his declarations.

He suggested that Senators such as Saltonstall, Pastore, Symington, Fulbright and Gore should be seen and recommended that I make every effort to see them. He discussed the Portuguese reforms and mentioned timetable and target dates. It was my feeling that Mr. Henderson could be put down as a man who, if he were to express a personal opinion relative to the United States foreign policy and Portugal, such opinion would reflect a sympathetic understanding and approach to the Portuguese situation.

He appeared to appreciate very keenly the dichotomy of the United States position, and as reflected in the open declarations by the United States delegation at the United Nations and the actual vote on the resolutions. He felt that U.S. foreign policy relative to Portugal reflected White House attitude and not just the attitude of men like Adlai Stevenson.

At the conclusion of our talk, Henderson requested that he remain anonymous, nameless and faceless. His wishes in this regard should be respected.

7-2-62.

Visited: Representative John J. McFall (D), from California.

Rep. McFall demonstrated a very bright knowledge regarding Portuguese foreign affairs and the specific problem of Portuguese East and West Africa. He suggested that several of the senators such as Fulbright, Gore and Symington should be contacted. Rep. McFall impressed me as a being a moderate liberal. He stated he would like an expression of opinion from the Portuguese constituency within the area of his representation. Rep. McFall discussed the question of reforms in Portugal. He thought that Portugal should set a timetable and a target date.

He declared that self-determination, if it meant anything, it certainly meant that a choice must be given the people of Angola following a period of preparation; that only in that way would it be possible to know the wishes of the people of Angola as to whether they wished independence, retention of their traditional status with Portugal, or some other arrangements.

He mentioned the choice given to the people of Algeria by France. He insisted over and over again that Portugal should consider a timetable for a plebiscite.

Rep. McFall could be of good influence for the Portuguese cause in Africa.

7-2-62.

Visited: Mr. Jack Pietrow, Office of Senator Hubert Humphrey.

Mr. Pietrow listened carefully to several points of view relative to the apparent thinking of the State Department, and while sympathetic, remained noncommittal.

He stated that when an opportunity afforded, he would speak to Senator Humphrey.

7-2-62.

Visited: Representative Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D.), New Jersey.

Rep. Rodino stated that he was not on the Foreign Affairs Committee. He said that he was very much interested in the problem of Portugal and her overseas provinces of Angola and Mozambique.

He said that he would desire an expression of opinion from his constituency that represented Portuguese-American citizens and that he would contribute everything he could with regard to the matters which we discussed relative to Portugal such as introducing resolutions in the Congress.

7-2-62.

Visited: Office of Senator Leverett Saltonstall (R.), Massachusetts.

Spoke to: Mr. John Jackson, Appointment Secretary.

This man listened very carefully what was said to him relative to Portugal and her overseas provinces of Angola and Mozambique. He stated that he would like to work along with me, and he suggested that I talk with Donald Henderson, secretary to Senator Gore, and also a staff member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He said that after I had spoken to Mr. Henderson that I should return to him to determine what my next steps would be.

He made mention of seeing such Senators as:

Sen. Albert Gore (D.), Tennessee

Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.), Arkansas

Just before leaving, Mr. Jackson reflected that he had not been aware of the many intricacies of the problem relative to American-Portuguese-African relations.

7-2-62.

Visited: Representative B. F. Sisk (D.), California.

Rep. Sisk would like to have me return to talk further on the matters of Portugal, the United States, and the United Nations. Rep. Sisk was very much interested and expressed that people like himself were dependent upon men who were experts on the subject as the one presented to him and suggested that I return soon to discuss again the topics touched upon.

He also desired an expression from his constituency.

7-2-62.

SUMMARIZATION

From general observation as a result of conferences with the foregoing representatives and staff members, there seems to be an indication that these men are now disposed to confer and discuss the foreign relations problem regarding Portugal with open minds, and they so stated that they appreciated hearing from such people as myself, who had the knowledge of the problem and who represented the other side of the coin.

It is also felt that these representatives desire an expression of opinion from their constituents in those instances where a portion of their constituency reflected people of Portuguese descent.

As a further observation, in the future when working with the Members of the House of Representatives, contact must be made with approximately two or three men such as: Representative William T. Murphy of Illinois, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee; Horace Seely-Brown, Jr., of Connecticut, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee; Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and Representative Joseph W. Martin, Republican from Massachusetts.

Representative Murphy has also demonstrated a desire to help in the same manner as Representative Seely-Brown, and these men in their open declarations appear to indicate a development of a body of opinion that will prove helpful in the end with regard to the Portuguese oversea problem of Angola and Mozambique.

My final conclusion is that a substantial portion of the Members of Congress and the House of Representatives are willing to work with me and to do something about this problem.

Submitted by:

MARTIN T. CAMACHO,

Chairman, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, Boston.

JULY 12, 1962.

P.S.—Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts, has made available to me the facilities of his office and his staff in my work with the Congress of the United States.

M.T.C.

(See App. 3.)

REPORT ON VISITS TO CONGRESSMEN

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. This report refers, among other things, to a visit to Representatives Conte and Bates of Massachusetts, and states:

Both men have constituencies of Portuguese-American citizens.

The report also refers to a visit to Representative John J. McFall, of California, and states with reference to the Congressman :

He stated he would like an expression of opinion from the Portuguese constituency within the area of his representation.

Did you represent to these Congressmen and the others visited, that you had some connection with their Portuguese-American constituencies?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, the first one, Conte, yes; Bates, yes, McFall, no.

REFERENCE TO PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN CONSTITUENTS

The CHAIRMAN. Did you represent to these gentlemen that the views expressed by you during these visits constituted the opinion of their Portuguese-American constituents?

Mr. CAMACHO. No. No, that is absolutely out.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you represent to them?

Mr. CAMACHO. I represented the point of view that I have expressed since early January of 1961, that I think the—this whole matter regarding the foreign policy of the United States, regarding the demands being made on the country of Portugal to dismember its overseas provinces, is unjust, and that it will promote evil, and that there is no basis of either humanity or justice attached to it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you think was the significance of the reference to their Portuguese-American constituents?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would take that the significance of that is that a Portuguese-American, U.S. citizens of Portuguese descent, would be interested in promoting this type of information to inform the American public as to the facts regarding this whole issue of Portugal and her overseas provinces.

One other thing, the information, the propaganda, if you want to put it, and it is all propaganda, but if you want to put it, this information which has been prevalent from the American Committee on Africa, from the Methodist Board of Missions in which they describe the Portuguese as sadistic, as brutal, and I have even heard to the point of being congenitally so, for example, mangling, I don't want to be associated with any race of people, I don't want the race from which I descend to be classified as perverted, cruel, and sadistic. As a matter of self-interest I would be interested in saving face.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice in the first or the second page, the first page of your visits where you, it is headed "Visit to Silvio Conte and Representative Bates," the last paragraph says :

Representative Bates declared that receiving views from people who were expert in matters of public interest was an essential part of a Congressman's work and that he appreciated very much my views and that he could not agree with me more.

Did you represent to Representative Bates that you were an expert on this matter?

Mr. CAMACHO. That I was an expert?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I very seldom say that I am an expert in anything. I am no expert.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that mean?

Mr. CAMACHO. I expressed my views, the knowledge which I had gathered. If he says—

The CHAIRMAN. This is your report.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; but, Senator, he was the one who expressed this word "expert."

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. I didn't represent to him and say I was an expert in this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't he consider you an expert in this matter?

Mr. CAMACHO. He used the word, "expert" I can tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not consider—

Mr. CAMACHO. If he used the word "expert" then it is fair to assume he considered me an expert but I am not putting myself out as an expert.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not mean to put you in a position of bragging but your coming here in the capacity of chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, was intended to impress him with the fact that you were an expert, wasn't it, regardless of what you might say?

Mr. CAMACHO. No. My purpose of seeing Representative Bates was for the purpose of discussing with him the problems confronting Portugal and her overseas provinces and the demands being made to surrender these provinces immediately, forthwith, to so-called leaders as Holden Roberto and others.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that, but you are relating here what Representative Bates said to you which would leave impression that he got the impression that you came as an expert in these matters, did he not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir, if he got that impression, that is his, the workings of his mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Not the workings of my mind.

It is from the information and discussion I had. If he felt after he heard what I had to say with him and after comparing it from the information he had already received from others he felt I spoke as an expert that is the operation of his mind.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. You consider him a rational person; don't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was this report submitted?

Mr. CAMACHO. Salvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Salvage & Lee.

Do you know to whom Salvage & Lee submitted this report; did they submit it to their foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir, I have no knowledge what they did with the report.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know. Well, since we are on this question of being an expert, do you regard yourself as expert on Portuguese affairs?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is so much to learn that I don't know. There is so much to learn in this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. If you don't consider yourself as an expert or well-versed in it why do you presume to tell people about it?

Mr. CAMACHO. I consider myself well versed.

The CHAIRMAN. Well versed.

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, I consider myself informed.

The CHAIRMAN. You consider myself well informed on matters affecting Angola and Mozambique in Africa?

Mr. CAMACHO. Above the average citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, and, therefore, that is why you presume to undertake these visits to inform Members of Congress about these matters. This is a common practice.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why you went; is it not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

SUBMITTAL OF REPORT

The CHAIRMAN. Did you submit this report to the members of your committee, that is the Portuguese-American Committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did not submit this particular report. I submitted what, I don't know—

The CHAIRMAN. I was only talking about this report. We will come to other ones.

Mr. CAMACHO. I submitted an activity report to the—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you submit this report to any member of the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, to Mr. Teixeira, for example, or any other member of the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall. I would say "No." I would say "No."

The CHAIRMAN. Did you submit any similar report to any member of the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall.

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. In your statement regarding your visit to Senator Saltonstall, where you spoke to Mr. John Jackson, his appointment secretary, you state:

Just before leaving Mr. Jackson reflected that he had not been aware of the many intricacies of the problem relative to American-Portuguese-African relations.

Does that statement not indicate that you had revealed to him many intricacies with which he had not previously been aware?

Mr. CAMACHO. It certainly does.

The CHAIRMAN. So it confirms what we previously said that you know far more about these activities than the average person; is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall that in July of 1961, that you, at that time did you, make a report to the Portuguese Embassy, any member of the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; we had dinner at the Portuguese Embassy, and I gave a little speech there, and criticized them.

The CHAIRMAN. Criticized them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. What about?

Mr. CAMACHO. I told them that they should have been distributing more information regarding the whole problem of Portugal, and they should have cultivated better ties so that when a matter of this nature

arose, they would have had a knowledgeable public to depend on to inform the rest of the American public as to the problem involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you inform them about your visit to the State Department?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed, just, I don't want to bore you with it, but on this question of your impressing these people, after your visit to Representative B. F. Sisk, of California, you state in your report as follows:

Representative Sisk would like to have me return to talk further on matters of Portugal, the United States, and United Nations. Representative Sisk was very much interested and expressed that people like himself were dependent upon men who were experts on the subject as the one presented to him and suggested I return soon to discuss again the topics touched upon.

Would that not indicate that he considered you an expert of these matters?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

LETTER DATED DECEMBER 31, 1962, REFERRING TO SPECIAL ORDER

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated December 31, 1962, addressed to the Honorable George P. Miller from Martin T. Camacho and ask you if you sent this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I sent this letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you draft this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Selvage & Lee have anything to do with the drafting?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir. In fact, I have been promoting the thought that is expressed in this letter. The initiative on this has come from me.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put this letter in the record.
(The letter referred to follows:)

DECEMBER 31, 1962.

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MILLER: I am enclosing a copy of the proceedings which took place on Friday, October 5, 1962, in the Congress of the United States relative to the Special Order by Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts, regarding "Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States." This Special Order has proved of great merit in apprising interested groups throughout the country of the issues and facts involved in the anti-colonial movement against Portugal and her oversea provinces.

Indications are that there has been an easing of the tense situation existing between the United States and Portugal within recent months. This has been reflected by the vote of the United States at the United Nations on various committee resolutions.

My information regarding the demographic factors in California is that there are approximately 750,000 citizens of Portuguese extraction living in California. Many of the Congressmen with whom I conferred prior to the Special Order of Congressman O'Neill, indicated a willingness to participate if the Special Order were to be set up during the early part of 1963.

Would you be willing to sponsor and/or participate in another Special Order on "Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States" sometime in early 1963?

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

P.S. I am enclosing a radio address which I made on Sunday, October 14, 1962, in Lynn, Massachusetts. It was well received, and I beg you to read it.

MTC.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter, which will appear in the record, refers to a Special Order by Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts regarding "Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States," notes that—

there are approximately 750,000 citizens of Portuguese extraction living in California—

and asks Congressman Miller—

Would you be willing to sponsor and/or participate in another special order on "Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States" sometime in early 1963?

Is it not the effect of this letter to represent to Congressman Miller that if he does not consent to sponsor or participate in another Special Order with respect to Portugal this would have an adverse effect on the 750,000 Californians of Portuguese extraction and that you had some connection with these persons?

Mr. CAMACHO. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of it?

Mr. CAMACHO. The significance of that letter is to point out that there are 750,000 U.S. citizens of Portuguese extraction living in California. That these people, being of Portuguese descent, are very much interested and concerned as to what happens to the question of Portugal and the overseas provinces simply because they are Portuguese, and they are interested in the problem as to how are the Portuguese being characterized or described by such critics as the American Committee on Africa and the American Board of Methodist Missionaries.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence do you have that these 750,000 citizens of Portuguese descent living in California agree with your views about this matter?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't have any evidence that they agree with my views. I can only say that they being of Portuguese descent would have a natural interest in the traditions, culture, and background of their ancestors.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had no personal knowledge of their attitude, have you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I visited California back in 1948 and I traveled—

The CHAIRMAN. This was long before this particular problem arose.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. But I talked with many people out there, and my—I have relatives out there in San Jose and Santa Clara.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell us how many of these 750,000 members in California are members of your committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Gee, I wouldn't say any of them are.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't say any of them are?

Mr. CAMACHO. But I am anxious to go out there, Senator—

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been out there to solicit membership?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; but I am anxious to do so.

SPECIAL ORDER OF CONGRESSMAN O'NEILL

The CHAIRMAN. Did you represent to Congressman O'Neill with regard to his Special Order that his constituents of Portuguese ancestry were interested in this matter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir, that came from himself and he will tell you that if you talk to him.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not represent to him that they agreed with your position?

Mr. CAMACHO. That came from himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the answer is no, then, that you did not, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. There could have been discussion but I recall with him it came from himself.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of this special order of Congressman O'Neill? What happened in that?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, there have been special orders—

The CHAIRMAN. What happened in this one?

Mr. CAMACHO. On the night of—I forget the exact night when this happened, whether it was a Thursday or Friday night last year, the Congressman was given, had asked for time for a special order, and then made the opening address, and then he was followed by people like Representative Conte.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Representative Conte of Portuguese extraction?

Mr. CAMACHO. He is Italian, sir. But in the Pittsfield area of the place where he comes from, are a group of Portuguese citizens; my own brother is up there.

REPRINTS MAILED OF CONGRESSMAN O'NEILL'S SPECIAL ORDER

The CHAIRMAN. I see. With respect to the O'Neill Special Order, did your committee secure reprints of that order of what went on on the floor.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; they did.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they mailed out by your committee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom were they mailed? Were they mailed to the Congressman's constituents?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In whose envelopes were they mailed out? Were they mailed out in yours?

Mr. CAMACHO. The Congressman furnished our committee with the envelopes.

The CHAIRMAN. With the envelopes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Franked envelopes?

Mr. CAMACHO. There were no stamps on them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is a franked envelope then, is that correct? You don't have to look at Mr. Casey, to know whether or not that is true.

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know. All I can tell you is we had envelopes from his office.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. They are franked envelopes.

Mr. CAMACHO. We put the pamphlet in there and mailed them out.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. You didn't put stamps on the envelopes?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall any stamps going on the envelopes he sent us.

MAILING LIST

The CHAIRMAN. How many did they send out, do you know?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is a point of information which I don't know now but can obtain for you.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it several thousand?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What mailing list did you use in sending these?

Mr. CAMACHO. We used a regular mailing list, but I think we also used—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the regular mailing list?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is a regular mailing list that came, that derived from the original group of the committee on the quincennial anniversary of Prince Henry, the navigator, and we followed that original mailing list from 1960 and just added onto it as time went on.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this list include people aside from the constituents of Mr. O'Neill?

Mr. CAMACHO. Oh, yes; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So these letters went out to various parts of the country?

Mr. CAMACHO. Various parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and so forth, and Rhode Island.

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

MEMORANDUM DATED OCTOBER 31, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

For the record I show you a memorandum dated October 31, 1962, and it says, "From the desk of Ida Pementa," signed "Ida" and it is addressed to "Dear Paul."

Can you identify that letter? Is that Paul Wagner?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. You see right here it shows you, as an indication of my own memory, here she says, "approximately 700" now, I answered your question about several thousand, I said "Yes."

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

From the desk of Ida Pementa.

10-31-62.

DEAR PAUL: Envelopes for reprints of Congressman O'Neill's Special Order was received yesterday.

The reprints have been mailed—approx. number 700 to Massachusetts residents. This includes the mailing list of Portuguese colony and the Massachusetts residents listed in our miscellaneous mailing list who have requested material.

IDA.

P.S. Martin would like a copy of the NATO Alliance with regard to the United States agreements with Portugal under NATO.

Ifp.

Reprints also mailed to clubs listed on Massachusetts Club List. 10-31-62.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just to Massachusetts, isn't it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, this is another item where I would be, you could check to find out what the actual number was. Instead of depending upon fleeting memory because I wouldn't have any knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter is from your secretary, is it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, it is from the desk of my secretary, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall, were these envelopes, it says envelopes for reprints were received yesterday. That would indicate they were received in Boston, in your office in Boston.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They were sent to you by the Congressman's Office?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, there is no doubt about that.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say this includes the mailing list of Portuguese colony and the Massachusetts residents listed in our miscellaneous mailing list who have requested material.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (reading) :

Reprints are also made to clubs listed on Massachusetts club list.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Martin, it says :

Martin would like a copy of the NATO Alliance with regard to the U.S. agreements with Portugal under NATO.

Mr. CAMACHO. Your witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you Martin?

Could you supply to the committee a list of the number of reprints that you mailed out of that special order?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I could ask my secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. To check into it and I am sure she has it.

The CHAIRMAN. She can give us the list.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of all those mailed out and the envelopes.

Mr. CAMACHO. She can give you a list of the number of these pamphlets that were mailed out.

The CHAIRMAN. In Mr. O'Neill's envelopes?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I saw, sir, I saw the prints. I saw the yellow—one of these yellow envelopes. I don't see any around here.

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

PAYMENT OF REPRINTS

The CHAIRMAN. You paid, though, for the reprints, didn't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Reprint of what?

The CHAIRMAN. Of the special order. Didn't you pay for that, or did Congressman O'Neill pay for it?

Mr. CAMACHO. I can get you that information, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you remember whether or not you paid for the reprints? As you know, if a speech made on the floor is reprinted, somebody has got to pay for it.

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no doubt about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you pay for that or did Congressman O'Neill's office pay for it?

Mr. CAMACHO. I can't answer it but I can get the answer for you.

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

The CHAIRMAN. But you do remember that the envelopes were supplied to you without charge?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no question about the envelopes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CAMACHIO. But there is a question as to the printing of the pamphlet.

LETTER SENT TO TENNESSEE NEWSPAPERS

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

I show you a letter dated April 17, 1962, addressed to, "Dear Sir," and signed "Martin T. Camacho," together with a mailing list of Tennessee newspapers, and ask you if you sent such a letter to the enumerated newspapers.

Did you prepare that letter yourself or was it prepared by Selvage and Lee?

First, did you prepare that letter and send it.

(Copy of the document referred to follows:)

PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Boston, Mass., April 17, 1962.

DEAR SIR: Senator Albert Gore, of Tennessee, was quoted in a speech at Middlebury, Vt., on March 24, 1962, as saying that the United States should look more closely at aid to Portugal to be sure it is not used to "kill, punish, or intimidate Africans."

The newspaper reports of the speech—apparently no text was issued—stated that the Senator also was critical of Portugal for continuing to regard its African provinces of Angola and Mozambique as integral parts of Portugal. Senator Gore apparently feels that the Portuguese should follow the example of the Belgians in the Congo, even though Angola and Mozambique are not ready for self-government.

Events in the Belgian Congo, since the end of Belgian government, have proved conclusively that the withdrawal of government by a European power and substitution of a native government are not automatic solutions of area's problems in the area involved.

We are indeed sorry that Senator Gore during his trip to Africa did not visit Angola or Mozambique but apparently got his information from sources hostile to Portugal. We feel your Senator has been misled. Already, the propaganda against Portugal within the United States has, in our opinion, hurt both countries. Consequently, we are sending you this letter and other material in an effort to correct what we regard as Senator Gore's misapprehensions.

In an effort to clarify matters, let us detail some of the events that have taken place in Angola within the past 12 months.

On March 15, 1961, a band of several thousand terrorists invaded northern Angola from the nearby Congo. The subsequent atrocities are almost unbelievable in their ferocity and bestiality. The Portuguese, who have followed a multi-racial policy for generations, did not believe reports that terrorists attacks were contemplated. They were caught unawares. The enclosed pamphlet: "On the Morning of March 15" will give you an idea of the horrors which took place.

The Portuguese fought back desperately and hard. With the arrival of troops, however, indiscriminate reprisals were ended. We may say also the Portuguese were never guilty of the torture, murder, and rape systematically employed by the terrorists.

The troops drove the invaders back across the border. The situation has remained relatively stable since that time. The Portuguese since have instituted sweeping reforms, giving all natives citizenship privileges. They also have engaged in a sustained and comprehensive rehabilitation campaign for the natives, who fled their homes when the fighting began, but who have since returned.

Since March 15, 1961, many writers and commentators have visited Angola. Many represented papers or other media of public information, which are by no means pro-Portuguese. Yet, not one of these visitors to Angola found conditions seemingly implied in the Middlebury speech.

We regard Senator Gore's references to killing, punishment, and intimidation of Africans as particularly unfortunate. For generations, the Portuguese have pursued a multiracial policy in Africa and elsewhere. There is no discrimination in Angola and Mozambique on the basis of skin color. Many of those killed

by the terrorists last year in Angola were Negroes and mulattoes. They were Portuguese, just as the whites who were slain were Portuguese.

We would like to point out that a recent report of the International Labor Organization, an agency of the United Nations, which investigated charges of forced labor in Angola, is most enlightening. In substance, the ILO rejected the charges made against Portugal by Ghana and others. We are enclosing a summary of the report for your information.

With regard to Senator Gore's statement that "Portugal has recognized neither the principle nor the probable inevitability of self-determination for her colonies," we should like to draw your attention to the following remarks made by the Portuguese Ambassador in the course of a speech before the Commonwealth Club of California.

"We have never said that we oppose self-determination. We regard our great provinces in Africa as an integral part of Portugal, just as the United States regards Alaska and Hawaii as integral parts of the United States. We hope to develop these provinces, to raise the standard of living, and to use their rich resources in the interests of all. We are, however, determined that self-determination must be a process of political evolution from within and must rest in the hands of the people concerned and not with outside terrorists and agitators."

We also feel that Senator Gore has been woefully misled as to the amount and importance of American aid to Portugal. Aside from military aid under NATO, Portugal has received a total of \$78.9 million from the United States since 1945. This total was almost equally divided between loans and grants. In the fiscal year 1961, Portugal received from our country \$6.3 million in grants. Premier Salazar of Portugal has stated on several occasions that his country deliberately had withheld requests for funds, feeling some other countries needed it more.

We might point out that, since World War II, Portugal has allowed the United States to use, free of charge, extremely valuable bases in the Azores. The Portuguese bases were given to the United States as a gesture of friendship in defense of what we consider to be common interests. If a monetary value were placed on the Azores, we have little doubt that the balance of payments between the two countries would fall to Portugal, even if military aid under NATO is considered.

Incidentally, the charge that military equipment given to Portugal under NATO was used in Angola has been disproved to the satisfaction of all reasonable men. Both our U.N. delegate Joseph Bingham (who termed the charge "unwarranted and unsubstantiated") and Assistant Secretary of State Mennen Williams have denied that any U.S. NATO arms are being used by the Portuguese in Angola.

Recently, the Portuguese Ambassador made a speech in San Francisco in which he said:

"It is interesting to note that much of the virulent campaign against us arises, curiously enough, from our virtues and not our faults. We are attacked for instance because we have an enlightened racial policy and we are condemned because of the advances we are making, the success in developing our resources, and fusing the races.

"We are in fact, a barrier against sinister forces. That explains the unrelenting, almost frenzied drive against us. We stand in the way of black racism and rabid nationalism, which seek to drive the whites from Africa, or to subjugate them because they are white and because of the past. This is discrimination based on skin color. It is just as repugnant when directed at the white race as it is when directed at a colored race.

"The Portuguese African territories stand in the way of the Communist aim of chaos, confusion, and turmoil in Africa. These create the situation which breeds communism; they are the prerequisite to Communist plans for a takeover.

"Because of its multiracial policy, because it is willing to institute reforms, because it plans to develop Angola and Mozambique as rapidly as possible, Portugal is a threat to both racism and communism. These evil forces hate and fear us."

We wish to emphasize that the members of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs are citizens of the United States and that our first interest is the security and welfare of the United States. We are communicating with you because we strongly feel that the Angola situation has been misrepresented by forces which wish to break the Western alliance asunder and, eventually, to destroy both Portugal and the United States.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

Tennessee newspaper listing

To—	Newspaper	Location	To—	Newspaper	Location
Editor..	News-Free Press.....	Chattanooga.	Editor..	Leader.....	Covington.
Do..	Times.....	Do.	Do..	Chronicle.....	Crossville.
Do..	Journal.....	Knoxville.	Do..	Banner.....	Dandridge.
Do..	News-Sentinel.....	Do.	Do..	Herald.....	Dayton.
Do..	Commercial Appeal.....	Memphis.	Do..	do.....	Decaturville
Do..	Press-Scimitar.....	Do.	Do..	do.....	Dickson.
Do..	News.....	Do.	Do..	Times.....	Dover.
Do..	Banner.....	Nashville.	Do..	Enterprise.....	Dresden.
Do..	Tennessean.....	Do.	Do..	Tribune.....	Dunlap.
Do..	Post-Athenian.....	Athens.	Do..	Reporter.....	Dyer.
Do..	Leaf-Choinicle.....	Clarksville.	Do..	Record.....	Erwin.
Do..	Banner.....	Cleveland.	Do..	Enterprise.....	Etowah.
Do..	Herald.....	Columbia.	Do..	News.....	Fayetteville.
Do..	State Gazette.....	Dyersbyrg.	Do..	Observer.....	Do.
Do..	Star.....	Elizabethhton.	Do..	Review-Appeal.....	Franklin.
Do..	Sun.....	Greeneville.	Do..	News.....	Friendship.
Do..	Sun.....	Jackson.	Do..	Sentinel.....	Gainsboro.
Do..	Press-Chronicle.....	Johnson City.	Do..	Examiner.....	Gallatin.
Do..	News.....	Kingsport.	Do..	News.....	Do.
Do..	Times.....	Kingsport.	Do..	Press.....	Gatlinburg.
Do..	Times.....	Maryville.	Do..	Gazette.....	Greenfield.
Do..	Gazette & Mail.....	Morristown.	Do..	Record.....	Harriman.
Do..	News-Journal.....	Murfreesboro.	Do..	Vidette.....	Hartsville.
Do..	Oak Ridger.....	Oak Ridge.	Do..	Independent.....	Henderson.
Do..	Post-Intelligencer.....	Paris.	Do..	Star.....	Hendersonville.
Do..	Times-Gazette.....	Shelbyville.	Do..	Herald.....	Hohenwald.
Do..	Messenger.....	Union City.	Do..	Chronicle.....	Humboldt.
Do..	Hamilton County Herald.	Chattanooga	Do..	Democrat.....	Huntingdon.
Do..	Observer.....	Do.	Do..	Republican.....	Do.
Do..	Diary.....	Donelson.	Do..	Times.....	Jamestown.
Do..	Fountain City Citizen.	Fountain City	Do..	Journal.....	Jasper.
Do..	Gazette.....	Goodlettsville	Do..	Banner.....	Jefferson City.
Do..	Flashlight Herald.....	Knoxville	Do..	News.....	Do.
Do..	Independent Call.....	Do.	Do..	Standard.....	Do.
Do..	Hebrew Watchman.....	Memphis	Do..	Advance-Sentinel.....	Jellico.
Do..	Shelby County News	Do.	Do..	Herald-Tribune.....	Jonesboro.
Do..	Tri-State Defender.....	Do.	Do..	Macon County Times.	Lafayette.
Do..	World.....	Do.	Do..	Press.....	LaFollette.
Do..	Commentator.....	Nashville	Do..	Democrat-Union.....	Lawrenceburg.
Do..	Globe.....	Do.	Do..	Democrat.....	Lebanon.
Do..	Record.....	Do.	Do..	News.....	Lenoir City.
Do..	Community News.....	Old Hickory	Do..	Gazette.....	Lewisburg.
Do..	Press.....	Whitehaven	Do..	Tribune.....	Do.
Do..	Appeal.....	Adamsville	Do..	Progress.....	Lexington.
Do..	News.....	Do.	Do..	Perry Countian.....	Linden.
Do..	Times.....	Alamo	Do..	Enterprise.....	Livingston.
Do..	Times.....	Ashland City	Do..	Herald.....	Loudon.
Do..	Crocket County Sentinel.	Bells	Do..	News.....	Lynchburg.
Do..	News.....	Benton	Do..	Democrat.....	Madisonville.
Do..	News.....	Blountville	Do..	Times.....	Manchester.
Do..	Bulletin-Times.....	Bolivar	Do..	Press.....	Martin.
Do..	States-Graphic.....	Brownsville	Do..	Enterprise.....	Maryville.
Do..	Chronicle.....	Camden.	Do..	Times.....	Maynardville.
Do..	Courier.....	Carthage.	Do..	Banner.....	McKenzie.
Do..	Chronicle.....	Centerville.	Do..	Standard.....	McMinnville.
Do..	Times.....	Do.	Do..	Exchange.....	Milan.
Do..	Courier-News.....	Clinton.	Do..	Star.....	Millington.
Do..	Herald.....	Collierville.	Do..	Tomahawk.....	Mountain City.
Do..	Democrat.....	Columbia.	Do..	Record.....	Mount Pleasant.
Do..	Citizen.....	Cookeville.	Do..	Tennessean.....	Newbern.
Do..	Herald.....	Cdorhelipl.	Do..	Courier.....	Murfreesboro.
Do..	Advance.....	Do.	Do..	Plain Talk and Tribune.	Newport.
			Do..	Times.....	Do.
			Do..	Clairborne Progress.....	New Tazewell.

Tennessee newspaper listing—Continued

To—	Newspaper	Location	To—	Newspaper	Location
Editor.	News.....	Oncida.	Editor.	Fayette Falcon.....	Somerville.
Do.	Parisian.....	Paris.	Do.	Hustler.....	South Pittsburg.
Do.	News-Leader.....	Parsons.	Do.	Expositor.....	Sparta.
Do.	Banner.....	Pikeville.	Do.	News-Pictorial.....	Do.
Do.	Leader.....	Portland.	Do.	Herald.....	Springfield.
Do.	Citizen.....	Pulaski.	Do.	Times.....	Do.
Do.	Record.....	Do.	Do.	Valley News.....	Sweetwater.
Do.	Enterprise.....	Ripley.	Do.	Banner.....	Tiptonville.
Do.	Times.....	Rockwood.	Do.	Herald.....	Tracy City.
Do.	Review.....	Rogersville.	Do.	Gazette.....	Trenton.
Do.	News.....	Rutledge.	Do.	Herald-Register.....	Do.
Do.	Courier.....	Savannah.	Do.	News and Guardian.....	Tullahoma.
Do.	News-Progress.....	Do.	Do.	News.....	Warburg.
Do.	Independent.....	Selmer.	Do.	News Democrat.....	Waverly.
Do.	News-Record.....	Seyierville.	Do.	News.....	Waynesboro.
Do.	Bedford County	Shelbyville.	Do.	Chronicle.....	Winchester.
Do.	Sun.....		Do.	Herald-Times.....	Do.
Do.	Review.....	Smithville.	Do.	Cannon Courier.....	Woodbury.
Do.	News.....	Sneedville.			

PREPARATION OF APRIL 17, 1962, LETTER AND MAILING LIST

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say that this letter was prepared by Sel-
vage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Read by me, and perhaps corrected by me, but to
what extend I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. COMACHO. And was sent under my signature.

The CHAIRMAN. With enclosures to the Tennessee newspaper
listed; is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter refers to a speech by Senator Albert
Gore, of Tennessee, on March 24, 1962, in which Senator Gore ques-
tioned the propriety of U.S. aid to Portugal. The letter states among
other things: "We feel your Senator has been misled * * * woefully
misled * * *" and concludes with the paragraph:

We wish to emphasize that the members of the Portuguese-American Commit-
tee on Foreign Affairs are citizens of the United States and that our first inter-
est is the security and welfare of the United States. We are communicating
with you because we strongly feel that the Angola situation has been misrepres-
ented by forces which wish to break the Western alliance asunder and, even-
tually, to destroy both Portugal and the United States.

That is correct, is it not?

Mr. CAMACHO. I agree with everything that is in there.

The CHAIRMAN. You agree with that?

Mr. CAMACHO. I agree with that absolutely. I agree with that
paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. Apart from identifying yourself and your committee as U.S. citizens, did you identify yourself in any other way to the recipients of these letters?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know whether in this instance one of those tabs was attached to this letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send this letter to these newspapers with intention that they reprint it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, as a matter of fact, how many of them did reprint it?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never were able to check on it?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is quite a list, isn't it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many, I haven't counted them, do you recall how many are on that list?

Mr. CAMACHO. I wouldn't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. There must be close to what—200?

Mr. CAMACHO. Easily, if that is what is listed here.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOURCE

The CHAIRMAN. Can you, do you have any way of determining whether in fact this letter had any further identification as to its origin and your capacity, your identification as an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would only say, that with regard to this letter that the chances are that there was a tab put on this letter.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing except for the tab then, there is nothing on the letter itself to indicate that, is there?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not from—

The CHAIRMAN. You did not use in this instance the letterhead which you had with the printed statement regarding Selvage & Lee, did you?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir; it was not, and I note the date of this letter this is April 17, 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. This was subsequent to the time that you had received such letterhead?

Mr. CAMACHO. This was prior to the time. This is April 17, 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. You had not by this time received those printed letterheads carrying a printed notice that you were an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, the invoice here—that is the question which we took up a short while ago.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

Mr. CAMACHO. Was as to when were these letterheads that were used by the committee, when they had the information relative to the association with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CAMACHO. If I recall correctly, the invoice here sets forth some date of September 1, 1962.

PURPOSE OF LETTER TO TENNESSEE NEWSPAPERS

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. I had forgotten that.

What was the purpose of this letter sending it to all the newspapers or practically all the newspapers in Tennessee?

Mr. CAMACHO. The purpose of this letter is to use the media of information, any media of information, to pass on the information which we have here to the public.

In other words, to have these newspapers interest themselves with the information which is contained in the letter itself for use in editorials or news comment and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the purpose of this letter to cause the citizens of Tennessee to bring pressure upon Senator Gore to change his view?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, the letter is written, it mentions Senator Gore and any one who was interested in the problem and felt or agreed that the statement made by Senator Gore was an unfortunate statement, then they would contact Senator Gore and let Senator Gore know of their own feelings regarding this problem.

The CHAIRMAN. You state here in several places particularly in the fourth paragraph you say:

We feel your Senator has been misled.

Mr. CAMACHO. And I feel that he has been misled.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this letter was prepared by Selvage & Lee, wasn't it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, but when a letter is prepared by Selvage & Lee, I review the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. And if I see anything in the letter which I don't agree with—

The CHAIRMAN. I agree.

Mr. CAMACHO (continuing). I take it out.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "we" here again, is that same question: "We also feel that Senator Gore has been woefully misled as to the amount and importance of American aid to Portugal."

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that so. Are you saying that Senator Gore doesn't know what he is talking about?

Mr. CAMACHO. He certainly doesn't know what he is saying if when he makes a statement that aid to Portugal has been in any way generous.

EFFECT OF LETTER WRITING TECHNIQUE ON CONSTITUENTS

The CHAIRMAN. Wouldn't you agree that this letter has the effect and is intended to undermine Senator Gore's standing with his own constituents?

Mr. CAMACHO. I like Senator Gore, and the letter is just intended to have people contact him and let him know how they feel about this question, and that would probably cause Senator Gore to look into the matter that he has been discussing closer and alter his opinions.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, as an elected official, I don't think I would appreciate letters that leave the impression that I don't know what I am talking about, and I don't imagine Senator Gore appreciates this letter but I can't speak for him.

In fact, I didn't know about this letter until this hearing. You are going directly to his constituents and stating that he has been misled, that he is suffering from misapprehensions and that he doesn't really know about the aid to Portugal, aren't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think this is a rather serious interference with the normal democratic processes of this country?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this letter written as part of your job and sent as part of your job as a representative of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. This letter was sent out under my signature and I am responsible for the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, and it was in discharge of your duties as an employee of Selvage & Lee. Is that not correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is a letter which was sent by me, my personal convictions.

The CHAIRMAN. As—and in pursuance of your duties as an employee of Selvage & Lee, is that not correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. In pursuance of my association with Selvage & Lee, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not Selvage & Lee pay for the postage and the expense connected with sending out this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. So it is part of your duties as an employee of Selvage & Lee.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. But, sir, you just made a statement about undermining. I am a product of what America can do. I came as I said at the outset. I am a member of a large family. I acquired my opportunities here. I enjoy the democratic processes that you have in this country. There is a certain body of thought in this country that on matters of foreign policy that the common man should keep his mouth shut about them, and such as has been expressed by Carl J. Friedrich, of Harvard University.

But I don't go along with that. I think the common man has as much to say about our foreign policy as he has to say about our agricultural policies.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, you were at this time in the employ of a foreign government through Selvage & Lee, were you not, of a foreign principal, the association of Portuguese businessmen who form this principal, is that not so?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, but not foreign government.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, but these are organizations, several of them, the Portuguese Government is interested in—that has already been developed in Mr. Downs' testimony. You know that to be a fact, I think. But in this capacity, you were in the employ of a registered agent of a foreign principal, were you not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you yourself were registered at this time, were you not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I was.

The CHAIRMAN. So you were certainly at least in a dual capacity in sending out this letter, weren't you? You were doing it in your pursuance of your duties as an employee of a registered agent of the foreign principal.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is quite clear, isn't it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, that is quite clear.

The CHAIRMAN. And that principal was paying for the sending of these letters, is that not correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send a similar letter to Senator Gore?

Mr. CAMACHO. I do not recall. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you directly communicate with Senator Gore and tell him that he was misled and that he did not understand these matters referred to in this letter? Why didn't you directly approach Senator Gore and seek to persuade him that he was in error in this attitude?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't think I had met Senator Gore at the time I had sent this letter.

The CHAIRMAN. This was all based upon a speech he made, I take it?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know. I don't know whether I had already met Senator Gore or not.

PREPARATION OF LETTER AND MAILING LIST BY SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. The truth if we would review it a bit, is that this document was prepared, and the list of papers was supplied to you by Selvage & Lee.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have already stated that you agreed with the sentiments?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But it was prepared by them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, and reviewed by me.

The CHAIRMAN. And reviewed by you.

Had you read, at the time you wrote this, the speech of Senator Gore?

Mr. CAMACHO. I read, it was reported in one of the papers up in either Vermont or New Hampshire, I read the report of the speech.

The CHAIRMAN. In the newspapers?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. I didn't read—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever read the entire speech?

Mr. CAMACHO. I didn't read the entire speech. I only read what was reported in one of the Vermont or New Hampshire papers.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not sure, in other words, since you didn't hear the speech, whether or not that report was accurate or not, were you, all you know is what you saw in the papers?

Mr. CAMACHO. I think—

The CHAIRMAN. You were not present at the speech?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; I was not present.

The CHAIRMAN. And, therefore, all you knew was what you read in the papers.

Mr. CAMACHO. All I can tell you, Senator, is if I thought for one moment what I was quoting was not fair quoting, that it did not express exactly what the Senator was saying, that I would not put it in there.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. This letter went out, of course, on the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs stationery, did it not?

Mr. CAMACHO. It did, sir.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO DISCLOSURE OF SOURCE OF MATERIAL
DISSEMINATED BY CAMACHO

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, one comment you made would indicate that you think that I or the committee feels that you do not, as a citizen have a right to write private people. I can assure you that is not the attitude of the committee. Under the law, if you write such a letter while you are in the employ of a representative of a foreign principal you are supposed to identify your character as such a representative. This is the point. We are not saying or even intimating that you shouldn't write a letter. We are saying, raising a question, at least, that in writing such a letter you should identify your interest and the capacity in which you write such a letter. I think that is quite clear from the law.

Do I make myself clear?

Mr. CAMACHO. You make yourself clear and it is unfortunate that I did not receive all this information relative to the requirements of the act. I have read the act—

The CHAIRMAN. But at the time you wrote this letter you had already registered and were aware of it.

Mr. CAMACHO. That is why I say there is a tab that must have been attached to these letters.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would produce some evidence of that. There is nothing in the letter to indicate that, is there? There is nothing in the language of the letter to indicate it, is there?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is nothing—

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing in the letter, is there?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is nothing in the letter.

(See App. 2.)

The CHAIRMAN. Take the last paragraph and I quote:

"We wish" and if "we" means anything in this letter it means the Portuguese-American Committee, doesn't it, because that is the letter-head.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It says:

We wish to emphasize that the members of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs are citizens of the United States and that our first interest is the security and welfare of the United States.

Mr. CAMACHO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

We are communicating with you because we strongly feel that the Angola situation has been misrepresented by forces which wish to break the Western alliance asunder and eventually to destroy both Portugal and the United States.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not any reasonable person reading that conclude that the members of the Portuguese-American Committee, as

good citizens of this country, have knowledge of and approve the sentiments expressed in this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the members of the Portuguese-American Committee pass upon this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They had never seen it, had they?

Mr. CAMACHO. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was never sent to them, was it?

Mr. CAMACHO. No. But you will notice, Senator, on page 3 of this letter it has there—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. You will note it says, "Enclosures three," three enclosures.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Referring to the pamphlets "On the Morning of March 15," and two other enclosures which were put in there, probably "Communists in Angola."

Those enclosures would have had the identification of the Portuguese-American Committee on them. In other words, some time—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you saying in fact they did? Do you know it or—

Mr. CAMACHO. I know that the enclosures, that after the first group of these sent out, that they all were attached with the tab identifying the Portuguese-American Committee just as it was in these letter-heads that we examined before.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that as a fact?

Mr. CAMACHO. I know that as a fact, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any evidence of that other than your supposition?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is not—it wouldn't be a supposition in this case, because by the time of April 17, 1962, the pamphlets bore the identification mark of the association with Selvage & Lee, and so forth. I can try to get those for you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that would be very helpful if you can.

I think to be meaningful, that you would have to produce evidence that the particular pamphlets that went to these editors were those carrying that rather than those printed later, because we have already had evidence that you had both kinds of pamphlets, some with and some without.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir. If my recollection is correct, this is the only pamphlet that went out.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that single one?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; without the identification.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you saying to us that out of all the thousands or hundreds that went out that is the only one that did not have the identification?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not saying that?

Mr. CAMACHO. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The first printing?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were in that printing, do you know that?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know whether it was 100,000 or 50,000?

Mr. CAMACHO. It certainly wasn't that many.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know, do you?

Mr. CAMACHO. But it certainly wasn't that.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you know, how many were there?

Mr. CAMACHO. Probably 20,000. I don't think we have gone to that extent.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't really know, you have already testified to that. And you don't know, I would assume, whether or not the ones sent to these particular people carried it or not. You are supposing that, aren't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say that those enclosures identified the Portuguese-American Committee's association with Selvage & Lee.

(See App. 2, pp. 1191 and 1192.)

LETTER DATED DECEMBER 5, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a letter dated December 5, 1961, to Kenneth T. Downs, from Martin T. Camacho, and ask you if you sent this letter to Mr. Downs?

Is that your letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; that is my letter.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

DECEMBER 5, 1961.

Mr. KENNETH T. DOWNS,
Rua da estrela, 21,
Lisbon, Portugal

DEAR KEN: I want to thank you very much for your friendly note of November 21. So far, we have been successful in our efforts to win friends for Portugal in her critical hour of need. Our experience has been that if we have an opportunity to present our case, in 90 percent of the instances we have persuaded people to our side and to our way of thinking.

We have established a good foundation in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and this coming Saturday, December 9, we are meeting with a group in Hartford, Conn. During the remainder of the month of December, we shall direct our efforts to contacting and presenting our case to the congressional delegation in each of the three aforesaid States.

The entire South, I believe, if properly handled, could easily be persuaded to side with Portugal. In fact, I think the whole country could be persuaded to side with Portugal. It seems to me that public opinion within the past 4 or 5 months has been changing toward a much more conservative approach to the business of Africa than siding in with the views of such men as Chester Bowles, Williams, and Adlai Stevenson.

One of the problems that I have been faced with is the almost incessant question as to whether I have been in Angola and Portugal. I wish I were able to answer in the affirmative to this question, for it would mean a great deal in having people accept whatever I have to say regarding the issues of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces.

In closing, Ken, I am satisfied with the results we have been obtaining, and I am very much pleased with the sympathetic response which is almost universal wherever I have appeared.

My very best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

P.S. Ida also thanks you for your kind words and sends her best regards.

MTC

The CHAIRMAN. That is December 5, 1961. Who is Mr. Kenneth T. Downs?

Mr. CAMACHO. Kenneth T. Downs is one of the vice presidents of Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time he wrote this letter he was in Lisbon, Portugal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, it is addressed to him in Lisbon.

The CHAIRMAN. You were on close intimate relations with him. You call him "Dear Ken," I take it you know him well, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. The one that I know very intimately is Sam Bledsoe with whom I am very grateful and very kind association.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you normally wouldn't address Mr. Downs as "Ken" unless you know him well, would you?

Mr. CAMACHO. If he came into this office here I would call him Ken, I wouldn't call him Mr. Downs.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I meant.

That is all I meant, I just wanted to know. I will read the first three paragraphs:

I want to thank you very much for your friendly note of November 21. So far, we have been successful in our efforts to win friends for Portugal in her critical hour of need. Our experience has been that if we have an opportunity to present our case, in 90 percent of the instances we have persuaded people to our side and to our way of thinking.

We have established a good foundation in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and this coming Saturday, December 9, we are meeting with a group in Hartford, Conn. During the remainder of the month of December, we shall direct our efforts to contacting and presenting our case to the congressional delegation in each of the three aforesaid States.

The entire South, I believe, if properly handled, could easily be persuaded to side with Portugal. In fact, I think the whole country could be persuaded to side with Portugal. It seems to me that public opinion within the past 4 or 5 months has been changing toward a much more conservative approach to the business of Africa than siding in with the views of such men as Chester Bowles, Williams, and Adlai Stevenson.

What was in fact the good foundation in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut which you were in the process of establishing?

Mr. CAMACHO. Getting people interested in what I was doing.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say that the entire South if properly handled could easily be persuaded to side with Portugal, what did you have in mind as to the proper way to handle the entire South?

Mr. CAMACHO. By having a dissemination of information.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the method you used with regard to Senator Gore and his State of Tennessee an example of what you meant by handling the entire South?

Mr. CAMACHO. I wouldn't say—what I said about Senator Gore, or the remarks there are set forth in there. We can neither detract nor add to them—the way of presentation. The South is part of our country, and the South has a right to its own expression, its own opinion, and, therefore, if the South feels that we can disseminate information to persuade the people in the South, as citizens of the United States to understand and be sympathetic to the position of Portugal then there is no reason why it shouldn't be done in that fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. Then this approach to the newspapers of the South that you used in the case of Senator Gore, is in your view one of the ways to properly handle the South, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is one of the ways.

RECENT TRIPS TO PORTUGAL, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE BY MR. CAMACHO

The CHAIRMAN. Another paragraph in here interests me. I don't know whether it is too significant, it is the next paragraph, the one at the bottom of page 1, you say :

One of the problems that I have, I had been faced with, is the almost incessant question as to whether I have been in Angola and Portugal. I wish I were able to answer in the affirmative to this question for it would mean a great deal in having people to accept whatever I have to say regarding the issues of the Portuguese oversea provinces.

At that time you had never been to Angola ?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or Portugal ?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, I was in Portugal in coming here to the United States back in 1917.

The CHAIRMAN. You came when you were 5 years old ?

Mr. CAMACHO. Three and a half.

The CHAIRMAN. Three and a half. You haven't been there since ?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have been to Portugal since then.

The CHAIRMAN. When.

Mr. CAMACHO. Last year.

The CHAIRMAN. But you hadn't been at the time this letter of December 5, 1961 ?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, I had not been.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you mean when you had visited Congressmen and others they raised the question as to whether or not you had been to Angola and Portugal ?

Mr. CAMACHO. There were quite a number of people who asked me that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this reflect upon your capacity as an expert in this field ?

Mr. CAMACHO. It did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever send you to Portugal ?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I went to Portugal. I went to Angola and Mozambique for a period of 2 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Selvage & Lee pay your expenses ?

Mr. CAMACHO. They did sir, I traveled through 26 cities and towns.

LETTER TO SENATOR RUSSELL, DATED JANUARY 24, 1963

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated January 24, 1963, from Martin T. Camacho to Senator Richard B. Russell and ask you if you sent such a letter to Senator Russell ?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I sent this letter out.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

JANUARY 24, 1963.

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: Undoubtedly you are aware of the influence Negro leaders in the United States have exerted and are exerting on the African policy of this country. Whether you are aware of the organized attempt by these Negro leaders and some of their objectives is a question. Consequently, I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a recent statement I made at a press conference in Washington on this point.

I am associated with a public relations firm which is working for some private business interests in Portugal. However, I was active in the effort to improve Portuguese-American relations long before I heard of the public relations firm. The office expenses of the Portuguese-American Committee is paid by the firm and I receive a retainer, since I cannot afford to neglect my law practice without some small compensation. I would be a good deal better off, from the fiscal standpoint, if I tended my law business and left Portuguese-American relations alone. I could not only make a better living, but I would escape the attacks which constantly are being made upon me, particularly from leftist sources.

But, this is beside the point. You may be aware of the Negro leaders meeting in Harriman and the results. If not, I am sure you will find an exception of the gathering quite interesting. It may even help explain Katanga.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you personally acquainted with Senator Russell?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever visited him?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice the first paragraph says and I quote:

Undoubtedly, you are aware of the influence Negro leaders in the United States have exerted and are exerting on the African policy of this country. Whether you are aware of the organized attempt by these Negro leaders and some of their objectives is a question. Consequently, I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a recent statement I made at a press conference in Washington on this point.

Was that the statement earlier referred to regarding this matter of the press conference report, the press conference we referred to earlier in this hearing?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a different one?

Mr. CAMACHO. There was a press conference on the Harriman meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you prepare or did Selvage & Lee prepare it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Selvage & Lee prepared it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Just—Selvage & Lee prepared it, I read it, corrected it, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. And you sent it to Senator Russell, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I sent him a copy of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send it to any other Senator?

Mr. CAMACHO. It went out to all the papers. We had a press conference here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send a similar letter to this to any other Senators? Did you send it to all the southern Senators?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know whether we sent it to all the Senators or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say this is an example of what you had in mind when you said by proper handling the South may be brought around?

Mr. CAMACHO. This is another method.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you particularly pick on Senator Russell to send this letter? Do you know any special reason?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I was right interested, Mr. Camacho, this is the only letter which has come to my attention in which you positively identify yourself as being associated with the public relations firm in the body of the letter.

Do you notice that in the second paragraph?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I notice it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other instances of such a letter in which you have identified yourself as being an employee of Selvage & Lee which has a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. I may very well have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have?

Mr. CAMACHO. Unquestionably there are some letters.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the only one which has come to our attention, Mr. Camacho, and I wondered why did you do it in the letter to Senator Russell?

Mr. CAMACHO. Because it was—this letter was suggested to me by Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. Within their own mind they had some own reason for designating the Honorable Richard B. Russell.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. What I am assuming responsibility for is the contents of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. This whether or why the Honorable Richard B. Russell was selected, I cannot know. I cannot answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, my question was why in this particular instance did you go to the trouble or Selvage & Lee go to the trouble, and with your endorsement to affirmatively assert, and I quote:

I am associated with a public relations firm which is working for some private business interests in Portugal.

It is the only instance of any letter which has come from your files in which you had done this. I was wondering why did you happen to do it in the case of Senator Russell?

Mr. CAMACHO. I wouldn't say that. That statement does not reflect the true facts, because as you have pointed out there, there have been letters here that have the tab, this tab.

The CHAIRMAN. I said—

Mr. CAMACHO. The tab that identifies the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. I said in the body of the letter, you do it here and I only said it is the only one that came to our attention in which you write it in the body of the letter, not a tab. I did not deny there were others with a tab, I just wondered why in this case you did this? It was a rather curious circumstance that in no other case that has come to our attention has it been positively set out in the body of the letter.

Do you have any explanation for it?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have no explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wondered.

I was wondering why do you think Selvage & Lee, as they are referred to in here, why didn't they send this letter to Senator Russell themselves and sign their own name to it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, I think it is from the point of view of the work in which I was engaged in being associated with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. You were employed by them weren't you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. And I just wasn't selected by Selvage & Lee out of the clear blue sky. I was selected by Selvage & Lee because they became acquainted with the work I was doing in expressing these similar opinions prior to becoming associated with any public relations firm or prior to being paid or prior to knowing anything about this Foreign Registration Act or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made it quite clear and I don't quarrel with that at all. I am just curious in this case they identify themselves as being, representing a foreign interest in Portugal, why in this particular instance they didn't sign it themselves, whereas the other instances we have had there is no reference whatever to Selvage & Lee in the body of the letters, and that is the reason I wondered why they in this case didn't sign it themselves.

In the other cases it is quite evident why they didn't.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. CAMACHO AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Mr. Camacho, I show you a copy of a letter addressed to Martin T. Camacho, dated October 31, 1962, and ask you if you received this letter.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I received this letter, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You received that letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

BROOKLYN COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK,
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
Brooklyn, N.Y., October 31, 1962.

Dr. MARTIN T. CAMACHO,
Portuguese-American Committee for Foreign Affairs,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR DR. CAMACHO: On behalf of the B. C. Historical Society and our adviser, Professor Albertson, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for coming to Brooklyn College and speaking to our group. I am sure the members acquired a great deal of interesting information and things to ponder about from your talk, judging from the comments I have received after your departure. We hope that you may return some time in the future.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. DINKIN,
President, B. C. Historical Society.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the occasion which called forth letter, do you know it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I went to—I delivered a talk at Brooklyn College; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And this letter thanks you for your appearance? You addressed the group, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. On what subject?

Mr. CAMACHO. On the subject of Angola and Africa.

IDENTIFICATION OF REPRESENTATION

The CHAIRMAN. Did you in the course of that statement identify yourself as a paid employee of Selvage & Lee which represents a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. I identified myself on that occasion as a paid employee for Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you identify Selvage & Lee as a representative of a foreign principal?

M. CAMACHO. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that your capacity as a paid employee of a representative of a foreign principal is pertinent to your remarks on an occasion of this kind?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is very difficult to answer your problem. I recently gave a talk to the Military Order of the World Wars and I identified myself fully. It is rather awkward to be going into all this background of being associated with Selvage & Lee, Selvage & Lee is employed by a foreign principal, a combine of business associates when you are giving this speech. It almost impinges, if you carry it too far, Senator, and, of course, it is up to your committee to decide this question, it almost impinges upon infringements of one's rights to free speech because you can exercise—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, I'm not carrying this to any extent. The law requires the representative of a foreign agent, a paid representative, of which you were one, as long as—it does not prohibit you from speaking, it does not prohibit you from speaking to Brooklyn College or anybody else. It does require that when you do it you identify the capacity in which you do it, and if, I say under the law if, you would accept these speaking engagements in the course of your employment, the law is quite clear that it requires you to identify yourself, whether it be in a letter or in a television short or if you make a speech; it seems to me the spirit of this law, and the law itself, requires you to identify yourself because you, in assuming this employment, assume certain obligations under the law, do you not?

Mr. CAMACHO. Sir, if the law—if I am given to understand that the law—requires me each time I appear on television or each time I appear on the radio, each time I appear before an audience that I stand and say that I am a paid employee of Selvage & Lee, Selvage & Lee is a public relations firm engaged by a public principal—

The CHAIRMAN. Foreign principal.

Mr. CAMACHO. Foreign principal, for the purposes of disseminating information in the United States relative to the situation of Portugal and our overseas provinces, I am supposed to do that each time I make a speech, I would say this; I will do it if the law requires me to do it, but I say that such a requirement is an infringement on free speech. It is a direct infringement.

The CHAIRMAN. What you are doing is you are challenging the validity of the law, is that correct?

Mr. CAMACHO. I do not understand that to be the law. But if it is the law, sir, I will comply with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, it is quite obvious if you got up and spoke about the necessity of soil conservation in the State of Massachusetts, there is no requirement for you to mention any such thing. It relates only to your discharge of your duties in the employment which you have undertaken with Selvage & Lee for which you are being paid rather well, \$400 a week, and if you are in pursuit of those duties, it seems to me, the law is quite clear that you should make your interest in this matter known to the persons to whom you are addressing yourself in whatever manner it may be.

Here you take the people in Brooklyn College. If you did not identify your capacity as a paid agent—

Mr. CAMACHO. I identified my capacity as a paid agent.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Of a foreign principal, this—you are never clear you have ever done this—of a foreign principal, then I think to a degree you have not given these people the full story in order that they may exercise their discretion and judgment as to whether or not your particular views are biased. Is this not really quite clear to you?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is quite clear, and the manner in which you are expressing it. There is no question about what you have just said.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is the whole point.

Did you make other speeches of this kind?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have been to Lincoln University.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, have you made several?

Mr. CAMACHO. I have made several speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are talking about the right of free speech.

Mr. CAMACHO. I have here a list of my activities that you can have. (See App. 1, p. 1186.)

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will be glad to have that. This right of free speech, are you talking about yourself as a citizen or do you maintain that a foreign principal, whether it be a foreign business interest or a foreign government, enjoys the same right of free speech to come and say what they like without disclosing their identity? You would not say that, would you?

Mr. CAMACHO. I would say this, that if—I would think—what I am doing is nothing more than what has been an institution of our democratic processes, which has made this country what it is; it is nothing more than lobbying which has been accepted as a means of—

The CHAIRMAN. For a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Just a second—the means of promoting our legislative processes; because Senators and Congressmen are not experts in every subject that comes up for legislation or for any deliberation of thought; therefore, they depend upon men who furnish them with this information.

As far as they know, if I were a lobbyist for some interest that is within the country itself, I don't think that I would be required, in making a speech, for example, on agriculture to say, "I am associated with some public relations firm down here, and I am giving out"—associated and being paid, and so forth—they are required to be registered.

But I say if you are going to—by necessity if you are going to have this type of a lobbying situation, then it has to be set out where it becomes practical and not so overwhelmed with requirements of reporting and all this other business that people will suddenly throw up their hands and say, "I am all through with this." In fact, that is exactly how I am being pressured because I have a practice of law, and I have damaged my law practice because of the work in which I am engaged, and how far can you be pushed to the extent that I am being pushed without saying the devil with this, that I am going to return to my practice of the law and leave this type of work alone.

Does that work for the benefit of the legislative process with regard to this business we are engaged in? I don't think it does. I think

if you push a man so far he will say, "Why should I suffer with all this pressure that is being put upon me when I have my own practice of law which I am damaging in order to engage in a work which I sincerely believe in and have believed in for 6 months?"

There are speeches and talks that I gave on the same thing I have been promoting. That is the thing that disturbs me. Sure, if the law—they set the law down. I am a law-abiding citizen.

LETTER DATED FEBRUARY 8, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us proceed with these just for the record. I show you two letters dated February 8 and 19, 1962, addressed to Martin T. Camacho from the president of the Salem Deanery, Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, and ask you if you received these letters.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes. I spoke at this on this occasion.
(Copies of the documents referred to follow :)

SALEM, MASS., *February 8, 1962.*

Dr. MARTIN T. CAMACHO,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR DR. CAMACHO: I am very pleased to have you as our guest speaker at the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, Salem Deanery meeting to be held February 18 at Our Lady, Star of the Sea Church in Marblehead.

The program will open with benediction at 2:30 in the church. The meeting will be held in the school hall across the street from the church. I am looking forward to meeting you then and hearing your talk on "Self-determination in Africa." If you have any questions, feel free to call me—Lynn 8-6000, extension 3483.

Very truly yours,

LAURETTE CÔTÉ,
President, Salem Deanery, Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women.

ARCHDIOCESAN COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN, SALEM DEANERY

WINTER OPEN DEANERY MEETING

FEBRUARY 8, 1962.

To: Members of the Board, Salem Deanery, ACCW; Parish Presidents, Salem Deanery, ACCW.

Sunday, February 18, 1962—2:30 p.m.

Host: Our Lady, Star of the Sea, Marblehead, Rt. Rev. William J. McCarthy, Pastor, Mrs. Gertrude Rogalski, Parish President.

It is a pleasure for me and the members of the Salem Deanery Board to invite you to attend our Winter Open Deanery Meeting to be held February 18, 1962, at Our Lady, Star of the Sea Church, in Marblehead.

Please extend this invitation to the presidents, prefects, and officers of all other groups within your own parish—they, in turn, can invite any number of ladies to attend. Ask your Spiritual Moderator and/or Pastor to announce the meeting at all masses on Sunday, February 18.

Pope Pius XII asked the Catholic women of the world "to be present everywhere" for the faith and in defense of Christian values in community life. The Council of Catholic Women of the nation, diocese, and deanery provides the means for you to be present. Understanding — means thoroughly and using it to the best of your ability permits you to fulfill your responsibility in the lay apostolate to Christ and His Church.

PROGRAM

Time 2:30: Benediction; meeting to follow in the school hall—across the street
Reports: Deanery Chairmen.

Parish Report: Mrs. Gertrude Rogalski, to report on activities of the Star of the Sea Church.

Guests: Rt. Rev. Joseph P. Donelan, Spiritual Moderator, ACCW and ACCM; Rt. Rev. Peter J. Linchan, St. James Parish, Salem; Dr. Martin T. Camacho, prominent Boston Attorney and Chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. He will speak on "Self-determination in Africa."

Come to God, get your pattern of your life from Him. And then go about your work and be yourself.

LAURETTE CÔTÉ,
Salem Deanery, President.

SALEM, MASS., February 19, 1962.

DR. MARTIN T. CAMACHO,
*Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Boston, Mass.*

DEAR DR. CAMACHO: As delegated representative of the Salem Deanery Board of the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, I wish to express our gratitude to you for coming to our meeting yesterday. I was pleased to meet you and Mrs. Camacho.

I talked with Monsignor Donelan today. He is spiritual moderator for the Archdiocesan Council of Men and Women, and he was way ahead of me in that he had already heard of the outcome of our meeting and especially your talk. The reports were very good.

We wish you much success in your endeavors and we hope to hear from you again in the future.

Respectfully,

LAURETTE CÔTÉ,
*President, Salem Deanery,
Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women.*

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you the same question, did you identify yourself as a paid employee of Selvage & Lee which represented a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. I didn't identify myself on this occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, did you have a question?

QUESTION CONCERNING REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Senator SMATHERS. I was going to ask you a question about which I am not at all clear. I have not read this act thoroughly, so I am seeking edification. When it says that people should register when they represent a foreign principal, does it imply in the words of the act that wherever they speak or whatever they do, that they give sort of a caveat or not? In other words, while it may have been that the man may have been speaking to a group of people, and not really not knowing his real position, there may be a question of morals involved. One might ask, whether he was morally right in making such a speech. But legally is he required or is there an implication in the law that would say he is required that every time he makes a speech or makes a presentation for his principal who does pay him money to represent him, is he required to make that fact known?

FILING AND LABELING OF PROPAGANDA

The CHAIRMAN. As I read it, it is. It is intended to influence, of course, the views of the people who either hear or read it.

Senator SMATHERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me read this, section 4(b) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act:

It shall be unlawful for any person within the United States who is an agent of a foreign principal and required to register under the provisions of this act to transmit or cause to be transmitted in the United States mails or by any means

or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce any political propaganda (i) in the form of prints, or (ii) in any other form which is reasonably adapted to being, or which he believes will be, or which he intends to be, disseminated or circulated among two or more persons, unless such political propaganda is conspicuously marked at its beginning with, or prefaced or accompanied by, a true and accurate statement, in the language or languages used in such political propaganda, setting forth what the person transmitting such political propaganda or causing it to be transmitted is registered under this Act with the Department of Justice, Washington, District of Columbia, as an agent of a foreign principal and of each of his foreign principals; that, as required by this Act, his registration statement is available for inspection at and copies of such political propaganda are being filed with the Department of Justice; and that registration of agents or foreign principals required by the Act does not indicate approval by the United States Government of the contents and their political propaganda. The Attorney General, having due regard for the national security and the public interest, may by regulation prescribe the language or languages and the manner and form in which such statement shall be made and require the inclusion of such other information contained in the registration statement identifying such agent of a foreign principal and such political propaganda and its sources as may be appropriate.

As I interpret the registration statement itself it would require that those registered, who are properly registered, under it should report in that statement their activities as to what they do, whether it be in the dissemination of printed material or articles or letters or——

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Senator SMATHERS. How about a speech that this fellow made?

The CHAIRMAN. I think a speech—this is (j) under section 1, I believe, and this is the language:

The term "political propaganda" includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, pictorial, or other communication or expression by any person (1) which is reasonably adapted to, or which the person disseminating the same believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, or in any other way influence a recipient or any section of the public within the United States with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party or with reference to the foreign policies of the United States or promote in the United States racial, religious or social dissensions, or (2) which advocates, advises, instigates, or promotes any racial, social, political or religious disorder, civil riot, or other conflicts involving the use of force or violence in any other American republic—

and so on.

It seems to me it is quite broad. "Oral, visual, graphic, written pictorial or other communication."

Senator SMATHERS. Doctor, were you familiar with this at the time you made these speeches—the law?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not familiar with that aspect of the law.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say this, he was registered, and he is a graduate of Suffolk Law School. How far can one go in being familiar with it? I mean, he had taken notice of the law and had registered as a representative of a foreign principal.

Mr. CAMACHO. I will tell you this, Senator——

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever read the law, Mr. Camacho?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not until very recently. Let me say this, I had never understood the law to require me to give what the Senator has described as a caveat in making a speech. I have understood it, and the word "transmit" is used there throughout, which would mean transmit information.

If I have a written speech, that is one thing. If I am asked to deliver a talk, and I have prepared no written speech, then I rise, and what you want me to do is to just simply outline the fact that I am associated with Selvage & Lee; Selvage & Lee represent a foreign principal, they are paid, and so forth. I do not know, I have never—I am not sure that is required, frankly.

I have reported every occasion where I have made a speech, that has been reported to the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. To the Department of Justice?

It has no effect upon the audience and the recipients of your information if its reported here in Washington. It strikes me if this has any meaning at all it should—the people to whom you address your comments, whom you seek to influence—whom you seek to influence by your comments, should be aware of your interest in the matter, otherwise the law is meaningless, it seems to me.

MR. CAMACHO'S CONCEPT OF HIS REPRESENTATION OF
PORTUGUESE PRINCIPAL

SENATOR SMATHERS. If you take the position that the fact that you represented individuals within the country, that you were therefore not representing the government? In other words, I have heard you say, "I represented and I was employed by Selvage & Lee, that they, in turn, were employed by certain individuals or certain industries within the country as distinguished from the government," are you taking the position that because you were employed by Selvage & Lee they, in turn, were employed not by the government but by individuals within the country that you therefore were not the spokesman for governmental policy?

MR. CAMACHO. Yes, I take that position.

SENATOR SMATHERS. Or had you ever thought of that until this moment?

MR. CAMACHO. No. I take that position, if I understood you correctly, Senator, I take the position that I am not representing in the work in which I have been engaged in that capacity the foreign government.

As I understand it, this combine, the Overseas Companies of Portugal, a group of business people, a group of businessmen, came together and they hired a public relations firm, and they sought to hire—I think there were two or three of them that were approached, two or three public relations firms that were approached for the purpose of this work, and Selvage & Lee was given the contract, and Selvage & Lee some time in July of 1961 contacted me and asked me to become associated with it in doing the work in which I had been engaged.

SENATOR SMATHERS. Then, is it your contention that you are not representing the Government or the official policy of the Government but rather some private individuals, nationals, though they were of Portugal, that you were representing them rather than the Government position?

MR. CAMACHO. I have never—

SENATOR SMATHERS. If you did, of course, the next question would be why did you register in the first instance?

Mr. CAMACHO. Because I was told to register, Senator. I was told to register by Mr. Casey here. It has been a problem of being conditioned through this whole business.

I started and registered under the short form, then I registered under the long form. Then the question, it is just like the last talk I gave to this Military Order of World Wars, I fully identified myself there because of this constant pressure that has been put on. You want to comply with the law.

Senator SMATHERS. How long ago was that that you made the talk to the Military Order?

Mr. CAMACHO. Three weeks ago, in the Union Oyster House in Boston.

Senator SMATHERS. Did your lawyer go ahead and tell you to identify yourself?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, I did it. I did not inquire about that, but I did identify myself on that occasion.

Senator SMATHERS. You say "I am employed by Selvage & Lee?"

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, and I said to them—

Senator SMATHERS. And they, in turn, were employed by whom?

Mr. CAMACHO. By the Overseas Companies.

Senator SMATHERS. Overseas Companies?

Mr. CAMACHO. Of Portugal, a combine of these businessmen, and I even added what the Senator has just suggested a minute ago. I said:

I tell you these things so that you may judge what other views I express accordingly.

I made that statement. But the point that I bring out, it is hard for me to accept the fact that having to make this caveat, to make this opening statement each time that I am supposed to address a group. The words that he used, the verb that is used most frequently there is "transmit," and transmit has to do with this information and then there is only one time there from what the Senator read, about an oral statement.

Therefore, the Senator interprets the law as meaning every time I make a speech I am supposed to give full disclosure.

Senator SMATHERS. Well, maybe he is right, because you just got through saying that is what you did the last time you made a speech.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I did.

Senator SMATHERS. Why did you do it? You did it because it apparently was something you thought needed to be done. That is just what he is saying. He thought it needed to be done not just on that occasion but on all occasions.

Mr. CAMACHO. You know I am getting to the point where I am wondering how effective I can continue to be in this work, and I am saying if the Senator's purpose in this act is to press men such as I have been pressed, I do not know whether people like myself will be able to engage in this type of work.

DISCUSSION OF FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, let me say there, Mr. Camacho, this is not a trial. We are not prosecuting you, and we have no intention of prosecuting you. The jurisdiction and objective of this committee

under the resolution of the Senate is to find out how the Foreign Agents Registration Act has been complied with and how those operating as representatives, paid representatives, of foreign principals, how they operate, how they influence the attitude and policies of our Government.

Now, I do not wish to press the point at the moment with you about the character of this particular foreign principal, but we have already had testimony that these foreign principals are, to say the least, in an equivocal position because the Government of Portugal has a very large interest in a number of these concerns.

Furthermore, you have already testified that in many of these activities you conferred with the Ambassador of the Government of Portugal. You asked for his suggestions as to the creation, as to the wording of your statement of purpose, and the formation of this committee itself.

As I recall your former testimony, it was at the suggestion of Selvage & Lee. But you are not on trial here, and we are not going to indict you or anything. We are merely trying to find out how employees and paid representatives of a foreign principal operate, and this is for the purpose of seeing whether or not the present law is adequate, clear, precise, whether or not the present law is being complied with. That is all this hearing is about.

It has never been looked into before. It has been on the books since 1938, and that is all this is about.

You say you are pressed and hard pressed. We are not trying to press you. We are trying to just merely develop how you operate and how these representatives of a foreign principal operate in influencing the course of events, public opinion, legislation in the United States. That is really all this is about.

I am sorry, Senator Smathers. I wanted to make it clear that this is not a court, and we just are trying to find out how this law works.

Senator SMATHERS. I would really be curious to know—maybe this is an omission in the law or maybe it is covered in the law, but when it says here on page 9, subparagraph (e) in section 1:

The term "government of a foreign country" includes any person or group of persons exercising sovereign de facto or de jure political jurisdiction over any country, other than the United States, or over any part of such country, and includes any subdivision of any such group and any group or agency to or indirectly delegated. Such term shall include any faction or body of insurgents within a country assuming to exercise governmental authority whether such faction or body of insurgents has or has not been recognized by the United States—

and so on.

Would that mean, suppose, in fact, this fellow here was employed not by the government, but, as he indicated, and it is not clear actually to me, I have just heard a little bit of it, how he was employed—but if he were, in fact, only employed by a group of businessmen within a country who felt strongly about, we will say, a political position, that they were businessmen and they were interested in the preservation of their government's position, but he was employed by them through a public relations firm, would he, in fact, fall within the meaning of this act and, if so, how and where would he fall within it?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me read further the definitions that we have developed in some of the former hearings.

Section 1, definition of terms:

(a) The term "person" includes an individual, partnership, association, corporation, organization, or any other combination of individuals;

(b) The term "foreign principal" includes—

(1) A government of a foreign country and a foreign political party;

(2) An individual affiliated or associated with, or supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized, in whole or in part, by any foreign principal defined in clause (1) of this section 1(b).

Senator SMATHERS. Let us stop right there for just a second. Up to this point would he fall within anything that has thus far been defined?

The CHAIRMAN. Go on down to (4):

A partnership, association, corporation, organization, or other combination of individuals organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a foreign country.

I do not see how—

Senator SMATHERS. That is rather clear.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). It possibly does not include his foreign principal. I might say in this case, as it is in many of the cases, that the Government of Portugal had a very direct interest in this operation, and that in much, if not all, of the activities that were participated in, the reports of Selvage & Lee, as we have developed in former testimony, were made to, and the whole operation discussed with the Foreign Minister of Portugal and so on.

This is not a matter which the Government of Portugal is unaware of or had no interest in.

Senator SMATHERS. Let me just add, on that question, would the fact that they were aware of it bring them under the jurisdiction of the act?

The CHAIRMAN. They were not only aware, but they were participants in it. But (4) does not at all confine it to the official government.

Senator SMATHERS. That is right. A partnership, et cetera, that would indicate organizations in the law. Does it go on to say anywhere in the act that if the advances—well, in other words, from this definition of terms you conclude that if you were hired, anybody was hired, by a private corporation within a country, let us say, Peru, and that person made a speech and advanced the cause of the present Government of Peru as distinguished from the old Government, that person actually then would have to register?

The CHAIRMAN. If their purpose is of a political nature to influence the policies of this Government, and so on. If it is purely private, I think, to purchase a locomotive for their private use, I doubt very seriously it would have anything to do with it.

This is designed, I think, for those activities intended to influence the policies of our Government, that is, the foreign agents' activities in this field, and there may be some close cases, but I think if you look at this record there is not any question about the objective of this particular activity.

Senator SMATHERS. I am not so much concerned about this as much as the general proposition that if a private company within a foreign country hires a public relations firm in the United States to advocate a

position which the government, the foreign government, also advocates, but which happens to be advantageous to the private company in the foreign land, that still brings them within the scope of the statute?

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me it does if it is intended to affect the political decisions, activities, and the government. This act, I will remind Mr. Camacho and his lawyer, does not prohibit these activities, but merely public acknowledgment of them so that those with whom they deal know, you see, that they are dealing with a person representing a foreign interest.

The only point we were trying to develop here, Mr. Camacho himself has testified earlier, that prior to his assuming this relationship he had taken some steps in this field. But Selvage & Lee, recognizing, perhaps, his capacity to influence the attitude of our people, employed him for a fee of \$400 a week, plus expenses of his activities, to promote the interests of their principal and, which made him, in other words, an employee, a representative of it, and they acknowledge this themselves by registering him.

You see, they are not here in the position of saying: "We don't come under the act and, therefore, we don't have to register." Some people have taken such a position.

They do not take that position, that is, they have not heretofore taken that position.

So when it comes down, having registered, when it comes down to that, the question is: Is he complying with the law? He heretofore, at least, has not taken the position that he is not supposed to register, because he did register, and he himself has said, I think, the proper inference from what he has just said is, if he had stated when he addressed the groups: "That I am a foreign agent or representative of a foreign principal," this would in some way minimize his influence.

In effect, the result is that his comment as a citizen representing what he says is a committee of American citizens, and this certainly would tend to give greater credence to his hearers and his audience, and this is what the law is all about. It does not say he cannot do those things.

Senator SMATHERS. On that point, the law is, in your judgment, very specific that having registered, having advanced, or in the process of advancing the cause, in your judgment, the law is specific that he thereafter has to give this, in effect, this caveat, he has to make this announcement?

The CHAIRMAN. To identify himself as being a paid employee of the foreign principal.

Senator SMATHERS. And your contention is, not particularly here but elsewhere, that when a person does not do that he is then, in effect, in violation of the law?

The CHAIRMAN. I think so. Whether or not he is in violation is not for this committee to decide. We may have our views about it, but this is not a lawsuit, and if he had not registered at all and engaged in these activities, that also would be a case for other agencies to develop.

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMANCHO (continuing). My understanding of this business is that we were to register whatever activity I was engaged in with the

1000 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

U.S. Department of Justice. It didn't go to the extent, the way I understood it, that I was to rise to my feet and give an open oral caveat that I was employed by Selvage & Lee who, in turn, was hired by a foreign principal.

I never understood that to be in the section, and I am wondering now whether the U.S. Department of Justice has ever given such an opinion. I would like to see it. Has the U.S. Department of Justice issued an opinion that I, in my present position being associated with Selvage & Lee, and supposed to make this open caveat that I am so-and-so and so-and-so? I would like to see it. I would like to get an opinion on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, as I repeat again, what we are looking into here is your capacity as a paid agent, and in that capacity have you done it, and it is quite legitimate for you to raise the question of whether or not the law should not be more explicit than it is. This is your right to do that, and I am not questioning your right.

I wanted to know whether you, in fact, did do it, and I asked you whether you did do it and, as I repeat, whether or not you did is not going to result, at least as far as this committee is concerned, in any kind of a legal charge. We just want to know what happened.

Mr. CAMACHO. I had a feeling while you were interrogating me that I was guilty of some matter here—

The CHAIRMAN. I apologize if these hearings leave that impression. What we are trying to elicit is exactly what type of activity you have been engaged in and whether or not you did identify yourself. I think your own testimony would indicate that as a foreign agent, if you revealed your character to these groups such as the Catholic Women and the Brooklyn College group, that it might have prejudiced the credibility of your statement. That is part of the investigation.

We have other witnesses. It is getting along. I wonder—I have a few more questions—if I might just get them in the record, and then we can argue about the philosophy of the law later on.

This law, I may say, the reason we are having a study is to see whether or not it is adequate. I have already stated publicly that I think some amendments to it are well in order, and I propose, and I hope the committee will agree, that we do strengthen it or, if you like, change it so that there is less doubt, if there is any legitimate doubt now about its terms. That is the purpose of this investigation.

I repeat that it is not a trial. We are not charging you with a violation of the law. The record will speak for itself. I don't know whether you have or not. All we are trying to do at this point, and as far as this committee is concerned, all it is trying to do is determine just how it has operated.

In this case, you have got Selvage & Lee and yourself, and that is all we are trying to pursue.

I would like to get the rest of this in the record, if I may.

ASSOCIATION WITH CHRISTIAN CRUSADE IN LETTER OF JULY 26, 1962

I show you a copy of a letter dated July 26, 1962, from Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade to Dr. Martin T. Camacho, and ask you if you received such a letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

CHRISTIAN CRUSADE,
Tulsa, Okla., July 26, 1962.

DR. MARTIN CAMACHO,
Portuguese-American Committee,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR DR. CAMACHO: I want to take this opportunity to say how much all of us are looking forward to your arrival in Tulsa for our fourth annual Christian Crusade convention, August 3-5. Although we have tried to keep you informed, I want to give you a few last minute details.

We would like very much to feature his address Sunday evening and have this scheduled in the program. Would you please give us your flight number and the time of your arrival so we can have a member of the staff at the airport to meet you.

Your reservations have been made at the Tulsa Hotel for one single room and you will be taken directly there upon your arrival. According to our information, you will leave Tulsa on Monday, August 6.

Again, may I say how much all of us are looking forward to seeing you and having you join us in this great 3-day meeting which has become an event of national importance.

Yours for God and our children.

BILLY JAMES HARGIS.

The CHAIRMAN. The first paragraph reads:

I want to take this opportunity to say how much all of us are looking forward to your arrival in Tulsa for our fourth annual Christian Crusade convention, August 3-5.

Will you identify for the record the Christian Crusade and Mr. Hargis.

Mr. CAMACHO. Mr. Hargis I met for the first time on the occasion of my visit to Tulsa on August 3 of 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. 1962?

Mr. CAMACHO. 1962.

As I understand it from when I was out there, he is the leader of an organization called the Christian Crusade, and it was the first time, it was the first time I met him. I have not seen him since. My seeing him on this occasion—

The CHAIRMAN. You did, in fact, appear at a convention of the Crusade on August 3 through 5, 1962?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; and I made a speech, and it was a written speech, and registered that speech, and sent it to the U.S. Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. And you addressed the convention?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. On what subject?

Mr. CAMACHO. On the subject of Angola.

PURPOSE OF SPEECH BEFORE CONVENTION OF CHRISTIAN CRUSADE

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of this address?

Mr. CAMACHO. I had just come from a visit through Angola and Mozambique, and so I made a report on what—I discussed the policy of the United Nations as expressed through the resolutions of, the various resolutions, of March 15, and also June 9, 1961; and I entered into a discussion as to the policy of the United States relative to friendly powers on matters of insurgency.

I entered into a discussion of the various charges as to slave and forced labor, as to a reign of terror existing in Portugal, as to the lack

of education, as to other things that Portugal has been charged; and this other business, that is a hand rattan, with several holes in it, which the Methodist missionaries have charged the Portuguese are using there, and I discussed the entire problem, as I saw it, and as I understood it, and I set forth that it was far better that the United States and other countries give Portugal an opportunity to put these reforms into operation, and in a few years' time, observe that they were being put into operation in good faith, and that self-expression meant that a person knew what he was doing or what destiny he was choosing for himself. It did not mean turning the country over to a man who simply claims that he is the leader of the people of Angola when there is no proof that he is.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, I don't wish to intervene, but you don't need to make the whole speech. That isn't really the point I wanted to make. My question is, were the Crusade or Mr. Hargis made aware of your connection with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You told them of your connection and that they represented a foreign power?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; there is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. In what form did you make them aware; in writing or orally?

Mr. CAMACHO. To the Christian Crusade?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CAMACHO. They were aware of it through General Willoughby.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is General Willoughby?

Mr. CAMACHO. He was the former chief of staff of General MacArthur.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he have to do with the Christian Crusade?

Mr. CAMACHO. He was the one I think who suggested my name here to make this talk.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell General Willoughby that you were employed by this league?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; he is well aware of that.

The CHAIRMAN. He is aware of that?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your connection in this regard made apparent to the members of the conference when you spoke?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, not in the opening statement; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in any statement?

Mr. CAMACHO. After the speech had been delivered it was distributed throughout—I think I sent copies and gave copies to Members of the Senate and Members of the Congress and it had the tab right on it as to the—

The CHAIRMAN. The audience which you addressed at the meeting in Tulsa, did you make it—

Mr. CAMACHO. No.

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REPRINTS OF CHRISTIAN CRUSADE SPEECH NOTED IN LETTER OF SEPTEMBER
6, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a letter to Miss Ramona Terry of the Christian Crusade, dated September 6, 1962 from Martin T. Camacho, and ask you if you sent such a letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I wrote this letter.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

SEPTEMBER 6, 1962.

MISS RAMONA TERRY,
Christian Crusade,
Tulsa, Okla.

DEAR MISS TERRY: You will kindly find enclosed three copies of my talk at Tulsa, Okla. You have permission to reprint this talk. In view of the status of your organization, the Christian Crusade, there is no need for you to print the caption as to my connection with Selvage & Lee. This only appears when dissemination of literature is made from my office due to the official association with Selvage & Lee.

Please give my best regards to Billy. It was indeed a pleasure to meet him. I must tell you that I enjoyed the convention of the Christian Crusade and found it very thought-provoking and profitable.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads in part:

You will kindly find enclosed three copies of my talk at Tulsa, Okla. You have permission to reprint this talk. In view of the status of your organization, the Christian Crusade, there is no need for you to print the caption as to my connection with Selvage & Lee. This only appears when dissemination of literature is made from my office due to the official association with Selvage & Lee.

Do you consider that as an accurate statement of the law applicable to the labeling of matter disseminated by persons acting on behalf of or in the interest of a foreign principal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Selvage & Lee advise you as to this opinion or is this simply your own opinion?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is my own opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Casey nor any other person advised you that this is the proper interpretation of the law?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall Mr. Casey telling me that.

The CHAIRMAN. What led you to believe that this is the law?

Mr. CAMACHO. I feel that if I were Billy Hargis of the Christian Crusade and I listened to this talk which was delivered that there would be no need of myself, as Bill Hargis the head of the Christian Crusade, having to set down my official connection with the manner in which I set forth in this paragraph, this first paragraph.

But if I distributed literature as I did, then I must identify it.

The Christian Crusade said when it takes on a statement on its own, it is doing so on its own. It has no connection, official connection, with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this the same theory you had with regard to your letter to the editor that since you wrote a letter to the editor and did

not identify yourself, and he reprints it, that he is under no compulsion under the law to identify as being from a paid agent?

Mr. CAMACHO. If I were his attorney advising him, I would advise him that he had no compulsion under the law.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you identify yourself in this particular instance?

Mr. CAMACHO. Which instance?

The CHAIRMAN. You refer, you say—

there is no need to print the caption as to my connection with Selvage & Lee.

What was the caption which you say they shouldn't print?

Mr. CAMACHO. This tab.

The CHAIRMAN. The tab?

Mr. CAMACHO. Right here.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they in fact print, reprint your speech without that tab?

Mr. CAMACHO. The Christian Crusade puts out a weekly bulletin and at that time General Willoughby was connected with the Christian Crusade—he is now not connected with the Christian Crusade, and they published this whole speech of mine in two issues, and I know that I saw it and unbeknownst to me I saw it on the desks of some of the Congressmen that I visited.

They themselves set this out in their own weekly bulletin. They set out the speech.

Senator SMATHERS. With or without the caption?

Mr. CAMACHO. Without the caption, Senator, without the caption.

The CHAIRMAN. You had advised them it wasn't necessary?

Mr. CAMACHO. By letter here.

QUESTION OF REAL DISCLOSURE TO MR. HARGIS

Senator SMATHERS. Can I ask a question? Billy Hargis, was he ever acquainted with the fact that you were working with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. He certainly is acquainted that I am working with Selvage & Lee.

Senator SMATHERS. He was prior to the time that you made the speech?

Mr. CAMACHO. He was prior to the time I made the speech; yes.

Senator SMATHERS. How do you know he was?

Mr. CAMACHO. Because General Willoughby was closely associated with the whole Christian Crusade at that time. In fact, he appeared there.

Senator SMATHERS. How do you know General Willoughby told him?

Mr. CAMACHO. Because, in conversations which I would have at that time that I was there, with Billy Hargis and General Willoughby, they knew that I was associated.

But, as the Senator pointed out, in the delivery of the talk, the actual delivery, presentation of the talk, I did not give them the caveat that I was employed.

Senator SMATHERS. But I am just curious about the point about Hargis knowing. You presume that he knew but what made you believe that he knew?

Will the Senator indulge me a moment?

Mr. CAMACHO. Another issue as to the tabs being sent along in the correspondence that I had with Billy James Hargis.

Senator SMATHERS. Every time you had correspondence with him you had the tab on it?

Mr. CAMACHO. That is my opinion.

Senator SMATHERS. You ought to know.

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, it was.

Senator SMATHERS. In other words, every letter that you wrote to Billy Hargis you had that tab on it?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, to my knowledge at about this time, yes, at about this time of August 2. Yes, sir.

Senator SMATHERS. Prior to your speech in Tulsa, did you notify Hargis yourself?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

Senator SMATHERS. That you were working with Selvage & Lee and what they were doing? Is your answer "Yes" or "No" there?

Mr. CAMACHO. I never spoke, prior to my—I never spoke to the man. I only corresponded with him. I don't know of any time where I set out in any correspondence that I am associated with Selvage & Lee.

I don't know of any such instance. All I know is that General Willoughby, who wrote one section of the Christian Crusade—said weekly bulletin—had asked me, and I know that General Willoughby is well aware of the fact that I am employed by Selvage & Lee, and the connection of Selvage & Lee with the Overseas Companies of Portugal. That I know.

Senator SMATHERS. That wasn't my question. My question was, how do you know that Hargis knew, if he knew?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know. That is to the best of my knowledge.

REPRINTS OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE DIGEST

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Camacho, I show you copy of a letter dated April 16, 1962, addressed to Miss Ida F. Pementa, of the Portuguese-American Committee, from Ken Swanson, managing editor of the Weekly Crusader on the letterhead of the Christian Crusade, and ask if you know anything of the matters referred to in that letter? (The chairman reads the letter in its entirety.)

(A copy of the document read is as follows:)

CHRISTIAN CRUSADE,
Tulsa, Okla., April 16, 1962.

MISS IDA F. PEMENTA,
Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR MISS PEMENTA: I shipped you, on April 13, 1,000 reprints of our March 19, 1962, Foreign Intelligence Digest, carried in the Weekly Crusader. General Willoughby has sent me your check covering the cost of these reprints.

We thank you for your order and want to assure you that we will be happy to supply additional reprints at a later date should you so desire.

Sincerely,

KEN SWANSON,
Managing Editor, Weekly Crusader.

Are you familiar with this letter? Miss Pementa is your secretary, isn't she?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, she is my secretary. I think that—

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a genuine letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, this is genuine.

The CHAIRMAN. A copy of a letter sent to your secretary?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, this is genuine.

The CHAIRMAN. And General Willoughby you have already identified. Is he the editor or one of the editors of Foreign Intelligence Digest?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the——

Mr. CAMACHO. That is his own paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, his own paper. What did you do with the thousand reprints which you purchased?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't know, but I can get you the information, whether they were distributed or what happened.

The CHAIRMAN. But in the normal course of events, you would have obtained them for purposes of distribution?

Mr. CAMACHO. Of distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this your payment to the Crusade through General Willoughby ever reported by you or by Selvage & Lee, if you know, to the Department of Justice?

Mr. CAMACHO. It must be in the invoices that you people have.

The CHAIRMAN. Would Selvage & Lee have normally, in the course of your relationship, paid for these?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no question about the payment here is recorded in the documents which have been microfilmed by the members of your committee staff.

The CHAIRMAN. All I am asking is, was this payment reported in the reports under the supplemental registration to the Department of Justice?

Mr. CAMACHO. To my knowledge, it was reported.

The CHAIRMAN. It was reported?

Mr. CAMACHO. It is noted in the invoices which your committee——

The CHAIRMAN. I don't mean to this committee. I meant to the Department of Justice.

Mr. CAMACHO. To my knowledge, yes, because everything has been——

The CHAIRMAN. I was a little curious about this particular point. I understood you earlier when we were discussing the Birch Society and others that you stated that you had no association with the Christian Crusade.

Mr. CAMACHO. No, I have no association with the Christian Crusade.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean that you wouldn't have any.

Mr. CAMACHO. No, Senator, it happened this way: General Willoughby is a very charming man. On top of that, we have a common experience together in Japan, as I outlined. I was in the occupation of Japan for 3 years, promoting the labor movement there as part of the democratization objective of the occupation.

We formed a friendship. General Willoughby spoke with me about assisting him in this matter, and so it came about that I was responsible for the ordering of 1,000 reprints of this article. That is how it came about.

PREPARATION OF TULSA SPEECH

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, Mr. Camacho, was the speech that you made in Tulsa prepared by you?

Mr. CAMACHO. It was entirely prepared by me.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it reviewed by either or both of Selvage & Lee and the Portuguese Embassy prior to the time it was delivered?

Mr. CAMACHO. Certain parts of it could have been seen by Selvage & Lee. Certain parts of it could have been seen by, for example, a man by the name of Meneses Rosa, who is connected with the Embassy, on a small segment, on a six page that started off like the nucleus of a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. The whole speech you mean?

Mr. CAMACHO. And the question was using the terms of overseas provinces like Santo—

The CHAIRMAN. Was the speech, as a whole, submitted to the Ambassador of Portugal?

Mr. CAMACHO. Not to my knowledge; no. To my knowledge; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Dr. Meneses Rosa, you referred to?

Mr. CAMACHO. He is an assistant to the Ambassador, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in the Embassy?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

REVIEW OF TULSA SPEECH

The CHAIRMAN. I show you, Mr. Camacho, copies of two letters addressed to the Portuguese Ambassador and to Paul, dated August 3, 1962, and July 24, 1962, respectively, from your files, and ask you if these letters refresh your recollection as to whether this speech was revised by those persons?

Mr. CAMACHO. There is no question about this letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one?

Mr. CAMACHO. This one addressed to the Ambassador.

The CHAIRMAN. August 3, you mean?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about its being true?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; it is under my signature, and I remember the letter. There is no question about it.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

AUGUST 3, 1962.

His Excellency PEDRO THEOTONIO PEREIRA,
Ambassador of Portugal,
Portuguese Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR: Kindly find enclosed my prepared speech which I am to deliver Sunday evening, August 5, at the convention of the Christian Crusade in Tulsa, Okla.

I have not had a chance to go over this speech since I last corrected it. I shall have much time to do this since I am arriving in Tulsa on Friday at the request of Major General Willoughby.

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If there are any material changes, I shall let you know. Meanwhile, I do want to tell you how grateful I am for the assistance which I received from Dr. Meneses Rosa in his thoughtful review and many comments.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

JULY 24, 1962.

DEAR PAUL: Enclosed is the draft of the proposed speech to be given by Martin next week in Tulsa, Okla. I hope you will give it your immediate attention, because I am sure there will be corrections, additions, discussions, etc.

I have been requested by Martin to send a copy directly to Dr. Rosa at the Embassy.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

IDA F. PEMENTA.

The CHAIRMAN. Doesn't it say that you enclosed your prepared speech to be delivered at the convention?

Mr. CAMACHO. It does.

The CHAIRMAN. In Tulsa.

Mr. CAMACHO. It does.

The CHAIRMAN. You said:

I have not had a chance to go over this speech since I last corrected it.

Mr. CAMACHO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And then on the next letter, July 24, it says, "Dear Paul." Who is Paul?

Mr. CAMACHO. Paul is a man identified as Paul Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is an employee of?

Mr. CAMACHO. Selvage and Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. It says:

Enclosed is a draft of the proposed speech to be given by Martin next week in Tulsa.

Martin is you; is that right?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

I hope that you will give it your immediate attention, because I am sure there will be corrections, additions, discussions, et cetera.

I have been requested by Martin to send a copy directly to Dr. Rosa at the Embassy.

This is by Ida F. Pementa, your secretary?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you state that you personally prepared this speech?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, I prepared this speech.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't just correct it?

Mr. CAMACHO. I prepared it. Senator, I wrote this speech.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I want to know.

Mr. CAMACHO. I want to tell you I wrote this speech. I took certain parts of it, certain suggestions, but I wrote this speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Then this statement in the Ambassador's letter:

Meanwhile, I do want to tell you how grateful I am for the assistance which I received from Dr. Meneses Rosa in his thoughtful review and many comments--

that doesn't mean that he prepared it?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He merely reviewed it.

Mr. CAMACHO. I wrote this speech, Senator. It would be just like your preparing a speech and submitting it to various people that know something of the subject that you are about to discuss.

DISCLOSURE OF PRINCIPAL ON RADIO BROADCAST

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I show you a copy of a memorandum apparently relating to a radio broadcast delivered by Martin T. Camacho October 14, 1962, over Station WLYN of Lynn, Mass., and ask if you can identify the document?

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

Subject: Radio broadcast.

By: Dr. Martin T. Camacho.

Place: Station WLYN, Lynn, Mass.

Program: "Echoes of Portugal."

Date: Sunday, October 14, 1962.

Time: 10:55 a.m.

Regarding: U.S. policy vis-à-vis Portugal and overseas provinces.

Ladies and gentlemen, on October 4, 1962, in the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States of America, Washington, D.C., there took place a very extraordinary proceeding under a Special Order of the Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Cambridge, Member of Congress from the 11th District of Massachusetts. Congressman O'Neill was recognized for 60 minutes to speak in the matter of, "Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States—The Achievement of Which Would be a Victory for Freedom."

Congressman O'Neill declared that among the 50 different ethnic groups living together in peace and harmony in Massachusetts, there are those of Portuguese extraction—people who are proud of their heritage and immensely proud that they are U.S. citizens. Congressman O'Neill then pointed to the traditional good feeling and relations between the United States and Portugal—a feeling of mutual love and affection. He said that during the past year the relationship had somewhat suffered a breakdown of certain actions and utterances by the U.S. delegation at the United Nations organization regarding Portugal and her overseas areas in Africa, notably the huge province of Angola.

The controversy and ill feeling between Portugal and the United States took place when the United States sided with the Afro-Asian nations and the Soviet Union on resolutions aimed at making inquiries regarding Portuguese rule in Angola—demanding immediate independence of Angola and censuring Portugal for alleged repressive measures and armed action against the people of Angola and the denial to them of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Ladies and gentlemen, the issues raised in 1961 regarding Portugal and its overseas provinces of Angola are of tremendous importance to all of us who have any pride of being descendants of Portugal and citizens of the United States of America. In substance the demands that were made and that are being made on the Portuguese Government are that Portugal surrender its overseas areas such as Angola. The question then arises as to whom Portugal is to surrender Angola, to whom are the powers of government to be transferred? Again, the question may be well asked as to what right, what morality and by what authority has any government to turn over the land, the patrimony of any people to an outsider, to a stranger? Again, is Portugal and her overseas areas to be considered, in the light of an integral and constitutionally established nation, the same as, for example, Hawaii and Alaska are integral and constitutional parts of the United States of America?

In speaking of dismembering Portugal, do the alleged winds of change of rising nationalism which blow over Africa encompass Angola as an internal movement and aspiration? In short does there exist a genuine nationalist movement in Angola—a genuine desire on the part of a material portion of the population to separate themselves from metropolitan Portugal and establish for themselves an independent nation? And aside from the problem of nationalism in Portuguese East and West Africa, Portugal has and is being charged with other matters. It is charged that Portugal is guilty of forced and slave labor in Angola. It is charged that Portugal is guilty of repressing human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is charged that Portugal is guilty of human atrocities of conducting a reign of terror.

On the morning of March 15, 1961, there took place a terrorist attack from the southern borders of the former Belgian Congo over the northern borders of Angola. This attack was combined with subversive and insurrectionist elements within Angola. There was committed on this day, and on the following day, on the population of Angola, both black and white—men and women, and children—rape, murder, torture, butchering, in effect, atrocities of such magnitude that the human mind reels and the human heart sickens in their comprehension. Who instigated these attacks and uprisings. Were these attacks actually of internal origin—or were they organized and directed from outside of Angola? Are those Afro-Asian elements who are clamoring so vociferously for the dismemberment of the Portuguese world, and I refer to such countries as the Soviet Union and all her satellite nations such as Hungary, and Poland, countries such as Communist China, Ghana, Guinea, Ethiopia—are these nations truly concerned with the development of democratic tendencies, self-expression and human freedoms such as we here in the United States understand them and associate them with our own Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights?

Furthermore, isn't it the purpose and aim of many of the so-called African leaders such as Nkrumah of Ghana, Touré of Guinea, to establish black racist supremacy in Africa just as implacably as some of our own white citizens in some of our Southern States promote and try to maintain white supremacy?

Portugal has not sponged on the United States. During World War II, Portugal permitted the establishment and use of air bases in the Azores rent free to the United States. At the time of the inauguration of the Marshall plan, Portugal declined aid from the United States declaring that there were other nations more in need of such aid. The powerful transmitting facilities for Radio Free Europe are to be found in Portugal without cost. Portugal wants the friendship of the United States, and if Portugal has erred and is at fault here and there in its administration of the overseas provinces such as Angola, then this is no reason for the United States to abandon its traditional friend and NATO ally, rather the United States as a member of the NATO Alliance and as the foremost leader in the Western World should assist Portugal. Such assistance will promote the national security interests of the United States and the security interests of the Western Powers. Further, I believe that Portugal wants the United States to desist from open criticism and attack; Portugal wants the United States to be assured of its good faith and intention in preparing the people of the overseas areas for self-determination. Portugal wants the United States to express open and unequivocal opposition to any planned organized armed attack against Angola from outside her borders. Portugal meanwhile will push forward with its constructive plans of preparation, and the United States, as a friend and ally, will no doubt be afforded every opportunity to observe at firsthand what is being done.

Ladies and gentlemen, for your information the Congressional Record indicates that approximately 14 Congressmen participated with Congressman O'Neill in speaking in behalf of Portugal. Their remarks will answer many of the questions which I have raised and the charge which I have cited. Their remarks will also answer in great measure the assertions which I have made as to Portugal's good faith. The names of the participating Congressmen are: Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack, of Dorchester; former Speaker of the House, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of North Attleboro; Philip J. Philbin, of Clinton; F. Bradford Morse, of Lowell; William H. Bates, of Salem; Silvio O. Conte, of Pittsfield; Edward P. Boland, of Springfield; James A. Burke, of Milton; Hastings Keith, of West Bridgewater. The foregoing are all of Massachusetts; other participating Congressmen are Armistead I. Selden, Jr., of Greensboro, Ala.; Ralph P. Beermann, of Dakota City, Nebr.; Bob Wilson, of Chula Vista, Calif., and Stanley R. Tupper, of Augusta, Maine.

In conclusion let us pray that Angola be not overrun by an armed and organized attack from outside its borders just as was the case with the Portuguese state of India, when the deceitful and nefarious Nehru with an army of 35,000 men equipped with modern weapons swept over the borders of Goa, Damao, and Diu, the Portuguese state of India, all under the badge of anticolonialism. Finally, let us pray that our leaders of state do not permit the repetition of a Castro-Cuban tragedy in Angola.

Mr. CAMACHO. This is my speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the complete broadcast as delivered by you?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Apart from the matter contained in this document, were you in any way identified and connected with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated October—

Mr. CAMACHO. This is my speech, and I wrote this speech.

REPRINTS OF RADIO BROADCAST DISCUSSED IN OCTOBER 23, 1962, LETTER

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated October 23, 1962, addressed to Dr. Manuel Leal of Luso-Americano from Martin T. Camacho, and ask you if you sent this letter.

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, this is my letter.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

OCTOBER 23, 1962.

Mr. MANUEL LEAL,
Luso-Americano,
Newark, N.J.

DEAR MANUEL: Kindly find enclosed a copy of my radio speech in Portuguese delivered on the program, "Hora Portuguesa," on Sunday, October 14, 1962. I would like to have you publish this entire speech and forward the bill to me. Also, you will find enclosed a copy of the same speech in English. Perhaps, your idea of having a special page in the Luso-Americano would better serve the purpose.

Please discuss this matter with your editor, Mr. Vasco Jardim, and whatever decision you make will be all right with me.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify Luso-Americano?

Mr. CAMACHO. Luso-Americano is a weekly publication under the title of Luso-Americano, and the publishing house is in Newark, N.J. That is it. That is the identification.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the address reprinted as contemplated by this letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. The address was reprinted.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay for the publication as proposed in the letter?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did pay.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you identified in the newspaper as a registered agent of the Overseas Company?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir, I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or as an employee of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir, I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum from Paul Wagner to Martin T. Camacho dated November 29, 1962, and ask you if you received such a memorandum?

Mr. CAMACHO. But I will add this: that in the editorial part or certain parts of the Luso-Americano, there were comments, written comments, as to my association, just as there have been written comments regarding my status in the Portuguese Daily News of Massachusetts.

This is part of the problem whether, for example, every reader of the Portuguese Daily News of Massachusetts has already read of my association, so therefore does it mean that every time my name appears I have to repeat this association, or every time I go on the radio for the Portuguese radio hour, do I give my association? That is another problem that I have. When I speak on the radio they are familiar with what I am doing.

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The CHAIRMAN. We all have problems, Mr. Camacho.

Mr. CAMACHO. Well, I don't mean to burden you, Senator.

PRESS CONFERENCE IN HARRIMAN, N.Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me have one other thing, then as far as I am concerned—I show you a copy of a memorandum from Paul Wagner to Martin T. Camacho dated November 29, 1962, and ask if you received such a memorandum.

Mr. Camacho. I am acquainted with this.

The CHAIRMAN. You received that memorandum?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

MEMO

To: Martin T. Camacho.

From: Paul Wagner.

Members of the leadership conference consisting of prominent Negroes are supposedly going to call on the President December 10 regarding the program of the Negro Leadership Congress. Their motto, "Run those white bastards out of Africa."

Selvage & Lee are preparing statements for the press conference to be held in Washington, D.C., on December 10 by Mr. Camacho.

Paul is sending all the information they have on the congress. The resolutions attack Portugal.

By IDA PEMENTA.

NOVEMBER 29, 1962.

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL,
Washington, D.C., December 2, 1962.

Dr. MARTIN CAMACHO,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR MARTIN: Here is the proposed release for your press conference of around December 10. I'll talk to you on the phone after you have had time to read it. You'd better come to Washington a day or two in advance to get acquainted with all the details but we'll also talk about that on the phone.

Regards,

S. B. BLEDSOE.

The CHAIRMAN. I also insert in the record certain news articles apparently stemming from the press conference referred to in these memorandums.

[From the New Bedford Standard Times, Dec. 11, 1962]

U.S. NEGRO GROUP HIT ON PORTUGAL

(By Standard-Times Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, December 11.—Some prominent American Negro leaders are practicing "racism in reverse" and are waging a "double-standard hate campaign" against Portugal, Dr. Martin T. Camacho, chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, has charged. At a press conference here, Camacho, a Boston attorney, assailed "anticolonial resolutions" adopted at a recent American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa held at Harriman, N.Y., that he said was attended by many prominent Negroes, including Dr. Martin Luther King and NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins.

STAND SIMILAR TO SOVIET'S

"It is significant," Camacho said, "that Soviet Russia is on record in favor of almost every major resolution approved by the group."

The Negro leaders who met at Harriman "apparently have embarked on an organized campaign to use the political power of the Negroes in this country to force the Federal Government to align itself with racists and other extremist

elements in Africa who are prompting black nationalism under the guise of anti-colonialism," Camacho declared.

Camacho said the attacks on Portugal at the Harriman conference "are particularly galling to members of the Portuguese-American community and to others familiar with conditions in Portuguese Africa."

The conference urged the U.S. Government to press for independence in the Portuguese Provinces of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea, Camacho said, "Although it is apparent that they are no more ready for self-government than was the Belgian Congo."

SAYS PEOPLE EXPLOITED

"In most of the new African states," Camacho said, "freedom, so-called, has been accompanied by economic deterioration, by dictatorships, and by exploitation of the people, whose situation is much worse than it was under colonialism. This deplorable state of affairs was ignored by the Harriman conference.

"There was no middle ground to the Negro leaders at the Harriman conference," Camacho declared. "The only thing which mattered was the color line * * *. The conference saw the whole African problem simply as a matter of black versus white."

Some of the "animus against Portugal" shown at the conference is because Portugal is a preponderantly white nation. Camacho said, "The case of Portugal, more than any others, shows the double standard on the part of some American Negro leaders. On the one hand, strong pressure is brought against the U.S. Government to war against racial discrimination in the United States; on the other, the very men who are leading the fight against racial discrimination in the United States are banding together to lead a fight for it in Africa."

A delegation from the conference has asked for an appointment with President Kennedy, Camacho noted, "presumably to tell him what it wants the Government's African policies to be. At such a meeting, there will be the implied threat of Negro votes against the administration if the blueprint drafted at the conference is not followed," he added.

HAS FAITH IN KENNEDY

"I have faith in President Kennedy," Camacho declared. "If any group like the Harriman conference tries to force its view on him, they will have the back door shown to them."

"Some of the attitudes against Portugal taken by the Harriman conference were led by the American Committee on Africa," Camacho said. This committee "apparently helped plan and finance" the invasion of Angola by terrorists from the Belgian Congo in March 1961, he said.

The reasons for Communist attacks on Portugal are plain, Camacho declared. "If rare conflict and race war take place on a sufficiently large scale, the Communists may be able to pick up the pieces," he said.

"If Portugal could be dismembered and weakened to the point where a Communist or Castro-type regime could take over, the West would see key areas controlling the sea routes of the Middle and South Atlantic pass into enemy hands. The United States would lose its vital airbase on the Azores," he said.

SAYS COOPERATION NEEDED

"Angola and all Africa cannot develop without cooperation between whites and Negroes," Camacho said. "The present situation does not warrant turning over the reins of government immediately to African leaders as the Harriman conference urges," he said. "In Angola, there should be at least a 10-year period of peaceful preparation."

The Harriman conference has done a "great disservice" and has "betrayed Negroes in the United States and Africa," Camacho asserted. "It will serve the cause of communism and of race hatred both here and abroad."

LISBON SUSPECTS REDS ARM REBELS

LISBON, December 11.—Russian fishing fleets probably have been smuggling arms to rebels in the Portuguese territory of Angola, the semiofficial news agency ANI claimed today.

ANI said the ships appear to have special unloading ramps in the prow leading from water level into the interior of the ship. The report said terrorists in Angola seem to have many modern mines—something they never had before—and also a greatly increased arsenal of modern weapons.

[From the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., Dec. 11, 1962]

LAWYER HITS NEGROES FOR "DOUBLE STANDARD"

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Negro leaders were denounced here Monday for promoting racial equality in this country while attempting to get Government backing for Negro domination and antiwhite discrimination—in African nations.

Chairman Martin Camacho of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs charged that some of the country's best known Negro leaders are trying to get the U.S. Government to support racist and extremist nationalist forces "which threaten chaos and race war on a vast scale in Africa."

Dr. Camacho, a Boston lawyer, asserted at a press conference that "some American Negro leaders are practicing racism in reverse. They are asking for equality in the United States, but at the same time they are supporting racism in Africa."

Camacho singled out for criticism such Negro leaders as Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King, perhaps the best known of Southern agitators for complete racial integration.

He also named A. Phillip Randolph, head of the Sleeping Car Porters Union; National Urban League Executive Director Whitney M. Young; James Farmer, national director of the Congress on Racial Equality, and Dorothy Heigbt, of the National Council of Negro Women.

Camacho absolved "most of the Negro leaders" of being pro-Communist. But he said that nevertheless they had gone on record as approving views which Soviet Russia also is recorded as supporting.

The committee headed by Dr. Camacho is composed of American citizens of Portuguese descent who are interested in the promotion of friendship and understanding between this country and Portugal.

The Boston lawyer cited, in support of his charges against American Negro leaders, their attendance at the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, held late last month at Harriman, N.Y. He said the entire character of the meeting "indicates that the underlying purpose is to persuade American Negroes that their interests coincide with the interests of African Negroes, particularly where the latter find themselves in conflict with the whites."

He said that the Negro leaders at the Harriman conference "embarked on an organized campaign to use the political power of the Negroes in this country to force the Federal Government to aline itself with racists and other extremist elements in Africa, which are promoting black nationalism under the guise of anticolonialism."

But he said that when the facts are known, "this effort seems extremely dangerous and, in fact, reprehensible in character." Once understood, this movement is certain to arouse resentment in the United States and to handicap the effort by American Negroes to attain economic and social equality in this country.

What is the leadership conference referred to; do you know?

Mr. CAMACHO. The Harriman conference. It took place on November 23 through 25 at Harriman, N.Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you in fact deliver a press conference?

Mr. CAMACHO. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the release prepared by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CAMACHO. The release was prepared by Selvage & Lee, reviewed by me and corrected in part by me.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of your press conference?

Mr. CAMACHO. The purpose of my press conference was to indicate to the public the duplicity and the double standard which the Negro leaders are employing in this country of seeking equal rights for the Negroes in this country, and then segregation in Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you identify yourself at the press conference?

Mr. CAMACHO. At the press conference statements were given out to

the members of the press to which was attached my association with Selva & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. In writing?

Mr. CAMACHO. In writing, with the tab.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any copies of that?

Mr. CAMACHO. I can certainly get you copies of it, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Any further questions, Senator Smathers?

Senator SMATHERS. No, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Camacho. I am sorry we have gone so late.

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, may I make a suggestion?

The CHAIRMAN. You will, of course, remain under subpoena in case of further hearings, and you will leave the records which are subpoenaed which are for consideration of the staff. If you wish to make a closing statement, you may now do so.

CLOSING STATEMENT BY MR. CAMACHO

Mr. CAMACHO. Senator, I, as an American citizen, am very anxious to comply with the law. The only thing that bothers me is the indefiniteness of this law as to what I am supposed to do.

Perhaps, as I suggested to Mr. Sifton when he came down to my office to microfilm my records, I suggested that perhaps a question form, where a question would be asked and an answer would be given.

For example, this problem of identifying oneself in an oral speech, I have asked here as to whether the Department of Justice has ever issued such a statement, given an opinion as to whether the man who is in the position that I am in makes an open declaration as to these things which you have outlined.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever ask the Department of Justice whether or not you should?

Mr. CAMACHO. No; I have asked the Department of Justice for other things that they have never replied to. I am not sure as to whether this point was brought up, but you can rest assured that I shall.

The CHAIRMAN. I was wondering in the past if you were puzzled by this, did you ever ask the Department of Justice whether or not in making speeches you should identify yourself as a representative of a foreign—

Mr. CAMACHO. No; I don't think I have, but I shall, but I have asked some other questions that they haven't answered.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever ask Mr. Casey whether or not you should?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't think I have discussed that particular matter of an oral statement. The advices which I have seen for Mr. Casey has to do with reporting to—

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you would submit to the committee the copies of the questions you did submit to the Department of Justice.

(See App. 2, p. 1191.)

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes; and I can tell you what they are. I asked the Department of Justice how it was that even under your statement that you sent to me of the first open statement on the joint resolution, and it is the last point that I would like to take up with you, you issued this statement here. You had here:

The foreign principals with which the committee will be concerned pursuant to the resolutions will include foreign governments, foreign political parties, and individuals and associations acting on behalf of or in the interest of foreign governments or foreign political parties. The committee will be concerned as well with individuals or associations whose activities are of the nature of those traditionally performed by governments. In such a case the foreign principal acts in the place of a government. Finally, the resolutions also direct the committee's attention to foreign principals having no connection with foreign governments or foreign political parties where the activities of agents of those principals tend or where intended to influence policies or interests of the United States.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

Why isn't it that the American Committee on Africa doesn't fall within your own paragraph here, and why is it that they have escaped being required to register? They are the ones that are promoting all these false statements regarding conditions in Portugal. They are the ones that are promoting a political party headed by Holden Roberto. They are the ones that sponsored it. They have all this information in their publications.

Why is it that they are permitted not to register? If it is in fairness, they are the ones that are actually promoting political party. They are promoting the union of the populations of Africa, which is headed by Holden Roberto, which now goes under another name. They are the ones that have brought out stories, and they are supporting everything that has come out damning Portugal. Why aren't they promoting these things and why shouldn't they be called to—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you address this question to the Department of Justice?

Mr. CAMACHO. Yes I did, sir. No answer.

The CHAIRMAN. No answer?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you address it to them?

Mr. CAMACHO. Just a short while ago. I will get a copy of that letter for you.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago?

Mr. CAMACHO. I don't recall. About a month and a half—2 months ago.

Senator SMATHERS. Why don't you address such a letter to this committee too?

Mr. CAMACHO. I will, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any evidence that this committee is employed by any foreign government or group?

Mr. CAMACHO. From your statement here—

The CHAIRMAN. I say do you have any evidence?

Mr. CAMACHO. Oh, no, not paid, but your statement does not require—in accordance with your own interpretation, it doesn't require the fact—they could do it gratuitously. It doesn't require payment being made by a foreign principal. That is in accordance with your own statement. It doesn't require any pay being made.

They could do it gratuitously. It says here:

Promoting the interests of a foreign political party.

And Holden Roberto, who is the darling of the American Committee on Africa, leads a political party, and this is set forth in all their literature, all their literature.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course we would be very glad to have, and I am sure the Department would, any evidence you have of their activities which would fall under this act.

Mr. CAMACHO. I have their publications which indicates that they are promoting the union of the populations of Africa, of Angola, now known as the National Angolan Liberation Front. They are supporting this man. They have had this. They have invited this man over. They have sponsored him, and they openly have declared him. I even have literature setting forth this business of—

The CHAIRMAN. Why don't you have your lawyer draft a letter to this committee, and I would suggest also to the Department of Justice, on this subject. You never addressed such a letter to us, have you?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't think so.

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But ask Mr. Casey if you like, or anyone else you like, or do it yourself. Address such a letter. I would think it would be proper to address it both to us and to the Department of Justice.

Mr. CAMACHO. I have addressed a letter already, and I shall be very happy to compose the letter myself.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be fine.

Under the procedures of the committee, if the committee votes that this record be made public, we would invite you to, or I will state now you have an opportunity if you desire, to look at the record, and if there are any obvious mistakes in it, to offer reasons for the committee's consideration for it to be corrected.

This is an executive record which will not be made public, except as a result of the action of the full committee. That is the principle, the procedures of the committee. And of course you have, as you know, agreed to supply certain material for the record which of course we will be glad to receive at any time that you have it available. Is there anything else?

Mr. CAMACHO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3 o'clock p.m., a recess was taken until 3:30 o'clock p.m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Present: Senator J. W. Fulbright (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morris Lee and Mr. James Cope, I believe.

Mr. COPE. Correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you both had an opportunity to read the opening statement outlining the purposes and procedures to be followed at this hearing?

Mr. COPE. I believe you are referring to what was mailed us, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that statement will be inserted in the record at this point.

1018 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

(The statement referred to appears earlier in the text; a copy of the subpoena addressed to Mr. Lee, and dated April 3, 1963, and a copy of the letter dated April 8, 1963, addressed to Senator Fulbright, as chairman of this committee from Mr. Cope, are as follows:)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Mr. Morris M. Lee, Jr., President, Selvage and Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, New York, Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, on April 11,¹ 1963, at 10:00 o'clock a.m., at their committee room, S-118 Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, and to bring with you the below listed papers, documents, records, etc., to wit: All correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, teletype messages and other written communications to and from all persons, all books, records, files, memoranda, documents, papers of every kind and description in your possession or under your control relating to activities engaged in by Selvage and Lee, Inc., on behalf of, or in the interest of the Overseas Companies of Portugal, tending or intended to influence the formulation or furtherance by the people of the United States, or by its Government of United States policies or interests, and engaged in during the period January 1, 1961, through and including January 31, 1963; and

All journals, ledgers, books of account, other financial records, and supporting documents or papers of every kind and description within your possession or under your control, including, but not limited to, canceled checks, bank statements, vouchers, vendors' invoices, sales invoices, contracts, and other supporting papers relating to the activities engaged in by Selvage and Lee, Inc., as hereinbefore described, during the period January 31, 1961, through and including January 31, 1963.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this third day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

J. W. FULBRIGHT.
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations.

MAY 1, 1963.

MR. MORRIS M. LEE, Jr.,
*President, Selvage & Lee, Inc.,
New York, N.Y.*

DEAR MR. LEE: Reference is made to the committee subpoena addressed to you and dated April 3, 1963.

This is to inform you that the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, at which you are required to appear under the terms of the aforesaid subpoena, has been adjourned to May 6, 1963, at 10 a.m., in the forenoon in room 4219, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Should you have questions concerning this notice, please address them to Mr. Carl Marcy, staff director, Capitol 4-3121, extension 4615.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT, *Chairman.*

Enclosures: (1) Senate Resolutions 26 (88th Cong. 1st sess.) and 362 (87th Cong., 2d sess.); and (2) opening statement by Senator Fulbright: Statement of purpose.

¹ Or at such date or dates and at such place or places to which the meeting of the Committee shall be adjourned.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1019

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL,
New York, N.Y., April 8, 1963.

HON J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: As senior officer of this company I shall, if there is no objection, accompany those of us who have been asked to come in on Thursday, the 11th of April. I shall be helpful if I can.

Sincerely,

JAMES COPE.

MAY 1, 1963.

Mr. JAMES COPE,
Chairman of the Board,
Selvage & Lee, Inc.,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. COPE: Reference is made to your letter of April 8, 1963, in which you request to accompany those members of your firm appearing under committee subpoena to testify on April 11, 1963.

This is to inform you that the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate has been adjourned to May 6, 1963, at 10 a.m. in the forenoon in room 4219, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT, *Chairman.*

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, it is the committee's practice to require witnesses testifying as to matters of fact to do so upon oath or affirmation. Will you both please rise.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEE. I do.

Mr. COPE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you both state for the record, so the reporter will have it accurately, your full name and address?

TESTIMONY OF JAMES COPE, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF SELVAGE & LEE, INC., AND MORRIS M. LEE, PRESIDENT OF SELVAGE & LEE; ACCOMPANIED BY E. RILEY CASEY, ESQ., OF THE FIRM OF GALL, LANE & HOWE

Mr. COPE. James Cope, chairman of the board, Selvage & Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City. My home residence is 44 East 67th Street, New York City.

Mr. LEE. Morris M. Lee, president of Selvage & Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue. My home address is 460 Ridge Road, Hartsdale, N.Y.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you are accompanied by counsel.

Mr. COPE. We are.

The CHAIRMAN. May the record show Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. My name is E. Riley Casey. I am an attorney, offices in the Commonwealth Building, with the law firm of Gall, Lane & Howe.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a statement, Mr. Cope or Mr. Lee, that you wish to make before we start questions?

Mr. COPE. No, Senator. We are at your disposal.

The CHAIRMAN. You have given your position. Would you describe just very briefly your organization and the nature of its business?

Mr. COPE. Our firm is a public relations firm, which was established about 1938, which handles general corporate and association clientele in general, and employs some 75 to 80 people, most of them in the United States. We have had an occasional client from abroad. Our business is in general limited to the continental United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cope, you are registered I believe under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator, we are.

FIRM'S INITIAL REGISTRATION

The CHAIRMAN. When did you register?

Mr. COPE. I am not sure that I can give you that date.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. I don't know certainly, sir, but it was quite promptly after we were retained, April or May of 1961, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. April or May of 1961. Will you identify the principal, that is the client, with respect to which you are registered, under the terms of the act?

Mr. LEE. The client is Overseas Companies, of Portugal, which is a group of Portuguese businesses, industrial groups doing business in the Overseas Provinces of Angola and Mozambique. There are roughly as I understand it some 50 companies in the Angola group, and some 30-odd companies in the Mozambique group.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit B of your initial registration statement contains a copy of your agreement with your principal dated May 2, 1961. Was that in fact the date of your agreement with the Overseas Companies.

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator, if it is shown in that paper, it was. That was the first document.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

FILED
MAY 27 1961
Registration Section
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REGISTRATION No. 1454

REGISTRATION STATEMENT

Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agent
Registration Act of 1938, as Amended

1. (a) Name of Registrant.

Selvage & Lee, Inc.

(b) All other names used by Registrant during the past 10 years and when used.

Selvage & Lee (a partnership)

(c) Address of principal office.

500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, New York

(d) Name of person or persons in charge of principal office.

James F. Selvage Morris H. Lee, Jr.
James Cops

2. (a) Date when Registrant was organized or created.

1938

(b) State or other jurisdiction in which organized or created.

New York

(c) Type of Registrant's organization.

Committee Voluntary group Association Partnership
Corporation Other type (specify)

3. If Registrant is a nonbusiness membership organization, state:

(a) Approximate number of members in the United States.

(b) Approximate number of members outside the United States.

(c) If more than one class of members, specify classes and approximate number of members in each.

(d) Who may be members and on what terms and conditions.

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4. All partners, officers, directors, and similar officials of Registrant. (*)

<i>Name and address of official</i>	<i>Position, office, or nature of duties</i>
James F. Selvage Box 255, R.D. #1, Flemington, New Jersey	Chairman of the Board
James Cope 44 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York	President
Morris M. Lee, Jr. 460 Ridge Road, Martsdale, New York	Executive Vice President
Samuel B. Bledsoe 504 "A" Street, S.E., Washington, D.C.	Vice President

5. All branches and local units of Registrant and all other component or affiliated groups or organizations.

<i>Name and address of branch, unit, group, or organization</i>	<i>Nature of connection with Registrant</i>	<i>Name and address of person in charge</i>
Selvage & Lee, Inc. 221 North LaSalle Street Chicago 1, Illinois	Branch	Winfield Green 621 South Park Drive Lombard, Illinois
Selvage & Lee, Inc. 1625 Eye Street, N. W. Washington 6, D.C.	Branch	Samuel B. Bledsoe 504 "A" Street, S.E. Washington, D.C.
Selvage & Lee, Inc. 219 East Broad Street Richmond 19, Virginia	Branch	Clinton H. Johnson 108 North Jefferson Street Richmond 20, Virginia

6. Name and principal address of each foreign principal of Registrant.

<i>Name of foreign principal</i>	<i>Principal address</i>
Overseas Companies of Portugal	7 Rua Atayde Lisbon PORTUGAL

7. State the nature and purpose of Registrant's representation of each foreign principal named under item 6 and describe fully all activities of Registrant for or in the interests of each such foreign principal.

To formulate and carry out a program of information in the U.S.A.

(*) There are other titular vice presidents but these are not principals in the business

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1023

8. Describe briefly all other businesses, occupations, and public activities in which Registrant is presently engaged.

General public relations counselling to industry and trade associations.

9. All employees and other individuals, except those named under item 4, who render any services or assistance to Registrant, with or without compensation, for or in the interests of each foreign principal named under item 4.

<i>Name and address of employee or other individual</i>	<i>Nature of services or assistance rendered</i>
Kenneth T. Downs 2837 49th Street, N.W., Washington 7, D.C.	Vice President & Account Executive
Raymond C. Baker 540 Scarsdale Road, Crestwood, New York	Assistant Account Executive

10. Furnish the following information as to Registrant's receipts and expenditures during the 3 months preceding the filing of this statement. The information may, if Registrant desires, be furnished for Registrant's latest fiscal quarter or other latest fiscal period of not less than 3 months.

(a) All amounts received during the period directly or indirectly from each foreign principal named under item 4, itemized as follows:

<i>Date funds received</i>	<i>Name of foreign principal from whom funds received¹</i>	<i>Purpose for which received²</i>	<i>Amount received³</i>
May 10, 1961	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Advance deposit against future outlays	\$150,000

¹ Include all amounts so received, whether received as compensation, loans, contributions, subscriptions, fees, dues, rebates, or otherwise.

² Receipts from a person amounting to less than \$100 for the period may be combined with other like amounts, provided the source of the funds is clearly indicated.

³ Where funds were received for various purposes, each purpose shall be listed in reasonable detail.

⁴ Show separately the amount received for each purpose listed under the preceding column.

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(b) All amounts received during the period from other sources to be used directly or indirectly for or in the interests of any foreign principal named under item 6, itemized as follows:¹

<i>Date funds received</i>	<i>Name of person from whom received²</i>	<i>Purpose for which received³</i>	<i>Amount received⁴</i>
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N O N E

(c) All expenditures made during the period directly or indirectly for or in the interest of each foreign principal named under item 6, itemized as follows:⁵

<i>Date payments was made</i>	<i>Name of person to whom payment was made⁶</i>	<i>Purpose for which payment was made⁷</i>	<i>Amount of payment⁸</i>
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N O N E

¹Include all amounts so received, whether received as compensation, loans, contributions, subscriptions, fees, dues, subsidies, or otherwise.

²Receipts from or payments to a person amounting to less than \$100 for the period may be combined with other like amounts, provided the source or disposition of the funds, as the case may be, is clearly indicated.

³Where funds were received or paid, as the case may be, for various purposes, each purpose shall be listed in reasonable detail.

⁴Show separately the amount received or paid, as the case may be, for each purpose listed under the preceding column.

⁵Include all transfers of funds to any foreign principal.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1025

11. (a) Speeches, lectures, talks, and radio broadcasts arranged or sponsored by Registrant or delivered by officials or employees of Registrant, during the past 3 months.

<i>Date delivered</i>	<i>By whom delivered</i>	<i>Where delivered*</i>	<i>Kind of audience</i>	<i>Subject matter discussed</i>
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N O N E

(b) Publications prepared or distributed by Registrant, or by others for Registrant, or in the preparation or distribution of which Registrant rendered any services or assistance, during the past 6 months. (Indicate each type of publication by an "X".) N O N E

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Press releases | (8) Circulars | (15) Lantern slides |
| (2) News bulletins | (9) Form letters | (16) Still pictures |
| (3) Newspapers | (10) Reprints | (17) Posters |
| (4) Articles | (11) Copies of speeches, lectures, talks, or radio broadcasts | (18) Photographs |
| (5) Books | (12) Radio programs | (19) Charts |
| (6) Magazines | (13) Radio scripts | (20) Maps |
| (7) Pamphlets | (14) Moving pictures | (21) Other publications |

(c) Preparation of publications referred to in answer to (b) above.

<i>Number checked under (b)</i>	<i>Description of publication</i>	<i>By whom written, edited, or prepared</i>	<i>By whom printed, produced, or published</i>
---------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---	--

N O N E

(d) Distribution of publications referred to in answer to (b) above.

<i>Number checked under (b)</i>	<i>Name of distributor</i>	<i>Methods and channels of distribution</i>	<i>Classes or groups of persons to which distributed</i>
---------------------------------	----------------------------	---	--

N O N E

* In case of radio broadcasts, identify the station from which the broadcasts were made.

1026 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

12. (a) Registrant's affiliations, associations, or other connections, not fully described above, with foreign governments, foreign political parties, or officials or agencies thereof.

*Name of government, party, or official
or agency thereof*

Nature of Registrant's connections therewith

N O N E

- (b) Registrant's pecuniary interest in or control over partnerships, corporations, associations, or other organizations or combinations of individuals, not fully described above.

*Name of organization
or combination*

*Nature of Registrant's ownership
or other pecuniary interest*

*Nature of any direction or control
exercised by Registrant*

N O N E

13. (a) Ownership of, or supervision, direction, or control over, Registrant by all organizations, groups, or individuals.

Name of organization, group, or individual

*Nature of ownership, supervision,
direction, or control*

Selvage & Lee, Inc.

There are four stockholders
in Selvage & Lee, Inc.,
as follows:

Messrs. James P. Selvage
James Cope
Morris M. Lee, Jr.
Samuel B. Bledsoe

(b) Any subsidy or other financial assistance received by Registrant directly or indirectly from—

Any individual who is a citizen of, or resides in, a foreign country.

Any organization created in, or under the laws of, any foreign country or having its principal place of business in a foreign country.

Any foreign government or foreign political party, or any official or agency thereof.

*Name of person from whom subsidy or
financial assistance received*

Nature and amount of subsidy

See Item 10 (a) above.

14. File the following exhibits with this statement:

Short Form Registration Statement - File a Short Form Registration Statement, on the printed form provided therefor, for each person named under items 4 and 9.

Exhibit B.—File a copy of the agreement, arrangement, or authorization (or if not in writing a written description thereof) pursuant to which Registrant is acting for, or receiving funds from, each foreign principal named under item 6.

Exhibit C.—File an Exhibit C, on the printed form provided therefor, for each foreign principal named under item 6.

Exhibit D.—If Registrant is a nonbusiness organization, file a copy of its charter, constitution, bylaws, or other instruments of organization.

Exhibit E.—File copies of all printed matter referred to under item 11 (b), except photographs and moving pictures.

Exhibit F.—File a copy of the agreement or arrangement (or if not in writing, a written description thereof) between the Registrant and each business firm or other organization named under item 11 (c) or (d).

1028 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make (s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in attached Short Form Registration Statements, insofar as such information is not within his (their) personal knowledge.

(Type or print name under each signature)

Morris M. Lee, Jr.
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

(Both copies of this statement shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or other person authorized to administer oaths. The statement shall be signed by the Agent or, if the Agent is an organization, by a majority of those partners, officers, directors, or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States. If no such person is in the United States, the statement shall be signed and sworn to by the duly authorized representative of the Registrant.)

(Signature)

(Signature)

(Signature)

Subscribed and sworn to before me at 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York
this 26th day of May, 1961

Sylvain Salfer
(Notary Public in and for the State of New York)

My commission expires March 30, 1962

NOTARY PUBLIC in and for the State of New York
Qualified to perform notary duties in the State of New York
Sylvain Salfer
Term Expires March 30, 1962

FILED
MAY 17 1961
Registration Section
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

REGISTRATION No. 112-10000

Lisbon, July 17, 1961.

Yusef, Seaber
Dr. Alexandre Pinto Bente,
Ca das Calvarias de Ferro de Benguela,
LISBONA

Dear Sir,

This letter is to confirm oral agreements reached yesterday between Salvage & Lee and a committee of seven representing a consortium of private Portuguese business and agricultural interests which, for the purposes of this instrument and pending selection of a permanent name, will be called "The Group"

Salvage & Lee agrees, for the consideration of US \$75,000 per annum, plus out of pocket expenses, to formulate and carry out a program of information in the U.S.A. designed to place the affairs of Portugal and Angola in a true and proper perspective.

The Group has seen and approved the preliminary program presented by Salvage & Lee, which will be developed as facts and circumstances warrant, but in close coordination between Salvage & Lee and The Group. It is understood that Salvage & Lee will provide the staff personnel in that program which for all effects will be employed by Salvage & Lee and not by the Group.

Upon receipt of the first payment by The Group, Salvage & Lee *will submit to* The Group a monthly bill, with *receipts* therefor. *No expenditures exceeding US \$2,500 will be undertaken by Salvage & Lee without prior consultation* with The Group, or its designated Representative.

The Group agrees to provide liaison between Salvage & Lee and *groups of* officials in Lisbon, Angola, New York *and Washington*, and to provide *information* which will aid Salvage & Lee in carrying out its mission. The Group agrees to *place on deposit in a New York bank the sum of US \$150,000 which* will include an advance payment of the Salvage & Lee fee for their services and initial operating expenses for the program. Thereafter, it shall pay bills by the month as submitted by Salvage & Lee.

The Group envisages the expenditure of US \$500,000 in 12 months but, if the results of this work will show that a larger amount would appear desirable, this figure could be revised upwards.

It is requested that a duplicate of this letter be signed by The Group.

Sincerely yours

Kenneth T. Owen
Vice - President
Salvage & Lee.

1030 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

Pela Companhia do Caminho de Ferro de Benguel

[Handwritten signature]

Pela Companhia Angolana de Agricultura

[Handwritten signature]

Pela Companhia de Diamantes de Angola

[Handwritten signature]

Pela Companhia Vinícola do Lobito

[Handwritten signature]

Pela Sociedade Agrícola do Cassaque

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

-Pela Companhia Fabril e Comercial do Witamar

[Handwritten signature]

Pela Companhia de Combustíveis do Lobito

[Handwritten signature]

FILED
MAY 27 1961
Registration Section
Department of Justice

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EXHIBIT C

TO REGISTRATION STATEMENTS

Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, As Amended

Registration No. 14

Furnish this exhibit for each FOREIGN PRINCIPAL of the Registrant.

THIS EXHIBIT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR FILING UNLESS IT IS REASONABLY COMPLETE AND ACCURATE.

1. Name and address of Registrant.

Belvage & Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, New York

2. (a) Name of Foreign Principal.

Overseas Companies of Portugal

(b) Principal address of Foreign Principal.

7 Rua Atayde, Lisbon, Portugal

3. If the Foreign Principal is a foreign government, state the following:

Branch or agency thereof represented
by Registrant

Name and title of official with
whom Registrant deals

4. If the Foreign Principal is an individual (natural person), state -

(a) All present business and residence addresses not given under item 2(b).

(b) Citizenship or nationality:

(c) If an officer, employee, or agent of a foreign government, foreign political party, or any official or agency thereof, state -

Name of such government,
political party, official, or
agency

Nature of Foreign Principal's
office, employment, or
agency

Nature of any activity
or other financial
arrangement

5. If the Foreign Principal is not an individual (natural person) or a foreign government, state the following:

(a) Type of Foreign Principal's organization.

Committee _____ Voluntary group _____ Association _____

Partnership _____ Corporation _____ Foreign Political Party _____

Other (specify) An affiliation of some 90 industrial and business enterprises.

1032 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

(File two complete copies)

FILED
JUL 19 1961
Registration Section
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Form FA-10

REGISTRATION No. 1454

A M E N D M E N T

TO REGISTRATION [] EXEMPTION [X] STATEMENT
(Indicate which)

NUMBER 1454

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents
Registration Act of 1938 as Amended

Name of registrant (or agent) SERVAGE & LEE, INC.

Name of foreign principal OVERSEAS COMPANIES OF PORTUGAL

The answers to the items of the above-mentioned statement listed below are hereby amended to read as follows:

(Insert proper item numbers)

Item No. 7

To publicize via newspapers, radio, television and otherwise the accomplishments of Portugal in its overseas provinces. Also, to combat with facts in all available media false and misleading information relating to the present strife in Angola.

Item No. _____

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1033

Item No. _____

Item No. _____

Item No. _____

(If additional items are to be amended, insert additional pages as needed)

1034 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

Exhibits.--The following additional or amended exhibits are attached hereto as a part of this amendment (list exhibits attached) _____

NOTE.--The amendment will not be accepted for filing unless both copies are signed and sworn to as required below.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this amendment to the statement mentioned above and the attached exhibits, that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of information contained in any Exhibit A filed herewith insofar as such information is not within his (their) personal knowledge.

(Type or print name under each signature)

(If the agent is a partnership, corporation, association, or other combination of individuals, this amendment shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or other officer authorized to administer oaths, by a majority of those partners, officers, directors, or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States. If no such person is in the United States, the amendment shall be signed and sworn to by the duly authorized representative of the agent.)

James P. Salvage

(Signature) James P. Salvage
Chairman

Morris M. Lee, Jr.

(Signature) Morris M. Lee, Jr.
Executive Vice President

(Signature)

(Signature)

(Signature)

Subscribed and sworn to before me at New York, New York
this 17th day of July, 1961

Stephen Salvo

(Notary or other officer)

My commission expires March 30, 1964

NOTARY PUBLIC
NOTARY PUBLIC of New York
State of New York
County of New York
Commission Expires March 30, 1964
Stephen Salvo

ORGANIZATIONAL FORM OF THE OVERSEAS COMPANIES

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you could clarify for the record of the committee the Overseas Companies. What is the organizational form of this group, its membership?

Mr. COPE. I think the correct statement of that, Senator, is that it is what I would call an ad hoc committee, a group of people with a common interest who, facing a situation, came together and agreed informally among themselves to a course of action, and they then chose, among themselves, by whatever procedure they followed, those men who would constitute leadership, and I believe they have an executive committee informally designated probably, but with whom we have had relations and communications.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that what is known as the committee of seven, which executed the May 2 agreement?

Mr. COPE. I don't believe there is such a name actually, Senator. I think that it was again conveniently referred to that way, probably because either seven individuals or seven companies happened to be represented at that time, and as I said before, it was an ad hoc group which had not styled itself in any formal fashion.

Mr. LEE. May I add something to that. I believe, Senator, that the present executive committee is not this so-called committee of seven to which you refer.

As I understand it, it is a group that has been reconstituted to include at least two and possibly three members representing companies in Mozambique which were not involved on the original committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The original agreement was with this so-called committee of seven. I believe it is referred to somewhere in these documents. That is the only reason—

Mr. COPE. They may have.

The CHAIRMAN. But later they added some additional members.

Mr. LEE. Later they reconstituted, as I understand it, after Mozambique—

Mr. COPE. Not before?

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of these companies to your knowledge owned in substantial part by the Portuguese Government?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, we have to the best of our ability looked into that. Our best information is this: That of the 50 approximately companies in what we might call the Angola group, perhaps a half dozen do have government representation, again to the best of my understanding in relatively minor portions, 10 percent or thereabouts.

In connection with the Mozambique group, my information is that of the 32 companies, there are 3 of them in which the government has ownership. I should also say this.

I think, and you correct me, Jim, if I am wrong, when I say "government," we are talking about the state, the Government of Angola and the Government of Mozambique, as contrasted with the Portuguese Government, if you will.

Mr. COPE. May I add on that point, Senator, our information again, is that these companies in which the government does have a holding are so-called concessionaire companies which were given grants perhaps along the order of railroads across the public land, or something of that kind, and instead of being given the kind of thing that was done in this country, while the government retains a proportion of the proceeds, if any, of the venture.

There is one exception to that, and I believe it is the power company, in which the government ownership is quite substantial.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that what is referred to as Sonefe?

Mr. COPE. That is the one I had in mind, Senator, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe one of the memorandums states that the state owns 161,200,000 escudos of stock, and some 6,000 private holders own 168,800,000 escudos of stock, approximately half.

Mr. COPE. I believe Mr. Downs covered that with you, and I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We just wanted that for the record. The record will include the statement filed May 29, 1961, and this memorandum. Perhaps you ought to identify it. It is to Mr. Lee from Mr. Kenneth Downs.

(Copy of May 29, 1961, statement appears earlier, p. 1029.)

(Copy of memorandum referred to follows:)

JANUARY 25, 1962.

Mr. M. M. LEE.

KENNETH T. DOWNS.

DEAR MORRIE: Since my last memo on the subject, I have had two additional meetings with the Sonefe people. One was to examine about 2 hours of color film which has been shot during the period of the big Cambambe Dam construction. The second meeting, which was yesterday afternoon, was for the purpose of getting down to the matter of what they really want. It is this:

They would like for us to do what we can to publicize their work as part of our general campaign for Angola. As I told you in my previous memo, Sonefe has the power monopoly in Angola and is a member of the overseas group.

But in addition to this they are interested in having a separate public relations program carried out for them. The object of this program would be to interest industries which are heavy users of power into operating in Angola where there will be abundant cheap power. They are particularly interested in such a program in the United States, Canada, and Germany. I asked the Secretary General what he had in mind in the way of a budget. He said that they had not even come to this point yet and that they are merely exploring possibilities. They would be interested in having our firm make a presentation.

This seems to me to be a natural for S. & L. with its background of experience in the financial community.

I believe I told you before Sonefe is almost half owned by this government. The state owns 161,200,000 escudos of stock, and some 6,000 private holders own 168,800,000 escudos of stock. The power potential in Angola is practically boundless. The Cambambe Dam itself will go into operation in October with an immediate capacity of 800 million kilowatt-hours. This capacity can be doubled very shortly, and the ultimate potential of this dam is higher even than Aswan, which when completed in 1967 will be the biggest power producer on the African Continent under present schedules.

Jacqueline Hallowell is working on a general story on the Cambambe Dam now which I hope we can place early so that we can bring back clippings when I return along with our presentation.

New subject: We are paying Teague what he needs in escudos here for the moment. I will talk to you about salary arrangements for him when I return. I am beginning to think that we may be in a sounder position if we put him entirely on our payroll, but I'll take this up with you when I see you.

I have what I think is going to be an important luncheon meeting scheduled this noon with the Foreign Minister, Dr. Pinto, Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha, and O'Brien, and Allfrey, who have just arrived from London.

I think Dr. Lanier's visit has gone very well and that Sam's hunch on this thing may prove to be a real big strike for us. He left early this morning after we had arranged a big radio and press interview for him yesterday. The day before that he spent an hour with the Foreign Minister in a very satisfactory meeting.

Hope to see you Monday.

Regards,

cc: Mr. Fred Shaw, Mr. Sam Bledsoe, Mr. Paul Wagner.

QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT OF
OVERSEA COMPANIES

Mr. COPE. Senator, may I expound a little further on this point. So far as we know, we have never become aware of nor run across any incident of active Government participation in the policy or management of these companies. We have had no contact with any governmental exercise through the companies nor aware of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that in connection with this representation, you have had no contact with officials of the Portuguese Government?

Mr. COPE. No, sir. I say that we have not been aware of any Government action coming through the companies, any Government participation in the management of the companies. That is what I said.

The CHAIRMAN. That isn't to say—it is not the same as saying that you have not dealt directly with members of the Portuguese Government in connection with this representation, is it?

Mr. COPE. That is correct. I would not say it, except for the word "dealt," Senator. I mean we have had communications. That is a word subject to many constructions possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, do you identify that, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. I think there is one thing in connection with this, speaking of Sonefe. As you point out here, or as Mr. Downs points out, the ownership is roughly 50-50. I believe that I am correct in stating, however, that they are a relatively minor contributor to the overall funds of the Overseas Companies.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a breakdown of the contributions of the various members of this group?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Then how do you know it is minor?

Mr. LEE. I was told that—

Mr. COPE. That is hearsay.

Mr. LEE (continuing). That they were not one of the biggest—

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Downs.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you who were the big ones?

Mr. LEE. Senator, I did not ask him. At one time he did indicate six or eight companies that apparently contributed a substantial—he didn't indicate any proportion, but that there were six or eight of them that were much larger than the rest. I do not know what they are.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't give you any breakdown?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; he did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything in your files that would indicate the rate of distribution of the cost of this representation among the Portuguese companies?

Mr. COPE. No, Senator; not in our files. Conceivably we could obtain it.

The CHAIRMAN. Your May 2 agreement filed with Justice states in part, with reference to the Overseas Companies, and I quote:

The group agrees to provide liaison between Selvage & Lee and Portuguese officials in Lisbon, Angola, New York, and Washington, and to provide information which will aid Selvage & Lee in carrying out its mission.

What connections with the Portuguese Government do the Overseas Companies have, which would permit it to act as a liaison with Portuguese officials for Selvage & Lee?

Mr. COPE. They were citizens of the country, Senator, influential ones, I presume.

OVERSEAS COMPANIES AS LIAISON WITH PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

The CHAIRMAN. Could you explain to the committee the circumstances leading to your connection with the Overseas Companies; and in particular why it was deemed necessary for you to have liaison with the Portuguese Government officials?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Chairman, at the outset this group of companies came to us at a time when their investments in Angola apparently were threatened, at a time also when their own Government had taken no steps of the nature in which they were interested.

Our feeling was that if we were going to try to do the job which we were undertaking, namely informing the American public of the facts of the situation, that we would need access to information as readily and as quickly as we could.

The Government certainly seemed to be a source of such information, and we asked specifically to have such information made available to us, and to have such channels opened up for us. Do you want to add to that?

Mr. COPE. Well, from our standpoint it would have been entirely impractical to try to open up information from Angola to the United States, if the authorities did not permit the movement of information or the movement—or American press—into the province or otherwise furnish prompt answers, if need be, to claims made by opponents of the regime, and opponents of the status quo in Angola, so that our own people working on this said that as a practical matter they would have to have the best offices to get at the Government people, in case of need.

The CHAIRMAN. In pursuance of this statement that, "the group agrees to provide liaison with Selvage & Lee and Portuguese officials," who was the liaison in New York between Selvage & Lee and the Portuguese officials? Is that one of you gentlemen?

Mr. LEE. I think there have been several.

The Chairman. Who would they be?

Mr. LEE. There might have been a Mr. Baker, liaison between us and sources of information?

Mr. COPE. Our own staff people were successively a man named Baker, a man named Shaw, Mr. Downs, and some others. As far as liaison from the Companies, the Companies originally intended to sta-

tion a man in New York. That was at the time that we are discussing this, that was the expectation. Later they did not do so.

We had contact with a firm retained by the Government for tourist representation, and we had some contact I believe with some personnel of the United Nations mission.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a fact in Washington and New York that your firm and your people dealt directly with the Portuguese officials?

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator, certainly. Again may I say we communicated with them directly, sir.

CONNECTIONS WITH PORTUGUESE EMBASSY

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum from Kenneth T. Downs to Messrs. Selvage, Lee, Cope, and Bledsoe, dated August 24, 1961, and ask if you received a copy of this memorandum?

Mr. COPE. This is referring to a British company serving—

The CHAIRMAN. First, you did receive a memorandum, just for the record?

Mr. COPE. Yes, I am sure we did.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

AUGUST 24, 1961.

To: Messrs. Selvage, Lee, Cope, Bledsoe.

From: Kenneth T. Downs.

The Foreign Office has engaged the services of E. D. O'Bryan Organizations, 2 Old Burlington Street, London, W.I. This firm handles the accounts of Tanganyika Concessions and Union Minière. As you know, Benguela Railroad is wholly owned by Tanganyika Concessions. O'Bryan Organizations was brought in on the recommendation of Dr. Pinto Basto, who is board chairman of Benguela. O'Bryan was here in my absence and sent over one of his associates, Anthony Allfrey, this week. Dr. Pinto Basto asked me to help Allfrey. Their operation is limited to England. I gather from Allfrey that they concentrate most heavily in government work, using the press only as an instrument for their government activities. I have the feeling, though I may be wrong, that they are not too knowledgeable about use of the press, but are pretty sharp in high level political activity. I told Allfrey that we planned to use the Portuguese Embassy in Washington when the reforms are announced, and he is planning to do the same in London.

K.T.D.

The CHAIRMAN. The last sentence of that memorandum reads:

I told Allfrey that we planned to use the Portuguese Embassy in Washington when the reforms are announced.

What is the significance of that? What does it mean? Who is Allfrey, in the first place?

Mr. COPE. Allfrey appears here to be a representative of the British firm resident, from the context of this letter, resident in Lisbon. That is what it looks like.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't believe I asked you who is Mr. Kenneth Downs?

Mr. COPE. Mr. Kenneth Downs is a vice president of our company who has been actively engaged on this account from the outset. He went over to Lisbon with Mr. Selvage, I believe, after they had come to us in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Allfrey, according to the memorandum, is an employee of the O'Bryan organization?

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. COPE. Yes. I am under the impression this is misspelled, incidentally. I don't believe that is the way O'Brien should be spelled.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean O'Brien's name is misspelled?

Mr. COPE. I believe so, Senator. I think it have seen it in other contact, and it looks wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. When Mr. Downs, your vice president, says, "We plan to use the Portuguese Embassy in Washington," that indicates that your relations are directly with the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, doesn't it?

Mr. COPE. Senator, as I said before, we were certainly in contact with them here. When the reforms are announced, I have an impression that this deals with the fact that there was pending, at the time, a change in some of the relationships between the provincial government and people in Angola, and they wanted to make a great to-do about it.

One of the problems was going to be to get it translated into English in usable form, and it is my recollection that instead of leaving it in the standard channels that they moved the text over to our hands to have the thing phrased in clearly understandable English, and then, in effect, we were passing it back to the Embassy for its announcement.

The CHAIRMAN. If I understand it, you were to make the announcement for the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. COPE. Well, in fact we did not, sir. I am sure that we did not, and I think that this is very loose use of language.

I believe that the record will probably show that the Portuguese Embassy made its own announcement, but this is an offhand recollection, and I think it might be verifiable that they did want it in very lucid English, which isn't always the case when translation is done by foreign—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the press officer of the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. COPE. I don't believe I know, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Teixeira, does that ring a bell with you? Do you know, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. Yes, I know Mr. Teixeira.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the press officer of the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. LEE. I don't know. I know he is with the Embassy.

The CHAIRMAN. He is employed by them?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know his particular title?

The CHAIRMAN. Is it true that he is also employed by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. COPE. Yes, he has been.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir, he has been.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been, or is, or both?

Mr. COPE. I believe so. I believe he is employed at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been and is employed with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. COPE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a usual practice of employment of the member of a staff of a foreign embassy?

Mr. COPE. It is most unusual, Senator, and in this case it was due to the desire and need to have a good translator here, and Portuguese-speaking people who can handle matters of this kind particularly are

not too numerous, and he seemed to be more readily available. I believe that he is an American citizen, and he was available on this basis.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM PROPOSED BY SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. The May 2 agreement refers as well to a "Preliminary program proposed by Selvage & Lee," which was seen and approved by the group as a basis for your firm's activities.

Was a copy of this program filed with your initial registration statement?

Mr. COPE. I don't know.

Mr. LEE. I don't know. Do you, Ed? Mr. Casey says he does not believe it was

The CHAIRMAN. Have you produced a copy of that program among the documents produced today, pursuant to our subpoena?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir, I have, and I also believe that you have a copy in your files.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be for the record.

ARRIVAL OF PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memorandum with reference to the Overseas Companies, from S. D. Bledsoe to Mr. Cope and others, dated August 7, 1961, and ask Mr. Cope if he received a copy of this memorandum?

Mr. COPE. The copy shows that I received a copy, sir. I don't particularly recall it beforehand, but undoubtedly I did.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

cc: J. Cope, R. Baker, J. P. Selvage,
From: S. B. Bledsoe.
Overseas Companies of Portugal.

AUGUST 7, 1961.

The new Portuguese Ambassador arrives on the *Vulcania*, August 14. We should see that he is not ignored by shipboard reporters—he can handle himself I'm told—and that pictures are taken. We'll arrange to get requests for coverage from some New England and perhaps California papers. We are preparing a new biography here and should forward it tomorrow.

I don't think he should hold a press conference in New York and he'll probably be pretty cagey until he arrives in Washington and has a chance to look things over. But the background piece we put out on him could indicate the importance of his mission, etc. After we get the piece, we'll talk together as to how it should be handled.

The CHAIRMAN. May I say—maybe I should have said this in the beginning—all we are seeking to do here is to obtain for the information of the committee the way foreign registrants representing foreign principals, pursue their duties as representatives, and I am trying to get the text of these agreements into the record. That is why I asked you for identification as a technical matter.

Mr. COPE. Certainly, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there is no doubt this came, as you know, from your file. I am not trying to cast any doubt upon their authenticity. I am merely trying to get these in there.

We have never had a study of this bill before, and this whole operation is quite unfamiliar to all the members of this committee I think

as well as the Members of the Congress, so that I don't want you to attach too much or undue significance to my asking you if you received something. I think many of these are office memoranda with which you are familiar.

Mr. LEE. Yes, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. We would of course hope that you could enlighten us a bit as to how these operations proceeded.

Mr. COPE. We will do our best, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This memorandum reads, and it is quite short:

The new Portuguese Ambassador arrives on the *Vulcania*, August 14.

This is 1961.

We should see that he is not ignored by shipboard reporters—he can handle himself I'm told—and that pictures are taken. We'll arrange to get requests for coverage from some New England and perhaps California papers. We are preparing a new biography here and should forward it tomorrow.

I don't think he should hold a press conference in New York and he'll probably be pretty cagey until he arrives in Washington and has a chance to look things over. But the background piece we put out on him could indicate the importance of his mission, etc. After we get the piece, we'll talk together as to how it should be handled.

Does this memorandum relate to your representation of the private industrial Portuguese clients?

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of this aspect of the relationship?

Mr. COPE. Well, I believe that the matters at issue had to do with the attitude of the United States toward the regime in Angola, in which these companies had a stake, as well as the economic conditions, treatment of the population over there, and the arrival of a newsworthy person who could speak authoritatively on subjects of the kind would definitely be an element of publicity to be developed, and brought before the American public.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the press release referred to in this memorandum actually put out?

Mr. COPE. That I cannot say, sir. I am not that familiar with the file.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. I do not.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR NEWS COVERAGE

The CHAIRMAN. What does this mean and what did you contemplate when you say:

We will arrange to get requests for coverage from New England and perhaps California papers.

Mr. COPE. I imagine that would involve selling the newspaper on the idea that here was something interesting. I would observe that the areas referred to are areas in which there is a fairly sizable Portuguese population.

They are reasonably well identified as interested in Portuguese matters, calling their attention to the arrival of an Ambassador would very easily stimulate a request of the news services.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, how do you go about arranging to get these requests?

Mr. COPE. Call somebody up, Senator, and tell them, "Hey, have you thought of a picture of the newly arriving Ambassador? You may want this."

The CHAIRMAN. This somebody, who do you call up?

Mr. COPE. An editor, I imagine. I would certainly do it that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Cope, I thought you were an expert. You are just speculating and imagining, you have been in this business a long time. Don't you know how you do this, or does Mr. Lee know?

Mr. COPE. Senator, every person or individual will do a thing in his own way.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us how you did it in your way. How do you get requests for coverage? What is the procedure you follow? I don't want what you imagine. What do you actually do?

Mr. COPE. I did not do this.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Lee?

Mr. COPE. No.

Mr. LEE. No.

Mr. COPE. Neither one of us did.

The CHAIRMAN. Neither one of you know how this is done?

Mr. COPE. Yes, we do. We know how one of us would do it, but this says Mr. Bledsoe said:

"We will arrange to get requests—"

and I won't speak for whether he talked to a correspondent here in Washington or whether he got on the telephone to New Bedford or Providence or some other point, and made a suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. It would enlighten us if you will describe, we will say, the most normal way in which you get such requests for coverage. Could you do that?

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator. If I am trying to call attention to a story, which I believe is newsworthy, and I think of a point in which this will be regarded as most newsworthy—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you do this because you personally think it is newsworthy or because it is in the service of your client?

Mr. COPE. Oh, because it is in the service of my client.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. I just wanted to see what you do.

Mr. COPE. Oh, absolutely. Once in a while we may call somebody because it is just simply of interest to him, and we want to do them a favor, but ordinarily this is done for our clients, domestic or otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the procedure would be that you call up either directly the editors or wire services and suggest that they cover this particular event; is that correct?

Mr. COPE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I wanted. Is it one of your duties under your contract with the Overseas Companies to put out releases for the Portuguese Ambassador?

Mr. COPE. No, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it in this instance?

Mr. COPE. I don't believe so. I do not believe we put it out.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not believe you put it out?

Mr. COPE. Our people may have produced a background piece on it, as suggested here.

PRESS RELEASE CONCERNING NEW AMBASSADOR

The CHAIRMAN. You have I believe before you, don't you, "For immediate release," dated August 10, a release:

"Portugal's new Ambassador, Pedro Pereira." Did you report and release that? I call attention to the upper lefthand corner "Overseas Companies of Portugal, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, Raymond C. Baker."

Mr. LEE. I think we safely say it was prepared in our office. Whether it was released or not, I don't know.

Mr. COPE. It is possible that it was, Senator. I don't know. This is a background piece as he said, so it does correspond to that.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

[For immediate release]

From: Overseas Companies of Portugal, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N.Y.—
LW 4-2675 (Raymond C. Baker).

NEW YORK, Aug. 10—Portugal's new Ambassador to the United States, Pedro Theotonio Pereira, is on the high seas today enroute to Washington, D.C., via New York, for the specific purpose of doing a job of "fence-mending."

Ambassador Pereira arrives on the Italian liner *Vulcania* on Monday, August 14. The ship docks at pier 84, North River, at 8 a.m.

Husky, 58-year-old, 6' 4" Ambassador Pereira is a big man with a big job on his hands. It will be to repair U.S.-Portuguese relations, badly strained because of the dispute is the United Nations over the destiny of Angola, one of Portugal's African provinces. It is a problem of considerable importance to both countries and to their western allies, because Portugal holds a key position in NATO due to its geographical location.

Prior to his appointment as Ambassador to the U.S., Mr. Pereira was Minister of the Presidency, and as such was No. 2 man in the Portuguese government, second only to Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. He is expected to emphasize that the trouble in Angola was invited by Communist-led invaders from the nearby Congo. The real target, in the opinion of the Portuguese government, is the United States and NATO.

An economist, diplomat, and experienced trouble-shooter, Mr. Pereira was Ambassador to the United States from 1947 to 1950. He took part in the structural preparation of the Marshall Plan and the negotiations that led to the North Atlantic Pact. Portugal, however, declined Marshall Plan assistance, pointing out that ravaged countries of Europe needed help more desperately.

Mr. Pereira undoubtedly will want to know why the government of such a longtime friend and ally, which has asked very little in return, should now be placed in such a desperate position regarding her African provinces. Angola and Mozambique, Portugal's other big African province, are vital to Portugal's economy. The Salazar government probably would be overthrown if Portugal should lose her overseas provinces.

The Ambassador is well-suited for his new assignment, probably the most critical for Portugal since the Germans overran France early in World War II. He was credited at that time by the Portuguese with keeping the Iberian Peninsula free from invasion.

He has served as Minister of Commerce, Ambassador to Spain during the Spanish Civil War, Ambassador to Brazil from 1945 to 1947, and Ambassador to Great Britain from 1953 to 1958.

While in England, he became a close friend and sailing companion of Prince Philip, husband of Queen Elizabeth.

Mr. Pereira comes from a prominent Portuguese family.

During his earlier tour of duty here, the giant diplomat with the easy manners and lazy smile was immensely popular. He enjoyed the United States and life here and has always been strongly pro-American and anti-Communist, as are Dr. Salazar and the people of Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. This related to the Portuguese Ambassador?

Mr. COPE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this not done in pursuant of your duties as employed by the Overseas Companies?

Mr. COPE. It certainly was done in pursuance of our engagement by the Overseas Companies.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I thought, yes. So that would be part of your duties, and this is why it was done.

Mr. COPE. This may have been a voluntary thing. Whether it was our duty to do so I wouldn't know, so I wouldn't say.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say it is reasonably related to your duties under your contract with the Overseas Companies?

Mr. COPE. I would suppose so; yes, Senator. I would see no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cope, I don't quite understand your uncertainty about this matter. Aren't you head of this firm?

Mr. COPE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know whether it is or not? Why do you just suppose? Are we going to have to bring some other expert in to find whether or not this is or is not related to your duty?

Mr. COPE. I am trying to say I think it was related to what we were doing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. COPE. You raise the question, Senator, whether it was our duty to do so. I don't think it was necessarily our duty.

The CHAIRMAN. The question I was really trying to raise, that you did it in pursuance of the contract which you executed with the Overseas Companies.

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't have otherwise done it, would you?

Mr. COPE. No, Senator. It was the judgment of the people working on this account that this would expedite and further the interests of our clients.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very straightforward answer. That is all I was seeking to get in the beginning, not that you supposed it was.

I meant to ask you about Mr. Teixeira, whom you said was an employee. Was he employed only to do translations?

Mr. COPE. To my knowledge that was his principal activity. He is a very bright young man.

The CHAIRMAN. But not his only one?

Mr. COPE. I beg your pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. His principal but not his only activity?

Mr. COPE. I said to my knowledge that was his only responsibility.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would have knowledge about that?

Mr. COPE. Probably Mr. Bledsoe, since he was in continuing contact with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bledsoe is in charge of the Washington office?

Mr. COPE. Of the Washington office; yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it is not probable. He would know, wouldn't he?

Mr. COPE. I believe he would; yes.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, may I take one moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, I would like to say something about this background memorandum that is marked "For Immediate Release."

I am doing a little bit of speculating, but I think I know why we did this. Here is a new Ambassador coming. This in itself—he is a newsworthy character. Angola is very, very much in the news, the subject of debate, things appearing pro and con. At that point mostly con with great frequency.

If this Ambassador is interviewed as he gets off the ship, or subsequently, if it is known that here is a new man, he may have something to say, the most logical thing in the world is to ask him "What about Angola? What is happening?"

This, as far as I am concerned, is another way of bringing before the American press and the American public the facts, the point of view that we were retained by Overseas Companies to promulgate.

The CHAIRMAN. What interests me in a sense is the Portuguese Government is not a new government. It is not like Chad or Dahomey or something. Don't they have press officers of their own? Why can't they make their own releases about their Ambassador?

Mr. LEE. I assume, sir, they can.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just curious. Why do they feel the necessity of employing you to put out press releases?

Mr. COPE. Senator, I beg your pardon, I don't believe that we were employed to do this, to put out press releases on the subject. It was our belief that we could generate more news on behalf of our client in this way that apparently the regular officers of the Embassy would do by themselves. They certainly can and do put out their own press releases.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this because you have access to these papers, and as was stated there, you can call them up and have them cover it, and a press officer cannot?

Mr. COPE. They can do that, too, but I believe, Senator, that we have our experience and our many years of action either as newspapermen or as public relations people in the United States makes us very familiar.

The CHAIRMAN. You can do it better than what they can?

Mr. COPE. We hope so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have authority from the Ambassador to issue this release?

Mr. COPE. I could not say that, sir. I would assume that it certainly wasn't done in contravention of any lack of authority.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that you put it out without his authority?

Mr. COPE. Senator, the Ambassador in question was on the high seas, and I presume from the memorandum written by Mr. Bledsoe on August 7 that he had conveyed his intention of doing this to somebody probably, whether it was the old Ambassador or somebody at the legation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think maybe Mr. Teixeira might have been the source of the authority?

Mr. COPE. I couldn't say, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time was Mr. Teixeira one of your employees?

Mr. COPE. I do not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know that?

Mr. COPE. No, sir.

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH CLIENT

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state for the record, Mr. Cope or Mr. Lee, your financial arrangements with your clients? Do you know that? Do you, Mr. Lee? Would you state it for the record, please, sir.

Mr. LEE. The original financial relationship, Mr. Chairman, was the payment of a fee to Selvage & Lee on an annual basis, with the understanding that out-of-pocket expenses would be billed over and above the fee.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the fee?

Mr. LEE. The fee was, I believe, \$75,000 originally.

The CHAIRMAN. Per year?

Mr. LEE. Per year, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say originally. Is that arrangement still in effect?

Mr. LEE. It was increased, sir, at the time Mozambique joined the group of companies.

The CHAIRMAN. To what?

Mr. LEE. By I believe \$15,000. Is that right, Jim?

Mr. COPE. I believe so. I think it is \$90,000.

Mr. LEE. I believe it is \$90,000 presently.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now \$90,000?

Mr. COPE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And in addition to the fee, how much were you allowed to spend by way of expenses?

Mr. LEE. We submitted as I recall it two budgets, copies of which your committee has in this memorandum you mentioned a while ago. They elected to choose the lower of the two budgets. My recollection is—do you recall how much it was for, Jim?

Mr. COPE. \$350,000, \$500,000, I don't know.

Mr. LEE. It was the lesser of the two budgets, and from that we were to pay all out of pocket expenses for telephone and telegraph, travel, printing, whatever we might spend, plus a substantial amount of manpower which we billed to them.

The CHAIRMAN. That was \$500,000?

Mr. LEE. I am not sure, sir. I can find out and let you know very readily.

Mr. COPE. You have papers there which would show it. It is either \$500,000 or \$350,000.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand this. If you understand our procedure, we know some of this, we think we do, but it is necessary for us to testify to it, and I hope you won't be too reluctant.

Mr. COPE. We are not reluctant. We would like to know ourselves. I am not sure of the figure, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cope, if you know so little about it, why did you request to appear?

Mr. COPE. I wanted to be here, Senator, because there are a good many things about this I think I do know. This one, the minute we find the paper we can see what that is.

The CHAIRMAN. In the document I have already filed it says:

The group envisaged the expenditure of \$500,000 in 12 months.

Mr. COPE. Including the fees.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing) :

But if the results of this work shows a larger amount would appear advisable, this figure could be revised upward.

This is all in the record, Mr. Cope. I am not trying to quarrel with you. I thought someone from your organization could testify to it. We have these in the documents.

I am not trying to trip you up or anything of the sort. I am only trying to make a record.

Mr. COPE. What happened here was this budget Mr. Lee was referring to was for \$390,000, and apparently it was increased to that other figure by the time the agreement was drawn up, is that correct? This has a slightly smaller fee. A compromise was arrived at.

The CHAIRMAN. This was from the agreement that was filed on May 29, 1961, and it is signed by Kenneth Downs, vice president, Salvage & Lee.

Mr. COPE. I am sure that is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not at all, I hope you understand, trying to trip you up or catch you in any kind of inconsistency. All I am trying to do is to make the record based upon your testimony.

Mr. COPE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no secret about it. This is a public record. But we have to go through the procedure of making a record, and I thought that is why you came to testify.

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator, we did, and I am sure we didn't have this document in front of our eyes to verify.

The CHAIRMAN. This is your own document.

Mr. COPE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was filed. That is true of many of these questions.

Mr. LEE. All right, sir, may I backtrack?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LEE. If you will refer to the document of May 2, the fee as stated was \$75,000. The total overall expenditures were at \$500,000.

LABELING OF MATERIAL DISSEMINATED

The CHAIRMAN. On your supplemental registration statement filed December 29, 1961, covering the 6-month period ending November 29, 1961, you state in answer to item 11, which requires a list of publications issued in connection with your representation, as well as indication whether those publications were properly labeled and filed, that:

All distributions are now being accompanied by the legend attached hereto. All distributions during period of this report have been identified as to name and address of source.

Am I correct in inferring from this answer that prior to December 29, 1961, your firm did not label its publications in the manner required by the act?

(Copy of registration is as follows:)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FILED
REC 27 1961
Registration Section
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT

Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents
Registration Act of 1938, as Amended

REGISTRATION NO. 44021

For Six Months Period Ending November 29, 1961
(Insert Date)

1. (a) Name of Registrant.

Selvage & Lee, Inc.

(b) All other names used by Registrant during the period.

None

(c) Address of principal office.

500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, New York

(d) Name of person or persons in charge of principal office.

James Cope, Chairman of the Board
Morris M. Lee, Jr., President

3. If Registrant is a nonbusiness membership organization, state—

(a) Approximate number of members in the United States Not Applicable

(b) Approximate number of members outside the United States Not applicable

4. (a) All persons who became partners, officers, directors, and similar officials of Registrant during the period.

Name and address of official	Date connection began	Position, office, or nature of duties
Morris M. Lee, Jr. 460 Ridgo Rd. Hartsdale, New York	9-18-61	President

[See attachment for additional information as to 4(a)]

(b) All persons who ceased to be partners, officers, directors, or similar officials of Registrant during the period.

Name and address of official	Date connection ended	Reason for ending connection
None		

None

1050 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

3. (a) All branches and local units of Registrant and all other component or affiliated groups or organizations which began to operate during the period.

<i>Name and address of branch, unit, group, or organization</i>	<i>Nature of connection with Registrant</i>	<i>Name and address of person in charge</i>
---	---	---

[See Attachment for information as to 5(a)]

(b) All branches and local units of Registrant and all other component or affiliated groups or organizations which ceased to operate during the period.

<i>Name of branch, unit, group, or organization</i>	<i>Reason operations ceased</i>
---	---------------------------------

None

6. All persons who at any time during the period were foreign principals of Registrant.

<i>Name and principal address</i>	<i>Is person still a foreign principal of Registrant?</i>	<i>If not, give date connection ended</i>
Overseas Companies of Portugal 7 Rua Atayde Lisbon, Portugal	Yes	Not applicable

7. Describe fully all activities of Registrant during the period for or in the interests of each foreign principal named under item 6.

The development and implementation of an information and education program on behalf of the Overseas Companies of Portugal. The program involves disseminating and publicizing the accomplishments of Portugal in its overseas provinces and the distribution through all available media of facts to combat false and misleading information relating to current strife in Angola. This educational information program of Selvage & Lee on behalf of its foreign principal is fully illustrated by the materials filed herewith pursuant to Item 11.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1051

8. Describe briefly all other businesses, occupations, and public activities in which Registrant engaged during the period.

General public relations counseling.

9. Furnish the following information as to all employees and other individuals except those named under item 4, who during the period rendered any services or assistance to Registrant, with or without compensation, for or in the interests of any foreign principal named under item 6:

(a) All such employees and other individuals for whom Short Form Registration Statements (Formerly Exhibits A) have previously been filed.

<i>Name and address of employee or other individual</i>	<i>Nature of any changes during period in activities for Registrant or its foreign principals</i>	<i>Has connection with Registrant ended?</i>
Samuel B. Bledsoe 504 A St., S.E. Washington, D.C.	None	No
Kenneth T. Downs Rua da Estreal, 21 Lisbon, Portugal	None	No
Raymond C. Baker 540 Scaradale Rd. Crestwood, N. Y.	None	No
David S. Teeple 910 17th St., N.W. Washington 6, D.C.	None	Yes

(b) All such employees and other individuals for whom Short Form Registration Statements (Formerly Exhibits A) have not been previously filed.

<i>Name and address of employee or other individual</i>	<i>Nature of services or assistance rendered</i>	<i>Has connection with Registrant ended?</i>
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[See attachment consisting of List of all such employees and other individuals]

1052 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

10. Furnish the following information as to Registrant's receipts and expenditures during the period covered by this statement. The information may, if Registrant desires, be furnished for Registrant's latest semiannual fiscal period, provided the period covered is indicated and future statements are furnished on the same basis:

(a) All amounts received during the period directly or indirectly from each foreign principal named under item 6, itemized as follows:

<i>Date funds received</i>	<i>Name of foreign principal from whom funds received¹</i>	<i>Purposes for which received²</i>	<i>Amount received³</i>
1. May 12, 1961	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Fees, salaries, other disbursements	\$150,000.00*
2. July 26, 1961	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Fees, salaries, other disbursements	\$ 38,818.19
3. October 25, 1961	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Fees, salaries, other disbursements	\$18,381.97

This \$150,000 was deposited as an advance fund to be used to pay fees, salaries and disbursements. The other two items are replenishments of this fund.

(b) All amounts received during the period from other sources to be used directly or indirectly for or in the interests of any foreign principal named under item 6, itemized as follows:⁴

<i>Date funds received</i>	<i>Name of person from whom received¹</i>	<i>Purposes for which received²</i>	<i>Amount received³</i>
None			

(c) All expenditures made during the period directly or indirectly for or in the interests of each foreign principal named under item 6, itemized as follows:⁵

<i>Date payment was made</i>	<i>Name of person to whom payment was made¹</i>	<i>Purposes for which payment was made²</i>	<i>Amount of payment³</i>
------------------------------	--	--	--------------------------------------

[See attachment consisting of monthly summaries of all expenditures for each of the six months of this report period broken down into the major categories of such expenditures.]

¹ Include all amounts so received, whether received as compensation, loans, contributions, subscriptions, fees, dues, subsidies, or otherwise.

² Receipts from or payments to a person amounting to less than \$200 for the period may be combined with other like amounts, provided the source or disposition of the funds, as the case may be, is clearly indicated.

³ Where funds were received or paid, as the case may be, for various purposes, each purpose shall be listed in reasonable detail.

⁴ Show separately the amount received or paid, as the case may be, for each purpose listed under the preceding column.

⁵ Include all transfers of funds to any foreign principal.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1053

11. (a) Speeches, lectures, talks, and radio broadcasts arranged or sponsored by Registrant or delivered by officials or employees of Registrant, during the period.

Name of person by whom delivered	Number of speeches, lectures, and talks delivered	Number of radio broadcasts delivered
Dr. Martin T. Canacho	6	0
Bernard Teixeira	2	2

(b) Publications prepared or distributed by Registrant, or by others for Registrant, or in the preparation or distribution of which Registrant rendered any service or assistance, during the period. (Indicate each type of publication by an "X.")

(1) Press columns X	(8) Circulars X	(13) Lecture slides --
(2) News bulletins X	(9) Form letters X	(14) Still pictures X
(3) Newspapers X	(10) Reprints X	(17) Posters --
(4) Articles X	(11) Copies of speeches, lectures, talks, or radio broadcasts X	(18) Photographs X
(5) Books --	(12) Radio programs --	(19) Charts --
(6) Magazines X	(13) Radio scripts --	(20) Maps X
(7) Pamphlets X	(14) Moving pictures --	(21) Other publications telegrams

(c) Preparation and distribution of publications referred to in answer to (b) above.

Description of publication	By whom written, edited, or prepared	By whom printed, produced, or published	By whom distributed
[See attachment consisting of description of publications prepared or distributed by Registrant.]			

(d) Compliance with the filing, labeling, and reporting provisions of Section 4 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, and Rules 400-403 thereunder.

(1) Were copies or summaries of all communications and publications referred to in answer to (a) and (b) above filed with the Department of Justice and the Librarian of Congress? If not, explain why copies or summaries of any such communications and publications were not filed.

Copies being filed currently herewith.

(2) Were all such communications and publications labeled in accordance with Section 4 and Rules 400-403? If not, explain why any such communications and publications were not so labeled.

All distributions are now being accompanied by the legend attached hereto. All distributions during period of this report have been identified as to name and address of source.

(3) Were reports of the delivery, distribution, or other dissemination of all such communications and publications made to the Department of Justice in accordance with Section 4 and Rules 400-403? If not, explain why any such reports were omitted.

Required reports accompanying this form.

1054 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

12. (a) Any changes during the period, not fully described above, in Registrant's affiliations, associations, or other connections with foreign governments, foreign political parties, or officials or agencies thereof.

*Name of government, party, or official,
or agency thereof*

*Nature of changes during period in Registrant's
connections therewith*

None

None

(b) Any changes during the period in Registrant's pecuniary interest in or control over partnerships, corporations, associations, or other organizations or combinations of individuals.

*Name of organization or
combination*

*Nature of changes during period in
Registrant's ownership or other
pecuniary interest*

*Nature of changes during period in any
direction or control exercised
by Registrant*

None

None

None

13. (a) Any changes during the period in the ownership of or supervision, direction or control over Registrant by any organization, group, or individual.

*Name of organization, group,
or individual*

*Nature of changes during period in ownership,
supervision, direction, or control*

None

None

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1055

(b) Any subsidy or other financial assistance received by Registrant during the period directly or indirectly from—

Any individual who is a citizen of, or resides in, a foreign country.

Any organization created in, or under the laws of, any foreign country or having its principal place of business in a foreign country.

Any foreign government or foreign political party, or any official or agency thereof.

<i>Name of person from whom subsidy or financial assistance received</i>	<i>Nature and amount of subsidy or financial assistance</i>
Overseas Companies of Portugal	Only as in 10(a).
Spanish Olive Oil	This is a commercial account only and exempt from the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

14. File the following exhibits with this statement:

Short Form Registration Statement - File a Short Form Registration Statement, on the printed form provided therefor, for each of the following persons for whom a Short Form Registration Statement (formerly Exhibit A) has not previously been filed:

(a) All partners, officers, directors, and similar officials of Registrant.

(b) All employees or other individuals who during the period rendered any services or assistance to Registrant, with or without compensation, for or in the interests of any foreign principal named under item 6. See attachments.

Exhibit B—File a copy of any changes during the period in the agreement, arrangement, or authorization (or if not in writing a written description thereof) pursuant to which Registrant is acting for, or receiving funds from, each foreign principal named under item 6. Not applicable.

Exhibit C—File an Exhibit C, on the printed form provided therefor, for each foreign principal named under item 6 for whom an Exhibit C has not previously been filed. Not applicable.

Exhibit D—If Registrant is a nonbusiness organization, file a copy of any changes during the period in its charter, constitution, bylaws, or other instruments of organization. Not applicable.

Exhibit E—File a copy of the agreement or arrangement (or if not in writing, a written description thereof) between the Registrant and each business firm or other organization named under item 11 (c), and copies of all changes during the period in similar contracts previously filed.

See attachment.

1056 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this statement and the attached exhibits and that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in Exhibit A insofar as such information is not within his (their) personal knowledge.

(Type or print name under each signature)

James Copan

(Signature)

(Both copies of this statement shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or other person authorized to administer oaths, by a majority of those partners, officers, directors, or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States. If no such person is in the United States, the statement shall be signed and sworn to by the duly authorized representative of the Registrant.)

Morish Leif

(Signature)

(Signature)

(Signature)

Subscribed and sworn to before me at 517 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York

this 28th day of December, 1964

Sydney Salfer

(Notary Public in and for the State of New York)

My commission expires March 30th, 1965

SYDNEY SALFER
NOTARY PUBLIC IN AND FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COMMISSION EXPIRES MARCH 30, 1965

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1057

ATTACHMENTS TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM PA-2-GM)

4(a) [Additional Information]

James Cope 44 E. 67th Street New York 21, N.Y.	9-18-61	Chairman of the Board
James P. Selvage 135 E. 54th Street New York 22, N. Y.	9-18-61	Chairman, Executive Committee

5(a)

Selvage & Lee, Inc. Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo 3-8-E Lisbon, Portugal	Local Office	Kenneth T. Downs Rua da Estreal, 21 Lisbon, Portugal
Selvage & Lee, Inc. Luanda, Angola, Africa	Local Office	Col. Lawrence B. Clark C.P. 2381 Luanda, Angola, Africa
Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs 20 Pemberton Square Boston 8, Massachusetts	**	Martin T. Camacho 20 Pemberton Square Boston 8, Mass.

** An organization of Americans of Portuguese descent, resident in New England which distributes literature relating to Portuguese interests in Africa. The organization's expenses are paid by Overseas Companies of Portugal.

California Portuguese- American Committee on Foreign Affairs 1229 Law Center Building Los Angeles, California	**	Manuel J. Avila 1229 Law Center Bldg. Los Angeles, Calif.
---	----	---

** This organization's connection with Selvage & Lee is similar to that of the Portuguese-American Committee referred to above except that the California Committee is newly formed.

FILED
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Registration Section
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1058 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

REGISTRATION NO. 1058

ATTACHMENTS TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM FA-2-GM)

9(b)

Paul F. Wagner 1625 Eye St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.	Assistant Account Executive	No
Frederick W. Shaw, Jr. 500 Fifth Avenue New York 36, New York	Assistant Account Executive	No
Sherman Briscoe 223 Quackenbos St., N. E. Washington, D. C.	Consultant	Yes
Victor Gold 1625 Eye St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.	Assistant Account Executive	No
William M. Kitzmiller 500 Fifth Avenue New York 36, New York	Writer	No
Winfield Green 221 North LaSalle St. Chicago 1, Illinois	Vice President, Charge Chicago Office	No.
Col. Lawrence B. Clark C.P. 2381 Luanda, Angola, Africa	Branch Manager	No
Dr. Martin T. Camacho 20 Pemberton Square Boston 8, Massachusetts	Chairman, Portuguese- American Committee on Foreign Affairs	No
John James Synon 219 E. Broad St. Richmond 19, Virginia	Selvage & Lee, Inc. Writer Richmond Office	No
James Hayes Toddville Lane Peckskill, New York	Former Employee Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Yes
Moss H. Kendrix Organization 1826 11th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.	Consultant	No
Manuel J. Avila 1229 First Street Los Angeles, California	Chairman of California Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	No
Bernard Teixeira 3316 P St., N. W. Washington, D. C.	Translator	No

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ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1059

ATTACHMENTS TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM FA-2-6M)

9(b) Continued

Annette Culler Suite 4 2012 Connecticut Avenue Washington, D. C.	Free-lance Writer	Yes
Philippa Schuyler 270 Convent Avenue New York, New York	Free-lance Writer	Yes
Frank Adams Maxwell Hotel 20th & G Sts., N. W. Washington, D. C.	Free-lance Writer	Yes
R. Lanier 437 Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive New York, New York	Independent Researcher	No

FILED
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REGISTRATION NO. 1424

1060 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

ATTACHMENT TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM FA-2-6M)

10(c). 1. Date Payment Was Made	2. Name of Person to Whom Payment Was Made	3. Purpose for Which Payment Was Made	4. Amount
June 1961	First Installment on Fee Between Foreign Princi- pal and Registrant	Fee	\$ 18,750.00
"	Clipping Services for Portugal News Stories	Press Clipping Service	279.54
"	Account Executives Disbursements	Hotels & Entertainment	1,770.59
"	Printing Companies	Printing & dis- tributing materials	1,504.98
"	Book Stores	Research materials	43.46
"	Rental of Office Equipment	Typewriters, desks, filing cabinets, etc.	11.80
"	Photographic Re- productions	Photographs and photostats	371.83
"	Mailing Houses	Distributing material	175.00
"	Newspapers	Newspaper sub- scriptions	200.00
"	Office Expenses	Stationery	27.24
"	Messenger Service	Delivering materials	67.40
"	Mailing materials	Postage	30.98
"	Long Distance Telephone	Telephone	140.42
"	Telegraphic Services	Telegrams	11.39
"	Petty Cash	Miscellaneous	12.17
"	Account Executives	Salaries	2,221.16
"	Account Executives	Travel & Transportation	3,721.14
"	Clericals & Secretaries	Salaries	1,592.42
"	Freelance Writers	Fees for Services	2,511.67
"	Researchers	Fees for Services	875.00

FILED
C-29 1961

Non Section
7 et. seq.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1061

Continuation of Form 1129

1.	2.	3.	4.
July 1961	Clipping Services for Portugal News Stories	Press Clipping Service	\$ 78.28
"	Account Executives Disbursements	Hotels & Entertainment	620.55
"	Printing Companies	Printing & distributing materials	759.20
"	Book Stores	Research materials	17.49
"	Rental of Office Equipment	Typewriters, desks, filing cabinets, etc.	20.40
"	Photographic Reproductions	Photographs and photostats	81.87
"	Mailing Houses	Distributing material	93.22
"	Newspapers	Newspaper subscriptions	67.00
"	Office Expenses	Stationery	260.80
"	Messenger Service	Delivering materials	102.39
"	Mailing materials	Postage	72.42
"	Long Distance Telephone	Telephone	317.51
"	Telegraphic Services	Telegrams	6.20
"	Petty Cash	Miscellaneous	33.79
"	Account Executives	Travel & Transportation	2,445.53
"	Account Executives	Salaries	3,320.06
"	Clericals & Secretaries	Salaries	1,535.18
"	Freelance Writers	Fees for Services	1,350.00
"	Researchers	Fees for Services	150.00
"	Monthly installment on Fee	Fee	6,250.00

1062 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

1451

1.	2.	3.	4.
August 1961	Clipping Services for Portugal News Stories	Press Clipping Service	\$ 450.46
"	Account Executives Disbursements	Hotels & Entertainment	685.23
"	Printing Companies	Printing & Distributing materials	2,309.98
"	Book Stores	Research material	26.60
"	Photographic Reproductions	Photographs & photostats	22.15
"	Newspapers	Newspaper subscriptions	8.50
"	Office Expenses	Stationery	253.16
"	Messenger Service	Delivering materials	73.98
"	Mailing Materials	Postage	97.35
"	Long Distance Telephone	Telephone	376.83
"	Telegraphic Services	Telegrams	38.21
"	Petty Cash	Miscellaneous	5.00
"	Account Executives	Travel & Transportation	890.67
"	Account Executives	Salaries	5,050.66
"	Clericals & Secretaries	Salaries	1,614.28
"	Freelance Writers	Fees for services	550.00
"	Researchers	Fees for services	300.00
"	Interpreters	Translating	162.00
"	Monthly Installment on Fee	Fee	6,250.00

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1063

REVISION OF 1454

1.	2.	3.	4.
September 1961	Clipping Services for Portugal News Stories	Press Clipping Service	\$ 137.36
"	Account Executives Disbursements	Hotels & Entertainment	1,763.21
"	Printing Companies	Printing & distributing materials	155.60
"	Book Stores	Research materials	20.04
"	Rental of Office Equipment	Typewriters, desks, filing cabinets, etc.	723.65
"	Photographic Reproductions	Photographs & photostats	167.79
"	Mailing Houses	Distributing material	90.00
"	Newspapers	Newspaper subscriptions	9.00
"	Office Expenses	Stationery	398.89
"	Messenger Service	Delivering materials	100.00
"	Mailing materials	Postage	57.86
"	Long Distance Telephone	Telephone	634.26
"	Telegraphic Services	Telegrams	78.87
"	Petty Cash	Miscellaneous	17.37
"	Account Executives	Travel & Transportation	4,225.71
"	Account Executives	Salaries	5,574.35
"	Clericals & Secretaries	Salaries	1,674.07
"	Freelance Writers	Fees for services	3,375.00
"	Researchers	Fees for services	390.00
"	Monthly Installment on Fee	Fee	6,250.00

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ASSETS OF THE ... 1054

1.	2.	3.	4.
October 1961	Clipping Services for Portugal News Stories	Press Clipping Service	\$ 353.20
"	Account Executives Disbursements	Hotels & Entertainment	1,785.92
"	Printing Companies	Printing & distributing materials	5,207.50
"	Book Stores	Research materials	20.66
"	Rental of Office Equipment	Typewriters, desks, filing cabinets, etc.	168.65
"	Photographic Reproductions	Photographs & photostats	542.78
"	Mailing Houses	Distributing material	1,155.01
"	Newspapers	Newspaper subscriptions	30.00
"	Office Expenses	Stationery	254.62
"	Messenger Service	Delivering materials	108.12
"	Mailing materials	Postage	110.03
"	Long Distance Telephone	Telephone	452.98
"	Telegraphic Services	Telograms	409.21
"	Petty Cash	Miscellaneous	30.85
"	Account Executives	Travel & Transportation	5,819.32
"	Account Executives	Salaries	5,026.81
"	Clericals & Secretaries	Salaries	2,378.31
"	Freelance Writers	Fees for Services	3,325.00
"	Researchers	Fees for Services	500.00
"	Interpreters	Translating	305.00
"	Account Executives	Living & other Expenses abroad	8,894.48
"	Monthly Installment on Fee	Fee	6,250.00

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1065

1.	2.	3.	4.
November 1961	Clipping Services for Portugal News Stories	Press Clipping Service	75.63
"	Account Executives Disbursements	Hotels & Entertainment	1,002.51
"	Printing Companies	Printing & distributing materials	228.43
"	Book Stores	Research materials	18.20
"	Rental of Office Equipment	Typewriters, desks, filing cabinets, etc.	103.70
"	Mailing Houses	Distributing material	1,890.50
"	Office Expenses	Stationery	199.98
"	Messenger Service	Delivering materials	174.93
"	Mailing materials	Postage	154.00
"	Long Distance Telephone	Telephone	535.11
"	Telegraphic Services	Telegrams	10.95
"	Petty Cash	Miscellaneous	50.70
"	Account Executives	Travel & Transportation	1,086.24
"	Account Executives	Salaries	3,559.50
"	Clericals & Secretaries	Salaries	2,062.71
"	Freelance Writers	Fees for services	3,253.24
"	Interpreters	Translating	127.00
"	Monthly Installment on Fee	Fee	6,250.00

FILED

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REGISTRATION No. 1454

1066 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

REGISTRATION No. 100-2-1

ATTACHMENT TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM PA-2-6M)

11(e). 1. Description of Publication	2. By Whom Written, Edited or Prepared	3. By Whom Printed, Pro- duced or Published	4. By Whom Distributed
Map of Angola, Africa	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Rik Shaw, Ltd.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Reprint of New York Times Article	Benjamin Welles	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Article on Angola and the United States	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Article on The Com- munists and Angola	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Reprint Letter and Attachments	American Committee on Africa	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Letter and Translation	Holden Roberto	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Matrix and Proof	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Western Newspaper Union	Walters Feature Service
Excerpts of Speech	Premier Salazar	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Letter and Memorandum	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Reprint	Pittsburgh Courier	Pittsburgh Courier	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Reprint of Column	Arthur Krock	The New York Times	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release with Attachments	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release	Story on Portuguese Ambassador	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Pamphlet On The Morning of March 13	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Creative Arts, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.

FILED
DEC 9 1961

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1067

REGISTRATION No. 1054

1.	2.	3.	4.
Reprint	Pierre de Vos	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release Reprint	Portuguese Embassy	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Press Release	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
News Release and Matrix	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Telegram	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Western Union	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Letter	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Letter	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Reprint and Letter	New York Herald-Tribune and Ambassador Pereira	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Reprint	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Reprint	Robert C. Ruark	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Form Letter	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Magazine	Volkmar Wentzel	National Geographic	National Geographic
Form Letter, Purpose Clause and Postcard	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Reprint and Letter	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Overseas Companies of Portugal	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Reprint	U. S. News & World Report	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Reprint	Embassy of Portugal	Selvage & Lee, Inc.	Selvage & Lee, Inc.

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1.	2.	3.	4.
Telegram	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Western Union	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Press Statement	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Press Release	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Press Release	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
Reprint	Brig. Gen. Frank L. Howley and Dr. Max Yergan	Reader's Digest	Selvage & Lee, Inc.
Circular	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs	Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs

FILED
 DEC 29 1961
 Registration Section
 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

REGISTRATION No. 1454

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1069

ATTACHMENTS TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM A-2-61)

EXHIBIT "A"

Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, Boston.

This organization distributes educational material relating to Angola furnished it by Selvage & Lee. For these services, Selvage & Lee has agreed to pay the organization's expenses in maintaining an office and distributing this material. In addition to these expenses, Selvage & Lee pays Martin Camacho, the Chairman of the Committee, a weekly retainer.

Registrant did business with all other business firms and organizations listed in answer 11(C) under the usual purchaser-seller relationship in the ordinary course of business.

FILED
DEC 29 1961
Registration Section
Department of Justice

Investigation No. 1151

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ATTACHMENT TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM 204-2)

11(d) (2)

FILED
DEC 29 1961
Registration Section
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

REGISTRATION No. 10154

FROM: Selvage & Lee, Inc.
500 Fifth Avenue
New York 26, N. Y.
OXford 3-6200

FOR: Overseas Companies of Portugal

We are pleased to inform you that Selvage & Lee, Inc., is registered under Title 22, United States Code, Sub-Chapter 2, as public relations counsel for the Overseas Companies of Portugal, Rua do Alvalde, 7, Lisbon, Portugal. This is an organization of companies with business interests in Portugal and the Portuguese Overseas Provinces. Copies of this material are being filed with the Library of Congress and the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. A copy of our registration, No. 1454, is on file with the Department of Justice and is available for inspection. Such registration does not reflect approval of the contents of this material by the United States Government.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1071

ATTACHMENTS TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION STATEMENT (FORM FA-2-6M)

Exhibit "A"

In addition to the short form registration statements filed herewith, other short form registration statements are being obtained from the remainder of those persons listed in the answer to Question 9(b) who are not now available and will be filed as soon as received.

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DEC 29 1961
Registration Section
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[Handwritten signature]

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FILED

DEC 29 1961

REGISTRATION SECTION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Short Form Registration Statements
(Form No. FA-4) Are Filed Herewith
for the Following:

Paul F. Wagner

Frederick W. Shaw, Jr.

William M. Kitzmiller, II

Lawrence B. Clark

John J. Synon

Ames J. Hayes

Frank C. Adams

Victor Gold

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1073

FILED
JAN 22 1961

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

REGISTRATION NO. 1454

Form FA-11

Registration Section
Department of Justice

AMENDMENT

TO SUPPLEMENTAL REGISTRATION [] EXEMPTION [X] STATEMENT
(Indicate which)

NUMBER 1454 FILED Dec. 29, 1961

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents
Registration Act of 1938 as Amended

Name of registrant (or agent) Selvage and Lee, Inc.

Name of foreign principal Overseas Companies of Portugal

The answers to the items of the above-mentioned statement listed below are hereby amended to read as follows:

(Insert proper item numbers)

Item No. 7

The development and implementation of an information and education program on behalf of the Overseas Companies of Portugal. The program involves disseminating and publicizing the accomplishments of Portugal in its overseas provinces and the distribution through all available media of facts to combat false and misleading information relating to current strife in Angola. This educational information program of Selvage and Lee on behalf of its foreign principal is fully illustrated by the materials filed pursuant to Item 11 of the Supplemental Registration Statement (Form FA-2-6M).

The Overseas Companies of Portugal conduct a wide variety of ~~business~~ industrial, commercial and agricultural activities, all of which bear upon the basic economic development of the province of Angola. This Registrant's activities have been directed to telling the story of Angola's multi-racial society, its past healthy economic development and the strategic role Angola occupies in the free world's fight against Communism.

In carrying out this educational program, Selvage and Lee has prepared and distributed printed information materials, including pamphlets,

1074 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

~~Item #xxxxx~~

statements, circulars and articles. The release of some of these materials was sponsored by the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, an organization of New England Portuguese-Americans which Selvage and Lee affiliated with it in its public information program as stated in answer to 5(a) of the Supplemental Registration Statement (Form PA-2-6M).

The Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs has conducted meetings, issued statements, and held press conferences on subjects relating to the situation in Angola.

One of the most widely distributed pamphlets entitled "On the Morning of March 15" was composed primarily of photographs recording the mutilation, rape and slaughter, regardless of race, by the terrorist forces that invaded a small area of northern Angola from the Congo last spring. Wide use has also been made of reprints of stories on Angola appearing in the Reader's Digest and National Geographic magazines.

~~Item #xxxxx~~

Selvage and Lee's article on "The Communists and Angola" told how Holden Roberts, the acknowledged leader of the terrorist forces that invaded Angola, operated out of the Congo just beyond Angola's borders with mobs organized with Communist support.

In addition, Registrant's staff of experienced newspaper and public relations men wrote numerous press releases, form letters, telegrams and articles which were distributed from our New York and Washington offices to newspapers, radio and television stations, governmental and civic leaders and universities, as well as the public at large. These materials included the following:

- Reprints of magazine and newspaper articles;
- Reprints of statements by Portuguese leaders;
- Brochures reporting terrorist activities;
- A compilation of comment on the Angola situation;
- A newspaper supplement on Angola;
- ~~Item #xxxxx~~ Press releases.

To facilitate this program Registrant has established an office in Lisbon under a competent executive. We also established an office in Luanda for the purpose of facilitating visits by independent American news correspondents to all areas of the province and access to groups and individuals. These offices also have furnished factual source materials and data as to Angolan conditions.

(If additional items are to be amended, insert additional pages as needed)

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1075

Exhibits.--The following additional or amended exhibits are attached hereto as a part of this amendment (list exhibits attached) None

NOTE.--The amendment will not be accepted for filing unless both copies are signed and sworn to as required below.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this amendment to the supplemental statement mentioned above and the attached exhibits, that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of information contained in any Exhibit A filed herewith insofar as such information is not within his (their) personal knowledge.

(Type or print name under each signature)

James Copo
James Copo (Signature)

Morris M. Lee, Jr.
(Signature)
MORRIS M. LEE, JR.

(Signature)

(Signature)

(Signature)

(If the agent is a partnership, corporation, association, or other combination of individuals, this amendment shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public, or other officer authorized to administer oaths, by a majority of those partners, officers, directors, or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States. If no such person is in the United States the amendment shall be signed and sworn to by the duly authorized representative of the agent.)

Subscribed and sworn to before me at 505 7 1/2th Avenue, New York
this 18th day of January, 1962.

SYLVEN SALTZER
NOTARY PUBLIC, State of New York
No. 31-5744300
Qualified in Nassau County
Certificate filed in New York, Kings &
Suffolk County Clerk's
Term Expires March 30, 1962

Syven Saltzer
(Notary or other officer)

My commission expires March 30th, 1962.

Mr. LEE. Answering your question, Mr. Senator, I answered in the affirmative. We registered very promptly when we obtained this account. Apparently we were not in full compliance with certain aspects of this for a period of time. This was brought to our attention by the Department of Justice.

We immediately retained Mr. Casey's firm, and went to work hammer and tongs to get in compliance. I believe I am correct in saying that we have taken every possible step, memorandums to our staff, Mr. Casey's firm watching over us like an eagle to be sure that after the very initial period of this, everything that we have put out to the very best of our ability has been in compliance.

The CHAIRMAN. Then in answer to my question, prior to this time—

Mr. LEE. Prior to that time—

The CHAIRMAN. You believe that you did not, but that subsequently you have complied, is that correct?

Mr. COPE. As soon as we were so informed, yes, Senator. Senator, we should add to that that at that point we backtracked, and identified previously issued documents, did file them in compliance.

Of course that did not cover copies that had been distributed to individuals prior to that time, but we did identify and put them on the record.

PREPARATION OF REGISTRATION STATEMENTS

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, certainly. Any time.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do I understand that you had discussion with the Department of Justice at one time in 1961 or somewhere around there?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In which they suggested or called to your attention the fact that you might not be in compliance with some of these things, and that immediately thereupon was this in cooperation with the Department of Justice, or how would you say it? You retained counsel, you say?

Mr. LEE. We retained counsel, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For this purpose?

Mr. LEE. For this purpose.

Mr. COPE. For this purpose.

Mr. LEE. To be very sure that we were in full compliance.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then what you are saying is that from that time on under the advice of counsel and in response to the criticism of the Department of Justice, you did everything you could.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. COPE. And certainly in cooperation with the Department.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. To bring yourself into full compliance.

Mr. LEE. If I may, let me say this. We have our own internal house-keeping in New York. In these circumstances we came down looking for a Washington attorney, who was familiar with this type of thing, so that we would be very sure to be in compliance.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with this registration of January 22, 1962, from which I have read? Do you have a copy of that? Which one do you have before you?

Mr. COPE. December 29.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a supplement to the December 29 one. Do you have a copy of that?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR FILING REGISTRATION STATEMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. Who has the responsibility for filing these registration statements?

Mr. COPE. These are signed by both of us, Senator, myself and Mr. Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Prepared by you, Mr. Casey, or who?

Mr. COPE. Mr. Lee has Mr. Casey make them out. That is the procedure that we are following.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Casey, after you sign them he files them, is that correct?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This one on December 29, 1961, you prepared, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Casey prepared it and we signed it. I signed it.

The CHAIRMAN. I wondered about this item. You have quite extensive filing. It says, for example, on page—

Mr. LEE. Is this the supplemental filing?

The CHAIRMAN. This is the original. I don't see the page number. It is under 9(b).

Mr. COPE (reading) :

See attachment consisting of list.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry, 10(c). I don't see the page. Do you find 10(c) ?

Mr. CASEY. What date was this, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. It is filed December 29, 1961.

Mr. COPE (reading) :

All expenditures for each of the 6 months.

QUESTIONS REGARDING COMPLIANCE WITH FILING PROVISIONS

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I just wanted to ask you one or two questions about the compliance. Do you see 10(c) ?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the top of the page it says :

First installment on fee between foreign principals and registrant \$18,750.

Do you see that ?

Mr. COPE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you go down. This says :

Name of person to whom payment was made.

Near the bottom you have—

freelance writers, fees for services \$2,511.67.

Why don't you put in the name of the freelance writer? That is what is at the top of the page. It says "Name of person." Is this Mr. Casey's advice that you not put the names of the writers?

Mr. COPE. I believe so, yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe I ought to ask Mr. Casey why did you not put the names?

Mr. CASEY. Senator, the names were so numerous in any one item that it would have made a filing extremely voluminous, as indicated by the financial records of the firm, as was seen by Mr. Sifton in New York.

I have examined a number of the registration statements in the Department of Justice. This is how it was done over the years by various firms registering. I discussed the matter with Mr. Lenvin in the Department of Justice at the time of the filing. He was satisfied with the filing. In our opinion the act did not require such specificity of names that it would make the filing just an undue document.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I understand you did consult Mr. Lenvin about this, and he told you that it wasn't necessary to file the name?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir; I discussed this filing with Mr. Lenvin extensively, as soon as he contacted the company.

They brought us in and I went over and discussed the thing in great detail with Mr. Lenvin.

It was at his suggestion that we filed the amendment after he had examined the entire filing. The only amendment he wanted I think was item 7. He wanted a fuller discussion of the activities in the past 6 months, which we filed a month later.

The CHAIRMAN. And he stated to you that it isn't necessary to file the names of the freelance writers?

Mr. CASEY. I don't know that we took up freelance writers as an item. He went over this entire statement. We spent an hour and a half in the office.

The CHAIRMAN. Freelance writers happens to be a rather large item. I notice it is \$2,500, which is for 1 month, as related, for example, to office expenditure stationery \$27, and so on and so on. This is one of the biggest items. I wondered why Mr. Lenvin thought that it is not necessary for you to file the names of the people who are your freelance writers?

Mr. CASEY. I don't know that we took up freelance writers as an item.

The CHAIRMAN. And researchers, the same. Did he tell you not to file the names of the researchers?

Mr. CASEY. Again, we didn't take up individual items as to what the specific names were to be listed. We went over the entire filing as to whether or not we had complied with the act in supplying to the Department of Justice the itemization of the expenditures that had been made by Selvage & Lee in the past 6 months on a month-to-month basis, and he was satisfied that we had.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed on the preceding page it says: "Attachment to supplemental registration."

You name a number of people, Paul Wagner, Frederick Shaw, Sherman Briscoe, John Synon, but no indication of what you paid them. And R. R. Lanier, independent researcher, and no indication of what you pay them. Does that mean to leave the impression that you didn't pay them anything?

Mr. CASEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of the "no" or "yes" over there on the right?

Mr. CASEY. This is whether or not they are still connected with Selvage & Lee, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. But none of these names are carried under free-lance writers or researchers, are they?

Mr. CASEY. In answer to 10(c)?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. No, they are not itemized by name. Again they were categorized as to what the payments were for.

The CHAIRMAN. This was the procedure you followed throughout; is that correct?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir; through I might say, three supplemental registration statements.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the procedure you still follow?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. COPE. The question on the right-hand column, Senator, has the connection with registrant ended, so the "yes" would be it has, and "no" it is not; it still continues.

REQUEST FROM JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO SUPPLY NAMES ON STATEMENTS

Mr. CASEY. I might say on Friday of last week I received a communication from the Department of Justice stating that they now disagree with the way we listed these and have requested we supply names for each one of these items. This is the first time after a year and a half of filing of registration statements they have raised this point with us.

ARRANGEMENTS WITH PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The CHAIRMAN. Under item 5(a) on your supplemental statement covering the period ending November 29, 1961, you list as a group affiliated with Selvage & Lee the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs of Boston, Mass. Will you identify this group?

Mr. COPE. This is described here, Senator, as an organization of Americans of Portuguese descent resident in New England, which distributes literature relating to Portuguese interests in Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of them personally?

Mr. COPE. I am acquainted with Mr. Martin T. Camacho.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with his Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. COPE. I personally am not acquainted with other persons—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there is such a committee or not?

Mr. COPE. I have understood that there is such a committee. I have heard names of them, Senator, but I have not met them.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom did you hear such names?

Mr. COPE. Mr. Camacho.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about it, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; except again I have heard him mention names of people who are on his committee with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you recall any of those names?

Mr. LEE. I cannot, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that group to your knowledge ever file a registration statement as an agent of a foreign principal?

Mr. LEE. Yes, they have.

The CHAIRMAN. They have?

Mr. LEE. I believe so, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you instruct the group to file?

Mr. LEE. I believe we did, didn't we, Ed? Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your organization ever represent to the Portuguese-American Committee that it was under no obligation to file a registration statement?

Mr. LEE. Not to my knowledge, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you instruct Mr. Camacho, the chairman of the group, that he was under an obligation to file?

Mr. LEE. I believe we did, and he filed.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the financial basis of your arrangement with the committee, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, we paid Mr. Camacho a fee which I believe I am correct has varied over a period of time, plus certain out-of-pocket expenses, maintenance of an office, and a headquarters from which the group works.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that fee \$400 a week?

Mr. LEE. It was. Whether it still is or not, I don't know. My recollection is that it has been reduced.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lee, what was the purpose of your organization to undertake this agreement, this arrangement with the Portuguese-American Committee?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, here was a group of Portuguese Americans who had, prior to the time they ever heard of us, engaged in efforts to cement relations between their country and ours, to bring about a better understanding of Portuguese problems. This group willingly and happily felt that they could make a contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "this group," was there in fact a Portuguese-American Committee prior to your suggesting it to Mr. Camacho?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, I believe I am correct in saying that it did not have that label.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no such committee then?

Mr. LEE. May I—

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would be precise.

Mr. LEE. I would like to try to be.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to develop this.

Mr. LEE. I believe that essentially the same group which subsequently called themselves the Portuguese-American Committee was together, was active back in 1958 or 1960 in connection with some Portuguese-American celebrations. I don't know, I don't think they had, I am sure they didn't have the same name.

Whether they had a name at that time, I don't know, but I believe the principals are the same as they were back in 1959 or 1960.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your firm, in fact, suggest the formation of this Portuguese-American Committee?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, I don't know where the suggestions came from.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you testifying that you did not suggest it?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your testimony?

Mr. LEE. My testimony is that I do not know specifically where the suggestion of this name came from.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss with your principals the formation of such a committee?

Mr. LEE. I don't know, sir. I personally did not.

Mr. COPE. Mr. Lee personally did not. I did not, Senator.

Mr. LEE. I was taking that in a broad sense.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did?

Mr. LEE. It is possible Downs or someone might have, but not to my knowledge, and I certainly never did personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know approximately how much you spent on the Portuguese-American Committee?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea?

Mr. LEE. I can find out for you very readily.

The CHAIRMAN. In Mr. Downs' letter of the 2d of May it says:

No expenditure exceeding \$2,000 a month will be undertaken by Selvage & Lee without prior consultation with the group or its designated representatives.

As president, \$2,000 a month is an item that you should take notice of, isn't it, or is that a small item in your business?

Mr. LEE. I wish it were a small item in our business.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. LEE. I wish it were a small item in our business. I believe, sir, that wherever moneys in excess of that have been spent, our representative in Lisbon has taken it up with the client.

The CHAIRMAN. I am in error. My aide says:

No expenditures exceeding \$2,000 will be undertaken by Selvage & Lee without prior consultation with the group.

Oh, I see.

Mr. LEE. In other words, sir—

The CHAIRMAN. In total.

Mr. LEE. We do not have a blank check to go spending money.

The CHAIRMAN. You also list, in response to item 5(a) the California-Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. Did you have a similar arrangement for similar purposes with that group?

Mr. LEE. The answer, sir, is that there was a discussion of a west coast committee. As I understand it, it never effectively came into being. There is no Martin Camacho of the west coast. It was at the suggestion of Mr. Lenvin, Mr. Cope tells me, that they were listed here.

Mr. COPE. There is such a committee listed here, Senator, in the supplement to 5(a), as it had been the Department of Justice's advice apparently that after we contacted Mr. Avila and his associates, whoever they may have been, that we list them anyhow, even though we did not consummate such an arrangement with them as was set up with Mr. Camacho.

The CHAIRMAN. So it never came into being, is that right?

Mr. COPE. Our best information is that it did not, Senator.

IDENTIFICATION OF EMPLOYEES

The CHAIRMAN. On your most recent supplemental statement you include in the attachment listing, as required, the employees of Selvage & Lee, who were engaged in working on the Portuguese account, and who have filed short-form registration statements.

Would you identify some of the individuals listed, by giving the committee a statement of their background as pertinent to their employment on this account and the nature of services performed by them for your firm. Would you identify Mr. Samuel B. Bledsoe?

SAMUEL BLEDSOE

Mr. LEE. Mr. Bledsoe is vice president of Selvage & Lee in charge of our Washington office, an ex-Washington newspaperman with, I believe, the New York Times, with the Associated Press, who joined us 12 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is head of your Washington office?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

KENNETH DOWNS

The CHAIRMAN. And Kenneth T. Downs?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you identify him?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Kenneth T. Downs, vice president in charge of our so-called international division. Mr. Downs is much more recently with us, I would say about 2 years. Can you pick up his biography, Jim, more clearly than I?

Mr. COPE. My recollection is that after being a foreign correspondent, he did military service, including Berlin government, and then was in the Executive Offices of the White House during the latter part, during the last 2 years prior to being connected with us.

The CHAIRMAN. And he has been with you 2 years?

Mr. COPE. Two years. Senator, I believe he has been with us since about the beginning of this account, early 1961 or a little before.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this the only foreign account which you have?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other foreign principals do you represent?

Mr. LEE. We have another group, the Spanish Olive Oil Institute, which we have worked for, a publicity operation promoting the use of Spanish olive oil.

The CHAIRMAN. A Spanish principal?

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Martin T. Camacho we have referred to. He has been working for you since when?

Mr. COPE. As registered here, Senator, in this paper.

Mr. LEE. Since the summer or fall of 1961. Roughly since the fall of 1961, sir.

MANUEL J. AVILA

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Manuel J. Avila, who is he?

Mr. COPE. He seems to be the gentleman from California referred to here for us, as far as I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct? That is an error, he never was employed by you?

Mr. COPE. Apparently there was an approach made to him to have him join us, and it was the Department of Justice's advice, am I correct, that we should register him?

Mr. CASEY. He was spoken to. Correspondence was had with him, but nothing ever came of it. Mr. Lenvin felt on the side of safety we should list him, so we listed him.

LAWRENCE B. CLARK

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lawrence B. Clark, who is he?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Clark, Colonel Clark, was until the first of March our representative in Angola. He went down there 18 or 19 months ago. He, prior, had been attached to the U.S. Embassy staff as military press attaché or military press attaché in Lisbon, for a period of years.

The CHAIRMAN. He worked for you what, about 18 or 20 months, would you say?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; 18 or 20 months.

The CHAIRMAN. And that ceased?

Mr. LEE. That has ceased, in order to——

BERNARDO TEIXEIRA

The CHAIRMAN. Bernardo Teixeira; is he the one we have already referred to as an employee of the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator, that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is in your employment now?

Mr. COPE. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is also employed by the Portuguese Government now?

Mr. COPE. That is correct.

FRANK C. ADAMS

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Frank C. Adams?

Mr. COPE. My impression is Mr. Frank Adams is a Washington writer who was temporarily employed by us, I can't tell for how long, and did some work here in the Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he one of those freelance writers referred to earlier?

Mr. COPE. I do not believe so, sir. I think that he was employed for a period of time.

Mr. LEE. I believe he was actually on the payroll.

Mr. COPE. I believe he was. Mr. Bledsoe would be surer of that than I am.

MICHAEL TEAGUE

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Michael Teague?

Mr. COPE. Michael Teague is a young man, I understand he is an Englishman, who has been interested in Portuguese affairs, and has been connected with various of these people, and is currently our representative in Lisbon, Portugal.

MARTIM CABRAL

The CHAIRMAN. Martim Cabral, who is he?

Mr. LEE. Cabral is a Portuguese, worked for Angola Railroads, one of the client companies, decided 6 or 8 months ago that his future did not lie in Portugal, came to this country and is working in our New York office on this account.

JOHN SYNON

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know John Synon?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Synon was first employed by us several years ago in our Richmond office on a special legislative project on a full-time basis in the State of Virginia.

When that legislative fight ended, he hung out his own shingle, as I understand it. We have used him to greater or lesser degrees in the ensuing period.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a freelance writer? Is that how you classify him?

Mr. LEE. He can be called that, sir. Whether he is one of the freelance writers referred to here or not I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you employed him lately?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. COPE. He has been on retainer.

The CHAIRMAN. Currently?

Mr. COPE. He has been on retainer to us, Senator, and occasionally he does things for us, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of retainer?

Mr. COPE. I believe it is \$100 a week or \$5,000 a year.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Mr. LEE. I believe it is either \$100 a week or \$5,000 a year, sir.

Mr. COPE. I believe \$5,000 a year is his retainer.

The CHAIRMAN. Is part of his duties to condemn the chairman of this committee?

Mr. COPE. It certainly is not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know why it doesn't fit with his purposes.

Mr. COPE. I think we ought to fire him if he did that.

ARTICLES BY JOHN SYNON

The CHAIRMAN. I show you three articles entitled "Africa and the South," from the South Carolina News and Courier during the month of October 1962, all written by Mr. Synon as well as an editorial on the subject of Mr. Synon's articles and ask you whether Mr. Synon wrote these articles in the pursuance of his duties with Selvage & Lee? (Copies of the documents referred to appear on pp. 1164-67.)

Mr. COPE. I do not regard those, I do not recognize them as being in pursuit of any of his duties with us, Senator. He has been employed with other people currently.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. I do not, no, sir. I had not seen these articles before.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would know? Who in your agency, in Selvage and Lee, is familiar with its operations, could you tell us?

Mr. LEE. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Who?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Bledsoe is. The two most knowledgeable are Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Downs.

The CHAIRMAN. Then maybe it would serve no good purpose for us to pursue this hearing, unless you wish to volunteer something. You don't seem to know who is employed or in what capacity.

Mr. COPE. Oh, yes, Senator, I think that we are giving you various of these things. Certainly we do not recognize this as being part of his duties for us.

The CHAIRMAN. It relates to Angola, does it not?

Mr. COPE. It touches on it.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not think it was written at your request, and you did not pay him for it, is that correct?

Mr. COPE. That is my impression, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you ought to know. If you don't know, there is not much use in us taking the committee's time.

Mr. COPE. Senator, his assignments were given him out of the Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then we will ask Mr. Bledsoe.

Mr. COPE. Yes.

QUESTION OF CONTRACT WITH SPECIAL SERVICE BUREAU, UPI

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe you know about this. Do you have a contract with the Special Service Bureau, Division of the United Press International?

Mr. COPE. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know, sir? Do either of you know, sir?

Mr. LEE. We have had a contract with UPI for 10 years I would guess.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have one with Special Service Bureau of the UPI? You ought to know that yes or no.

Mr. LEE. I will give you a "Yes," sir, if you want a yes or no answer. I believe we pay them—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lee, it isn't what I want. We are trying purely to find out what the facts are.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Senator, let me say this—

The CHAIRMAN. If you plead ignorance on these, we will excuse you.

Mr. LEE. You were just talking to somebody or some bodies who have general overall administrative on 20-odd accounts. We do retain I believe it is UPI. It might be AP, but we retain a press service and have for years.

Now this is something that somebody else uses. I don't ever see it, so I am not being evasive, sir. I am just saying that I know we retain a press service on I guess an informational basis to bird dog certain things for us. Whether it is UPI or not I wish I could say, but I can't.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you say that if you do employ Special Service Division of the United Press International what service this bureau performs for you under the contract?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know what fees you pay them?

Mr. LEE. If I am correct, and I have not seen this for 5 years, I would assume we pay them \$150 a quarter, a month or something like that.

(See pt. 6, June 14, 1963, hearing for letter submitted by Mr. Cope on this subject.)

OTHER REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever represented any other foreign principals prior to the Overseas Companies, besides the Spanish Olive Oil?

Mr. LEE. We have represented, whether foreign principal or not, the Pan American Coffee Bureau, which fancies itself a foreign additive, for some reason. We have worked for them for 7 or 8 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Mr. LEE. Pan American Coffee Bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever represent the Spanish Government?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at any time?

Mr. LEE. Not at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any one other than—

Mr. LEE. One other thing. On Spain, sir, for about 3 or 4 years we represented the Spanish sherry industry in this country. That is another. And I think that is it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever represent any official of the Spanish Government?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any private individuals of Spain?

Mr. LEE. No, sir, other than the two I have mentioned, olive oil and sherry.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask, you do assume responsibility for the actions of your employees?

Mr. LEE. I think, sir, we have to.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether or not you are acquainted with them?

Mr. COPE. We have a good many trusted employees, Senator, and we keep a general supervision over what they do. We have had great confidence in them, and especially in the case of our very senior men such as Mr. Bledsoe and Mr. Downs. We have perhaps less intimate detail of what they do than the junior account executives.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I think we might as well call Mr. Bledsoe and excuse these gentlemen. I don't believe we are getting very much information.

Mr. COPE. I am sorry. We are doing our best for you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much. We will excuse you then. The time is getting late. We will ask Mr. Bledsoe.

Mr. COPE. May I make one brief—

The CHAIRMAN. You will continue under the subpoena, in case certain questions may arise which may fall within your immediate knowledge, and we might call you back.

Mr. COPE. Certainly, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. COPE. Could I make one brief statement, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, indeed.

ORIGINAL NEGOTIATION FOR PORTUGUESE CONTRACT

Mr. COPE. A quite general one. I was present at the first interviews that we had with the representatives of our principals, and it was exceedingly clear to us that these were private parties who had been deeply concerned with the situation that they found themselves in, that they went for advice to business contacts and associates in Great Britain and in the United States, that they decided on a course of action, and came looking for people qualified to carry it out.

We asked them whether we were working for them in fact or whether this was a representation for the government. We were assured that it was not a representation for the government.

As we developed our contacts with them, our own people asked that we have the opportunity to be in touch with government personnel. We could not function successfully otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. In those original negotiations wasn't it a fact that a prominent member of the Portuguese Government was present and participated in them?

Mr. COPE. He identified himself, Mr. da Cunha, I believe, he identified himself as having been connected with a Government department. I believe he was on leave from it, but he made it very clear that he was not representing or speaking for the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. But he was a member of the Overseas——

Mr. COPE. Companies.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Overseas Ministry of the Portuguese Government, was he not?

Mr. COPE. I believe that his regular assignment within that department of the Government, yes.

Mr. LEE. I should add that he was on leave of absence, and so told us. He also is related by brother or nephew or something, and is very closely tied in with some of the principal client companies. I believe he is a nephew or something of Dr.——

Mr. COPE. We did pursue that point, however, Senator, with a considerable analysis, and we were quite satisfied and we felt it was important for us that we be satisfied that we were working for private parties.

Mr. LEE. I think I should add one thing, and that is never at any time have we taken orders——

The CHAIRMAN. Am I to understand you wouldn't take the account if it had been the Portuguese Government?

Mr. COPE. I would not say that, Senator, but if we had, we would have registered as representatives of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what difference does it make that you go to this trouble?

Mr. COPE. It was very important for us that we know whom we were working for, and we certainly would have analyzed and appraised the situation very differently, if we had been taking on a representation for a government as to what we could do and whether we would take it, and certainly we would have registered ourselves as representing the government, and would have insisted on doing it.

Mr. LEE. I think I should add in closing, Jim, that we have never been asked to do things, instructed to do things or otherwise that come

within the scope of anything that the Portuguese Government instructed us to do. We have just never had such a situation, and I am sure of that.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you are stating that you are sure that none of your employees in Lisbon at any time had instructions, suggestions if you like, from the officials of the Portuguese Government with regard to this program?

Mr. COPE. Suggestions or possibilities, sir.

Mr. LEE. Suggestions are one thing, sir. I am sure we have never been instructed, dictated to, told to do something.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you distinguish between a suggestion and an instruction?

Mr. COPE. Senator, I might make a suggestion to you about something that you would take under advisement, and decide whether you wished to do it or not, but I certainly would never pressure you to be in any capacity or any desire to issue anything that could be construed as anything more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all you wish to say?

Mr. COPE. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. You may be excused. Will you ask Mr. Bledsoe to come in?

INTRODUCTION OF MR. BLEDSOE

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bledsoe, we are very pleased to have you here today.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had an opportunity to read the opening statement outlining the purposes and procedures to be followed at this hearing?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that statement will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The statement referred to appears earlier in the text; a copy of the subpoena addressed to Mr. Bledsoe and dated Apr. 9, 1963, and letter of Apr. 30, 1963; are as follows:)

APRIL 30, 1963.

Mr. SAMUEL BLEDSOE,
Selvage & Lee, Inc.,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BLEDSOE: Reference is made to the committee subpoena addressed to you and dated April 9, 1963.

This is to inform you that the meeting of the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, at which you are required to appear under the terms of the aforesaid subpoena, has been adjourned to May 6, 1963, at 10 a.m., in the forenoon in room 4219, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Should you have questions concerning this notice, contact Mr. Carl Marcy, staff director of the committee, on Capitol 4-3121, extension 4615.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT, *Chairman.*

Enclosures: (1) Senate Resolutions 26 (88th Cong., 2d sess.), and 362 (87th Cong., 1st sess.); and (2) opening statement by Senator Fulbright.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Mr. Samuel Bledsoe, Selvage and Lee, Inc., 1625 Eye Street NW., Washington, D.C., Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the full Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of the United States, on April 11,¹ 1963, at 10:00 o'clock a.m., at their committee room S-116,¹ Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To any staff member of the Committee on Foreign Relations to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three.

J. W. FULBRIGHT,

Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations.

[Handwritten note: Served April 9, 1963.]

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

Mr. Bledsoe, it is the committee's practice to require witnesses testifying as to matters of fact to do so upon oath or affirmation.

Will you please rise?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state for the record your full name, home and business address?

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL BENTON BLEDSOE, MANAGER, WASHINGTON OFFICE, SELVAGE & LEE, INC.; ACCOMPANIED BY E. RILEY CASEY, ESQ., OF THE FIRM OF GALL, LANE & HOWE

Mr. BLEDSOE. My name is Samuel Benton Bledsoe. My home address is 504 A, Southeast. My business address is 1625 I Street, Northwest, and I manage the Washington office for Selvage & Lee, Inc., which is a public relations firm.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you accompanied by counsel? I believe Mr. Casey, who has been here representing your firm.

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement you wish to submit?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have an official title in Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think I am a vice president, but we have so many vice presidents I don't count that.

¹ Or at such date or dates and at such place or places to which the meeting of the Committee shall be adjourned.

The CHAIRMAN. Since when have you been affiliated or working for Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Senator, I think since about 1947 or 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. 1947 or 1948?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to that time what was your profession?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I had been a newspaperman and with the Government and with some trade associations.

The CHAIRMAN. Selvage & Lee registered under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, did it not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe so, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you personally registered as a representative?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know. Yes, I filed a short form, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You filed a short form?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes; I believe I did, yes, sir.

ARRANGEMENT WITH SHERMAN BRISCOE

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with an individual named Sherman Briscoe?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Sherman Briscoe?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Sherman Briscoe is in the Information Office of the Department of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he presently?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; to the best of my knowledge, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Negro?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the Information Officer in the Agriculture Department?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think so, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What activity did Mr. Briscoe perform on behalf of Selvage & Lee?

(See App. 3, letter from Mr. Briscoe dated July 11, 1963.)

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, in 1961, after we got this account—

The CHAIRMAN. What account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. The Overseas Companies of Portugal, I went to Mr. Briscoe. I had known him while I was at the Department, and as a matter of fact I think I got him his job, I think I did. I know I did.

We had been friends for a good many years, so I asked him if he would check the sentiment of American Negroes toward the Portuguese, particularly with regard to the situation in Angola and Mozambique.

He wasn't particularly interested in the matter, and I told him well, I have been out of touch with the Negro newspapers, Negro newspapermen for several years. I had known quite a few at one time.

I said I thought I knew what the sentiment was, but I wanted to have it confirmed, and so under some pressure from me he undertook the job.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Let's see, I believe that was in June 1961. I would have to refresh my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. He was then employed in the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a full time employment?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, but I checked or had him check, and his work—he took leave—his work outside in no way interfered with anything he was doing at the Department, at least I didn't think so. So he made the survey of sentiment and reported to me, and at my insistence he was paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he make such a survey, you say?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got a copy of that survey?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. He reported—I believe he visited Chicago, New York, Baltimore, but he called up some people long distance as to sentiment.

He said almost without exception the Negro leaders and Negro public opinion was against the Portuguese, and I said, "Well, don't bother to give me a memorandum in that case. That confirms what I thought."

The CHAIRMAN. You mean he did not make a written report?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir, I don't think he did. In my recollection I don't believe he did.

The CHAIRMAN. You state that when he became employed by you, that he took leave of his duties in Agriculture?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, for the few days required for this survey.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he take formal leave or did he just take French leave?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Formal it is my understanding, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I believe he did.

The CHAIRMAN. And for how long?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I would have to ask him that, but it didn't take more than 10 days. Incidentally, I may say I think a great injustice has been done to Mr. Briscoe in this whole affair. That is my personal opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Did you choose Mr. Briscoe because he was a Negro or because you thought he did know—

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; and because I had confidence in him.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you pay Mr. Briscoe?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would have to get the records. I think that the total was around \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay him regularly so much a week?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I believe not. We took care of his expenses, and then at the end of the period I asked him to recommend a couple of newspapermen to go to Angola, Negro newspapermen.

He made that recommendation, and then I think he was paid in two lump sums as I recall. The total exclusive of travel might have been, it was somewhere between \$1,000 and \$2,000 as I recall it. I don't have the figures.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this take place, his work for you, you say, in the course of 10 days?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, the actual work done I believe didn't take more than 10 days. I might have paid him, and again I would have to refresh my memory, he might have been paid over a period of 2 months. I think he was paid somewhere between \$1,000 and \$2,000, but again I would have to check the figures on it. And of course his travel was taken care of.

The CHAIRMAN. In the initial employment you gave him, if I understand your testimony, \$1,000 plus expenses for the survey.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would have to check the figures. That sounds to me about right.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT REPORTS RELATING TO MR. BRISCOE

The CHAIRMAN. I show you some expense account reports here, and see if you can identify it, if you recognize it. It is three pages. This is for the record.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, these offhand I think probably, my recollection is those were his expense accounts. I see a notation I made here to my secretary, Mrs. Dyer. I think so, yes. I think I could identify these.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the records of the expense account payments?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put those in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1093

GELVAGE AND LEE, INC.
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

NEW YORK • WASHINGTON • CHICAGO • RICHMOND
800 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 28, NEW YORK
OXFORD 8-0200

Associação Portuguesa das Empresas do Ultramar
Rua do Ataíde, 7
Lisboa, Portugal

October 31, 1961

- 5 -

✓ Walter S. Quinn - 12,000 booklets furnished 11,132 list furnished on labels of Daily and Weekly newspapers 716 envelopes typed to specialists 11,848 stamped, flapped, sorted, tied and mailed. Postage: \$354.31			<i>See attached</i>
American Security Council - membership		10/25	\$ 994.76 ✓
Raymond C. Baker - see attached	9/2-26		87.82 ✓
- see attached	9/7-20		84.45
✓ S. B. Bledsoe - see attached	7/18-27		28.07 ✓
✓ <u>Sherman Briscoe</u> - see attached	9/19-22		120.23 ✓
James Cope - press meeting at Sheraton-East	9/22		10.01
✓ Maria Pinto da Cunha - Air fare Lisbon/Angola/Lisbon - services in Luanda	8/4		839.18 ✓ 675.00
Victor Gold - see attached	9/1-30		27.30 ✓
Kenneth T. Downs - Air fare Lisbon - N. Y.	8/27		213.21
- Air fare N. Y. - Washington	8/28		19.14
- Air fare Washington/NY/Washington	9/11		38.28
- Gladstone Hotel, N. Y.	9/21-22		61.10
✓ - see attached	5/15 ✓ 15		2,679.84
✓ - see attached	9/15-10/15		1,733.36
✓ - see attached	6/15-9/15		2,256.08

1094 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

AD

Sherman Briscoe's Expense Account Report

Aug. 28	Round trip (1st class) fare including seat Washington to New York City . . .	\$39.94
	Taxi cab station to hotel . . . . .	.85
	Taxi cab fares to appointments	4.80
	Telephone calls from hotel @ 20¢ " " booth 10¢	1.60 .40
	Entertainment	
Aug. 28	1 dinner engagement	9.00
29	1 luncheon "	6.30
29	drinks	4.50
	Hotel room Aug. 28 and 29	21.00
Aug. 30	Taxi cab hotel to station . . . . .	.85
	Taxi cab station to hotel in Philadelphia . . . . .	.55
	Taxi cab fares to appointments	1.30
	Telephone calls from booth 10¢ . . . . .	.40
	Taxi cab from hotel to station . . . . .	.55
	Hotel for part of day	5.60
	Round trip taxi cab fare residence to station	2.50
		<u>\$150.14</u>
	Six meals, Monday through Wednesday	9.80
Total	. . . . .	\$109.94 ✓

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1095

Sherman Briscoe's Expense Account Report for Chicago Trip
September 6-10, 1961

Sept. 6	Taxi cab from residence to airport	\$2.65
	Round trip (United) Washington Chicago	93.28
	Limousine to downtown Chicago area	1.50
	Taxi cab to Hamilton hotel . . . . .	.45
Sept. 7	Four telephone calls from room 20 . . . . .	.80
	Taxi cab from hotel to Ebony office	1.05
	Taxi cab from Ebony to ANP . . . . .	.95
	Taxi cab from ANP to L-subway . . . . .	.55
	L-Subway to hotel . . . . .	.25
Sept. 8	Two telephone calls from room . . . . .	.40
	Two telephone calls from booth . . . . .	.70
	Taxi cab from hotel to Chicago Defender	1.35
	Taxi cab from Defender to Ebony . . . . .	.45
	Taxi cab from Ebony to hotel	1.05
Sept. 9	Subway-L to Tone publication . . . . .	.25
	(Editor did not keep appointment)	
	Taxi cab from Tone to New Crusader	1.15
	L-Subway from New Crusader . . . . .	.25
	Entertainment	
Sept. 7	Dinner (Jet editor)	6.75
	Drinks (ANP group)	4.75
" 8	Lunch (Defender editor)	4.80
	Hotel bill (Sept. 6-9)	24.73
	Food (Sept. 7 through 9)	11.35
Sept. 9	Taxi cab to air terminal . . . . .	.45
	Limousine to airport	1.50
	Limousine from airport to D. C. residence	2.55
		<u>\$162.96</u> 162.96
	Total	
	Total on hand \$40.06 from New York trip	
	150.00 in additional funds	
	<u>\$190.06</u>	
	Balance on hand	\$28.10

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a fair characterization, that during that first period you referred to as 10 or 12 days, for that you paid him \$1,000 plus his expenses? Is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Then thereafter over a period of some time, I believe from September 25 to December 8, that he was on a retainer of \$50 a week, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. I think we had him on the retainer to try to find these two Negro newspapermen. That is my recollection.

Incidentally, I may comment there that I had to ask Mr. Briscoe to take the money. He offered to do it without charge, except for expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bledsoe, you are acquainted with Mr. Cope and Mr. Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They have indicated before the committee that they are not closely acquainted with the details of your activities on this account. Did you report to them?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, yes. However, I may say that they are busy themselves with quite a few other accounts. I think I just got them acquainted in broad generalities as to what was happening.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they acquainted with your activities with regard to the Negro press?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I think they were. That is my recollection. I told them about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You did tell them about it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is my recollection. However, having been with the firm a long time, sometimes I mean they wouldn't take it amiss if I didn't tell them of a particular incident. I think they would give me some credit for judgment. But I think I kept them acquainted in a general way with what was happening.

QUESTION OF MR. BRISCOE'S REGISTRATION WITH JUSTICE

The CHAIRMAN. When you first approached Mr. Briscoe, did you tell him that he would have to register with the Department of Justice?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I didn't know it myself, Senator. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Briscoe in fact register?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, he did.

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Perhaps Mr. Casey can—as I recall what happened was—I am no lawyer, but I don't think Mr. Briscoe is a foreign agent. He didn't do any work for a foreign government.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell Mr. Briscoe when you employed him that you and your firm were representing a foreign principal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. I told him that.

The CHAIRMAN. You told Mr. Briscoe that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. As I say, in my ignorance I had no idea that he would be forced to register. I knew the firm would have to register.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Briscoe, when he approached the Negro journalists, tell them that he was in the employ of a foreign principal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That I don't know. I don't think he had any reason to tell them. He wasn't doing any work for the foreign principal except to get information for me, Senator.

No, as I say, I didn't tell him not to tell them, but I don't know whether he told them or not. That is a matter that I would have to ask him about.

The CHAIRMAN. You are quite sure you told Mr. Briscoe that this work was being done on behalf of a foreign principal, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think so; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are sure of that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't tell Mr. Briscoe that he should file a registration 10 days after you made this agreement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. As I say, Senator, that was due to my ignorance.

The CHAIRMAN. That came later?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Casey the one who advised Mr. Briscoe to file, or did you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think Mr. Casey advised him to file.

Mr. CASEY. I believe I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. CASEY. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. By the time he filed, he had already left your employment, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Correct; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, Mr. Casey, did you think he ought to file after he had left the employment of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CASEY. By the time I got into the account, sir, the firm of Selvage & Lee retained our law firm to advise them on how they could get into complete and absolute compliance under the law.

In going over their records, I saw the name of Mr. Briscoe, and felt, since he had been paid out of the funds of this account, he should be registered, and I so advised Mr. Briscoe. I don't recall whether I personally spoke with Mr. Briscoe, but I know I either advised him or somebody in Selvage & Lee to tell him.

EMPLOYMENT OF COUNSEL BY SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. When were you employed by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. CASEY. I think it was in December of 1961 when they received word from the Department of Justice, sir, that their 6 month's supplemental registration was coming up, and that they were not in compliance.

The CHAIRMAN. You hadn't been employed by them prior to that?

Mr. CASEY. No, sir.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think I can explain something. First of all, may I comment that Mr. Briscoe stated expressly to me that he would not work for the Portuguese interests. That was a condition of his employment.

He told me at the time—I don't know whether he has changed his mind since then, that like most American Negroes, he didn't like the Portuguese.

I said, "That doesn't make any difference, you didn't have to like them."

Secondly, I think this whole matter, when he was trying to get two Negro newspapermen to go to Angola, and afterward two did go to Angola, someone called the Washington Afro-American, and the story was printed that Sherman Briscoe, or a Negro official of the Department of Agriculture, was working for the Portuguese Government. About 3 days later, the Department of Justice descended on me like a ton of bricks. I had an FBI man in my office. And so that was the first.

That was how this whole thing, I believe, started; that is, the Department of Justice investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said a moment ago that Mr. Briscoe offered to work for nothing.

Mr. BLEDSOE. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would he work for nothing if he didn't like the Portuguese?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I asked him. You must remember, Senator, that Mr. Briscoe had been a personal friend of mine for a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. Doing this as a favor to you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir, that is why he did it.

The CHAIRMAN. But he didn't know you were working for the Portuguese?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Oh, yes. I don't think there was any question of that.

The CHAIRMAN. So his loyalty to you overrode his dislike for the Portuguese?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think so; yes, sir.

PURPOSE OF LETTERS TO NEGRO JOURNALISTS

The CHAIRMAN. I show you copies of two letters dated October 27, 1961, one addressed to Mr. John H. Johnson, the other addressed to Mr. Daniel E. Day, and both signed "S. B. Bledsoe," and ask if you wrote and sent these letters?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir, I did.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

OCTOBER 27, 1961.

Mr. JOHN H. JOHNSON,
Editor-Publisher,
Johnson Publications,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: Some time ago Mr. Sherman Briscoe, who served with us temporarily as a research assistant, conferred with you on the Portuguese-African situation. We are now ready to pursue developments there further to get a clear picture of the situation. As part of this effort, we would like to have a member of your editorial staff join a representative of the National Newspaper Publishers Association in a visit to Angola, West Africa, Lisbon, Portugal, and perhaps Mozambique, and report objectively what he observes there. Our public relations firm will take care of all expenses of the trip. We estimate that such a trip would require 2 or 3 weeks. We would like to have the two writers leave for West Africa by the 15th or 20th of November.

I would like to make it clear that we wish in no way to influence what your reporter may write. All we ask is that he go with an open mind, and be objective in his reporting.

Our firm is working on the premise that Portugal has had a more enlightened racial policy in its colonies than have other colonizing countries. This then, we think, opens up the possibility for the development of a genuine multiracial democracy in Angola and Mozambique similar to the kind of democracy we are working toward in the United States. And, moreover, the success of such a

democracy in these two African provinces could have a salutary affect on the furtherance of democracy here.

If you can assign one of your reporters to this project, please let us have his name and title. It is our understanding that Mr. Daniel E. Day, chief of the Washington Bureau of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, will represent the 11 newspapers which participate in the press pool. These include the Afro-American newspapers, the Atlanta Dally World chain, the Cleveland Call and Post, the Houston Informer, and the Kansas City Call.

Perhaps before you receive this letter, Mr. Briscoe will have talked with you by telephone. He called your office today and was told that you would return on Monday.

Sincerely,

S. B. BLEDSOE.

OCTOBER 27, 1961.

MR. DANIEL E. DAY,
Chief NNPA Washington Bureau,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DAY: Mr. Sherman Briscoe, who has been doing research for us on a part-time basis, has suggested that you be invited to join a Johnson Publications representative in making an all-expense-paid trip to Angola, West Africa, Lisbon, Portugal, and perhaps Mozambique, to observe the situation there and report it objectively.

Our public relations firm is attempting to make an accurate assessment of developments there, and we are counting, in part, on the objective observations of good newspapermen. We estimate that such observations would require at least 2 to 3 weeks. And we would like to schedule the trip before the rainy season really sets in. Perhaps November 15 or 20 would be good target dates.

I would like to emphasize that we wish in no way to influence what you may write about your observations in Africa. All we ask is that you go with an open mind, and report objectively.

Our firm is working on the premise that Portugal has had a more enlightened racial policy in its colonies than have other colonizing countries. This then, we think, opens up the possibility for the development of a genuine multiracial democracy in Angola and Mozambique, similar to the kind of democracy we are working toward in the United States. And, moreover, the success of such a democracy in these two African provinces could have a salutary affect [sic] on the furtherance of democracy here.

We hope you will take this matter up with the National Newspaper Publishers Association immediately and let us have your answer as soon as possible. Our firm will take care of all expenses.

Sincerely,

S. B. BLEDSOE.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you identify Mr. Johnson and Mr. Day?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Mr. Johnson is the publisher of several Negro magazines including Jet and I think it is Ebony, but I may be mistaken there.

And Mr. Daniel E. Day is with a press association, a Negro press association. I also believe my recollection is he is also connected with the Chicago Defender.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It is a Negro newspaper in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. A newspaper?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I call your attention to the paragraph which reads, the third one I believe:

Our firm is working on the premise that Portugal has had a more enlightened racial policy in its colonies than have other colonizing countries. This then, we think, opens up the possibility for the development of a genuine multiracial democracy in Angola and Mozambique, similar to the kind of democracy we are working toward in the United States. And, moreover, the success of such a democracy in these two African provinces could have a salutary affect [sic] on the furtherance of democracy here.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by that paragraph?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, it is my understanding, which has been fortified since, that the Portuguese do have in contrast to most of the colonizing European countries, do have a multiracial policy in Angola, Mozambique, and any other possessions they have had, and it is my belief that you have to find some basis for cooperation between the whites and Negroes in Africa for the mutual benefit of both, if you are going to stop the deterioration which is taking place in Africa today.

It seemed to me then and now that these Portuguese colonies which have no legacy, if you want to call it that, which have no background of racial hatred, would be the ideal points to try to work this situation out.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice you call them colonies. Is that consistent with the attitude of the Portuguese?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No; they call them provinces. They regard them as part of Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't agree with that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No; I think I just used the wrong word.

The CHAIRMAN. In what respect?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think I should have said provinces instead of colonies.

The CHAIRMAN. Your letter said colonies, didn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. As I said, Senator, I think I made a mistake.

The CHAIRMAN. You do?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The last paragraph—

Mr. BLEDSOE. You must remember I was fairly new at the business then.

The CHAIRMAN. You had been in it 10 years, hadn't you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No; I mean this particular account.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, this particular one?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

[Deleted.]

The CHAIRMAN. Both these letters offered to pay the way for newsment to go to Portugal and Angola.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

MR. BRISCOE'S CONTACT WITH THE JOURNALISTS

The CHAIRMAN. And I also read in the last paragraph which says:

Perhaps before you receive this letter, Mr. Briscoe will have talked with you by telephone. He called your office today and was told that you would return on Monday.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you have Mr. Briscoe call Mr. Johnson before you wrote this letter?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I didn't know Mr. Johnson personally, and Mr. Briscoe did know him and Mr. Briscoe could attest that we were a reputable outfit, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. He was to recommend you, in other words?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, yes; Mr. Johnson might not know the firm or might be suspicious of the offer or something else, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Briscoe actually ever call him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think he did.

The CHAIRMAN. He called him you say here, but he didn't get him. Did he get him later?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes; I think he talked to him; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this in pursuance to his employment by you at \$50 a week?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes; I think the reason for the retainer was he was trying to get someone to go, some objective Negro newspapermen to go into these two provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Briscoe, in his conversation with Mr. Johnson, inform him that he was working for a foreign principal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what he said?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But this telephone call to Mr. Johnson was in pursuance of his duties in behalf of his employment by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And was he at the same time on full-time employment by the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir. Well, I don't know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. This is dated, this letter, October the 27th.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, if he did, I am sure, knowing Mr. Briscoe, who is very careful about such matters, he called at night or at a time when he wasn't on duty.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think it was during the office hours at the Department?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I doubt it very much. He is very careful about such things in my experience with him.

The CHAIRMAN. This is on his time off?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I would think so, knowing Mr. Briscoe.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think he charged the call to the Government, do you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I doubt it very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he bill you for the call?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Probably.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't know?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he had instructions to bill us for all calls made.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you ascertain from your records whether or not you paid for that call?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I am certain we could, Senator.

(See app. 2, p. 1192.)

The CHAIRMAN. Would you do that, please?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I will be glad to.

OTHER ACTIVITIES PERFORMED BY MR. BRISCOE

The CHAIRMAN. What other activities did Mr. Briscoe perform for Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is all, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. How many phone calls—did those two people, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Day, did they actually go to Angola?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They didn't?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He just attempted to get them?

Mr. BLEDSOE. We got two Negro newspapermen who went to Angola.

The CHAIRMAN. But two different ones?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, two different ones.

The CHAIRMAN. And when did Mr. Briscoe's employment by Sel-
vage & Lee end?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think about this time, about October. It ended I
believe——

The CHAIRMAN. December, wasn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It might have been December. I have forgotten.
As I recall, he had already notified me. He was no longer in our
employ when the scandal broke.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean "the scandal broke"?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, the charge that he was working for the Portu-
guese Government while employed by the Department of Agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. And that occurred when, about the 1st of December
of 1961?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would have to check. I think he left our employ
in November, and I believe this first newspaper story was around
December, some time in December, but as I say——

APPEARANCE OF MAGAZINE ARTICLES

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated December 26,
1961, which is addressed to Sherman Briscoe, and signed S. B. Bledsoe,
and ask if you wrote and sent that letter?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

DECEMBER 26, 1961.

Mr. SHERMAN BRISCOE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BRISCOE: After the publication of the stories in the Washington
Afro-American and Jet magazine, the Department of Justice visited our office
in New York and began to ask some questions. Accordingly, we are filing a
report in much more detail than ordinarily would be filed with Justice—as a
matter of protection for ourselves and our client.

I think you should fill out the form enclosed (two copies) and mail them to
New York. This is simply a matter of protection for yourself. We are listing
you as a consultant, which you were, and since stories have been printed about
it, I don't think you will be injured in any way. However, I would fill out the
forms, since Justice is watching everything happening on this account very
closely, as you know from experience.

I am indeed sorry that I, inadvertently, got you into this situation. I had no
idea of hurting you in any way and, as a matter of fact, all you have done
simply is to tell us what you thought about the overall situation and, as a
personal favor to me, to inform some newspapermen that they could travel to
Angola with all expenses paid. Furthermore, as you well know, we had no
agreements with the newspapermen as to what they would write and report
when they returned.

Personally, I think that what you did was in the interest of the Negro race, since it is evident that Angola is not ready for self-government—witness the Congo fiasco—that Portugal pursues an enlightened racial policy, and that a period of development and education is required in Angola before the native population will be able to handle its own affairs. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of emotion connected with this question, and persons who ordinarily react objectively now react the other way. This will change, but meantime it has hurt you, and again let me say I am sorry.

I wish you all the season's greetings and hope that 1962 will prove a good year for you. You have worked hard and have been a fine public servant indeed.

Sincerely,

S. R. BLEDSOE.

The CHAIRMAN. The third paragraph you will note—well, the first says:

After the publication of the stories in the Washington Afro-American and Jet magazine—

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the stories that you referred to?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the reason why his employment was terminated?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. I think his employment was terminated before this, Senator. My recollection is he terminated it himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Before these stories?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did he terminate?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think he had come to the conclusion he had done all he could, all that I had asked him to do, and I don't think he wanted to pursue the matter any further. As I said originally, that he undertook the assignments with some reluctance.

The CHAIRMAN. The third paragraph says:

* * * as a matter of fact, all you have done simply is to tell us what you thought about the overall situation and, as a personal favor to me, to inform some newspapermen that they could travel to Angola with all expenses paid.

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a fair summary of his activities?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. I believe I said that his two jobs, one was to check sentiment of the Negroes toward Portugal, and the other was to get these two newspapermen.

PAYMENTS TO MR. BRISCOE

The CHAIRMAN. When did you make your first payment to Mr. Briscoe?

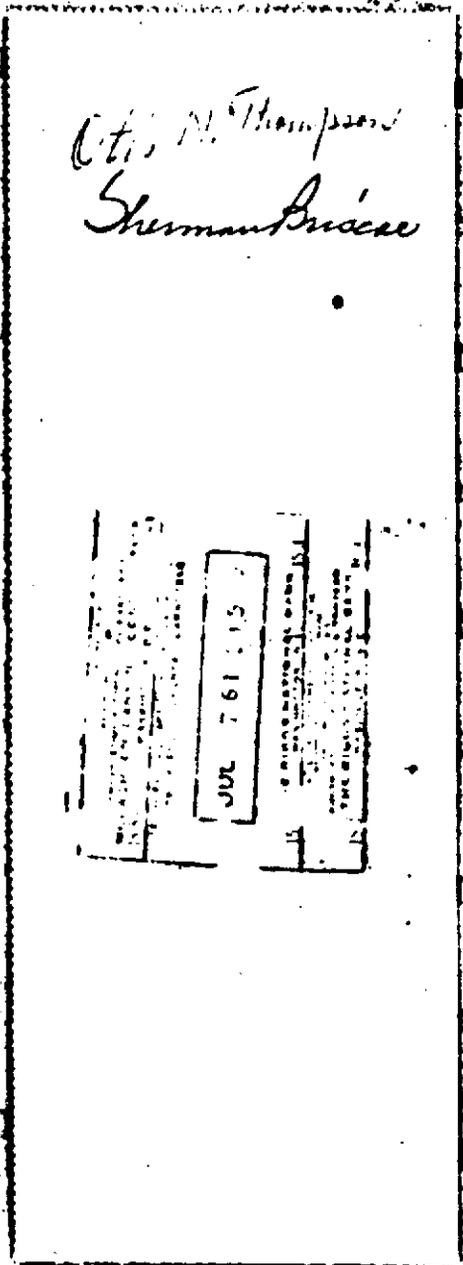
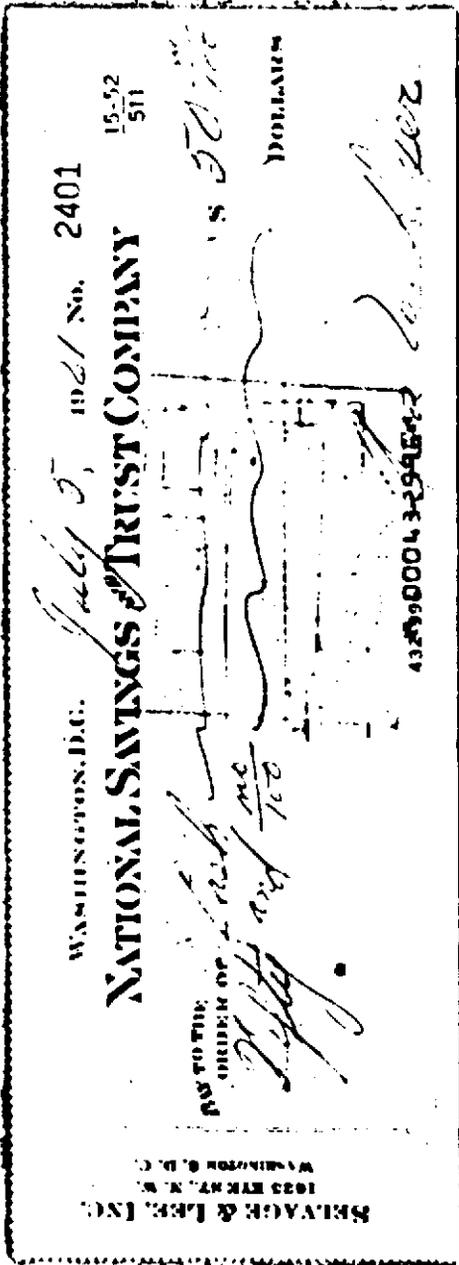
Mr. BLEDSOE. August or September, I believe. Again, as I say, I would like to check the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't it July of 1961?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It could have been. It could have been, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you identify a copy there of the check?

(A copy of the check referred to follows:)



Mr. BLEDSOE. The check was probably issued here signed by Mrs. Dyer.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your secretary?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he request you to have it made out to cash?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think so. I think unless there is some stipulation otherwise, she ordinarily makes it out to cash. I believe he endorsed it.

The CHAIRMAN. He endorsed it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it customary for you to make out all your checks for personnel to cash?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know whether there is any rule on it or not. I would have to check with her, but we make a good many of them to cash.

The CHAIRMAN. This is your office. You ought to know whether it is or not. Is it your practice in your office during the past 10 years to make your personnel checks out to cash?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, let me explain, Senator. Mrs. Dyer has been with us for quite a while, and I ordinarily try—I leave those office matters to her, unless she consults me.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your practice? You have been there quite a while, too. What do you normally do? You are acting like Mr. Cope and Mr. Lee. They say they don't know anything about it, and now you say you don't know anything about it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't think there is any set rule, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it a fact that in most ordinary offices that they make the checks out to their personnel in their names? Do you ever get your paycheck made out to cash?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I might point out this person—I don't recall, I don't think so, Senator—I might point out Mr. Briscoe is not a regular employee.

The CHAIRMAN. No, he is quite irregular. That is quite evident from the facts, isn't it? In other words, your plan is you make out to cash those that are irregular, and the regular ones you make out in their names?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think so, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what is the principle? I am just trying to get you to state that.

Mr. BLEDSOE. As I said, I think it all depends. If the person wants it in cash, we will make it out to cash. If they want it in their name, we make it out in their name.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you say Mr. Briscoe requested it to be made in cash?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir, I don't know. I don't remember. I wouldn't know. If so, he didn't attempt to evade anything, because he endorsed it.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure he endorsed it, but it would show up in your books as made out to cash, wouldn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think so, yes. Of course, if anyone is interested they can find to whom it went.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, but they would have to be interested and go and get the canceled check, wouldn't they?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

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REPORTING OF PAYMENTS TO JUSTICE

The CHAIRMAN. It wouldn't show. You did not report that payment to Mr. Briscoe on your filing to the Department of Justice, did you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think we reported all of them, didn't we, Mr. Casey?

The CHAIRMAN. At the time?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Oh, no, not at the time certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. In the name of Mr. Briscoe?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. As I said, at the time I wasn't aware of the technicalities of the legislation, which is of course no excuse.

MR. BRISCOE'S SHORT FORM REGISTRATION STATEMENT

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to place in the record at this point the copy of a short form registration statement submitted by Mr. Briscoe to the Department of Justice on January 19, 1962, and point out this was almost 5 months after he received his first payment from Selvage & Lee, and over a month after he concluded his employment with the firm.

(The document referred to follows:)

FILED
 JAN 19 1952

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

Registration Section
 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
SHORT-FORM REGISTRATION STATEMENT
 REGISTRATION NO. 1454
Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as Amended

This statement is required to be filed by all officers, directors, partners, or associates in conjunction with a registration statement filed in the name of a corporation, partnership, association or other combination of individuals, as the case may be, and by all persons who render services or assistance to the registrant in other than a clerical or secretarial capacity, with or without compensation, for or in the interests of any foreign principal of the registrant.

THIS STATEMENT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR FILING UNLESS IT IS COMPLETE AND ACCURATE.

1. Name and address of registrant. **Selva and Lee, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue
 New York 36, N. Y.**

2. (a) Your full name. **Sherman Briccoe**

(b) All other names ever used and when each was used.
**William Sherman Briccoe, 1908 - 1932
 Baylor Baskins (Pen name occasionally 1945-50)**

(c) All present business addresses. **U. S. Department of Agriculture
 14th and Independence, S. W.
 Washington 25, D. C.**

(d) All present residence addresses.
**223 Quackenbos St., N. E.
 Washington 11, D. C.**

3. (a) Date and place of birth. **Dec. 15, 1906. Brunswick, Miss.**

(b) Citizenship or nationality. **United States of America**

(c) If present citizenship not acquired by birth, indicate when, where, and how acquired.

4. All visits to or residence in foreign countries during the past 5 years.

<i>Name of foreign country</i>	<i>Purpose of visit or stay in foreign country</i>	<i>Date and port of each departure from and entry into United States</i>
Mexico	Sightseeing	3 days in June of 1959 Departed and re-entered Laredo, Texas
Egypt (Formerly UAR)	To assist with U. S. Exhibit	Departed March 3, 1961 Washington, D. C.
En route back to U. S. visited for 1 to 2 days in Jordan, Lebanon, Greece, Italy, France, and England	Sightseeing	Re-entered U. S., April 4, 1961 New York, N. Y.

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5. All clubs, societies, committees, and other nonbusiness organizations in the United States or elsewhere, including any active or reserve military or naval forces, of which you have been a member, director, officer, or employee during the past 2 years.

Name and address of organization	Nature of connection with organization	Duration of connection
Capital Press Club 1826 11th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.	member	Since 1944
National Association for Advancement of Colored People	member	Many years

6. (a) A full description of all activities of any kind in which you are now or expect to be engaged for or in the interests of the Registrant or any foreign principal of yourself or of the Registrant.

NONE at present. During period August 21 to December 8, 1961, I performed the following services for registrant: (1) While on leave from my regular position, August 21 - September 25, I made a survey in New York, N. Y., Philadelphia, Pa., and Chicago, Ill., of Negro editors and others with background knowledge of Africa to get their views as to whether or not Portugal's more enlightened racial policy in Angola and Mozambique opened the way for the establishment of interracial governments in the two Provinces.

(2) Between September 25 and December 8, I served as a consultant on an informal basis. Principal service: Provided registrant with a list of the leading Negro newspapers, periodicals, and press associations. Two of these were invited to send reporters (expenses paid) to Angola to observe and report objectively on race relations and general conditions in the Province. Both accepted the invitation.

(b) A brief description of all other businesses, occupations, and public activities in which you are now engaged.

I am an information specialist in the Office of Information of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

7. (a) Describe in detail the financial arrangement pursuant to which you are rendering services or assistance to the registrant for or in the interests of any foreign principal of the registrant.

I was paid \$1,000 and expenses for making the survey over a month's period, August 21 through September 23; and \$50 weekly for occasional consultation during period September 25 to December 8, 1961.

(b) Furnish the following information as to all amounts or thing of value received by you, as compensation or otherwise, during the 3 months preceding the filing of this statement, directly or indirectly from the registrant or from any foreign principal of yourself or of the registrant.

Date funds received	Name of person from whom received	Purpose for which received	Amount or thing of value received
8/20/61	Samuel B. Bledsoe	Traveling expenses (New York & Philadelphia)	\$150
9/5/61	" " "	Fee	\$500
9/5/61	" " "	Traveling expenses (Chicago)	\$100
9/12/61	" " "	Fee	\$500
9/19/61	" " "	Traveling expenses (New York)	\$100
9/28 - 12/8	Salvage & Lee, Inc.	Weekly Fee	50

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1109

8. (a) Speeches, lectures, talks, and radio and television broadcasts delivered by you during the past 3 months.

<i>Date delivered</i>	<i>Where delivered</i>	<i>Kind of audience</i>	<i>Subject matter discussed</i>
-----------------------	------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------------

NONE

(b) All newspapers, magazines, articles, books, pamphlets, press releases, moving pictures, radio and television programs and scripts, and other publications, prepared or distributed by you or by others for you, or in the preparation or distribution of which you rendered any services or assistance, during the past 6 months.

<i>Description of publication</i>	<i>By whom written, edited, or prepared</i>	<i>By whom printed, produced, or published</i>	<i>By whom distributed</i>
-----------------------------------	---	--	----------------------------

NONE

9. List all of your connections, not fully described above, with all foreign governments, foreign political parties or officials or agencies thereof.

<i>Name of government, party or official or agency thereof</i>	<i>Nature of your office, employment, or other connection</i>	<i>Nature of any subsidy or other financial arrangement</i>
--	---	---

NONE

I certify that I have read the information set forth in this statement and am familiar with the contents thereof and that the information herein contained is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sherman Briscoe

(Signature)

12/30/61

(Date of signature)

Sherman Briscoe

(Type or print name)

(Two copies of this statement shall be filed. Both copies shall be signed by the person for whom the information contained herein is given. A third copy should be prepared and retained for future reference.)

The CHAIRMAN. I will note for the record that under our understanding of the present act, short form statements similar to this one filed by Mr. Briscoe should be submitted to the Department of Justice within 10 days after the individual or firm involved enters into an agreement with a foreign principal or agent of a foreign principal.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, as I say, I think that is my fault and not Mr. Briscoe's.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Briscoe is a grown man, and is presumed to know the law as well as you, isn't he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Sometimes when we are not attorneys, Senator, we are lacking in—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you hire high-powered attorneys. That is what they are for, and they are all ready, willing, and able to be hired.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Perhaps we should have hired one a little earlier, Senator, on this particular matter.

TRIPS OF NEGRO NEWSMEN TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN. Then were you successful in having any Negro newsmen go?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Slaughter, I believe his first name is Adolph, Adolph Slaughter, and a man named Sears, Edward Sears.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. Did your firm report the expenses of Selvage & Lee on behalf of Mr. Slaughter and Mr. Sears on your supplemental statement to the Department of Justice?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes; we did. It might have been a little late, but we reported it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you identify Mr. Sears and Mr. Slaughter by name on your Justice reports as recipients of these funds?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Mr. Casey tells me no.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, don't you know? Now listen, Mr. Cope and Mr. Lee said Mr. Casey told them. You are in charge of this office, and Mr. Cope and Mr. Lee said you would know all about its operations.

Mr. BLEDSOE. As I recall, Senator—

The CHAIRMAN. You just say what you know about it. We will ask Mr. Casey what he knows about it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know?

Mr. BLEDSOE. From what Mr. Casey told me; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The name I believe is Mr. Art Sears.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I said Edward.

The CHAIRMAN. And Adolph Slaughter, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever meet these two men?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say you did not identify by name, identify them by name on the filing to the Department; is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think there was a general policy of not identifying newspapermen unless the specific request was made by Justice. That is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose policy was this, Selvage & Lee's?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you have such a policy?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, probably not to embarrass the newspapermen. We told anybody as far as I know who went at our expense, including these two, there were no conditions made about going.

They were to write as they chose when they returned. By the way, Mr. Sears or Mr. Slaughter as far as I know have never written a line.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it was kind of a bad investment, wasn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think so, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. If they have never written a line.

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you send them there if you didn't expect them to write a line?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, we didn't send them there not expecting them to write a line, but we sent them there and they were free to write anything they wanted to write.

Now my interpretation of the fact that they did not write anything after they returned is that they didn't find just exactly what the policy and what they expected to find. That is the reason that they didn't write anything.

In other words, the Portuguese were not quite the villains as they had been painted. That is my own interpretation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your interpretation?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is my interpretation.

The CHAIRMAN. They didn't write anything to that effect?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever tell you why they didn't write?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir. I have never talked to any of them since they got back.

The CHAIRMAN. So this is just a personal supposition?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Supposition on my part.

IDENTIFICATION OF BILLS AND VOUCHERS RELATING TO TRIP BY MESSRS.
SEARS AND SLAUGHTER

The CHAIRMAN. I would like you to identify a series of bills and vouchers which relate to the trip by Mr. Sears and Mr. Slaughter. The first is dated December 1, 1961, for two first-class round trip tickets from New York to Luanda, Angola, for \$3,222.80. Will you identify that?

(Copies of the documents referred to follow :)

1112 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.

300 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

B 6

1-3
210

December 1, 1961

PAY Three Thousand Two Hundred Twenty-two and 80/100

\$3,222.80

Pen American World Airways

SELVAGE & LEE, INC. SPECIAL ACCOUNT

NOT NEGOTIABLE

THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK
227 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

⑆0210-0002⑆ 015-1-053774⑆

P 0450

ENTRADA BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF PAYMENT	AMOUNT	CHECK NO.	NET AMOUNT
12/1/61	Two round trip tickets from New York to Luanda, Angola Fare Al Sears, Jr. A. J. Slaughter	1,611.40 ea.		\$3222.80
NOT NEGOTIABLE				

Selvage & Lee, Inc.

300 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

To: Ruth Pgrich

From: Lis Allen

Date: Dec. 1

May I have check for \$3222.80 made out to Pen American World Airways for two FIRST CLASS tickets from New York to Luanda, Angola for Art Sears, Jr. and A.J. Slaughter, two Chicago Newspaperman.

Round trip fare is \$1,611.40

Charge: Portugal

B 6

NO 4376 (R 9-29-61) THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

NOV 30 PM 2 14 '61

RECEIPT
TX WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED FROM Delinger & Lee OFFICE _____ DATE _____

ADDRESS 1625 Eye

One hundred fifty Dollars 150.00

Account for the month of _____ 19__

Telegraphic Money Order

Telegram or Cable

Deposit on Collect Telegram Returnable after 24 hours

ACCOUNT NO. _____ FOR REMITTANCE

MONEY } Chgs \$ _____

ORDER } Tolls \$ _____

CHARGES } Tax \$ _____

PAID } TOTAL \$ _____

TO Out Seas

ADDRESS 1820 to Michigan

PLACE Chicago

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY
BY [Signature]

NO 4376 (R 9-29-61) THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

NOV 30 PM 2 44 '61

RECEIPT
TX WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED FROM Delinger & Lee OFFICE _____ DATE _____

ADDRESS 1625 Eye

One hundred fifty Dollars 150.00

Account for the month of _____ 19__

Telegraphic Money Order

Telegram or Cable

Deposit on Collect Telegram Returnable after 24 hours

ACCOUNT NO. _____ FOR REMITTANCE

MONEY } Chgs \$ _____

ORDER } Tolls \$ _____

CHARGES } Tax \$ _____

PAID } TOTAL \$ _____

TO A. D. Houghton

ADDRESS 1820 to Mich

PLACE Chicago

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY
BY [Signature]

1114 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

P 0136 **SELVAGE & LEE, INC.** *B 6*
800 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

1-2
210
 December 1, 1961

PAY Two Hundred and 00/100 \$200.00
E **NOT NEGOTIABLE** SELVAGE & LEE, INC. SPECIAL ACCOUNT
Cash

CHASE MANHATTAN BANK ⑆0210-0002⑆ 015-1-053774⑆
60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

P 0136

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF PAYMENT	AMOUNT	BALANCE	NET AMOUNT
12/1/61	advance to: Art Sours - Ebony & Jet Magazine			\$ 200.00
NOT NEGOTIABLE signed: <i>[Signature]</i> cash received				

P 0157 **SELVAGE & LEE, INC.**
800 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

1-2
210
 December 1, 1961

PAY Two Hundred and 00/100 \$200.00
E **NOT NEGOTIABLE** SELVAGE & LEE, INC. SPECIAL ACCOUNT
Cash

CHASE MANHATTAN BANK ⑆0210-0002⑆ 015-1-053774⑆
60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

P 0157

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF PAYMENT	AMOUNT	BALANCE	NET AMOUNT
12/1/61	advance to: A. J. Slaughter Natl. Newspaper Publishers Assn. Chicago			\$200.00
NOT NEGOTIABLE signed: <i>[Signature]</i> cash received				

No P 0167

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.

200 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

1-3
210

December 27, 1961

PAY One Hundred and 00/100

\$100.00

TO THE
ORDER
OF

F. Frederick Shaw

SELVAGE & LEE, INC., SPECIAL ACCOUNT

Morris Lee J.



THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK
200 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

⑆0210⑉0002⑆ 015⑉1⑉053774⑆

No P 0183

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.

200 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

1-2
210

January 2, 1962

PAY Two Hundred and 00/100

\$200.00

TO THE
ORDER
OF

F. Frederick Shaw

SELVAGE & LEE, INC., SPECIAL ACCOUNT

Morris Lee J.

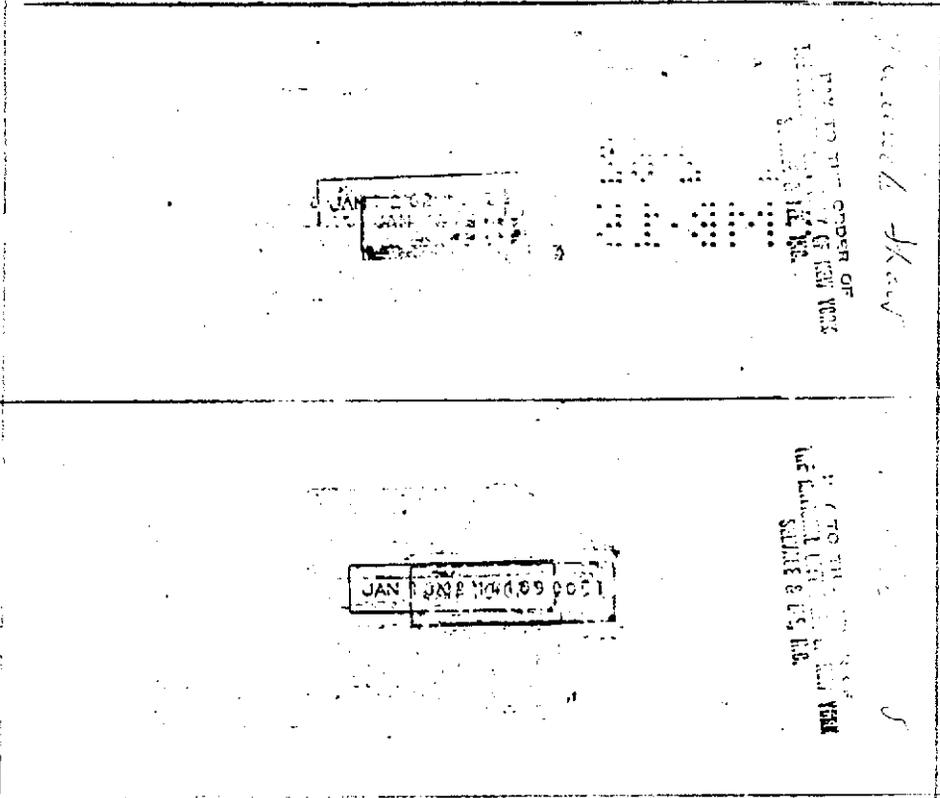
THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK
200 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

⑆0210⑉0002⑆ 015⑉1⑉053774⑆

*APL 11 J. Seligson
EMERSON DEFENDER
240 S Michigan
CHICAGO 15, ILL.
CA-5-2200*

*Learning Fred Shaw \$200
in Spain - New York
April 1961
M. Lee J.*

1116 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.



Mr. BLEDSOE. They are made out in our New York office, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. These are drawn in our New York office.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I am sure that they are correct. As a matter of fact, I think I have seen them, but they were not drafted in the Washington office.

The CHAIRMAN. But with your familiarity with the procedures in the Selvage & Lee firm, you would say those are correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir, I would without hesitation.

The CHAIRMAN. The second is copies of Western Union money order receipts dated November 30, 1961, each for \$150 made out to Slaughter and Sears.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The third are copies of two receipts dated December 1, 1961, each receipt for \$200, and each labeled as an advance, one for Sears and the other for Slaughter.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And finally a copy of a check for \$200 dated January 2, 1962, made out to Frederick Shaw, by Adolph Slaughter.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will place all those in the record.

QUESTION OF OTHER TRIPS SPONSORED BY SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. What other trips by journalists have you sponsored on behalf of this account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't believe, personally, I have made any arrangements.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated there were others. Which ones?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is my understanding. I believe Mr. Downs made some arrangements in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who they were?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Let me see. Well, Lanier was not a journalist, but I know he arranged for Lanier to go.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Lanier?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Lanier is an official with the Phelps—Stokes Fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Negro?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. He is dead now.

The CHAIRMAN. He is dead?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you sent him on a prepaid trip like this?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other journalists that you know of were sent abroad?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I was instrumental I think in interesting Robert McCormick of NBC, but we didn't pay any of his expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he go?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no arrangements for him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, not beyond these, I don't believe.

The CHAIRMAN. You did arrange the visa?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I believe we helped him get a visa. It is just a matter of routine.

QUESTION OF JOURNALISTS' VISAS TO VISIT ANGOLA

The CHAIRMAN. Was it necessary to have Selvage & Lee's approval for a newsmen to get a visa to go to Angola?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure about that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not clear any applications through Selvage & Lee? Did they not clear the application?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, we were asked, in quite a few instances, as to whether such and such or so and so should have a visa. We always answered "yes," but there were quite a few visas given, I think, without clearance with us. We did not clear all visas by any means.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Portuguese Government ask your opinion of the applicants?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe in some instances; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What journalists other than McCormick and these two men; any others?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Those are my own personal knowledge, and besides Lanier, I don't know. The records would show, but I have a vague understanding that perhaps one or two more were paid through arrangements made by other people, but not by myself. But I am vague on their names.

CABLE DATED AUGUST 2, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a cable dated August 2, 1961, addressed to Downs, Hotel Ritz, Lisbon, and signed "Bledsoe," and ask if you wrote and sent this cable?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir, I did.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

AUGUST 2, 1961.

Downs,
Hotel Ritz, Lisbon:

McCormick going first to Luanda, back by way of Lisbon. Am having luncheon with him tomorrow; trying to make arrangements for him to take color film on race relations we can use for documentary. Advise OK Gibson.

BLEDSOE.

Full rate cable. Charge: Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent it. Now is the McCormick there mentioned Robert McCormick?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who works for NBC?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that you paid none of his expenses?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he make a documentary?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the last phrase mean "advise OK, Gibson." What does that refer to?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Senator, I haven't, at this moment, the slightest recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. It appears to be in response to some—you were asking a question which appeared to be a clearance for a man named Gibson.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I probably say that is what it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall who Gibson was?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir, I cannot, at this moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Could it be John Gibson of the Wall Street Journal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It might be.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I have met him. I don't know him very well, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he went to Angola or not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, no, offhand I don't. I believe he did, but I don't know. I am not positive; there have been so many people in Angola, and I am getting so old my memory fails me.

DOCUMENTARIES ON ANGOLA

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I have great sympathy with that. So is mine.

You say you are having luncheon with him, that is McCormick, "trying to make arrangements for him to take color film on race relations we can use for documentary."

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you propose that he do that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he refused?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know that—well, yes, to all intents and purposes. It was never made; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you offer to pay the expenses of making such a documentary, if he would do it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not? Why are you discriminating against—

Mr. BLEDSOE. Knowing Mr. McCormick, I don't think he would have taken kindly to such a suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of arrangements were you making? You say, "Trying to make arrangements for him to take color film."

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I suggested that since NBC does documentaries on situations of interest all over the world, that they might make a documentary on Angola and Mozambique or Angola and/or Mozambique.

As a matter of fact, a documentary was made afterward on Angola, referring to a war, which was not to our liking, so I believe I anticipated a documentary was going to be made and wanted to interest him in doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted him to make one for your use?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You say:

Arrangements for him to take color film on race relations we can use for documentary.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Let me explain. I unfortunately haven't visited Angola, Senator, but from what I have heard and what I heard since, that any film, objective film, made by NBC or CBS or any other broadcasting agency on race relations in Angola would be something we could use afterward. That is what I had in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. If it was favorable?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I just presumed it would be favorable, if it was made objectively.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you think he refused to do it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think if I recall—I don't remember, but anyhow he either wasn't interested in it or—

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say? Why wasn't he interested?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, it may be that afterwards he helped make this "Angola—Journey To A War." It might be that that was in the works at that time. That was not a color film, incidentally.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that it was in the works at that time?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think so, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You are sure you didn't know it was in the works?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. I couldn't swear positively, but I wasn't trying to head anything off, let me put it that way.

The CHAIRMAN. You weren't?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you did not offer him a fee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You just offered his persuasion?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I told him that the situation in Angola was very interesting, and he agreed. But knowing Mr. McCormick, I would have been very careful about offering him a fee. As a matter of fact, I wouldn't have done it and didn't do it.

SELVAGE & LEE'S ROLE IN SUPPLEMENT ON ANGOLA TO THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with an individual named George Schuyler?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Schuyler, I mean.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Oh, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. S-c-h-u-y-l-e-r?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is or has been his connection with Selvage & Lee? Who is he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He is a Negro, a newspaperman.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He is in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And what papers does he write for?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He writes for a chain of papers, the Pittsburgh Courier is the parent chain. There are several editions in other cities; Cleveland I believe, perhaps Detroit.

CIRCULATION LETTER OF MAY 29, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated May the 29th addressed to "Companies which are interested in Portuguese-Africa," and ask you if you have seen a copy of this letter before. This is the translation of a letter. Before that, what was Schuyler's connection with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think he had any connection with Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you employ him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen that letter before? That is a translation of a letter which presumably was written in Portuguese, wasn't it? Have you ever seen that before?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; I haven't.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; not to my recollection.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

[The Pittsburgh Courier, May 29, 1961]

To Companies Which Are Interested in Portuguese-Africa:

This international weekly will publish on the first of the next month of July a supplement in tabloid, profusely illustrated so as to present its readers a picture more legitimate and a truer picture of the Portuguese overseas provinces. The numerous photographs which will illustrate this publication and the textual material covers the facts which were collected locally by the companies in Angola and Mozambique during the first 15 days of the current month.

As your firm is one of the many companies which do business with Portuguese-Africa, it will naturally be interested in creating a more favorable world opinion regarding this immense African land in which today so much progress is taking place, and of which the public in general does not have knowledge.

Therefore, we come to ask all the companies interested in this objective to demonstrate their approval by buying space in this special supplement which will have circulation of more than 150,000. Separately in addition to this printing, the Portuguese Government will buy 20,000 copies of the same supplement to distribute through means of its information offices, consulates, embassies, clubs, and organisms throughout the world.

The 15th of June next is the final date fixed for delivery of the original for (word illegible), photographs, or maps or illustration. The terms (word illegible) \$1,050 for the back side, \$925 for the insides of the front and back; \$800 per page for other; \$400 per one-half page and fractions of a page at the rate of \$11.20 per inch. The pages are of 5 columns, each column of 2 inches; 15 inches deep. Payment will be effected on the date of publication.

Awaiting your collaboration in this initiative, we are most attentively and obediently yours,

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER,
Associate Director.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Selvage & Lee play any part in the promotion of the Pittsburgh Courier supplement on Angola?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; none whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure about that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; that was published before we got the account.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, really?

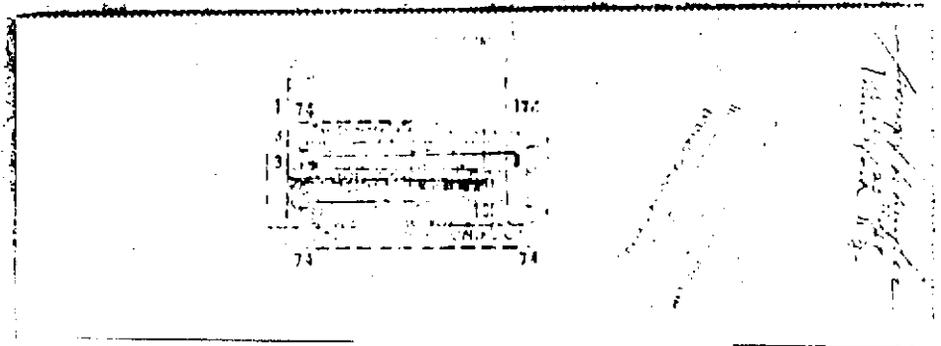
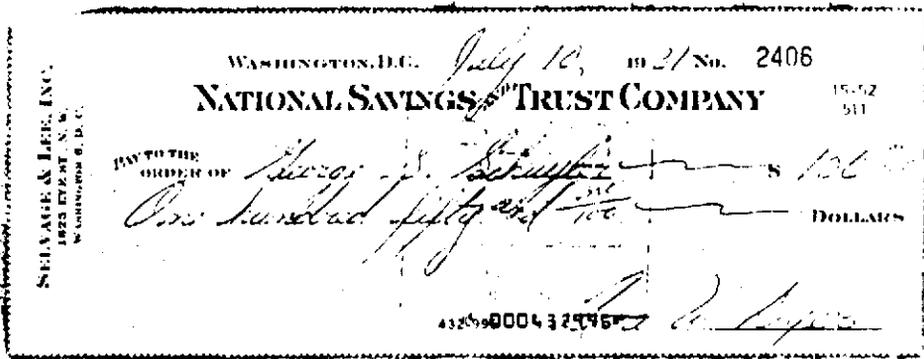
Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I think the dates—let me look at it a minute.

PAYMENT TO MR. GEORGE SCHUYLER

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a Selvage & Lee check dated July 10, 1961, made out to George S. Schuyler in the amount of \$150, and ask you to identify this check signed by W. Dyer.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)



The CHAIRMAN. Is that your secretary?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is your check?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean Selvage & Lee's check.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

SERVICES PROVIDED BY MR. SCHUYLER

The CHAIRMAN. What service did Mr. Schuyler perform for Selvage & Lee to earn this amount?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I asked him to send me a suggestion on the best method of reaching the Negro press; that is, the setup and mailing, and so forth, involved in mailing to them the papers, and so forth. It had no direct relationship.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. You mean this is just a coincidence?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No; not a coincidence. But it was information that was needed not only for the Overseas Companies, but for all the accounts we had.

The CHAIRMAN. What services did Mr. Schuyler perform for Selvage & Lee to earn this \$150?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he sent some suggestions which I thought were impractical.

The CHAIRMAN. What were they?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I would have to see if I could find them, but anyhow they were a little bit brief and scanty I thought, so we terminated our negotiations.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you give him \$150 if they weren't any good?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, after all, he used his time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ask you for the \$150?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; he did not. He tried to do what we asked him to do.

The CHAIRMAN. What other payments to Mr. Schuyler did Selvage & Lee make?

Mr. BLEDSOE. None that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think he received any other payments?

Mr. BLEDSOE. As far as I know, none; no, sir, that I had anything to do with.

DISTRIBUTION OF PITTSBURGH COURIER SUPPLEMENT

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a bill on the stationery of Selvage & Lee—well, it is a check, to pay \$199.12 to the Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co., and it says "Re Portuguese supplement."

Can you identify that?

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.
100 FIFTH AVENUE
 NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

July 26, 1961

PAY One Hundred Ninety-nine and 12/100 \$199.12

The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co., Inc. 2628 Centre Street
 Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK
 100 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 20, N. Y. @0210-0002; 015-1-0537740

	DESCRIPTION OF PAYMENT	AMOUNT	DATE	BY
7/24	Re: Portuguese Supplement	\$199.12		

NOT NEGOTIABLE

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LINEAGE RECORD		PREVIOUS BALANCE	DATE	CHARGES AMOUNT	CREDITS AMOUNT	BALANCE DUE
PRESENT	TOT. TO DATE					
ANCE FORWARDED			JUL 14 '61	199.12		199.12
		NOTE: *	10,000 WRAP-AROUND FOUR-PAGE SUPPLEMENTS			
			THANK YOU----			
			ACCOUNT <i>Portugal</i>			
			BUDGET NO			
			APPROVED BY <i>R. Baker</i>			
			JOB DESCRIPTION			

Mr. BLEDSOE. No; I can't identify it, but I think I know what it is. The CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It is for distribution, it is for the supplement, and we distributed some copies of this supplement which he had written and which has been mentioned previously.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Let's see if it names a quantity.

The CHAIRMAN. It was 10,000, wasn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think so; yes, sir. That is only indirect knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. A four-page supplement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It was handled by a man named Baker is my recollection.

EXPENDITURE FOR SETTLEMENT CHARGED TO PORTUGUESE ACCOUNT

The CHAIRMAN. This was for the account of Portugal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That was for the account of Overseas Companies.

The CHAIRMAN. I will show you a statement that it was for Portugal. Was it your impression this was for the Government of Portugal? You have a copy of it, haven't you? What did you say down at the bottom it says, "Account Portugal"?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I just think that was a clerical error.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a clerical error?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You weren't under the impression it was Portugal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; never have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Since when?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Not from the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with negotiating the original agreement with the Overseas Companies?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you? Were you in on it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I was present at the first meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say that Schuyler's payment had nothing to do with Portugal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I said only indirectly. It might have been——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you charge the \$150 to the Portuguese account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It might have been charged to it.

The CHAIRMAN. If it was charged to it, how can you justify doing that if it wasn't for their account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, sometimes you have to make an arbitrary decision on charges.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not want to deceive your client in Portugal, would you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did, in fact, charge it to them, didn't you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Probably; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. No probably about it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you an account where you did charge it to them.

Mr. BLEDSOE. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were reimbursed for it by them, were you not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I take it they have reimbursed almost all the expenses; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It does show that you charged the Schuyler payment to them; is that not correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; it shows that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that not correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that in your view, your accountants' view this was attributable to the Overseas account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, in the view of our accountant and probably, as a matter of fact, Senator, I would never ask Mr. Schuyler for the information if we hadn't had the Overseas Companies in Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to clear it up.

Mr. BLEDSOE. How is that?

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to clear it up.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I want the record to be clear about it.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANGOLA SUPPLEMENT BY MR. SCHUYLER

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of what appears to be a form letter dated July 19, 1961, and signed George S. Schuyler, and ask you if you have seen this letter before?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I think I have seen that.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER,
New York, N.Y., July 19, 1961.

DEAR SIR: 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.

As a Negro with many years experience of world travel, and as a journalist seeking facts for the past 40 years, I visited Portugal and Portuguese Africa in April and May 1961, with my eyes open and my typewriter unchained. I traversed both Angola and Mozambique, even the area north of Luanda where terrorists have been torturing, killing, and dismembering peaceful farmers, black,

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white, and mixed—indiscriminately. Elsewhere I saw peace, tranquillity, order, and great industrial and commercial activity.

My findings are embodied in the 16-page supplement which you have before you, and I trust that you find it interesting and informative.

Yours truly,

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER, *Associate Editor.*

The CHAIRMAN. The letter, you will notice reads that :

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.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the second paragraph says :

As a Negro with many years experience of world travel, and as a journalist seeking facts for the past 40 years, I visited Portugal and Portuguese Africa in April and May 1961, with my eyes open and typewriter unchained.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who paid for Mr. Schuyler's trip ?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not pay for it ?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir ; we did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure Selvage & Lee paid no part of it ?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir ; I am certain.

The CHAIRMAN. What part did Selvage & Lee play in the distribution of the supplement ?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think the 10,000 referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that it ?

Mr. BLEDSOE. So far as I know ; yes, sir.

LETTER TO CLIENT DESCRIBING DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCHUYLER ARTICLE

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated July 17, 1961. It is signed by James P. Selvage, chairman, and a copy shown to having been sent to Downs and Bledsoe. That would be you, wouldn't it ?

(Copy of the document referred to follows :)

JULY 17, 1961.

ASSOCIACAO PORTUGUESA DAS EMPRESAS DO ULTRAMAR,
*Rua de Ataide, 7,
Lisboa, Portugal.*

GENTLEMEN : Enclosed are copies of the Pittsburgh Courier as we had it reprinted to save postage and increase its effectiveness.

You will see that we moved the editorial by Mr. Schuyler to the front page, whereas it was buried in the general news, and then dropped the bulk of the pages, just using a "wrap" for the special section.

We believe it is one of the most important achievements, and your foreign office is to be complimented upon its cooperation with the Courier which made it possible.

We are distributing 5,000 copies to newspaper and magazine editors, Congress, libraries, etc.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES P. SELVAGE, *Chairman.*

bc : Downs, Bledsoe.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Downs is Kenneth Downs?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I can't read this Portuguese. It is Associacao Portuguesa das Empresas do Ultramar. Do you identify that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Again, Senator, I didn't get it.

The CHAIRMAN. I can't read the Portuguese. Look at it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Neither can I as far as that is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. You recognize the letter, you have seen it before?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I have seen the letter, although I am not certain that that association is our client. I don't recognize it in Portuguese. It may be.

The CHAIRMAN. The staff believes it is, although we are not experts in Portuguese.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, it may be. As I say—

The CHAIRMAN. It reads as follows:

GENTLEMEN: Enclosed are copies of the Pittsburgh Courier as we had it reprinted to save postage and increase its effectiveness. You will see that we moved the editorial of Mr. Schuyler to the front page whereas it was buried in the general news, and then dropped the bulk of the pages, just using a wrap for the special section. We believe it one of the most important achievements, and your foreign office is to be complimented on its cooperation with Courier which made it possible.

We are distributing 5,000 copies to newspaper and magazine editors, Congress, libraries, etc.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES P. SELVAGE, *Chairman.*

That is the chairman of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; was at that time. I think Mr. Cope is chairman of the board now.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cope. Is Mr. Selvage still alive?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think that letter means?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think that means, as I interpret it, from what I heard, that we picked up the—they asked permission to reprint the supplement referred to, and changed it typographically somewhat and distributed it.

The CHAIRMAN. This paragraph interests me:

We believe it one of the most important achievements, and your foreign office is to be complimented upon its cooperation with the Courier which made it possible.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that mean, do you think?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I had heard, this is just hearsay, I had heard that the foreign office worked with Mr. Schuyler and helped him to prepare the supplement or made it possible for him to do it.

ROLE OF PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT IN JOURNALISTS' TRIPS

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Portuguese Information Office pay for Mr. Schuyler's trip to Angola and Mozambique?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Could it be that this language means they sent him on this trip?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That, Senator, is what it undoubtedly means.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Portuguese Government purchase any copies of this supplement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know, Senator. Probably, it is possible they did. If I had been the Portuguese Government I think I would have purchased some.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Do you know whether the Portuguese Government sent any other editors or journalists on trips through their possessions in Africa?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard of any others?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. It is possible that the Portuguese Government did. One of the complaints, frequent complaints, of newspapermen with whom we were in contact was that it was the Portuguese Government who not only didn't send them through their Provinces and territories, but it was difficult for them to get there.

The CHAIRMAN. Wouldn't allow them to go?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, there were some complaints about difficulty of travel. Of course that, I think, occurred about the time of the outbreak in Angola in March.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not give them a visa, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think, for a time, that visas were held up, and we tried to—even though you still had fighting in the area—we tried to persuade the Government to let them in.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever make arrangements for the trips other than the two you mentioned?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

PHILIPPA DUKE SCHUYLER

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with an individual named Philippa Duke Schuyler?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; I have never met her.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who she is?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is she?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think she is the daughter of George Schuyler.

The CHAIRMAN. What is her relationship with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That I don't know. I think she may have been one of the writers, I believe, on—that we, I heard we, paid her way for a trip to Angola and, perhaps, Mozambique.

The CHAIRMAN. And she is the daughter of George Schuyler?

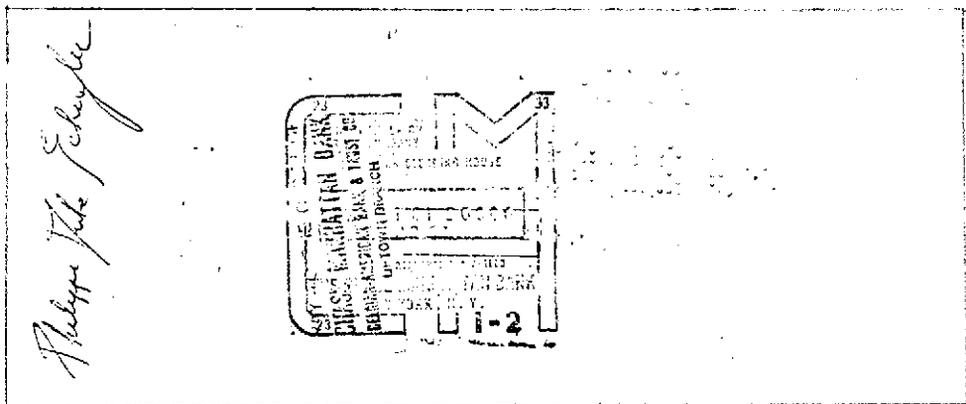
Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

(See App. 3, letter from Mrs. Josephine Schuyler.)

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a Selvage & Lee check dated September 20, 1961, made out to Philippa Duke Schuyler in the amount of \$200, and ask you if you can to identify this check.

(A copy of the check referred to follows:)

NY 2959	SELVAGE & LEE, INC. 300 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 30, N. Y.	2 1-B 210
		Sept. 20, 1961
PAY Two hundred and 00/100		\$ 200.00
TO THE ORDER OF <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Philippa Duke Schuyler		SELVAGE & LEE, INC.
		<i>Lee</i>
First National City Bank of New York 60 WALL STREET AT MADISON AVE. NEW YORK, N. Y.	⑆0210⑆0008⑆ 00255599⑆	



Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; I can't identify it. But that is in—my understanding of it was that we made some payments to her; at least I have heard that, but I had no arrangements—no direct hand in those arrangements.

The CHAIRMAN. Who signed this check?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is signed by Lee; yes, it is signed by Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He is the president of Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. You think he may have known about this check and have signed it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I hardly think—well, of course, he signs many checks Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

Mr. BLEDSOE. And he may have forgotten it, but it looks to be, to me it looks as if it is his signature.

The CHAIRMAN. And you never met Miss Schuyler?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What services were performed for this check, if you know?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, my understanding, which is again—this is again hearsay from the office—was that her trip was paid for under the same conditions that prevailed with the other—

The CHAIRMAN. Paid for by whom?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know how much we paid, whether we paid her trip in its entirety or whether we paid part of it. As I say, I had no direct hand in the arrangements. This is hearsay, that the same conditions applied, she could write what she wanted to write. In other words, we didn't have any condition that, "if you took, and we pay the way you were paid to write in any certain fashion".

EXPENSE ACCOUNT STATEMENTS RELATING TO MISS SCHUYLER

The CHAIRMAN. I show you two expense accounts, statements, and see if you can identify them for the record, relating to Miss Schuyler.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, again I say, Senator, I don't want to dodge here, but I had no direct hand in this, and the New York office handled it. I have no reason to doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you never hear about this?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I heard that we paid her expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BLEDSOE. And, perhaps—yes, I had heard it, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard about it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Both of those will go into the record, please.
(The documents referred to follow:)

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1131

Associação Portuguesa das Expressas do Ultramar
 Rua do Alentejo, 7
 Lisboa, Portugal

November 30, 1961

- 4 -

⑩	Mutual Stationery Co. - pencils, erasers, pads	10/7	\$ 4.60
	- 100 folders and typewriter pad	10/10	13.00
	- pads, plastic cups, etc.	10/10	10.30
	- 50 6 1/2 x 4 1/2 class envelopes and 1 ream white bond paper	10/17	3.23
⑪	New Era Letter Co. - 1,017 envelopes addressed	11/16	7.06
⑫	Parlor House - M. T. Canache	11/2	12.50
⑬	Publicity Media Service - Labels typed to Sunday editors of newspapers with 35,000 circulation and over for Sunday story on Angola	9/23	51.50
⑭	Walter S. Quinn Inc. - envelopes supplied, addressed and mailed. Postage \$14.54.	10/31	41.50
⑮	Radio TV Reports Inc. - emphasis WRC Wash. D.C., 10/10	10/31	9.53
⑯	Philippe Bata Schryer - Expenses in Lusaka - Fee	10/7-22 11/21	718.25 300.00
⑰	Secretarial & Office Services - 12-3/4 hours	10/27	31.88
⑱	Typewriter Sales & Service Co. - rental of 3 EM typewriters for 1 month	11/10	60.00
⑳	Western Graphics Arts - Addressing 5,000 envelopes	11/10	83.50
	- 1,500 5 1/2 x 7 1/2 booklet envelopes for mailing	10/30	13.91
	- composition and printing 14,000 slip-on tabs, addressing envelopes, affixing tabs over reader's right imprint, stamping and mailing 5,000. Postage \$200.00.	11/6	643.25

94-524

54a

5370

1132 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

Philippa Duke Schuyler
270 Convent Avenue, Apt. 9-C
New York 21, N. Y.
Nov. 18

DEAR SIR:

The expenditures of my trip in Central Africa in October were:

Air Ticket From Luanda to On Sun. Oct. 22, '61: \$38.10
Via Sabana, Leopoldville

Air Ticket From Lobito to On Wed. Oct. 11, '61: \$27.86
Via Portu- Luanda
guese Air
Linen,

Train Ticket From Eville to Oct.-7 to Oct.-11, '61, \$152.28
Sleeping Lobito, Inclusive:
Space and
Meals on
BCK-Benguala
Railroad,

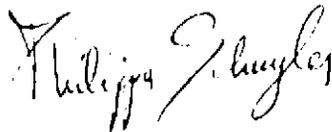
\$152.28
\$27.86
\$38.10

\$218.24 TOTAL:

Looking forward to hearing from you,
And thanking you for your kindness,

Most Sincerely,

Philippa Schuyler



MISS SCHUYLER'S NEWS ARTICLE FOR NEW YORK MIRROR AND COURIER
CHAIN

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a cable dated September 20, 1961, addressed to Frederick Shaw in Luanda, Angola, and signed "Downs" and ask you if you have seen this cable before.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I think I have, Senator. I think a copy of it was sent.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

SEPTEMBER 20, 1961.

FREDERICK SHAW,
Hotel Continental,
Luanda, Angola:

Philippa Schuyler, daughter George, coming Luanda next week do series New York Mirror and Courier chain. Please give her full help and take care her local expenses. NBC show was disgracefully rigged for Young—so flagrantly evident and amateurish that damage was minimized. McCormick good but he was surrounded. Susan here and OK.

Downs.

The CHAIRMAN. The cable reads in part:

Philippa Schuyler daughter George coming Luanda next week do series New York Mirror and Courier chain. Please give her full help and take care her local expenses.

This is the trip to which we referred previously which was paid for by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I think it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the New York Mirror know that your firm was paying Miss Schuyler's expenses?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

[Deleted.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Courier here refers to George Schuyler's newspaper, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think so, Senator; I think—I take it to be.

SELVAGE & LEE POLICY OF OMITTING NEWSMEN'S NAMES ON REPORTS TO
JUSTICE

The CHAIRMAN. Were the expenses paid on behalf of Miss Schuyler itemized in Selvage & Lee's report to the Department of Justice?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think so, Senator. The amount was—

The CHAIRMAN. But not the name?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. I think they were not identified as paid to Miss Schuyler.

The CHAIRMAN. They were not identified as paid to Miss Schuyler?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. I think again it was a policy decision not to name newspapermen unless at that particular time—

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that is the general policy?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I believe it was.

The CHAIRMAN. For the protection of the newspaperman?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the protection of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think it made any difference so far as we were concerned, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; because the sums were there and, of course—

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think it would affect their credibility, as your agent, if it were publicized that they were being paid for these articles?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, now, that is—as I have heard a country lawyer say, that is a very good question. It might have some effect on it, I must concede that.

The CHAIRMAN. It possibly could?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It possibly could, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If the public knew that Miss Schuyler, her trip had been paid for by a representative of a foreign principal, it might affect the impression it made upon the public?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It could have, although I must say that those itemized statements are so seldom scrutinized, that it might not have made a difference one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in case it was not discovered. But supposing an enterprising newspaperman had discovered them and publicized it? It may have had an effect?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I must concede; yes, sir.

EFFECT OF MISS SCHUYLER'S TRIP TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN. I show you an undated memorandum to K. T. Downs from Fred W. Shaw and ask you if you have seen this memorandum before? This was circulated to Washington, according to the upper right-hand corner. You have seen that before?

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

Circ: MML, JC, CHH, & WASH.

To: K. T. Downs.
From: Fred W. Shaw.
Philippa Schuyler.

I thought you would be interested to know that Philippa Schuyler has finally started to pay off for us in a very substantial way. Since her return to the States, she has been on a nationwide concert tour and practically everywhere she has gone she has had radio and television interviews in which she discussed Angola and Mozambique. She has also been interviewed by the press at most of her stops.

Among the television shows on which she has appeared are: KTTV channel 11 in Los Angeles (the "Paul Duggan Show" which is one of the most widely followed on the west coast); radio reviews at Sacramento, El Paso and Galveston, Tex.; TV stations WSLs and WDBJ in Roanoke, Va.; TV stations KHOV and KRPC in Houston, Tex.

She does report finding the old built-in prejudice however. On one TV show which she taped in advance in which she discussed Tshombe, Arab slavery in East Africa, and the truth about Portuguese Africa, she found in viewing the program some hours later that they had neatly clipped out everything she said on Portuguese Africa but had left in the other material.

As you will see from the enclosed clipping from the Sacramento Bee, she is writing a book on Angola, and with her terrific energy, I wouldn't be surprised if she finished it sometime this year along with her other projected books.

She tells me that she has also been including Portuguese music in many of her concerts.

I expect to be seeing her when she returns from her tour.

Best regards,

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I believe I have.

The CHAIRMAN. The first sentence says:

I thought you would be interested to know that Philippa Schuyler has finally started to pay off for us in a very substantial way.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing) :

Since her return to the States, she has been on a nationwide concert tour and practically everywhere she has gone she has had radio and television interviews in which she discussed Angola and Mozambique. She has also been interviewed by the press at most of her stops.

You have seen that before?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I have; I have, sir. I believe I have, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not she made these speeches and was interviewed by the press about Angola and Mozambique, and she said she had been sent to those places at the expense of Selva & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I don't know that "sent" is the right word.

The CHAIRMAN. But the expenses were paid?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, the expenses were paid.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the distinction you are seeking to make? I am a little unclear about it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. What I am saying is that insofar as I know, the policy was that where we paid the expenses, and certainly this was true of Sears and Schuyler—Sears and Slaughter—we didn't know or at least I didn't know in those particular instances, whether the articles—the articles could have been viciously, so far as we were concerned, attacking the Portuguese. I think we were running the risk, I think we should have some credit for that, if it turned out all right. As I say, we never got a line out of Sears and Slaughter, but we just got something out of Schuyler. I think we said, "We will pay your way and what you find you write."

The CHAIRMAN. You had no previous commitment in writing that they would write a favorable article on Angola?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Neither orally nor in writing, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you could enlighten us to get the record straight, did Mr. Cope and Mr. Lee know about Miss Schuyler's trip, in your opinion?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I would—they were in the New York office and headed the New York office, and I would say ordinarily they would have known.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was arranged by the New York office?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; and ordinarily they would have known. They were busy—they may have left these matters to an account executive and may not have paid any attention to detail.

The CHAIRMAN. In this case then it is fair to say that while Slaughter and Sears didn't pay off, this one paid off in a very substantial way, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is what Mr. Downs says. I have forgotten just what—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Downs ought to know.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Mr. Shaw put it that way. But as I pointed out, we were willing to take the gamble on the basis of what they found there.

ASSOCIATION OF MOSS KENDRIX

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with an individual named Moss Kendrix?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Kendrix?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He heads a Negro public relations firm here.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. How is it that so many of your employees or associates were Negroes? Were you assigned especially to cultivate the Negro population in this country in the matter?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. How does this happen?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, some years ago I handled Negro affairs at the Department for both Henry Wallace and Claude Wickard, and became——

The CHAIRMAN. Department of Agriculture?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; yes, sir; and at that time became acquainted with a good many Negro newspapermen and publications, and I knew something about the field.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a greater knowledge than any other member of your firm, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Insofar as I know; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This Mr. Kendrix, you say, is head of a Negro public relations firm?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is correct; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he or his firm employed by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Was; they are not employed now.

The CHAIRMAN. For how long was it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. For several months.

The CHAIRMAN. What services did he perform for Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he did some distribution. He also gave me advice; we talked over the entire situation about the prejudice which most of the Negro leaders had against the Portuguese, which I thought was unwarranted, and still do, and related matters; we talked at one time, I remember, of sending a group of Negro businessmen over, and we have various and sundry projects, most of which came to nothing. But he was working for us.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you pay him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think we started out \$1,000 a month and then later on dropped it to \$600. I would have to refresh my memory on it.

The CHAIRMAN. For approximately how long did this go on?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Seven or eight months, I believe. We had him, we have employed him, a time or two since for a spot job.

The CHAIRMAN. For a spot job?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

SUGGESTED PROMOTION OF AD SCHEDULES IN VARIOUS NEGRO PUBLICATIONS

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated November 8, 1961, addressed to Samuel B. Bledsoe and signed "Moss" and ask you if you received this letter?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

(Copy of document referred to follows:)

THE MOSS H. KENDRIX ORGANIZATION,
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELORS AND MARKET CONSULTANTS,
Washington, D.C., November 8, 1961.

Mr. SAMUEL B. BLEDSOE,
*Vice President, Selvage & Lee, Inc.,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. BLEDSOE: I am certainly pleased that Mr. Robert Grayson McGuire, Jr. (office: 1820 Ninth Street NW., Washington, D.C.—HO 2-2500) has consented to accept invitation from the Portuguese Ambassador for the November 30th breakfast honoring Cardinal Spellman. As a matter of fact, Mr. McGuire was elated over the pending invitation—seems that he has heard the Cardinal in a message here in Washington recently and, as a consequence, was hoping for an opportunity to meet the high prelate.

It would occur that a picture involving the Cardinal, the Ambassador, and Mr. McGuire would be good for the Negro press and our interest, if such is possible. Mr. McGuire is a highly respected citizen and is well known throughout the United States. As I pointed out he is also a very respected and active Catholic layman. I see no reason why MHKO could not release this item through its press kit which goes to all of the Negro press. As a matter of fact, we would like very much to handle the assignment.

Thanks very much for sharing with me communications relative to possible visits of Phelps-Stokes personnel and Negro press representation to Portugal, Angola, and maybe Mozambique. I feel that you will definitely get Mr. John H. Johnson's cooperation, since Johnson Publications is frequently sending its reports abroad these days, especially on junkets involving U.S. Government officials. I understand that Mrs. Gerri Major, Jet women's editor, is due to go to Africa shortly, if she has not already departed. Mrs. Major was in Nassau at the time I was a few weeks ago and spoke of pending trip at that time.

Mr. Carl Murphy, publisher, the Afro-American Newspapers, 628 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md., is chairman of the five-paper NNPA Washington Bureau to which the Afro, Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World, Cleveland (Ohio) Call & Post, the Houston (Tex.) Informer and the Kansas City (Mo.) Call subscribe, and as a consequence support. It appears that Mr. Murphy and Mr. William O. Walker, Cleveland Call & Post publisher-editor, are the controlling factors in the bureau. It is interesting to note that the Chicago Defender, published by Mr. John H. Sengstad, NNPA president, does not subscribe to the service.

If Mr. Carl Murphy and the publishers of the four other papers in the NNPA-Washington chain should cooperate, we would get coverage, pro or con, in the Afro cities—Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Newark, where this paper has editors, and Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis edition cities for the World, which likewise prints newspapers for seven or eight other smaller southern cities. The Houston Informer also has a paper, the Express, at Dallas and in the past has had papers in two or three other Texas towns, while the Call & Post and Kansas City Call publish State editions in addition to their locals.

There are about 40 NNPA-membership papers in the country. I would suggest that if Mr. Murphy permits Danny Day to go to Portugal and Africa an attempt be made to arrange for Mr. Day to service all of the NNPA-member papers. On the other hand, I am inclined to suggest that you expand your newspaper representation on this trip to include a reporter from the Amsterdam News, New York City. Dr. C. B. Powell is editor-publisher of the Amsterdam News, 2340 Eighth Avenue, New York City—AC 2-7800, while he is also president of Consolidated Publishers, Inc., the newly organized NNPA-

sponsored publishers representatives. There are 150 newspapers in the Consolidated group.

It is quite likely that Dr. Powell would assign his editor, James Hicks, to such a trip as is now under consideration by you. Mr. Hicks is a most provocative but objective writer, while the location of his paper in New York City, headquarters of the United Nations and the site of our biggest and most aggressive Negro population, might add up to a plus for us. Jimmy was a member of NNPA News Bureau staff headed by Danny Day in the early days of this operation here in Washington. It might be that Dr. Powell would permit Mr. Hicks to issue his reports to the Consolidated papers.

Reflecting upon the letter from the Courier's Clyde Page, which I shared with you earlier this week and a statement made by Mrs. Major at Nassau—to the effect that Mr. Johnson would not let her accept a junket-to-India offer by an Indian airline, I feel that I should express to you certain warnings, which I trust that you will not conclude to be negatives. You will recall that Mr. Page mentioned that "freebies will be carefully screened," while I recall Mrs. Major's saying at Nassau that her Mr. Johnson was tired of free junkets, other than official Government trips—prestige for his staff with no advertising copy being given to the pages of his publications. Quite possibly, some of these contacts might demand ad copy plus salaries for their reporters.

If there were a possibility of promoting ad schedules of some sort, although limited to *Ebony* and about 10 of the bigger papers, I believe that we could expect a type of editorial support that might be profitable to the project. I would suggest using newspapers in the 10 largest Negro-population cities in the country—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Houston, Cleveland, Washington, and St. Louis, while I would certainly include *The Pittsburgh Courier*. Pittsburgh, which has national distribution through its 13 or 14 city, State, and regional editions.

Some type of tie-in with an airline might serve our purpose well—"Going to Europe? Fly Via Portugal—The Doorway to Europe." Many Negroes are going to Europe these days.

[Deleted.]

I hope to see you in the next day or so.

With cordial good wishes.

Very truly yours,

Moss H. KENDRIX, *Director*.

The CHAIRMAN. The first two paragraphs discuss the invitation made to and accepted by a prominent Washington Negro to attend a breakfast honoring Cardinal Spellman.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter states:

It would occur that a picture involving the Cardinal, the Ambassador and Mr. McGuire would be good for the Negro press and our interest, if such is possible.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Kendrix mean by saying:

It would be good for the Negro press and our interests.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think he referred to the interests of Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. In behalf of their——

Mr. BLEDSOE. In establishing a better atmosphere toward Portugal.

The CHAIRMAN. And their interest was your interest in your client, the Portuguese?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. Our interest refers to our interest in the client; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the bottom of page 2 it says:

If there were a possibility of promoting ad schedules of some sort, although limited, to Ebony and about 10 of the bigger papers, I believe that we could expect a type editorial support that might be profitable to the project. I would suggest using newspapers in the 10 largest Negro population cities in the country—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Houston, Cleveland, Washington, and St. Louis, while I would certainly include the Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh, which has national distribution through its 13 or 14 city, State, and regional editions.

Did Selvage & Lee respond to that suggestion?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't take any ads on those papers?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Didn't have the money; and, as I say, that was, perhaps, a matter of policy we wouldn't have anyhow, but we didn't have the funds so we didn't go into it.

TYPE OF SERVICES PERFORMED BY KENDRIX ORGANIZATION FOR SELVAGE &
LEE

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a news release put out by the News Bureau, Moss H. Kendrix organization, on December 6, 1961, entitled "Cardinal Honored," and accompanied by a picture which shows the Portuguese Ambassador, Cardinal Spellman, and Robert McGuire, Jr., and I ask you if you have seen this news release before?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

1140 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

FILED
JAN 8 1962
Communication Section
of Justice

December 6, 1961

B
15

FROM News Bureau
The Hoss H. Kendrick Organization
1826 Eleventh Street, NW
Washington 1, D. C.
North 7-5115

CARDINAL HONORED--Cardinal Spellman, second from left, last week was awarded Portugal's Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ at Portuguese Embassy luncheon hosted in Washington, D. C., by Pedro Theotonic Pereira, the country's Ambassador to the U. S. Viewing the insignia with His Eminence and the Ambassador are Robert McGuire, Jr., prominent Washington businessman,



The CHAIRMAN. Was this sent out to the Negro press around the country?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this the type of services performed for Sel-
vage & Lee by the Kendrix firm?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. This was one of the types of service.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this release labeled as coming from an agent
of a foreign principal when it was sent out to the Negro press?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think so, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Why wasn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, again, as I say, it was my ignorance of the law,
and oversight. Even after—

The CHAIRMAN. But you did inspire it, this was done in perform-
ance of your arrangements with Moss Kendrix.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was arranged and it was as a result of your—

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Of your employment of Moss Ken-
drix.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; that is correct. And I probably, as I say
once again, if there is any dereliction, it was that I didn't inform
or we didn't ever inform Mr. Kendrix about the necessity for the
labeling, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any other releases of a similar nature
put out by the Moss Kendrix organization?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I don't recall—I believe there might have been
one or two more, but if so they were isolated. They were only one
or two. I believe his services were mostly of a consultative nature on
the situation in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Similar to Mr. Briscoe's?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. Mr. Briscoe, he didn't perform those services.
He didn't—

The CHAIRMAN. It was consultation you said a moment ago.

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. Mr. Briscoe gave us a survey. If I said con-
sultation—

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the survey then he was a consultant,
wasn't he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, no. That included finding two newspapermen
who went to Angola. Mr. Briscoe, Mr. Chairman—Mr. Kendrix actu-
ally gave us advice and talked about the attitude of various Negro
leaders, and developments in that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he submit any reports to you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, it was verbal.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he give you any advice as to possible Negro
newspapermen who might be sent to Africa?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. The only venture of that kind was the Sears-
Slaughter episode.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McGuire, who was he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know firsthand. My recollection at the time
was that he was a prominent Negro businessman here in Wash-
ington.

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INVITATION FROM PORTUGUESE EMBASSY TO EMINENT NEGROES

The CHAIRMAN. Did he know that he was invited to appear at this meeting by Moss Kendrix, who was employed by you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He was invited by the Embassy, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Moss Kendrix get the Embassy to invite him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I believe I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You did?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ask the Portuguese Ambassador to invite him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You did?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I thought it would be helpful if we had some pictures of the Portuguese Ambassador appearing with some prominent Negro.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you—well, you didn't extend the invitation to McGuire; the Ambassador did?

Mr. BLEDSOE. The Ambassador, the Embassy, as I recall. Maybe the Ambassador didn't do it directly, but it was the Embassy.

The CHAIRMAN. It was at your suggestion?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. I think Mr. Kendrix suggested it to me and I suggested it to the Embassy. I believe that is the routine.

The CHAIRMAN. And this was a part of the enlightened racial policy of the Portuguese?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. They have a very, in my opinion, a very enlightened racial policy.

The CHAIRMAN. This was to show that they entertained no bias or prejudice against colored people?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. As a matter of fact, at the Embassy and all Portuguese events, it is my understanding that you have frequently Negroes and whites, both.

PREPARATION OF SPEECH BY PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR AND NEWS RELEASES

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a memo dated March 27, 1962, addressed to Moss H. Kendrix from S. B. Bledsoe, and ask you if you wrote it and sent the memo along with the attached press release?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I did.

(Copy of the document referred to follows:)

MARCH 27, 1962.

To: Moss H. Kendrix

From: S. B. Bledsoe

Enclosed is the proposed release. I still have to clear it with the Embassy and will be in touch with you after the Ambassador returns from San Francisco.

"RELEASE"

The Portuguese Ambassador to the United States, Pedro Theotonio Pereira, states that the Portuguese in Africa stand in the way of black racism and

rabid nationalism on the one hand and the Communist objective of dominating the continent on the other.

In an address before the Commonwealth Club of California on March 23, he talked specifically of the Portuguese province of Angola in West Africa, where the northern sector bordering on the Congo has been troubled by outbreaks of terrorism since the beginning of last year.

The Portuguese Ambassador said much of the campaign against Portugal "arises, curiously enough, from our virtues and not our faults."

"We are, in fact," he continued, "a barrier against sinister forces. That explains the unrelenting, almost frenzied drive against us. We stand in the way of black racism and rabid nationalism, which seek to drive the whites from Africa, or to subjugate them because they are white and because of the past. This is discrimination based on skin color. It is just as repugnant when directed at the white race as it is when directed at a colored race.

"The Portuguese African territories stand in the way of the Communist aim of chaos, confusion, and turmoil in Africa. These create the situation which breeds communism; they are the prerequisite to Communist plans for a takeover. Because of its multiracial policy, because it is willing to institute reforms, because of plans to develop Angola and Mozambique as rapidly as possible, Portugal is a threat to both racism and communism. These evil forces hate and fear us."

The Portuguese Ambassador said that if the Portuguese provinces established a pattern for racial harmony, the influence on the African Continent would be profound.

"The cooperation of both races in the orderly development of Africa (if there is to be an orderly development) is imperative. Otherwise, the costly and bitter struggle already underway in the Congo and other parts of Africa will continue indefinitely."

The CHAIRMAN. This press release is based on a speech delivered by the Portuguese Ambassador on March 23 before the Commonwealth Club of California?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know anything about the speech?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do about writing the speech?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, no.

The CHAIRMAN. No suggestions?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I would probably have to modify that statement. As I recall, Mr. Teague, who is, or was, an attaché of the Portuguese Embassy at the time, may have asked my opinion about certain parts of it. But he wrote the speech, and to all intents and purposes it was his speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Who, Mr. Teague?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Teague?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Mr. Teague is a Britisher who is now in our Lisbon office, but at that time he was a press attaché of the—

The CHAIRMAN. Embassy?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Employed by the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you discussed it with him at that time?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I might have. We were frequently—

The CHAIRMAN. You were friends?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. We were frequently in touch with each other.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he at that time in the employ of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he become employed by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Some time in 1962. He left the Embassy and went to—

The CHAIRMAN. Subsequent to this time?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This is March 27, 1962.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, it was later on in the year.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this release prepared specially for distribution to Negro newspapers?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it prepared by the Portuguese Ambassador?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He delivered it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I know he did, but when the press release was written he was in San Francisco.

QUESTION OF CLEARANCE OF SPEECHES AND NEWS RELEASES

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the speech was cleared, was delivered, but he didn't clear the press release?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; no, sir. We had a copy of this speech, as I recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you authorized to issue press releases on speeches by the Portuguese Ambassador?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, we pretty much do as we please on that. If he issues a statement and makes a speech, we don't have to ask his permission to rewrite it for our own purposes, if that is what you mean.

The CHAIRMAN. You have standing authority to do that under your arrangement with the Portuguese, is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, no. I say we have complete autonomy on what we do in our own field.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. It was understood you could do that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think as a matter of courtesy, and on some occasions, we would ask the Ambassador's advice or suggestions or clearance on something that we felt that he had done, as a matter of courtesy. I am not saying we are not in frequent touch with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you saw the speech before it was delivered?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe a copy was given us—a mimeographed copy.

The CHAIRMAN. Your suggestions were solicited as to whether or not it was appropriate?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't think so. I think we might have discussed it with Mr. Teague. If so we had no clash.

The CHAIRMAN. You felt free to make suggestion if you thought so?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Oh, surely, yes. Sometimes we don't know what the Ambassador is going to do. If we know about it and we are asked, we are glad to offer suggestions.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this press release distributed by the Kendrix organization?

Mr. BLEDSOE. My recollection is that it was.

The CHAIRMAN. How was it distributed?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, it was distributed—I have forgotten, I would have to check as to whether it was distributed by Selvage & Lee or Kendrix. In either way it was distributed to the Negro press.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Negro editors who received it know that the Portuguese interests were paying for its distribution?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe by this time—we were trying to label all the printed material. I would have to check. Sometimes there would be lapses and oversights, but we were attempting, after being frightened by previous derelictions, we were attempting to conform in every respect with the law.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether or not this particular one carried a notation or a statement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, no. I found out sometimes, or there was an oversight, but we were trying at this time to label everything.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated on this note of March 27 to Moss Kendrix from S. B. Bledsoe, and it reads as follows—

Enclosed is the proposed release. I still have to clear it with the Embassy and will be in touch with you after the Ambassador returns from San Francisco.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think that is a misstatement because I think we sent it out before he got back. I think we checked with Teixeira and told him we were going to put it out. Sometimes in a case of this kind—

The CHAIRMAN. You cleared it with the Embassy and not the Ambassador, is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Let me state it this way: Sometimes there might be some reason that we didn't know anything about why the Ambassador or the Embassy wouldn't want this piece distributed. That is about all we ever cleared over. We said:

If you have no objection we are going to put it out as a press release.

I think that is what is meant here.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not feel any necessity to clear this with the representative of the Overseas Companies that you represented, did you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know where they were. They had no representative in this—

The CHAIRMAN. Then the answer is "No." Is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did clear press releases with representatives of the overseas companies?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; except ourselves. We are the representatives of the Overseas Companies.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. You were the representatives, but you cleared it with the Embassy as a matter of practice?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, as I said, in this case, in a case of this kind, we told them we were going to put it out. We didn't clear the text.

The CHAIRMAN. What does "clear" mean if they didn't have an opportunity for clearance?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, as a matter of courtesy, if we are going to put out a press release of the Ambassador in San Francisco, "If you have no objection," that is the procedure.

DEFINITION OF RELATIONSHIP WITH PORTUGUESE EMBASSY

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, Mr. Bledsoe, why is there any reluctance whatsoever on your part or on the part of Mr. Lee or Mr. Cope about admitting any relationship with the Portuguese Government in this connection?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think there is any question about admitting a relationship. We certainly had a relationship with the Portuguese Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't feel any reluctance?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. The point at issue is did we work for the Portuguese Government, which we did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you worked with the Embassy of the Portuguese Government.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Oh, yes. Well, I think there is a significant difference between work with and work for.

The CHAIRMAN. You got your money from Overseas Companies?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Overseas Companies, that is the contract.

The CHAIRMAN. But you worked with the Portuguese Embassy?

Mr. BLEDSOE. In a good many instances. Let me be clear and plain. We mapped our own program and carried it out. In the process we had occasion to check with the Embassy sometimes for information, for suggestions, but we ran our own program.

The CHAIRMAN. To your knowledge, you never put out any releases or did anything that was contrary to the interests of the Portuguese Government?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. We wouldn't have if we had known about it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. You wouldn't have done it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, let me modify that. It all depends on your definition of the Portuguese Government. We never made any point, for example, of promoting, of discussing, the Premier. We didn't say he was good or bad or we didn't discuss their form of government.

We discussed, I think, outside of that, however, why we felt, and still feel, that the interests of the Government and the interests of the Overseas Companies were coincidental in a good many cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Were identical?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know whether they were identical or not, but they were very closely allied, or to put it this way, the overseas companies felt, and I suppose still feel, that if the Government fell or if the rebels or terrorists, whichever one you want to call them, succeeded in overrunning Angola and Mozambique. The Overseas Companies would lose their properties.

The CHAIRMAN. Just as the Portuguese Government would lose its political interests there.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So in that sense their interests were the same.

Mr. BLEDSOE. The Portuguese Government had a financial interest, of course, overall in Angola and Mozambique territories.

The CHAIRMAN. And in some of the companies.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know the details of that. I don't think from what I have heard that the Government's interest in the companies amounted to too much.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we had testimony that in one in particular they owned half of it. That is the big power company.

Mr. BLEDSOE. That may be.

The CHAIRMAN. That wasn't your problem?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. There are 50 companies overall, and I understand that the Government interest is small, comparatively speaking, but that is just my understanding.

IDENTIFICATION OF DR. RAPHAEL LANIER

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with an individual named Raphael O'Hara Lanier?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I was. He is dead.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he die?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He died in 1962, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. 1962?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He was a Negro official with the Phelps-Stokes fund in New York.

LETTER OF NOVEMBER 10, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated November 10, 1961, addressed to Kenneth T. Downs, and signed by Fred W. Shaw, and ask you if you have seen a copy of this letter, signed by Fred Shaw?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

NOVEMBER 10, 1961.

S. B. B.

Mr. KENNETH T. DOWNS,
Selvage & Lee, Inc.,
Av. Antonio Augusto Aguiar, 40 r/c,
Lisbon, Portugal

DEAR KEN: The first of the Negro leaders being sent to Angola, Raphael O'Hara Lanier, an executive of the Phelps-Stokes fund and our former minister of Liberia, will be on Pan Am flight 154, departing here November 15 and arriving there November 16.

He's planning a trip which will take about 2 months and will include, if possible, Casablanca, Portuguese Guinea, Léopoldville, Angola, Salisbury, Mozambique, Tanganyika, Lisbon, Paris, London, New York. Since it's almost impossible to set up such an itinerary from here, we're buying his ticket only to Lisbon and giving him the dough to arrange it from there on out. He'll tell you the why of the non-Portuguese stops when you see him in Lisbon, where, by the way, he'd like a reservation at the Imperio Hotel for about 4 days on his way through. This trip is a little more than we originally had in mind, but this fellow is an intelligent moderate and has sufficient stature in the American Negro community that Sam feels, and I agree, that he may help melt the ice on his return.

Sam also has two Negro newspapermen lined up to travel later, but that is still in the talking stage and we'll let you know details when it jells.

[Deleted.]

Best regards

FRED W. SHAW.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen that letter before? It was circulated, it says "S. B. B.," and that would be you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen that before?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. I think I have.

The CHAIRMAN. The first paragraph reads as follows:

The first of the Negro leaders being sent to Angola, Raphael O'Hara Lanier, an executive of the Phelps-Stokes fund and our former Minister to Liberia, will be on Pan Am flight 154.

Tell me, what is the Phelps-Stokes fund?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, it is a fund headed by F. D. Patterson, who is former president of Tuskegee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Negro?

(See App. 3.)

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. It has a trust from an estate, I think it is the Phelps estate, I believe and, perhaps, the Stokes family, in which it is a limited trust, but they use their funds to work on African affairs. They are interested in the relationship between America and Africa, to put it broadly.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR DR. LANIER'S TRIP TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN. The second paragraph reads:

This trip is a little more than we originally had in mind, but this fellow is an intelligent moderate and has sufficient stature in the American Negro community that Sam feels, and I agree, that he may help melt the ice on his return.

Who is the "Sam" referred to here?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think it refers to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you felt he would "help melt the ice on his return"?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I hoped he would, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by that, how could he melt the ice?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I felt if he saw the conditions first hand in Angola and Mozambique he might return and tell Negro leaders here that a lot of the propaganda against Portugal was unfounded and unwarranted; that is, against Portuguese, particularly in Angola and Mozambique.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter says:

Since it's almost impossible to set up such an itinerary from here, we're buying his ticket only to Lisbon and giving him the dough to arrange it from there on out.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that mean that Selvage & Lee bought his ticket to Angola and then gave him money, cash, for the rest?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; that is my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "it is a little more than you originally had in mind"? Did you mean it was a little more expensive?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. I think he wanted to cover more territory and more territory than we had in mind when we planned the trip.

The CHAIRMAN. You strongly recommended it because your belief that he was a man who could melt the ice, is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I thought he could help improve——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know him personally?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I had met him. I didn't know him as well— as a matter of fact, I didn't know him as well as I had know Dr. Patterson. I had known Dr. Patterson very well, and Dr. Patterson recommended him.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid for his whole trip, 2 months of it through Casablanca, Portuguese Guinea, Leopoldville, Angola, Salisbury, Mozambique, Tanganyika, Lisbon, Paris, London, New York; is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; that is my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. That was pretty expensive.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I think it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall what it cost?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I have seen an item of \$3,000 in cash, he was given that, of course, which was in addition to his ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to his ticket?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

COST OF DR. LANIER'S TRIP, JANUARY 25, 1962

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is my next question here.

I show you a copy of a letter dated January 25, 1962, addressed to M. N. Lee, and signed by Kenneth T. Downs, and ask you if you have seen this letter before? That was from Kenneth Downs, who is vice president of Selvage & Lee, is he not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

JANUARY 25, 1962.

Mr. M. N. Lee

Kenneth T. Downs

DEAR MORRIE: Since my last memo on the subject, I have had two additional meetings with the Sonefe people. One was to examine about 2 hours of color film which has been shot during the period of the big Cambambe Dam construction. The second meeting, which was yesterday afternoon, was for the purpose of getting down to the matter of what they really want. It is this:

They would like for us to do what we can to publicize their work as part of our general campaign for Angola. As I told you in my previous memo, Sonefe has the power monopoly in Angola and is a member of the oversea group.

But in addition to this they are interested in having a separate public relations program carried out for them. The object of this program would be to interest industries which are heavy users of power into operating in Angola where there will be abundant cheap power. They are particularly interested in such a program in the United States, Canada, and Germany. I asked the Secretary General what he had in mind in the way of a budget. He said that they had not even come to this point yet and that they are merely exploring possibilities. They would be interested in having our firm make a presentation.

This seems to me to be a natural for Selvage & Lee with its background of experience in the financial community.

I believe I told you before Sonefe is almost half owned by this Government. The state owns 161,200,000 escudos of stock, and some 6,000 private holders own 168,800,000 escudos of stock. The power potential in Angola is practically boundless. The Cambambe Dam itself will go into operation in October with an immediate capacity of 800 million kilowatt hours. This capacity can be

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doubled very shortly, and the ultimate potential of this dam is higher even than Aswan, which when completed in 1967 will be the biggest power producer on the African continent under present schedules.

Jacqueline Hallowell is working on a general story on the Cambambe Dam now which I hope we can place early so that we can bring back clippings when I return along with our presentation.

New subject: We are paying Teague what he needs in escudos here for the moment. I will talk to you about salary arrangements for him when I return. I am beginning to think that we may be in a sounder position if we put him entirely on our payroll, but I'll take this up with you when I see you.

I have what I think is going to be an important luncheon meeting scheduled this noon with the Foreign Minister, Dr. Pinto Basto, Dr. Ribeiro da Cunha and O'Brien and Allfrey, who have just arrived from London.

I think Dr. Lanier's visit has gone very well and that Sam's hunch on this thing may prove to be a real big strike for us. He left early this morning after we had arranged a big radio and press interview for him yesterday. The day before that he spent an hour with the Foreign Minister in a very satisfactory meeting.

Hope to see you Monday.

Regards,

cc: Mr. Fred Shaw, Mr. Sam Bledsoe, Mr. Paul Wagner.

The CHAIRMAN. And Morris Lee, that is the president of Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen that before?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I think I have.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read the last paragraph:

I think Dr. Lanier's visit has gone very well and that Sam's hunch on this thing may prove to be a real big strike for us. He left early this morning after we had arranged a big radio and press interview for him yesterday. The day before that he spent an hour with the Foreign Minister in a very satisfactory——

Mr. BLEDSOE. Meeting.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):
meeting.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that your hunch about him, this being a good investment, they believed was good?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

MEMORANDUM OF JANUARY 29, 1963

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to insert for the record a memorandum dated January 29, 1963, to Tim Cabral from Kenneth T. Downs which indicates that Dr. Lanier received \$3,000 in cash from Selvage & Lee to cover the costs of his trip. So far as your information goes, that is correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is correct, yes.

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(The information referred to follows:)

SELVAGE AND LEE, INC.

TO: Tim Cabral

RE: Money for Dr. Lanier

FROM: Kenneth T. Downs

DATE: January 29, 1963

I talked to Fred Shaw today, and he confirmed that it was he who paid Dr. Lanier the \$3,000 about which you inquired. He said that Dr. Lanier preferred to make his own travel arrangements on part of the trip and asked that he be given the cash with which to do it. The accounting office drew the money and gave it to Mr. Shaw to transmit to Dr. Lanier.


Kenneth T. Downs

KTD:sg

not (Mr. Bledsoe thinks that ... newspaper ...)

[Deleted.]

The CHAIRMAN. Did he? Have you attempted to get other Negro leaders to visit Angola?

Mr. BLEDSON. Well, specifically I had suggested that Dr. Patterson visit Angola, and I have generally been an advocate of a program that they be induced to visit Angola and Mozambique, both writers and others. However, some of my suggestions there have not been accepted.

SUGGESTION OF TRIP TO ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a letter dated July 16, 1962, addressed to Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Phelps-Stokes Fund and signed by S. B. Bledsoe, and I ask you if you wrote and sent this letter?

Mr. BLEDSON. Yes, sir; I did.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. That will be made a part of the record.

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(The document referred to follows:)

JULY 16, 1962.

Dr. F. D. PATTERSON,
President, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, N.Y.

DEAR DR. PATTERSON: As you may recall, we discussed briefly last year the possibility that a group from the United States, representing American Negroes, might go to Angola, on invitation from the Portuguese Government, to look at and report upon conditions there. The possibility of recommendations for changes in Angola also was touched upon.

Since that time, the Portuguese have announced reforms and apparently the Province is making some economic progress. (See the enclosed report from the Department of Commerce.) Apparently also, the movement led by Holden Roberto has subsided. The dry season is at hand in Angola—May to October—and during that period little rebel activity is expected.

You have kept closely in touch with developments in Africa and realize the difficulties which some of the new countries are facing. I am convinced that some way must be found for the cooperation of whites and Negroes for the mutual benefit and in the mutual interests of both. I understand, I think, the attitude of some of the African leaders, Mboya, for example. Yet, both Kenya and the Belgian Congo illustrate situations which cannot be solved by emotion. Also, there are several race problems in Africa. There is antagonism between the Arabs and other races; the Indians also.

Regardless of Portuguese faults, I am still of the opinion that the best opportunity for working out a satisfactory and workable relationship between the races, south of the Belgian Congo, and perhaps in other areas, lies in Angola and Mozambique. There is validity apparently to the Portuguese multiracial policy and the absence, in Portuguese territory, of the deep prejudices which makes adjustment so difficult in other parts of Africa.

The situation in Angola, as reported by a good many newspapermen and commentators who have been there, does not conform to the rather violent attacks on the Portuguese with which you are familiar. One notable example is the report of the International Labor Organization, a summary of which is enclosed.

You are aware that two Negro newspapermen visited Angola last year. They wrote nothing on their return. I have not talked to them, since I did not wish to embarrass them in any way or seem to be putting pressure upon them. They went with the understanding that they were completely free agents. Yet, I cannot help wondering whether the conditions they found did not fit into preconceived notions of many Negroes—notions on the basis of what they have read in the newspapers.

But this letter is getting long and, moreover, I am speaking in an area where you are fully informed. I am turning to you because I think you are a realist and a statesman. You can tell me, better than anyone I know, whether the time is opportune for the move suggested. Incidentally, I do not have clearance from the Government of Portugal. I wanted to explore the matter with you before I did anything further.

With my very best personal regards, I am,
Sincerely,

S. B. BLEDSOE.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of this letter?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, let's see, I believe, as I recall—well, as I read it, in a general way, I was trying to persuade him that he should enlist himself in the effort to get established in Angola and Mozambique a pilot plant to prove that Negroes and whites could work together in Africa. I would have to read it—I don't know whether I made the specific proposal, because I have just glanced at it. I was and am very strongly of the opinion that something like that is badly needed in Africa, particularly south of the Sahara.

The CHAIRMAN. You were proposing to Mr. Patterson that he send additional Negro journalists or people such as Lanier to Africa; is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. I think this is, as I am reading now, a letter where we discussed briefly the possibility of a group from the United States representing American Negroes who might go to Angola.

[Deleted.]

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. BLEDSOE. The 16th.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. July 16, 1962.

MR. PATTERSON'S REACTION TO SELVAGE & LEE PLAN

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of a letter dated August 16, 1962, addressed to S. B. Bledsoe and signed by F. D. Patterson, and ask you if you received this letter?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; I did.

(Copy of the letter referred to follows:)

PHELPS-STOKES FUND,
New York, N.Y., August 16, 1962.

Mr. S. B. BLEDSOE,
Selvage & Lee, Inc.,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BLEDSOE: I apologize for not having acknowledged your letter of July 16 before this. I have been out of the office most of the time and have had very little opportunity to read the attached material and to discuss your letter with members of our staff. Yesterday and today I have examined the material and talked to one or two persons whose judgment I value. I find myself unable to react intelligently to your plan. Frankly, I know very little about Portuguese Africa and under the circumstances find myself pretty much confused by the conflicting reports. The matter seems far too involved and delicate to move in on without a great deal more knowledge than I or any of us here at the Phelps-Stokes Fund seem to have.

I am somewhat critical of the approach suggested. It seems to me that this is a matter which cannot be helped in any important way by simply having an unofficial visit by a group of American Negroes. It would seem to me that if there is any substantial change on the part of the attitude of the officials of the Portuguese Government that this ought to be transmitted to our Government and, on the basis of an open and aboveboard decision, a mixed group of persons chosen because of their competence in economic and social planning for nations under development could make up a team whose mission would be completely understood. Anything short of the combined cooperation of the Portuguese and the United States Governments would seem to me to be of questionable value and subject to every sort of interpretation, misinterpretation and malignment. Negro Americans, recognizing what happened to Sherman Briscoe, would hardly welcome the type of opportunity which is suggested.

I wish I felt competent to make a penetrating analysis of the situation and come up with a recommendation that you would really find useful. Unfortunately, I am not, and, under the circumstances, feel that neither I nor the Phelps-Stokes Fund should attempt to associate itself with any kind of project represented by sponsorship of a public relations agency and involving participation which is unsanctioned by our Government.

I regret my reaction cannot be a more positive or helpful one.

With cordial greetings.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. PATTERSON, *President.*

The CHAIRMAN. This letter is in answer to your letter of July 16, is that not correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to read the second paragraph of this letter:

I am somewhat critical of the approach suggested. It seems to me that this is a matter which cannot be helped in any important way by simply having an unofficial visit by a group of American Negroes. It would seem to me that if there is any substantial change on the part of the attitude of the officials of the Portuguese Government that this ought to be transmitted to our Government and, on the basis of an open and aboveboard decision, a mixed group of persons chosen because of their competence in economic and social planning for nations underdevelopment could make up a team whose mission would be completely understood. Anything short of the combined cooperation of the Portuguese and the United States Governments would seem to me to be of questionable value and subject to every sort of interpretation, misinterpretation and malignment. Negro Americans, recognizing what happened to Sherman Briscoe, would hardly welcome the type of opportunity which is suggested.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Bledsoe, isn't what Mr. Patterson is saying here that private individuals given a guided tour of Africa by your firm, just because they are Negroes, cannot perform any legitimate useful purpose in dealing with the relations between the United States and Portugal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think what he is saying is under the circumstances he didn't think such a visit would do much good. I think he felt, and may still feel, that the attitude of American Negro leaders toward Portugal was so fixed, and that anyone who said anything or took any action which might be interpreted as promoting the Portuguese cause, any Negro would be under instant attack. I believe that is my interpretation of what he said.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, he qualifies that. He says, doesn't he suggest, if this is to be done it should be open and above board with the approval of the Government?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't believe that I had suggested that the trip be hidden. We had not discussed it financially. What he is saying, as I interpret it, is that now, unless this Government changed its attitude toward Portugal the trip was valueless. As late as in August 1962, as I recall, all the votes at the United Nations had been against the Portuguese. That changed later in the year, late in the year, but so long as the Government voted with the Afro-Asian bloc, to coin a phrase, at the U.N., that it was useless to try to send over any private group to work for better relations, that they would be attacked, maligned by the Negro press in this country.

Also he felt that the Portuguese Government had to be a part of it, and the U.S. Government, before it would do any good.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he is saying. He says on the basis of "an open and above board decision," a mixed group should be chosen.

Mr. BLEDSOE. But the point I was making—I didn't suggest to him to make any comment about payment or say, in effect, we would pay their way or that the purpose was to be hidden.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it a fact that in the case of Mr. Lanier, that your paying of his trip, giving him \$3,000, that was not publicized, was it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was not as a result of an agreement between, a public agreement between, our Governments?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was between you and Mr. Lanier.

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is right. He was, of course, attached to an organization which was working on African affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. The same one Mr. Patterson is president of?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is right. Mr. Patterson is the head of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it rather unusual that Mr. Patterson takes this position although Mr. Lanier had accepted this other arrangement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Mr. Patterson knew of Mr. Lanier's trip and approved it ahead of time.

The CHAIRMAN. He did?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But subsequent to that he does not approve of a further mixed group, does he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He didn't think it would do any good.

EMPLOYMENT OF MILDRED LAMB AND EDWARD B. LOCKETT

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

I wonder if you would identify for the record Mildred Lamb. Do you know such a person?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is she?

Mr. BLEDSOE. She is a former newspaperwoman here.

The CHAIRMAN. Negro?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, no; she is not a Negro.

The CHAIRMAN. She is a white woman?

Mr. BLEDSOE. She is a white woman.

The CHAIRMAN. What services did she perform for Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I asked her to make a survey of the conditions, economic conditions, in Africa, particularly the states that have been created within the past few years, the new African states.

The CHAIRMAN. For your purposes?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this survey in behalf of your Portuguese employer?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes; I intended to use it for that.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. And it was charged to this account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Edward B. Lockett?¹

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he is a former employee, a man who has worked at intervals for us for a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, returning to Mildred Lamb, did she have any other employment at the time you employed her?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she employed by any press service or anything else?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. She was unemployed, so far as you know?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, so far as I know, but I am not too sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Edward Lockett, was he a newspaperman?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Former newspaperman.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he unemployed at the time you employed him.

¹ Information supplied subsequent to hearing regarding employment of Messrs. Lockett, Ingold, Teeple, Kravitt, Johnston, and Everett appears in App. 2, pp. 1193-96.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And you paid him to do what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He got some information on Portugal and various and sundry affairs related to the account.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to pick these people out for employment by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I had known them in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. You had known them personally?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they experts on Angola and Africa?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, Mildred Lamb has had quite a bit of experience of the economic affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Experience with whom?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, she has been in newspaper work, she worked for several newspapers, and I think she had studied, I believe she has a degree in economics.

The CHAIRMAN. Had she worked for our Government?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know. Perhaps she has at one time, but is in addition to her newspaper background, she is a person who has competence over and beyond the average in research in economics.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they employed to write articles?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they employed to do what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, as I say, Miss Lamb was employed to make an economic survey of the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they researchers?

Mr. BLEDSOE. She was; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was Lockett, was he a researcher?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, Lockett does a number of things but, as I recall, I was using him mostly to gather information. We had some connections at State. I wanted some information from the State Department and, perhaps, some from the Hill.

The CHAIRMAN. He had connections with the State Department?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he knew some people there, he had covered the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you knew them there, too.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I knew some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you call them?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I didn't have time.

The CHAIRMAN. You just employed him to do it because you were too busy otherwise?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, with all due modesty, Senator; yes, sir.

EMPLOYMENT OF DAVID TEEPLE

The CHAIRMAN. Who is David Teeple?

Mr. BLEDSOE. David Teeple is, I believe, a former newspaperman, a former teacher. I believe he is now on the Hill.

The CHAIRMAN. Doing what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe he is attached to the Republican Policy Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The House or Senate?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Senate. He is a close friend of Senator Hickenlooper's, I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you employed him to do what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, we employed him as a consultant. I have known him for a good many years. He is a very capable and able man.

I went to him and told him we might want him to do some work for us under certain circumstances. He had his own business at that time, I believe he said, "Well, if you want me you had better make arrangements with me because my time is going to be taken."

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of arrangements did you make?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I made an arrangement to pay him monthly.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe \$600.

The CHAIRMAN. A month?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you pay Lockett?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I have forgotten, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it approximately the same?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It could have been. I believe Lockett actually worked in the office and was put on the payroll, but we paid him out of the Washington office since his work was of a temporary nature. [Deleted.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, David Teeple, was he put on a more permanent basis?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he was available at his fee if we wanted to consult him or call upon him. He is a rather independent operator, well known, and he said, "Now, if you want my services or want to call on me you would have to make arrangements now."

As a matter of fact, he never did anything for us, we never called on him.

The CHAIRMAN. For how long did you pay him \$600 a month?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Several months.

The CHAIRMAN. During what period?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think it was from maybe July 1962 until near the end of the year. I would have to check that.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid him \$600 a month for, we will say, approximately 6 months?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, that might be, that might be right. It might have been less, but it might have been 6 months.

The CHAIRMAN. July 1962. Did he do any work in connection with the Portuguese-American Day in the Congress?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He didn't do any work in connection with the Portuguese account whatever, and that wasn't his fault.

The CHAIRMAN. You agreed to pay him a retainer, but you never called upon him to do anything?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did pay him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you charge it to the Portuguese account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. During that period was he employed by the policy committee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

[Deleted.]

EMPLOYMENT OF EUGENE INGOLD

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Do you know Mr. Eugene Ingold?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I have met him; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you employ him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. The reason for my hesitation, the arrangement was made by Mr. Wagner, and I am a little hazy.

The CHAIRMAN. Paul Wagner?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in your office?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think he employed him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he made the arrangements. I have forgotten, I am a little hazy, on what they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Ingold, is he a newspaperman?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have connections on the Hill?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, either one or both, I have forgotten.

The CHAIRMAN. Either one or both?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A little of both?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have any other employment?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Doing what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Senator, I know he is a good friend of Paul's, but I would have to refresh my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Paul is responsible for this employment, not you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. Well, he cleared it with me.

The CHAIRMAN. He cleared it with you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. But I have forgotten.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you supply it for the record?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Ask Paul Wagner why you employed him, for how long and for what purpose. Would you supply that for the record?

(Information requested appears in the appendix.)

TERMS OF MR. TEEPLE'S EMPLOYMENT

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. But let me go back to Mr. Teeple. As I said, let me give you a little of the background of why this arrangement was made. We formerly had the coal interests.

The CHAIRMAN. The what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It was the National Policy Coal Conference. We had Mr. Teeple as a consultant in that particular case. There was some

misunderstanding, and I didn't have anything to do with it, but his employment was terminated at a time when he had understood it was to run for several months, and it upset his arrangements.

So this time he said to me, he said, "Well, if you want my services, I don't know what I can do or will do, but you will have to pay me on a standby basis," and we didn't think the time was opportune to do anything. He knows a lot of people, but we didn't go to him, but we were glad to pay him in case we wanted to use him.

The CHAIRMAN. In case you wanted to use him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is just exactly what it was.

The CHAIRMAN. It was designed—

Mr. BLEDSOE. To have him available if we needed him.

The CHAIRMAN. And to create a goodwill.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, not that. I think I had his goodwill.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, to retain it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, not to retain it, but I think—

The CHAIRMAN. It made him happy to be given \$600 a month for doing nothing.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't think it made him angry, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go on, it is getting late. Ingold, you will supply the material about that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was employed by Wagner?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

EMPLOYMENT OF SAM KRAVITT AND ART JOHNSTON

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Sam Kravitt?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Never heard of him.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you supply the information on him for the record? He was in your employment.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. I don't recall him at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Art Johnston?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Art Johnston is in our New York office.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a regular employee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

EMPLOYMENT OF GLENN EVERETT

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Glenn Everett?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he do?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, Glenn Everett has some papers here and has a religious service. I asked him to make a survey for us without telling him the purpose of the survey on—there was one of the denominations and very bitterly critical of the Portuguese. I asked him to make a check, but by this time I was perhaps a little bit wiser than I had been, so when I employed these people I just asked them to get the information for me, and then on that basis I wouldn't have to report them. It was information I wanted, and they didn't know what it was for.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid them?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you pay Everett?

Mr. BLEDSOE. \$300 or \$400, not too much.

The CHAIRMAN. A month?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. A week?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Altogether?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Altogether; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is listed in the Congressional Directory as Religious News Service, Bowling Green, Ohio; Sentinel-Tribune, Tiffin, Ohio; Advertiser-Tribune, Bellevue (Ohio) Gazette; Bryan (Ohio) Times; is that right?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And one of these had been critical of Portugal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, no. It was religious, one of the religious denominations, a very prominent one, I don't need to mention it—what he did specifically was to give us a memorandum on the church setup and a good deal of information connected with it, where the funds were raised and where they had missionaries, and so forth and, as I say, he didn't know. I just asked him to do it, and he didn't know whether it was for the Portuguese or for the—

The CHAIRMAN. He knew who you were?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. But I don't even think he knew we had the Overseas Companies.

The CHAIRMAN. He knew you represented Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it customary for members of the Press Gallery to accept assignments from public relations firms?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, if they do work outside I don't think it is unusual. It is not—it may not be customary.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you employed other members of the Press Gallery to work for you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. There may have been one exception.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the other one?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I will have to think, Senator. Offhand I don't recall another, but I say it is an unusual case. This had nothing to do, I may say categorically, with anything he wrote for his papers. It was—I paid him for specialized information about and in the religious field.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid him for his advice?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir. He didn't give me any advice.

The CHAIRMAN. He gave you information then?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He gave me information; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he give it to you in writing?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. I think we have a memorandum some place.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you supply that memorandum for the record?

(See app. 2, pp. 1192-95.)

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would be glad to if we have it. As I say, one of my difficulties is I am not a good bookkeeper and also my files are in disorder. I am in disgrace with my office staff for not giving them the things I should give them.

REPORTING OF EMPLOYMENT TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The CHAIRMAN. Did the work that Mr. Everett did for you, was it recorded on your registration statement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. We reported that, although we never advised him to file a short form or actually told him he had anything to do with the Portuguese.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you report any of these names on your registration statement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't think so, no, sir. As I say——

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. As I said before, as a policy we didn't want to embarrass the newspaper people.

The CHAIRMAN. These weren't all newspaper people. David Teeple was not a newspaperman.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know whether he was reported. I would have to check. Teeple and Lanier's name were reported.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Teeple's name reported in your registration statement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It was.

The CHAIRMAN. As receiving money?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. We reported them, but we didn't—he, Mr. Casey, refreshes my memory which is pretty vague to start with, that we reported the names but not the amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. You reported their names as being employed by you at certain times?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, on this particular account.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did not report any amount being paid to them?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I believe not.

The CHAIRMAN. The amount which you charged to your client was carried lumped together under research.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know——

The CHAIRMAN. And consultants, is that not correct, Mr. Casey?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Casey, you actually made up the report, did you not?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And this is the way you reported?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us why did you report it in this fashion?

Mr. CASEY. The volume of the bookkeeping entries in Selvage & Lee were just so voluminous with respect to entries of individual payments to people that it would just rather——

The CHAIRMAN. It wasn't so voluminous but you reported their names as being consultants, didn't you?

Mr. CASEY. Yes. There weren't that many consultants. It was easy enough to list them, the answer to that question, giving their names.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you list these same names as to what you paid them—because they were in other parts of your report?

Mr. CASEY. As I say, the volume of individual checks or payments made to people over each month period were just so voluminous that it would just necessitate turning the books over to the Department—the Department of Justice.

REPORTED NAMES TO CLIENT FOR REIMBURSEMENT

The CHAIRMAN. You reported these names to your client, didn't you, as expenses for which you expected to be reimbursed?

Mr. CASEY. Selvage & Lee reported it to their clients, the Overseas Companies.

The CHAIRMAN. It wasn't so voluminous that you could not report it to them, was it?

Mr. CASEY. Well, they reported to them——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the answer is yes, isn't it? You reported these names and Selvage & Lee received reimbursement from their clients in Portugal?

Mr. CASEY. I can't say that Selvage & Lee reported each one of these names as payments to such individuals through their clients.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe they did.

Mr. CASEY. I am sure in some cases there were.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

We have already supplied for the record a number of instances where they reported to their clients in Portugal expenditures for these people, and they expected and obtained reimbursement, did they not?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, this is the way I understood their bookkeeping operation was.

QUESTION OF MR. CASEY'S VIEWS ON NEED TO REPORT NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS HIRED

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We understood it that way. In fact, we have already put into the record something of that kind.

Tell me, Mr. Casey, is it your position that a firm which employs a few researchers should report them by name but a firm which employs a lot of them should not? Is that your position?

Mr. CASEY. No, I don't have any particular position on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The only excuse you have given for not reporting them is that there are a lot of them, is that not so?

Mr. CASEY. Yes. I would imagine a simple registration in which there were only one or two or five payments made, it would be easy to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. So if it is a big firm you would not report it; if it was a little firm you would?

Mr. CASEY. If it was easy enough to report without making a voluminous record it would be simple enough to do.

The CHAIRMAN. As a lawyer, and you are a lawyer employed, do you think that is at all relevant to the enforcement of the law, as to the size and number of employees?

Mr. CASEY. In the form in which this report was being made with the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. You do?

Mr. CASEY. This is what I discussed with the Department of Justice when I discussed it with them.

QUESTION OF RELEVANCE OF SIZE OF OPERATION TO COMPLIANCE WITH THE LAW

The CHAIRMAN. Aside from the discussions, as a lawyer do you think the size of the operation has any relevance to the compliance of the law?

Mr. CASEY. No; size has no relation to compliance.

The CHAIRMAN. No. As a matter of fact, a firm which employed a great many consultants and freelance writers is much more likely to influence the policies of this Government than one that employed only one or two; isn't it?

Mr. CASEY. This could be, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't that reasonable?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So it seems to me the responsibility to report all of these in view of the fact that Selvage & Lee had a great many of them, is much greater than if they were a little two by four outfit with only one.

Mr. CASEY. This is why these people were named individually in the reports; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But I don't understand why you didn't name them as to their expenditures and the payments you made to them. I don't see what good reason you have for not doing that. Just to say there is a lot of them doesn't seem to me to be a pertinent reason.

The only reason you can offer is that it would clutter up the record?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

JOHN J. SYNON'S RELATIONSHIP TO SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bledsoe, are you acquainted with John J. Synon?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a friend of yours?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He is an acquaintance of mine, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an employee of yours?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, no, not at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, he was.

The CHAIRMAN. On what basis was he employed?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, Mr. Synon worked first for the firm in Richmond. I had nothing to do with his employment there.

The CHAIRMAN. At what time?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Oh, I believe it was 1961, part of 1960 and 1961.

The CHAIRMAN. Then did you employ him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. He worked in the Washington office part of 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you employ him to do?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he worked generally in several areas. He was an employee, he wasn't confined to any one account.

(See app. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. Did he write articles in pursuance of your duties and responsibilities under the Portuguese account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. I don't believe—I can't think of any articles he wrote in pursuance thereof.

The CHAIRMAN. Can I refresh your memory? I show you a letter from the News and Courier, which is a newspaper in South Carolina, is it not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with that paper?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; reasonably.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a paper is it? Is it a prominent paper, important paper, in South Carolina?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It seemed important for that area; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not, perhaps, the most influential and biggest paper in South Carolina?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, it is one, certainly one, of the biggest papers in South Carolina.

ARTICLES BY JOHN SYNON

The CHAIRMAN. I show you three articles there, entitled "Africa and the South." These are from the South Carolina News and Courier during the month of October 1962, all written by Mr. Synon, are they not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As well as an editorial on the subject of Mr. Synon's article?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And I ask you did Mr. Synon write these articles in pursuance of his duties with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure about that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those articles will be put in the record.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

(The articles referred to follow:)

[The News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., Oct. 9, 1962]

AFRICA AND THE SOUTH

(By John J. Synon)

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The author of this article, first of three, is a resident of Richmond. He is a former newspaperman now engaged in public relations. He has made a close study of African affairs.

The might of the Federal Government has been felt again in the South. Federal troops and their military heels have come again, as they came in 1865.

The continuing effort to destroy the South's cultural patterns comes today, as always, in the name of equality.

Yet the word, as it is used by the Kennedy administration, has another connotation. That connotation is "politics"—cynical, ward-heeling politics, power-hungry politics which seeks the Negro vote, at whatever cost to the white man.

Southerners know this, instinctively.

It is time they had proof of it.

This is the provable fact. Whatever American Negro leaders want—just or unjust, national or international—the Kennedy administration seeks to get for them.

In the South, where the Negro is inferior, the Kennedy administration, at bayonet point, demands "equality."

In Africa, where blacks are dominant, Negroes are preparing to subjugate whites. The Kennedy administration supports those who are embarked on this devilish design.

Thus, on the one hand, the Kennedy administration preaches "equality," the brotherhood of man. On the other, it condones overt racism.

As diametrically opposed as these positions are, as senseless as they seem, they have a common end, the end sought by the leaders of the colored people: Negro über alles.

It cannot be denied, it is the substance of the record.

Consider Angola: Portugal has been in Africa for more than 400 years—longer, by a century, than the white man has been in America. Its African province, Angola, is thoroughly integrated and has been for generations.

The Kennedy administration, which says it seeks integrated "equality" for Negroes, should love the integrated Portuguese of Angola. The Kennedy administration, if it were morally consistent, would point with pride at this manifestation of its "equality" policy.

It does not. It does not any more than do American Negro leaders. It does not any more than do members of the United Nations Afro-Asian bloc. They all hate the Portuguese. They hate the Portuguese more than any other colonial nation in Africa and insist the Portuguese be driven from their territories.

Thus, Negro leaders and their allies are not content with "equality" where it exists. Integration isn't enough. They demand dominance. Negro-über-alles.

In 1961, this peaceful country was struck by terrorists led by a man named Holden Roberto. The American Ambassador to the U.N., Adlai Stevenson, following the attack, voted to condemn the Portuguese for defending themselves. The Kennedy administration, through Stevenson, in doing so voted against our ally. His vote came even while dope-crazed Negroes, without mercy, raped, mutilated, and murdered defenseless white women and children.

Consider the Congo. In the name of anti-colonialism, the U.N., with American support, forced the Belgians out of the Congo when it was evident to reasonable men the Negro natives were not ready for independence.

The subsequent murder, mutilation, and rape—following the pattern set in Angola—became so common "liberal" American newspapers eventually treated the crimes as routine, inside-page stuff.

This butchery was performed by mercenaries of the Congo Government now headed by Premier Cyrille Adoula. Its leaders live in golden opulence, like bacchanals, on money supplied them by the Kennedy administration.

Consider Katanga: In all of the Congo, only in the Province of Katanga is there order, stability, and relative prosperity. Yet the United Nations, again supported by the United States, went to war against Katanga in a vain attempt to destroy its independence and crush its leader, Moïse Tshombe.

Why? Ostensibly, to reunify the Congo, to make Tshombe subordinate to Adoula.

The Kennedy administration supported the U.N. war, despite the fact Tshombe is pro-Western, certainly not pro-Communist and demonstrably a friend of the white man.

The fiercely racist Afro-Asian bloc in the U.N. hates Tshombe. So do the Negro leaders in this country.

Why? Why do American Negro leaders vent their spleen on this Negro? Why does our Government withhold support from Tshombe? Is it because he is a moderate, does seek "equality" not "dominance." Is it because he seeks in fact and in Africa, what American Negro leaders—through President Kennedy's voice—say they seek in this country?

Is that the reason? Is it because Tshombe seeks to "work things out," doesn't join in the near frantic desire to drive the white African into the sea?

Such is the inescapable conclusion: Negro-über-alles.

Thus, the Kennedy administration, irrespective of justice or morality, supports the Negro, foreign, and domestic. In America—particularly in the South—the Negro's drive for "equality" is supported by the Kennedys at the point of a bayonet. In Africa, the Negro's drive to subjugate the white people is underwritten with American money by the Kennedy administration.

Anything for their vote.

[From the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., Oct. 10, 1962]

THE PAN-AFRICAN PRESS

John J. Synon

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of three articles by a former Richmond newspaperman who now is engaged in public relations work.

Racism among the African leaders is typified in Tom Mboya, political leader in Kenya. This area is still a British colony but independence is scheduled soon. As a result, those who built the country are fleeing, particularly the landowners.

They know what is in store for them. Mboya is quoted by Louis Lomax, well known American Negro journalist and writer, as saying that if the Europeans stay on in Kenya they will do so as squatters.

"If they want to work," he says, "they can work for us."

American Negro leaders who are encouraging the South for racism, do not criticize Mboya, nor Nkrumah, Adoula, or any others like them in Africa. Instead, these African racists are heroes to Martin Luther King and his coterie of fanatics.

Leading American Negro newspapers rant against the whites in Africa—take sides immediately against the whites in any conflict with colored races.

Consider Goa: Late last year, giant India, colored, attacked and overran the Portuguese Province of Goa. Goa had been Portuguese territory for hundreds of years. Even our white liberals could not stomach it. But not the Negro spokesmen. The Chicago Defender, leading Negro newspaper, said it didn't care whether India was right or wrong, adding:

"We cast our lot on the side of Premier Nehru in any dispute between him and the colonial-minded undemocratic government at Lisbon."

The Afro-American papers, with editions in Washington and Baltimore, are almost rabidly antiwhite. They fulminate against Portugal, England, Katanga's Tshombe, anyone who urges moderation and commonsense in dealing with the African problem.

Recently the Afro-American ran an article urging African "independence" without delay. Its correspondent at the U.N. said among the forces favoring the Negro sweep in the Dark Continent are:

"The black people of the Americas, who are conscious of the drama that is now being enacted, and who support it in heart, word, and deed."

The Afro-American pays no attention to the example of the Belgian Congo where premature independence resulted in riots, murders, rape, deterioration of the economy, and a rapid descent into chaos. Despite our intervention and U.N. intervention on the side of the leftist Congo leader, Adoula, decay and confusion mount rapidly. The Afro-American wants more Congoes, even if it means deterioration, so long as it also means Negro domination of whites. This leader of American Negroes seeks chaos at all costs, even though it will play directly into Communist hands.

Robert Estabrook, of the liberal Washington Post, went to Angola in February. Subsequently he wrote a series of well-balanced articles about conditions there. Immediately, he was assailed by Negro leaders and the Negro press. This despite the fact Estabrook has a years-long and justly earned liberal reputation. A Washington, D.C., Negro minister, the Reverend Smallwood L. Williams, for instance, said Estabrook had fallen victim to Portuguese propaganda and implied he had been bought.

One of the most sickening facts in the African situation is the support given the Angola rebel leader, Holden Roberto, by the Negro leaders and Negro spokesmen in the United States.

Roberto directed the terrorists who invaded Angola in March, 1961. The atrocities which followed are almost unbelievable, outdoing the Mau-Mau butchers of Kenya. Roberto was quoted in a Paris newspaper last year as admitting that he, coldbloodedly, ordered the murder of women and children, both white and black. He has never denied the interview.

Yet Roberto has the support of the American Committee on Africa, which lists among its members many prominent Americans, including Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt. The committee, with headquarters in New York, makes a hero of the murderer, Roberto. Moreover, our own State Department names officials of the committee to its Advisory Committee on African Policy. This is done regardless of the fact

the committee has on its staff men with a long record of Communist-front affiliation.

The connection between our encouragement of racism in Africa and the Negro vote in the United States is becoming plainer every day. Actually, the whole thing has been admitted by a New Frontier spokesman.

[From the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., Oct. 11, 1962]

HYPOCRISY ON AFRICA

John J. Synon

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the last of three articles on Africa and the South by a former Richmond newspaperman now engaged in public relations.

August 8, 1962, John Kenneth Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to India and Kennedy administration propagandist, made a remarkable speech in New Delhi, India.

The story on the Galbraith speech, carried in the magazine U.S. News & World Report of September 10, is worth repeating.

"J. Kenneth Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to India, has given Indian lawmakers this explanation of what lies behind America's policies on Africa.

"Africa is the continent most intimately identified with modern colonialism. A very large number of Americans are of African origin.

"The administration which I represent came to power because it enjoyed the overwhelming support of the 19 million Americans—about 10 percent of the population—of African descent. These help form our attitudes toward colonialism.

"On the basis of a long and close political association with Negro friends and colleagues I can assure you of the strength of these attitudes and also of their political force. But on this issue I would also wish to lay claim to liberalism, idealism, and good will."

"Mr. Galbraith, economics professor, author, and a campaign adviser to both Adlai E. Stevenson and John F. Kennedy, made the statement in a speech before the Constitution Club in New Delhi. The club's members are also members of the Indian Parliament.

"Mr. Galbraith cited the U.S. votes in the United Nations in favor of self determination for Portuguese possessions in Africa.

"Today, we are not less convinced than you that the era of colonialism is over," the U.S. Ambassador told the Indian legislators. "Perhaps our reasons for this stand are even more pressing than yours."

This is a bald summation of the reasons behind a policy which threatens demoralization and race war in Africa. The whites in Angola, Mozambique, the British territory of Rhodesia, and South Africa will not surrender to the Negro racists, or to a U.S. foreign policy which backs these racists for votes. They will fight. They have no place to go and everything they have in the world, including their lives is at stake. The Communists gloat over the impending race war. They expect to pick up the pieces.

Offhand, it would seem that the Congo debacle would sober the Negro racists in this country; not so, their demands for Negro domination in Africa become more strident along with their stepped-up campaign for "equality" in the United States.

On many occasions the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, prime mover of the militant Negro groups, has called for an end to "imperialism" in Africa. He wants independence now for any African area where the whites are dominant, regardless of the consequences. He hates the Portuguese, although long ago this country established race equality as its goal.

Only one conclusion can be drawn from his attitude and that of other such American Negro leaders, Negro—uber alles.

A most remarkable meeting of Negro leaders is scheduled in November at Columbia University.

Present, according to the Washington Post and other newspapers, will be representatives of the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and other Negro organizations. They are to discuss "The Role of the American Negro Community in U.S. Policy Towards Africa."

The meeting, according to its sponsors is scheduled to be held while the United Nations General Assembly is discussing Angola, and other African questions.

Obviously, this meeting has one primary objective. The Negro leaders plan to bring pressure on the U.N. to continue its ruinous, racist course. Obviously, also, the Negro leaders plan pressure on the Kennedy administration to continue an African policy which promises to bring more Congoes, more rape, torture, butchery, and stark terror to an unhappy continent. At the same time, the Negro leaders plan to insist upon "equality" here at home.

This double standard on the part of American Negro leaders is appalling.

Equally appalling is the hypocrisy of the Kennedy administration on the whole race question. Sooner or later, it will be caught up for its double standard, as will the Negro masses, who are being misled.

Meanwhile all America must pay—and the final reckoning may be tragedy for everyone.

MR. SYNON'S EMPLOYMENT WITH SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. Was not Mr. Synon being paid during that period by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you say these were not written in pursuance of his duties with Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, some of the statements here represent Mr. Synon's viewpoint. They do not represent my viewpoint.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I didn't ask you that. These were written in pursuance of what he conceived and thought was his employment by you, were they not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, perhaps he conceived it, but I don't conceive it that way. I would have, while I didn't—

The CHAIRMAN. You will note there the editor's note heading the article says:

The author of this article, first of three, is a resident of Richmond. He is former newspaperman now engaged in public relations. He has made a close study of African affairs.

Isn't that what it says?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is what it says.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time he wrote those was he not being paid by Selvage & Lee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe he was on retainer at the time.

What I am trying to say, Senator, is the views expressed in some of these cases, for example, such expressions as "Negro uber alles"—I suppose that is the proper pronunciation—and the racist tone, are contrary to my views and contrary, as I understand it, to the views of Selvage & Lee.

Let me make myself clear. It is my personal opinion that some of the Negro leaders in this country are racist in their attitude, but still that does not justify any racist views on our part, or racist views on the part of Selvage & Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bledsoe, you are familiar with the general attitude of the people of South Carolina, are you not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that that article, as written, found a very responsive audience in South Carolina?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That may be, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, don't you think so?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, generally speaking I would say, "Yes."

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't the editor of that paper approve of it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He undoubtedly approved of it or he wouldn't have permitted their publication.

The CHAIRMAN. So this was not written to please Selvage & Lee; it was written to create a sympathetic audience in South Carolina, wasn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It wasn't written to please you, was it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't employ Mr. Synon to just please you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No; it didn't please me.

QUESTION OF SERVICES BY AND PAYMENTS TO JOHN SYNON

The CHAIRMAN. Whether or not you approved of it in your personal capacity was utterly irrelevant to the service he rendered Selvage & Lee.

Mr. BLEDSOE. He wasn't rendering them a service with this material.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid him for it, didn't you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. He was first employed and then on a retainer. Let me put it this way, Senator—

The CHAIRMAN. What was he on a retainer to do, write articles?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He was on a retainer to do certain specific things we asked him to do.

The CHAIRMAN. To write articles, among other things, wasn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he do?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, the general arrangement with Mr. Synon is this: He is on a \$5,000 a year, and over and above that when he does anything, when we ask him for a specific duty, he is paid a daily rate.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the \$5,000 for?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, that is so he will be—he will have some time to give us if we want him to do something specific. He has a good many contacts. But, as I point out, it is destructive to the Portuguese and Selvage & Lee to associate ourselves with racist material.

The CHAIRMAN. In South Carolina?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, wherever it may be.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure about that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, the point—

The CHAIRMAN. If it favorably impressed the people of South Carolina and the editor of that paper, is that destructive of your interests?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that so?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, if it becomes known that we sponsored material of this kind on behalf of the Portuguese, the Portuguese multiracial policy is a sham and a fraud.

SYNON EXPENSES ON SELVAGE AND LEE STATEMENT AUGUST, SEPTEMBER,
AND OCTOBER 1962

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, this Selvage & Lee statement, which I will be glad for you to see, but I want to read it here, it says, the Washington office, and as, for example, just to refresh your memory, this is Bledsoe expenses, August 16 to 31, \$21.26, \$22.25, and so on:

1170 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

expenses \$15.35, and J. Synon, expenses, August, September, and October 6 to 22, \$940.93.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

1916

SELWAGE AND LEE, INC.
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

NEW YORK • WASHINGTON • CHICAGO • RICHMOND

300 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK
EXFORD 8-9200

PAGE 3

Services Rendered - 10/13-19, 10/23-26, 10/29-11/2, 11/3-9 0 300.00

Services Rendered - 10/16-31 504.16

Boston Office:

Expenses - Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs
See attached 10/1-30 961.43

Services Rendered - 10/13-19, 10/20-26, 10/27-11/2, 11/3-9 800.00

Services Rendered Secretarial - 10/13-19, 10/20-26, 10/27-11/2, 11/3-9 440.00

New York Office:

R.C. Baker - expenses 10/23 1.60

M. Cabral - expenses 11/12-25 89.75

J. Mallowell - expenses 10/23-25 17.75

A.T. Johnston - expenses 11/7 16.00

Telephone 9/20-10/20 97.99

Insured Messenger Service October 29.60

Postage November 72.58

Stationery - For reproducing clips, bills, plate changes November 30.76

Washington Office:

E. Bledsoe - expenses 8/14-31 21.26

- expenses 9/14/15 22.25

V. Gold - expenses 10/1/31 15.35

J. Synon - expenses August, September & October 6-22 940.93

- expenses 10/23-31 31.00

- expenses 11/7 22.95

• Hotel Statler Hilton 10/31 18.23

• See attached

The CHAIRMAN. What was that for?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I would have to check. One of the things that we tried to get Mr. Synon to do was to get us some new accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you charge Mr. Synon's expenses to the Portuguese account, if he was not working for the Portuguese?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know. He might have been at this particular time on duty for us or the Portuguese. What I am saying, Senator, is these articles were articles which we didn't countenance and did not approve. He did it, but he did in violation of our policy.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. He did it and you charged the Portuguese for his services and expenses during that same period?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All you are saying is that what he did in pursuance of that employment didn't meet with your entire approval.

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir; that is——

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Sometimes you hire an employee——

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are not saying that what he did there did not meet with the approval of the audience to which he addressed it, that is, the people of South Carolina, are you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That may be.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BLEDSOE. But let me put it this way, I think the multiracial policy of the Portuguese is genuine. We have always——

The CHAIRMAN. That has nothing to do with this point.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I think it does. I think, Senator, if you will bear with me, if a representative of Selvage & Lee, with our approval, publishes and writes racist material, our whole premise is destroyed.

The CHAIRMAN. After these articles were written did you terminate your relationship with him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. We talked with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you terminate your relationship with him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you——

Mr. BLEDSOE. Let me put it this way, we had made a firm agreement for a year, Senator, and I didn't think we were in position to terminate.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did not terminate it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Although you feel that was in violation of your agreement?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I feel it was in violation of our policy and agreement.

[Deleted.]

DISCLOSURE OF MR. SYNON'S CONNECTION WITH SELVAGE & LEE

The CHAIRMAN. These articles that were printed in the South Carolina Courier——

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Were they cleared by you before they were printed?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see them?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't Mr. Synon in any way indicate to the editor of that paper that he was employed and was a registered agent of a foreign principal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he told me he did; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He told me he told the editor of his connection with us.

The CHAIRMAN. Before they were published?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. It says here:

The author of this article, first of three, is a resident of Richmond. He is a former newspaperman now engaged in public relations. He has made a close study of African affairs—

which would bear out his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. That doesn't bear out that he was representing a foreign principal; does it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, although this I don't know, I think he told me this, he told the editor that he had a connection with us.

The CHAIRMAN. And that you represented a foreign principal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that this article was in pursuance of that employment?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, if he told him about his connection with Selvage & Lee, which I want to emphasize is a retainer only, and he has activities outside because he couldn't live otherwise, if he told them that, I take it also he told them he was working for us, and we had this account.

The CHAIRMAN. And this article was written in pursuance of his employment with you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know whether he used those words or not, but I take it that the editor knew what he was doing. He has a good many friends in the South.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing to indicate in that article as read by a reader of the paper that this was written by an agent of a foreign principal; is there?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Except the public relations mention.

The CHAIRMAN. That doesn't indicate it in any manner that he represents a foreign agent; does it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, you are in a field there, Senator, I know nothing about. I take it—

The CHAIRMAN. You know about that article. I am only asking you a simple question. That article which you have before you does not in any way reveal his employment by the Portuguese principals; does it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not; that is all I asked.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I will make a statement—that is up to the papers. If they want to print his connection, they can, and if they don't—

The CHAIRMAN. If the paper is a reputable paper and knows it it should print it, shouldn't it, but if it does not know it, how can it print it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think he told them his connection.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are saying, in effect, that the paper knew it but did not print it. That is what you must be saying.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, the paper didn't print it, evidently my understanding is that he told them.

The CHAIRMAN. You are saying that they knew it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes. I think he told me they knew it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that before it was printed?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. I didn't know about it being printed.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you about that after it was printed?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that the paper, therefore, failed to reveal to its readers that these articles were paid for by a foreign principal?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know—to go back, since we didn't instruct him to write these articles, the question arises as to whether they were paid for by a foreign principal.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you charged the foreign principal for services during that period.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I might compare that sometimes you might hire a workman, a plumber, a carpenter, to do some work for you. You might not have it done according to instructions, but you might pay him just the same. In other words, you might say, "I don't think you did the right thing here."

QUESTION OF PAYMENT FOR NEWS ARTICLES

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, was Mr. Synon paid for those articles by the paper?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know. I doubt it very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ask him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you doubt he was paid?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is a supposition.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a supposition because of the regular practice that the people you hire to write articles are not also paid by the paper, are they? Do they get double pay?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, Senator, that is a very difficult—that is kind of like, "Have you stopped beating your wife?" question.

The CHAIRMAN. No, it is not. You have a great many people on your payroll. You call them freelance writers. There are very large sums in here. Is it the usual practice when you hire a man, a freelance writer, to write an article, and it is printed, is he also paid by the paper that prints it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you do know, don't you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I depend on the circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it customary when you pay him to write an article that he is also paid by the newspaper that prints it? That is pretty good if that is so.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would say, Senator, since he said he worked for a public relations firm that he wasn't paid for it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why I would assume—why are you so hesitant in answering it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. I realize you don't know it, but you are familiar with the practice, being an old hand at this business. Maybe I don't phrase it right. Is it customary for a man working for a public relations firm such as yours, who writes an article in the course of his employment, to also be paid by the paper that prints it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. No. It isn't customary, and one of the reasons you get it printed is because they get it free, isn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No. Well—

The CHAIRMAN. One of the reasons, one of the inducements.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, that may be one of the reasons.

The CHAIRMAN. As a business proposition if an editor can get an article that has any currency at all for nothing, he will take it over one he has to pay for, won't he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think that depends on the character of the article, Senator. I think if the editor wants the article and he thinks it is either interesting or informative and serves some useful purpose, he will use it whether it comes from a public relations firm or not. It is my experience with newspapers that the fact that they get material free, and that though it's free has very little connection with whether they print it or not. I think when you get down to some weeklies, why, that is different. But a reputable paper, you might say, "I represent so and so and here is something which interests you," and if they are interested they will print it, and if not they will throw it away.

The CHAIRMAN. What papers do you think are reputable? You said if a reputable paper—

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think the majority of the larger papers are reputable. There may be exceptions, but most of them are reputable, most of the papers in the country.

DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. PRESS ASSOCIATION EDITORIAL

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a letter dated August 25, 1961, from Raymond C. Baker to Fred Shaw, New York, for circulation to M. M. L. among others, and ask you if you saw a copy of this letter? It has been circulated and it also has "SBB," which is you, isn't it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

(A copy of the document referred to follows:)

AUGUST 25, 1961.

Mr. FRED SHAW,
Continental Hotel, Luanda, Angola, Africa.

DEAR FRED: I hope you are enjoying your trip in Angola and that it is proving productive.

Here are some clippings which will interest you.

The first one deals with Jackie Hallowell's trip through Angola with General Howley. This was sent to 65 metropolitan newspapers by Womens News Service.

The second is an excellent column by Walter Trohan, which not only appeared in the Chicago Tribune but also is syndicated to about 40 additional newspapers.

Tommy Tompkins' column appeared in the Journal American here on Tuesday and also was sent over the Hearst Headline Service wire for use by the 16 Hearst newspapers.

"The American Way," a column written by George Peck, is used in 4,077 weekly and small daily newspapers. His column is widely read and has real impact.

The U.S. Press Association editorial is serviced to 1,500 weekly and small daily newspapers. It, too, is very widely used on the editorial pages of subscribers to this service.

You will recall that I gave you a memo prior to your departure asking for certain economic, educational, health, and other statistics. I hope you have been able to gather this material as I have several syndicate outlets in New York that would be pleased to put out stories on this data.

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

RAYMOND C. BAKER.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Raymond Baker?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Raymond Baker is an employee of our New York office.

The CHAIRMAN. Fred Shaw is your employee?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He was. He is no longer employed by us.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads in part, as follows:

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1175

The U.S. Press Association editorial is serviced to 1,500 weekly and small daily newspapers. It, too, is very widely used on the editorial pages of subscribers to this service.

Will you identify the U.S. Press Association?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, as it is stated here, it is a service which sends material to small weeklies, to weeklies, and small dailies.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the editorial referred to, if you recall?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would have to refresh my memory, Senator, about the "American Way."

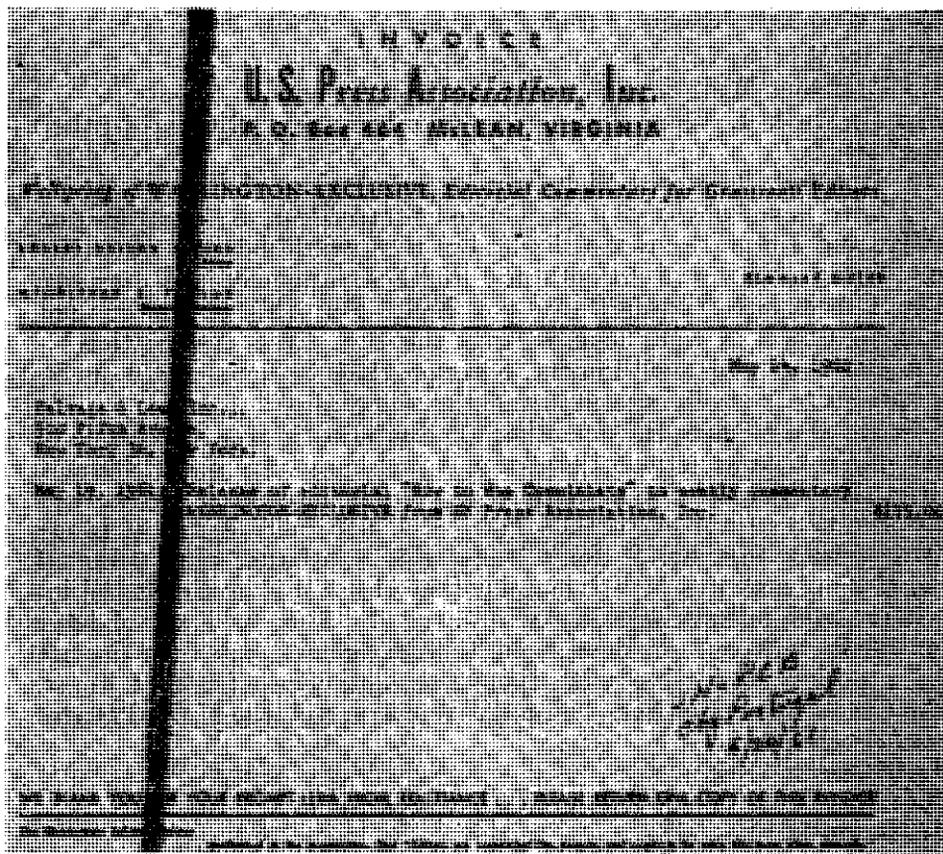
The CHAIRMAN. Do you know? You don't know whether you prepared it or not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I didn't prepare it, Senator.

INVOICE FROM U.S. PRESS ASSOCIATION, MAY 24, 1961

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a copy of an invoice from the U.S. Press Association, dated May 24, 1961, addressed to Selvage & Lee, and I ask you if you can identify this invoice as coming from your files?

(A copy of the invoice referred to is as follows:)



Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I don't think that this—I don't recall having seen this before.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this refresh your recollection at all about the U.S. Press Association?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, all I know about the U.S. Press Association, Senator, is what is contained here, and by hearsay. I have never dealt with the U.S. Press Association personally.

The CHAIRMAN. It is initialled in the corner. You recognize the initials "R.C.B."? It says "Charge Portugal."

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is Raymond C. Baker.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it mean "Charge Portugal"?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I suppose that means, I take it, charge to the Portuguese account.

The CHAIRMAN. The invoice reads:

May 19, 1961; release of editorial "How to Woo Communists" in weekly commentary Washington-Exclusive from U.S. Press Association, Inc.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that mean to you? You are in the business, what does this \$175 mean, just to complete it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. As I said, I am acquainted with the U.S. Press Association only by reputation. I have never dealt with the outfit personally. Mr. Baker evidently knows them better than I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You can explain to us what this means:

May 19, 1961; release of editorial "How to Woo Communists" in weekly commentary Washington-Exclusive from U.S. Press Association, Inc.

Why would they bill Selvage & Lee \$175 for this?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I suppose for services rendered.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the services to release this editorial to their subscribers?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That would be my interpretation of it; yes, sir. I said I have never dealt with the United States Press Association personally, and I don't know firsthand, but that would be my interpretation. I had nothing to do with any of the arrangements, I may say.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't say you had. But this is the custom, this is a custom, in your business with the U.S. Press Association?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It is well known, Senator, that there are some outfits that specialize in servicing small weeklies and dailies.

Now, in those cases, the fact that the material is free, and some of those papers that are struggling for survival, may have some influence on what they print. I take it they don't print anything unless they think it reflects their editorial views or is informative, and it is my understanding further, I don't know this firsthand, that some of these, if your material is satisfactory, they think it is accurate and informative and interesting they will carry it. But, as I say, I have never dealt with one of them, and I don't believe, my firm doesn't make a policy of dealing with them particularly so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. But here you pay, your firm did, the United States Press Association.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, \$175 to release this editorial.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

LABELING OF EDITORIAL RELEASED BY U.S. PRESS ASSOCIATION

The CHAIRMAN. In your opinion or to your knowledge, did the editorial which was released by United States Press Association carry a notation that this release is paid for by a representative of a foreign—

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know, Senator. As I say, I am not acquainted with this outfit.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would know about that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Mr. Baker, I take it, or perhaps Mr. Cope or Mr. Lee would know.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the particular release to these weeklies was paid for by the Portuguese principals, was it not?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is charged to them.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So it comes to this, that you have a foreign Portuguese principal purchasing space for editorials in U.S. papers, doesn't it amount to that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I wouldn't put it that way; the blame, if there is any blame—

The CHAIRMAN. I am not attaching any blame. I am trying to state a fact. Is that not a fact?

Mr. BLEDSOE. It is on behalf of a foreign principal, I would say, "Yes, sir." That is undoubtedly correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The foreign principal is paying in this instance for the release of editorials which it is expected, of course, or they wouldn't pay for it, that they will be used by American papers.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. And unless those papers are specifically informed that these editorials are being paid for by a foreign principal, they, of course, think this is just American news inspired by loyal American citizens, don't they?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I wouldn't say that, Senator, in the case—

The CHAIRMAN. How would you characterize this? You are in the business, and I will defer to your superior judgment.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I will put it this way, in the case of these firms like this, we distribute material, I think it is pretty well known to anybody who is not naive, that some interest is paying for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Known to whom, you mean people in the business?

Mr. BLEDSOE. The people who print it. They know that they are getting it free.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the editors?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Why, certainly. They know they are getting it free. They are not so naive.

The CHAIRMAN. But they subscribe to the United States Press Association.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they are not getting it free?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I doubt that. I think the pay is pretty nominal. My impression, and I would like to correct it if I am wrong, is that this material, any fee for it is very nominal, it is to all intents and purposes almost free.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the income from the United States Press Association is primarily from those who pay them to send out editorials rather than their subscribers?

Mr. BLEDSOE. That is my impression.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know more about it than I do. I am only seeking information.

Mr. BLEDSOE. As I say, I have never dealt with this firm.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. BLEDSOE. So I would like to correct it if I am wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever dealt with any other similar firm?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir. I don't operate that way.

The CHAIRMAN. What is wrong with it? Selvage & Lee operates—

Mr. BLEDSOE. I didn't say there was anything wrong with it. I just said—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, your tone of voice indicated there was something wrong with it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I am sorry. I might have created the wrong impression, and I am sorry.

The CHAIRMAN. You say "I don't operate that way" as if there is something wrong with it.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I believe other methods are more effective. I am not passing judgment on this. I just say I don't do it personally.

SPECIAL SERVICE BUREAU OF UPI

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know a Special Service Bureau of the United Press International?

Mr. BLEDSOE. UPI, yes, sir. I know a little bit about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever dealt with the UPI?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think we have dealt with their photo service.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever dealt with the Special Service Bureau of UPI?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir. I think the New York office has dealt with it.

The CHAIRMAN. The New York office?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir. That is my impression.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in the New York office has dealt with them?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I would say probably Lee or Cope. It may be that Shaw did on this particular case. He formerly worked for the INS.

The CHAIRMAN. He did?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he still there?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir. He is with Newsweek.

The CHAIRMAN. He is with Newsweek?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who took his place?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I don't know that he was replaced, although a man named Cabral is there now, a Portuguese.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether or not Selvage & Lee, New York, has an arrangement or a contract of any kind with the UPI Special Service Bureau on behalf of the Angola account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Perhaps they do have, but any understanding of that is only for information; they get information about a subject you want to know about, but they do not ordinarily carry material.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean ordinarily?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, that is—to my knowledge they do not. In other words, you cannot—and again I say I don't know this firsthand, but my impression is that you cannot—subscribe to the service and then say "We want you to carry this."

The CHAIRMAN. The UPI Special Service?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your conception of what the UPI Special Service Bureau is?

Mr. BLEDSOE. My conception is they get information on certain subjects if you want it. If you want to check on something that happened in Chicago they will get you the information. As I say, that is my impression.

The CHAIRMAN. They will get it and then they will put it on their wires?

Mr. BLEDSOE. They will give it to you but they won't put it on their wires as news material.

[Deleted.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Lee and Mr. Cope were very scanty in their knowledge of your operations here.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Senator, I fear they feared your penetrating questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You think what? You think they what?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think they feared your penetrating questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would anybody fear any of my questions? We don't know anything about it. We are just trying to find out.

Mr. BLEDSOE. That doesn't prevent them from fearing your questions.

IDENTIFICATION OF BERNARDO TEIXEIRA

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think we have thrown too much light on this..

Did I ask you who Bernard Teixeira is?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked Mr. Cope. Do you know who he is?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He is the press attaché of the Portuguese Embassy.

The CHAIRMAN. He is now?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have an arrangement with him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. \$125 a week.

(See App. 3.)

The CHAIRMAN. A week. What does he do for that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, he is a translator and also we work very closely on projects in which we both are interested. He also gives us any information—we learned early we had difficulty in getting information that the Embassy was getting from State, not because they wanted to withhold it but simply they were Portuguese and didn't think of us, so he keeps us informed on developments.

The CHAIRMAN. On the information they get from the State Department?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whatever they get, he thinks may be of interest to you he relays it to you?

Mr. BLEDSOE. We understand, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is part of his duties?

Mr. BLEDSOE. He advises us on how to get along with the Portuguese generally. He is a Portuguese, he is an American citizen, but he is originally of Portuguese descent.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Ambassador know he is an employee of yours?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is informed of that?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you charge the \$125 a week that you pay him against Portuguese account?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You pay him in cash or by check?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think checks primarily.

The CHAIRMAN. Made to him or to cash?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I believe they are made to him mostly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mostly?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't there a regular procedure by which you pay him?

Mr. BLEDSOE. My understanding is they are made, to him personally. It may be cash sometimes, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an American citizen?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. \$125 a week, that is a pretty good salary.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does he make as an attaché of the Embassy?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. He is paid for it? He doesn't do it for nothing?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, he is paid for it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is quite interesting, and he also gives you information that the Ambassador gets from the State Department or that he gets?

Mr. BLEDSOE. I wouldn't say that; I wouldn't put it that way.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you put it that way.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, sometimes it doesn't involve the Ambassador.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it sound worse when I say it than when you say it?

Mr. BLEDSOE. No, I don't think so, Senator, but you have to—there are nuances, so I don't want—

The CHAIRMAN. I know there seems to be. I was only saying what you just said.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, I think that probably is true. But, as I say, sometimes insofar as he knows the developments at State which affect us, which come through the Embassy, he tells us about it if he is at liberty to tell us about it.

The CHAIRMAN. If you know anything that you think they ought to know you tell him and he sees the Ambassador?

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, sometimes we see the Ambassador; we don't always deal with the attaché. The Ambassador is a very able and astute man.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a lot of other questions. I may say we didn't get much out of Mr. Cope or Mr. Lee.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I am sorry.

The CHAIRMAN. They pleaded ignorance to most of the questions.

Mr. BLEDSOE. If I thought it would have spared me, I would have pleaded ignorance.

The CHAIRMAN. I congratulate you. I think you answered practically and fully, and I appreciate your help.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is a help to the committee. We are very ignorant on most of these things. It is the first time since this law was enacted that any committee has looked into how this operates and, therefore, a lot of it is strange to us, and we asked you questions which we think we ought to know, but we do not, because we have had no experience in the past in this operation.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, I appreciate that.

The CHAIRMAN. But I will say you have been most cooperative and a very good witness.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been so good that maybe in our ignorance we may call you again because you are a source of information that I think is reliable.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Senator, if I may make a comment, I hope I am not that good.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know that good witnesses around this town are pretty scarce, if I may say so.

Mr. BLEDSOE. It is sort of—good witnesses from whose standpoint is what I am thinking about.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think you are an honest man, and you have given us honest answers.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I think you have been, as usual, fair and intelligent in your questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. I hate to impose on you. I was very embarrassed at the former hearing we had to postpone because of reasons beyond my control.

Mr. BLEDSOE. I understand that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. And, therefore, we put you all to more inconvenience than we liked.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Well, you couldn't help that.

The CHAIRMAN. But in any case you have been very helpful.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. So I think in view of the lateness of the hour we will conclude this meeting. But, of course, you will be subject to further call. Whether we will or not I do not know now, and I hope those matters which you agreed to supply for the record you will do at your earliest convenience.

Mr. BLEDSOE. Yes, sir; we will do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 7:45 p.m. the committee adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.)

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

The following material was submitted during the course of the hearing and subsequently:

- A. Selected documents from a folder submitted by Martin T. Camacho entitled "Martin T. Camacho Activities, February to October 1960, February to July 1961," referred to on p. 903.
 - 1. "Resolution dated June 10, 1961, at a gathering of Luso-Americans of the Eastern Seaboard States in Boston, Mass., for the commemoration of the 'Dia de Portugal.'"
 - 2. "Statement by Attorney Martin T. Camacho of Boston, chairman of a Portuguese-American delegation which visited Washington, D.C., * * *" dated July 25, 1961, referred to on p. 903.
 - 3. "Statement on behalf of Portugal," July 20, 1961, referred to on p. 908.
- B. Copy of activity report of Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1961 to 1962, submitted by Mr. Camacho.
- C. Copy of letter dated May 7, 1963, addressed to Senator Fulbright, and signed Pedro Theotónio Pereira, Ambassador of Portugal.
- D. Copy of letter, dated May 8, 1963, addressed to His Excellency Dr. Pedro Theotónio Pereira, Ambassador of Portugal, from J. W. Fulbright.
- E. Copy of letter dated May 9, 1963, addressed to Hon. J. W. Fulbright and signed James Cope, Chairman, Selvage & Lee, Inc., with enclosure.

A. RESOLUTION MADE THIS TENTH DAY OF JUNE, ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY ONE, AT A GATHERING OF LUSO-AMERICANS OF THE EASTERN SEABOARD STATES IN BOSTON, MASS., FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF THE "DIA DE PORTUGAL"

Whereas the members of the Luso-American community of the eastern seaboard States are persuaded that there are many social and political reforms of a profound and far-reaching nature being considered and undertaken in Portugal with the view to the improvement of the economic, political, and social conditions of the people, residents, and inhabitants, of continental Portugal and her oversea provinces of Portugal; and

Whereas the members of the Luso-American community are deeply moved and are of heavy and sorrowful heart because of recent misunderstandings and differences in points of view between the Governments of Portugal and of the United States of America relative to the political, social, and economic conditions of the peoples living within the oversea areas of Portugal, and more especially that of Portuguese Angola; and

Whereas the members of the Luso-American community of the eastern seaboard States are unwaveringly and unstintingly devoted and dedicated in their loyalty and affection to the United States of America; and

Whereas the Luso-American community of the eastern seaboard States, because of the imperishable ties of the past, of the memories, traditions, culture, and language of the motherland of Portugal, and of their forefathers, are deeply concerned and are affected by the future destinies of Portugal and her people; and

Whereas throughout her long and eventful history, Portugal has been a land associated with and identified as a noble contributor to the best in the Christian and humanist tradition of Western civilization; and

Whereas Portugal has been and is a strong, unflinching, and ardent champion of Western thought and institutions; and

Whereas Portugal has been and is a vigorous, fearless, and implacable foe of communism; and

Whereas in mutual esteem, friendship and fraternal ties, in the promotion of human dignity and concepts of freedom, regardless of race, color, or creed, and moreover in the common and relentless opposition to the encouragement of atheistic communism throughout the world, Portugal and the United States of America have been as one, of single mind, aim, and purpose; and

Whereas the United States of America can, by her technical and scientific know-how, by her economic and institutional means, by her standing and leadership, help Portugal, now in her critical hour of need in her efforts to promote needed social, political, and economic reforms in Portugal and her overseas provinces; and

Whereas historically the proposed independence of the Portuguese areas of Africa, at the present time, would but lead, as in the case of the neighboring Congo to tribal warfare, fratricidal strife and chaos, and thus create a political vacuum into which would flow the evil forces of communism enslaving those whose very independence is now sought:

Now, therefore, be it proposed:

1. That through mutual collaboration and the mutual efforts of leaders in both Governments of the United States of America and Portugal, that recent differences and misunderstandings be resolved and that both nations continue to maintain the traditional mutual regard, esteem, and friendship.

2. That the members of the Luso-American community of the eastern seaboard States look forward with heartfelt assurance that whatever the disagreement or differences there may be in the policies of both nations, the ultimate desideratum and the overall purpose of these policies are the same; namely, the preservation of the national security and integrity of one another's land and people from the common enemy.

In witness whereof the undersubscribed members of the Luso-American community of the eastern seaboard States hereby approve the foregoing resolution and request that the same be forwarded to the President of the United States of America, His Excellency, John F. Kennedy; to the Secretary of State, Hon. Dean Rusk; to the Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, Hon. G. Mennen Williams; and to the Ambassador to the United Nations, Hon. Adlai Stevenson.

JULY 25, 1961.

2. STATEMENT BY ATTORNEY MARTIN T. CAMACHO OF BOSTON, CHAIRMAN OF A PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN DELEGATION WHICH VISITED WASHINGTON, D.C., ON BEHALF OF BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PORTUGAL

The United States should reexamine its present policy at the United Nations toward the friendly Government of Portugal.

This country has sided recently with the Soviet Union and Communist bloc nations in United Nations votes concerning the west African Portuguese province of Angola. In so doing, we have not only contributed to Communist aims on the African continent, but we have struck a critical and uncalled-for blow at Portugal, one of our most faithful friends and supporters and a member of NATO.

The current disorder in Angola is by no means a spontaneous outburst on the part of Angolan natives against the Portuguese Government. The evidence is clear that the so-called rebels in Angola, who are conducting a campaign of terrorism and atrocity, are financed, directed, and led by Communist provocateurs.

Only last week the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, in a speech before the House of Lords, reflected the growing awareness among Western statesmen that what is occurring in Angola is not an indigenous native nationalist movement, but a Communist-inspired campaign, initiated from outside the province.

The objective of this campaign is identical to that of Communist aims elsewhere in Africa; first, to create conditions of chaos and disorder; next, to bring Angola, its people and its resources into the Communist sphere.

A primary tactic in this campaign, as in Communist campaigns throughout the world, is a propaganda effort based on lies and distortions of truth.

Communist propaganda has charged the Portuguese in Angola with racial discrimination. Anyone familiar with Portugal and its multiracial policies knows that this is false. The Portuguese long have recognized human beings on the

basis of individual worth and not on the basis of color of skin. This has been official policy for many generations, and its results are reflected in every area of the world where the Portuguese have established themselves. Negroes in Portugal, including Angola, hold high positions in government, in business, and in the professions.

One of the members of the Portuguese-American group which went to Washington last week, to present to the White House and to other Government officials a resolution regarding United States-Portugal relations, was Dr. Antonio de J. Cardozo, a prominent Boston attorney. Dr. Cardozo was born in the overseas Province of Cape Verde. He is a Portuguese of Negro extraction. He can well testify that Negroes in Portugal, along with other racial groups, have long been given equality of treatment and opportunity.

Others in the group which went to Washington included Miss Dolores Pementa and Miss Ida Pementa, of Peabody, Mass. We were courteously received by Senators, Representatives, and officials of the State Department. At the State Department, we had a lengthy, 3-hour exchange of views with Department officials concerning the situation in Angola and United States-Portugal relations generally.

At the White House, the President met with the group in the Cabinet Room. He extended a very warm and friendly greeting to our group; and although nothing was discussed concerning the resolution which we presented, the President made clear his abiding friendship for the Portuguese-American community.

But while our meetings with Government leaders were generally satisfactory, we learned in other discussions that there is much misinformation being circulated about the situation in Angola and about Portugal itself. For example, the American Committee on Africa, with offices at 801 Second Avenue, New York City, is circulating vicious propaganda which aids and often parallels the Communist line. We were astonished to find that many prominent Americans are listed as members of this committee.

Our resolution, which called for maintenance of the traditional friendship and mutual regard between the United States and Portugal, was considered and approved by a large representative number of Portuguese-Americans in the eastern seaboard States. The primary concern of this group, and of the delegation which traveled to Washington, is the national security of the United States and the efficacy of her foreign policy objectives. Every American should look long and closely at any controversy which finds our representative at the United Nations voting with the Communist-dominated countries and against longtime allies such as Portugal. The latter, for example, has provided, rent free, needed military bases in the Azores, and also provides a base for Radio Free Europe operations.

It truly may be said that the real target of the Communists in Angola is not Portugal—it is the United States itself. Let no one make any mistake about that.

JULY 20, 1961.

3. A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF PORTUGAL

We, the following, Martin T. Camacho of Boston, Antonio de J. Cardozo of Boston, Dolores Pimenta, and Ida Pimenta of Peabody, Mass., citizens of Portuguese descent, are in Washington to deliver to the President a memorial adopted at a gathering of Portuguese-Americans in Boston in June 10, 1961.

The memorial expresses the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the citizens of Portuguese descent along the eastern seaboard and other areas in the United States for the speedy and harmonious settlement of any differences between the United States and Portugal.

Specifically, we deplore the fact that the United States has sided with the Soviet Union and against Portugal in votes at the United Nations on matters involving the Portuguese Province of Angola.

We are concerned for two reasons, the first and primary one being the national security of the United States. We strongly feel that action which tends to separate our country from a friendly ally, Portugal, can only benefit the forces which seek the destruction of the United States.

Secondly, we feel that the situation in Angola and in Portugal has been misrepresented by these same forces which are trying to create the division and confusion which benefits Communist imperialism.

We have not been in Angola, but terrorists have been operating in the Portuguese-African Province since early this year. The justification for the terrorists' activities is supposed to be Portuguese oppression of the Negroes in Angola.

Anyone familiar with Portuguese racial policies knows that the reports of Portuguese oppression of any individual or group on racial grounds are false. The Portuguese, for centuries, have pursued an enlightened multiracial policy, freely accepting Negroes and any other races in its possessions on the basis of their worth as individuals and not because of skin color. Consequently, Negroes and mulattoes in Portugal and its provinces regard themselves as Portuguese and not as Negroes.

Long ago Negroes in Portugal and its possessions achieved the equality of treatment, legally and in fact, for which the Negroes in the United States still are striving.

In our considered opinion, after as thorough an inquiry as we have the facilities to make, much of the trouble in Angola comes from Communist sources. Apparently reliable sources say that Angola was invaded early in 1961 from the Congo, where plans for such an invasion had been in progress for more than a year.

In this connection, we are alarmed and surprised over the fact that much of the Communist propaganda about Portugal and Angola finds ready acceptance in the United States. For example, the American Committee on Africa, which includes among its members many prominent citizens of this country, repeats the Communist charges against Portugal. Some of the committee's statements about race relations in Portugal and Portuguese Provinces are palpably false and seem to be deliberately misleading. It is entirely possible that some of the members of the committee are uninformed as to its activities.

The committee echoes the Communist propaganda about Portugal and Angola. It seems to be sympathetic with the terrorists who were killed by the Portuguese in defending themselves, but to have little sympathy for the innocent men, women, and children who were butchered without warning by the invaders.

We would like to call attention to the long friendship between Portugal and the United States during World War II and since. Portugal is a Christian country with a long, consistent record of resistance to Communist wiles and pressures. It has an honorable record for financial and other relationships with other nations.

At present the United States has valuable military bases in the Portuguese Azores. Radio Free Europe's principal transmitting service is situated in Lisbon. Portugal has granted all these facilities for combating communism rent free. Moreover, Portugal has asked and received comparatively little from the United States in the way of aid, in contrast to some countries avowedly neutralist in the struggle now going on for the hearts and minds of men.

We believe the United States, by her technical know-how, by her economic and institutional resources, by her standing and leadership, can help Portugal now in her critical hour of need in her efforts to promote social, political, and economic reforms in Portugal and in her oversea provinces.

We feel that a better understanding between the two countries, the United States and Portugal, and their continued friendship is in the interest of all who oppose communism. To this end, we ask reconsideration of the U.S. position at the U.N. with regard to Angola and Portugal.

ACTIVITY REPORT OF PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
1961-62

Date	Place	Type of audience	Subject matter discussed
Oct. 18, 1961	Algonquin Club, Boston.....	Political group of Portuguese-American citizens.	Portugal and her overseas provinces.
Oct. 25, 1961	Parker House, Boston.....	Talk, Portuguese-American citizens.	Discussion and color slides re: Portugal and her overseas provinces.
Nov. 1, 1961	Sheraton-Biltmore, Providence, R.I.	Meeting, talk, Portuguese-American citizens.	Objectives of Portuguese-American Committee and Portugal and her overseas provinces.
Nov. 16, 1961	Sheraton-Plaza, Boston.....	Press conference, newspaper and television media.	American Committee on Africa.
Dec. 3, 1961	St. Francis Xavier School Auditorium, East Providence, R.I.	Portuguese - American group.	Discussion and color slides re: Portugal and her overseas provinces.
Dec. 9, 1961	Statler-Hilton, Hartford, Conn.	Meeting, talk, Portuguese-American citizens.	Objectives of Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs and Portugal and her overseas provinces.

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ACTIVITY REPORT OF PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
1961-62—Continued

Date	Place	Type of audience	Subject matter discussed
Dec. 12, 1961	Senator John O. Pastore's office, Providence, R.I.	Personal visit to Senator Pastore's office with Rhode Island delegation of Portuguese-American citizens.	U.S.-U.N.-Afro-Asian policy vis-a-vis Portugal.
Dec. 13, 1961 Dec. 21, 1961	City College, New York WBZ-TV studio, Boston	Students TV media—Betty Adams Show "Newsat Nine"	Multiracial policy in Africa. India's invasion of Goa, Damoa, and Diu.
Dec. 21, 1961	Senator Claiborne Pell's office, Providence, R.I.	Personal visit to Senator Pell's office with Rhode Island delegation of Portuguese-American citizens.	U.S.-U.N.-Afro-Asian policy vis-a-vis Portugal.
Dec. 24, 1961	WBZ-TV studio, Boston	TV media—Betty Adams, "Dimensions"	Portugal and her oversea provinces.
Dec. 27, 1961	Congressman Joseph Martin, North Attleboro.	Personal visit	U.S.-U.N.-Afro-Asian policy vis-a-vis Portugal.
Feb. 9, 1962	Sheraton-Plaza Hotel, Boston.	TV and newspaper media	Press conference re: African Angolan Party Leaders, NTO BAKO Angolimo Alberto, Alberto da Cruz.
Feb. 18, 1962	Our Lady Star of the Sea Church, Marblehead.	National Council of Catholic Women.	"Self-Determination in Africa."
Mar. 1, 1962	Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.	Students	"Self-Determination in Africa."
Mar. 8, 1962	Extensive trip through Angola and Mozambique.		
Apr. 24, 1962	Returned from trip.		
Apr. 26, 1962	American Institute, Jamaica Plain.	Students	Nationalism and self-determination in Africa.
Apr. 28, 1962	Boston University Council of World Affairs.	Students—Conference on Africa.	Do.
May 11, 1962	Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa.	African student conference.	Do.
May 27, 1962	P.A.C.L. Headquarters, Cambridge.	P.A.C.L. members	Report on itinerary to Angola and Mozambique.
June 8, 1962	Station WINS, New York	Radio audience	Portugal and her oversea provinces.
June 5, 1962	MXX U.S. Reserve (training) Corps, Boston Army Base, Boston, Mass.	Officers and regular personnel.	Presentation was Armed Forces counterinsurgency program.
June 24, 1962	P.A.C.L. Headquarters, Rehoboth.	P.A.C.L. members of the supreme body.	Report on Angola and Mozambique—Presentation of suggested program of action regarding U.S. foreign policy relative to Portuguese overseas areas in Africa.
Aug. 5, 1962	Christian Crusade Convention, Tulsa, Okla.	Representative members of the Christian Crusade and scattered outside interested citizens.	U.S. policy vis-a-vis Portugal and her overseas provinces.
Sept. 3, 1962	P.A.C.L. headquarters, Fall River.	Convention of Portuguese-American Civic League of Massachusetts.	Report on itinerary on Angola and Mozambique and U.S. policy vis-a-vis Portugal.
Oct. 14, 1962	Station WHIL, Medford; station WLYN, Lynn.	Radio speech, Portuguese audience.	U.S. policy vis-a-vis Portugal and her overseas provinces.
Oct. 20, 1962	Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.	Speech, historical society	Do.
Dec. 10, 1962	Washington, D.C.	Press conference, newspaper media.	American Negro Leadership Conference, Harriman, New York.
Oct. 5, 1962	Congress, Washington, D.C.		Attended Special Order Re: Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States—A Victory For Freedom sponsored by Representative Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts.

MAY 7, 1963.

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: I read today in the Washington Post that "one line of investigation being pursued by the committee, it was learned, is whether the Portuguese Government is a party to the contract or an ultimate source of funds." This refers, of course, to your committee's hearings on the firm, Selvage & Lee, Inc.

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In this connection, I am taking the liberty of assuring you—and I am giving you this assurance not only as the official representative of the Portuguese Government in Washington, but also as a person familiar with this matter—that the Portuguese Government is not and has never been a party, directly or indirectly, of the contract between the Overseas Companies of Portugal and Selvage & Lee, Inc., and that no funds whatsoever from the Portuguese Government have been applied to such contract.

Although the amount of misinformation about Portugal often disseminated in this country would certainly justify a program of factual information about the situation in the Portuguese overseas provinces, my Government has always refrained from engaging itself in a program of public relations. The initiative of the program now being carried out by the firm, Selvage & Lee, Inc., as well as the financing and management of that program are entirely the responsibility of the private businessmen who organized and control the Overseas Companies of Portugal, a procedure perfectly normal in my country, where the system of private enterprise has long existed.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,

PEDRO THEOTONIO PEREIRA,
Ambassador of Portugal.

MAY 8, 1963.

His Excellency Dr. PEDRO THEOTONIO PEREIRA,
Ambassador of Portugal.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I wish to acknowledge your letter of May 7. I am very pleased to have this statement from you, and will see that it is made a part of the record for the information of our committee.

With all good wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT.

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL,
New York, N.Y., May 9, 1963.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: In looking back at the executive hearings in which you examined persons from our firm concerning our work for the Overseas Companies of Portugal, it appeared to us you wanted further evidence to be satisfied that we are not, in fact, working for the Government of Portugal.

We would suggest that you have inquiry made of the U.S. Ambassador to Lisbon. He must be personally acquainted with our principals, and certainly must also be familiar with Portuguese Government's ways of operating. We are satisfied that he knows this is a voluntary, nonofficial, and independent operation.

Next, it may be of interest to you to consider the enclosed published report of the recent annual meeting of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. In this the management states its determination to fight the recent defense tax imposed by the Government of Angola on the Benguela Railroad. Their grounds are that it violates the terms of the concession given this company, and they say that, if necessary, they expect to contest the action all the way to the highest court in Lisbon.

These are incidental and contributory evidence, no doubt, but the fact is that we do not take instructions from the Portuguese Government, are not compensated by it directly or indirectly, and that we are in fact doing our best to preserve the assets and the activity created by private companies in a vital segment of the world. We shall continue to be available to you to do all we can to establish this to your satisfaction.

May we respectfully request that you incorporate this letter in the record of your proceedings.

Sincerely,

JAMES COPE, *Chairman.*

APPENDIX 2: INFORMATION SUPPLIED THE COMMITTEE BY SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
PURSUANT TO COMMITTEE REQUEST

A. Request for current list of members of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, cited on p. 927.

(Reply is as follows:)

The membership of the committee as of June 1, 1963, is as follows:

CURRENT LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AS OF JUNE 1963

Alves, Antonio, 874 Capitol Avenue, Hartford, Conn.
Amaral, George, 117 Summit Street, East Providence, R.I.
Andrade, Manuel A., 45 Butler Avenue, Central Falls, R.I.
Arruda, Anthony, 156 Bogle Street, Fall River, Mass.
Bent, Frank S., 15 Race Road, Provincetown, Mass.
Bentuba, James, 5 Plymouth Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Borges, Manuel J., 18 Jefferson Street, Tiverton, R.I.
Brown, Manuel A., 6 Livermore Place, Cambridge, Mass.
Camille, Gilbert F., 60 North Phillips Street, East Providence, R.I.
Cardozo, Antonio de J., 16 Kirkland Road, Cambridge, Mass.
Castanheiro, Angelo R., 24 Seckel Street, Cambridge 41, Mass.
Catarino, Jose J., 36 Portman Street, Windsor, Conn.
Cesar, Abilio, 32 Summer Street, Stoughton, Mass.
Costa, George S., 257 Prospect Street, Cambridge 39, Mass.
Costa, Liborio, 256 Hurley Street, Cambridge 41, Mass.
Cravinho, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest P., 208 Hampshire Street, Cambridge 39, Mass.
Cravo, Mrs. Manuel, 28 Waterhouse Street, West Somerville 44, Mass.
Cruz, Arnaldo M. da, 42 Orchard Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Dutra, Robert O., 113 Barney Avenue, Seekonk, Mass.
Filipe, Octavio C., New Jersey.
Francisco, Jose, 58 Madison Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Frates, Charles A., 265 County Street, New Bedford, Mass.
Gomes, Alfred F., 15 Jenny Lind Street, North Easton, Mass.
Gouveia, Gabriel, 58 A Street, Lowell, Mass.
Jesus, Miguel, 103 Franklin Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Lawrence, Charles, 34 Dickinson Avenue, North Providence, R.I.
Leal, Manuel S. M., 397½ Columbia Street, Cambridge 41, Mass.
Loja, Rev. John G., 1348 Cambridge Street, Cambridge 39, Mass.
Luz, Cynthia, 9 Sanborn Avenue, Somerville 43, Mass.
Martin, Mary B., 4 Ivy Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.
Matos, Agostinho Pires de, 186 Ives Street, Providence, R.I.
Marques, John R., 207 Follen Road, Lexington, Mass.
Matos, Antonio A., 22 Springfield Street, Cambridge 39, Mass.
Mello, Joseph P. de, 326 Hurley Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Medeiros, Martin F., 717 Aquidneck Avenue, Middletown, R.I.
Mendonca, George G., 17 Jenkins Street, New Bedford, Mass.
Mendonca, Manuel V., 22 Lyons Street, Lowell, Mass.
Neto, Edmundo A., 22 Agnes Avenue, East Providence, R.I.
Neves, Manuel T., 311 Chestnut Street, Lynn, Mass.
Nicolau, Jose Fernandes, 322 Columbia Street, Cambridge 41, Mass.
Nunes, Theophilus Neves, 748 Columbus Avenue, Boston 20, Mass.
Pedro, Antonio, 144 Baldwin Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Pelicano, Sebastiao W., 107 Tremont Street, Central Falls, R.I.
Pementa, Dolores M., 35 Driscoll Street, Peabody, Mass.
Pereira, Eduino G., 234 Warren Avenue, East Providence, R.I.
Pereira, Germano, 55 Lawrence Street, Milford, Mass.
Pereira, Mrs. James M., 3½ Englewood Road, Peabody, Mass.
Perry, Americo F., 2 Hazelwood Avenue, East Providence, R.I.
Pimental, Peter J., 188 Main Street, Pawtucket, R.I.
Pires, Antonio, 120 Mineral Spring Avenue, Pawtucket, R.I.
Raposo, Luis R., 217 Aquidneck Avenue, Middletown, R.I.
Rico, Frank G., 75 Floral Street, Taunton, Mass.
Roderick, Mary C., 76 Sacramento Street, Somerville, Mass.
Rodrigues, Salvador, 51 Walnut Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Salvador, Antonio, 142 Park Terrace, Hartford, Conn.
Santos, Ildio, 10 Fuller Street, Waterbury, Conn.

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Soa Bento, Augusto W., 685 Warren Avenue, East Providence, R.I.
Santos, Manuel, 227 Gorham Street, Lowell, Mass.
Sears, Manuel, 13 Buckingham Street, Somerville, Mass.
Silva, Antone L., 405 County Street, New Bedford, Mass.
Silva, Bernard R., Jr., 20 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Silva, John C., 12 South Shore Avenue, Peabody, Mass.
Silva, Joseph, 68 Albion Street, Somerville, Mass.
Simoes, Antonio, 104 Ellery Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Simas, Edwin, 17 Day Circle, Woburn, Mass.
Sousa, Albert, 52 Madison Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Sousa, Mario, 27 River Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Sylvia, Aurora M., 183 Power Street, Providence, R.I.
Teixeira, Carolyn, 34 Sherman Street, Roxbury 19, Mass.
Tenreiro, Simon C., 65 Mary Street, New Bedford, Mass.
Vasconcelos, Jeffrey, 433 Hampshire Street, Lawrence, Mass.

B. Request for evidence that the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs' letterhead carried registration notices prior to August 31, 1962; and that tabs of registration notice appeared on publications prior to September 1962 cited on p. 932-4. (Reply is as follows:)

The Portuguese-American Committee letterhead with the registration notice printed on it was filed with the Justice Department on May 7, 1962. The registration was printed on tabs in December 1961, and used as required on letters written on committee stationery prior to May 7, 1962.

Material filed with the Justice Department since December 1961 has included tabs imprinted with the registration notice.

C. Request for evidence indicating whether letters from Mr. Camacho similar to those dated September 26, 1962, to Senators and officers of NBC with respect to NBC program "Angola—Journal to War" indicated registration notice cited on pp. 941-7. (Reply is as follows:)

No letters about the NBC program, "Angola, Journey to a War," were sent to Senators on or about the date of September 26, 1962. This program appeared in September 1961, a year earlier. The September 1961 letter did not include the registration notice.

D. Request for number of copies of "On the Morning of March 15th" provided the National States Rights Party, per their letter of February 23, 1962; the Los Angeles County Young Republicans, Inc., per letter dated April 18, 1962; and to the San Francisco Chapter of Young Americans for Freedom, per letter of November 26, 1963 cited on pp. 948-954. (Reply is as follows:)

The National States Rights Party purchased 300 copies of "On the Morning of March 15" on May 15, 1962, for \$34.50. They also purchased 300 copies on August 20, 1962, for \$30; 300 on September 11, 1962, for \$33; 300 on November 30, 1962, for \$33; and 300 on April 4, 1963, for \$33.

The Los Angeles County Young Republicans received a kit of various materials (one copy each) from the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The San Francisco Chapter of Young Americans for Freedom received six kits of materials from the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

E. Request with respect to special order of Congressman O'Neill as described in letter dated October 31, 1962, signed "Ida" and addressed "Dear Paul," for the following:

(a) Copy of mailing list used by Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

(b) Whether franked envelopes received by Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs for mailing of special order from Congressman O'Neill.

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(c) Identity of person paying for the reprints of the special order. Cited on pp. 969-74. (Reply is as follows:)

(a) The mailing list used by the Portuguese-American Committee was compiled from persons who requested material. This list is confidential, and while Dr. Camacho does not object to having this committee examine this list, he does request that he be excused from having to supply the list for the record for fear that rival groups may obtain copies of it.

(b) The Portuguese-American Committee addressed 907 envelopes with the names of the Massachusetts Portuguese-Americans who had requested material. The envelopes were printed with the frank. The only material sent in the envelopes was a copy of a reprint entitled "Speech of Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts."

(c) The reprints were purchased with two Selvage & Lee, Inc., checks made out to the Public Printer.

F. Request for evidence of notice of registration by letterhead on tab on letter of April 17, 1962, addressed "Dear Sir" and sent to editors of Tennessee newspapers with respect to speech of Senator Gore. Cited on pp. 974-85. (Reply is as follows:)

Copies of the letters of April 17, 1962, to Tennessee newspapers were filed with the Department of Justice. The registration tab was attached. An invoice from the Advertising Service, Inc., of Boston, also indicates the labels were included. The invoice is as follows:

ADVERTISING SERVICE, INC.

1000 Washington Street, Boston 18, Massachusetts

APRIL 23, 1962.

Sold to: Portuguese-American Committee on
Foreign Affairs
20 Pemberton Sq., Room 9099
Boston, Mass.

Your order No.:

Our Order No.:

Shipped Via:
Terms: Net 30 days

Multigraphing: 200 labels, 3 x 5	
200 letters, 3 pages	
Supplying 1M sheets, 8½ x 11	
Supplying 175 8¾ x 11½ envelopes	
Addressing labels and filling-in letter	
Handsigning, collating, stapling, attaching labels registration notice, inserting 4 pieces* and mailing	\$140.50
Postage supplied, 167 @ 24¢	40.08
2% Service Charge	.80
	<hr/>
	\$181.38

Pamphlet, "On the Morning of March 15."

*ILO Report.

G. Request for evidence of labeling of pamphlet "On the Morning of March 15th," enclosed in the aforementioned letter on April 17, 1962, cited on pp. 974-984. (Reply is as follows:)

The booklet "On the Morning of March 15," filed with the Justice Department on April 17, 1962, mailing to Tennessee editors has the registration notice printed in the booklet.

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H. Request for evidence as to number involved in and date of initial printing of "On the Morning of March 15th," cited on p. 984. (Reply is as follows:)

The initial printing of "On the Morning of March 15," was 20,000 copies in September 1961.

I. Request for copies of inquiries addressed to the Department of Justice concerning provisions of Foreign Agents Registration Act pertaining specifically to labeling, cited on p. 1190. (Reply is as follows:)

Dr. Camacho had no correspondence with the Department of Justice regarding labeling.

J. Request for information concerning payer of telephone calls made by Sherman Briscoe to Messrs. Day, Johnson, and others, cited in letters dated October 27, 1962, addressed to Messrs. John H. Johnson and Daniel E. Day, from Mr. Bledsoe, cited on p. 1101. (Reply is as follows:)

Mr. Bledsoe's testimony regarding telephone calls made by Mr. Briscoe was from his recollection. There is no more detailed information available in Selvage & Lee, Inc., records.

K. Request for information concerning employment of Eugene Ingold, Edward B. Lockett, David Teeple, Sam Kravitt, Art Johnston, and Glenn Everett:

(a) By whom employed other than Selvage & Lee, Inc.;

(b) Period of employment with Selvage & Lee, Inc., and any other employer mentioned in reply to the above question; and

(c) Purpose of employment with Selvage & Lee, Inc.

Reference to these individuals is found in expense account statements rendered by Selvage & Lee, Inc., to the Overseas Companies of Portugal, cited on p. 1155. (Reply is as follows:)

Edward B. Lockett worked for Selvage & Lee, Inc., on the Overseas Companies' account for approximately 6 weeks between May 1 and June 16, 1961. He received \$1,350, paid on a basis of \$250 weekly. First payment was May 15, 1961, and the final payment was on June 16, 1961. He did the initial research on Angola and Africa after Selvage & Lee, Inc., received the account.

Arthur T. Johnson was a full-time employee of Selvage & Lee, Inc., in the New York office. He specialized in radio and TV, and talked with New York stations about Angola.

Eugene Ingold, David Teeple, Sam Kravitt, and Glenn Everett have never been employees of Selvage & Lee, Inc. Our records do not show their employer, if any. However, Mr. Ingold does contract writing, and was connected with a trade association. He did the research on three short pamphlets for us in 1961.

David Teeple was placed on retainer shortly after Selvage & Lee, Inc., began working on the Overseas account. He was retained between May 11, 1961, and July 31, 1961. He did not perform any services for the Overseas Companies.

Sam Kravitt is a freelance motion picture cameraman of New Haven, Conn. He sold us some footage on Angola. He was paid \$50 on October 16, 1961. As far as is known, the film was not used.

Glenn Everett was paid \$340 in consultant fees and expenses between July 5, 1962, and December 28, 1962, for research on religious organizations with foreign missionary services. Payments were included in regular reports to the Justice Department.

L. Request for copy of memorandum submitted to Selvage & Lee, Inc., by Glenn Everett, in connection with request for survey of religious denominations, cited on p. 1155. (Reply is as follows:)

The memo is as follows: The Methodist Church has 10,046,293 members in 24,610 churches throughout the Nation (1961). It conducts a vigorous program of foreign missions with 1,555 full-time missionaries in the field. Of these about 38 were stationed in Angola (1960).

To administer so large an enterprise in a democratic manner, the church has a rather complicated administrative structure, with numerous checks and balances.

The governing body of the Methodist Church, as a whole, is the Methodist General Conference which meets every 4 years and brings together for a 2-week legislative session representatives of the church from all over the Nation and from the mission churches overseas which are not yet independent and self-governing. The next general conference will convene at Pittsburgh, Pa., on April 26, 1964.

The board of missions, as well as all other agencies of the church, draws its authority from the general conference. It is established by the general conference, can be altered or changed by it, and derives all of its authority and functions from the conference.

The general conference, meeting as it does every 4 years, and having all the problems and policies of the church to consider obviously can exercise only general control over the agencies of the church.

To handle day-to-day administration of the church's work, there are a number of boards which are composed of representatives of all the districts into which the church is divided, which are known as "annual conferences" because their legislative bodies are the regional conferences which meet annually. The Baltimore Conference, of which churches in Washington, D.C., are a part is, for example, in session now at Westminster, Md., on the campus of Westminster College during the first week of June.

To handle overall administrative problems, the church elects bishops. Each bishop presides over an "area." An area covers several general conferences. Bishop John Wesley Lord, present resident bishop of the Washington area, presides over a territory that includes part of Pennsylvania, all of Maryland and Delaware, and part of West Virginia.

The Methodist Church has 42 bishops in the United States and 2 overseas, a total of 44. They constitute the council of bishops. They meet every 6 months for a general consultation and can hold additional meetings, if required by some urgent problem. One of their number is chosen chairman of the council. Bishop Gerald Kennedy, of Los Angeles, presently holds this office, the highest in the Methodist Church.

As will be pointed out, because of the unique structure of the board of missions, the bishops are particularly influential in its policies. They don't control it, but they have tremendous influence over it.

Bishops in the Methodist Church are elected at so-called jurisdictional conferences. The Nation is divided into six jurisdictions, one of which is the central jurisdiction embracing nearly all Negro churches. This was a concession to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, when it merged with the former Methodist Episcopal Church (North) and the Methodist Protestant Church, a smaller body, in 1939. It insured that the South would be able to elect its own bishops and not have any northerners assigned there. After the jurisdiction elects its bishops, they decide in which area each shall serve. Thus, in 1960 Bishop John Wesley Lord moved from Boston, his former seat, to Washington to replace retiring Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam who, some years before, had himself moved to Washington from New York.

A bishop serves until he retires which occurs between the ages of 68 and 72. Retired bishops continue to hold their seats on the council of bishops and, although without a vote, not without influence on their colleagues. One meeting of the council here in Washington had about 75 bishops in attendance, of whom about half were retired.

To assist him in administration, the bishop has district superintendents, each of whom presides over a district. The area has several conferences and each conference several districts. In all, there are about 500 district superintendents in the church who assist the 42 bishops in administration of the local congregations who are served by more than 20,000 pastors. The district superintendents serve 6-year terms so that the administration rotates. Each district superintendent has a cabinet to assist him. The cabinet is composed of several senior pastors of the district. They are influential in the appointment of the persons who represent each annual conference on the board of missions and in selecting the person in each conference who is its mission secretary and handles fundraising for missionaries, their speaking engagements, etc.

Thus, we see the board of missions as a national agency, established by the 4-year general conference to serve the church as a whole. The church, during the interim between general conferences, is administered by 42 bishops here and two overseas, who constitute a council of bishops meeting every 6 months. Each bishop presides over an area and each area has several annual conferences—there are now 98 in all—and within each conference are several districts—a total of about 500 at present.

The board of missions derives its principal financial support from the 98 annual conferences.

The board of missions itself is composed of 136 members who meet annually. They are the legislative body for the board, appointing its staff and setting its policies within the broad grant of power given them by the 4-year general conference.

An important factor in composition of the board of missions is that one-half of the bishops serve on it, or 22 in all. This is not true of any other board or

agency of the church. It illustrates the importance the bishops attach to the work of foreign missions and the voice they want to have in it. While they have only 22 of the 136 votes, the lay members and ministers who hold the other appointments to the board would be reluctant to override the bishops if they were united in a matter of important policy. The bishops therefore in their semiannual council of bishops, since half of them are on the board of missions, are in a position to make their influence felt.

The board also has six bishops from independent Methodist churches overseas serving on it. These are native churches which now elect their own bishops but to which missionary support is still being sent.

Each of the six jurisdictions of the church (5 geographical and 1 the central jurisdiction) is entitled to elect 1 minister and 3 laymen to the board of missions for every 600,000 members in the jurisdiction. In actual practice, one of the lay seats and sometimes two go to women because of the women's traditional interest in mission work. Every annual conference gets at least one seat.

There are also 28 lay members elected from the church at large, chosen at the general conference for 4-year terms. They are nominated by the council of bishops and elected by the board, usually a formality, meaning that the 22 bishops have 28 laymen who owe their appointments directly to them. The bishops are rather influential in selecting the other representatives, too, of course.

The board also has 12 women who are elected by the women's division of Christian service and 6 young people chosen by youth organizations of the church.

This is why it has 136 members, making it the largest board in the church. It meets annually at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., but has set its next meeting for 1963 at Cincinnati, Ohio, where there are larger accommodations.

Obviously, a board of this size meeting annually can only set general policy, so it appoints an executive committee of 38 members who meet twice between annual board sessions and direct the policy of the executive staff more closely.

The board has three divisions, each with its own staff. The Board of World Missions, which supervises the oversea missionaries, is headed by Dr. Eugene Smith, general secretary. The others are the division of national missions, which directs settlement house work and other such projects in the United States, which is headed by Dr. H. Conwell Snoke, and the women's division of Christian service, headed by Mrs. Porter Brown, which supervises women's work for missions.

The Angola missionaries are under the direction of the division of world missions and Dr. Smith, its general secretary.

Each board or agency of the Methodist Church has a bishop as its president. The president of the board of missions, who presides over its annual meeting and, of course, in the interim exerts strong influence on its policy, is Bishop Richard Raines, of Indianapolis, Ind.

The president of the division of world missions is Bishop William C. Martin of Dallas, Tex., a former president of the National Council of Churches.

These bishops exercise their influence on policy from a distance because each also has the responsibility for his own area of the church. But in the rather unique democratic-ecclesiastical organization of the Methodist Church they are the keymen in the board of missions. The executive staff of the board would not embark upon any major policies of which the bishops disapprove. On the other hand, if any policies are changed, the bishops must be agreeable to the change.

The board of missions, its executive committee, and the individual bishops all exercise supervisory authority over the executive staff of the board of missions and the individual missionaries are directly under the executive staff, taking their orders and drawing their pay from this source.

The division of world missions has several administrative divisions to assist in directing the work of missionaries. There are divisions for Japan-Korea; Latin America; southeast Asia; India-Europe-north Africa; and Africa south of the Sahara. The latter division directs the Angola mission work and is headed by Dr. C. Melvin Blake as associate general secretary.

In addition to its geographical divisions, the board has a medical secretary to direct its medical work and an advance department which handles missionary promotion activities and special gifts. This department is headed by Dr. Ray Smyres.

The board maintains an executive staff of more than 100 persons, with headquarters at the National Council of Churches' Interchurch Center, at a new 20-story office building at 475 Riverside Drive, New York City.

An administrative staff of 13 persons is directly responsible for missionary work in Africa.

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To operate its vast activities, the board of missions presently raises an annual budget of \$11,500,000. This is almost \$1 million a month, and more than \$225,000 a week.

From the church, as a whole, it receives \$5 million a year which is the board's portion of what is known as the church's world service budget. This is one-third of the \$15 million raised annually for the work of the church, as a whole. The world service budget is set at each 4-year general conference and usually is a target rather than a goal actually achieved. Although by the end of each quadrennium they try to reach the target so they can raise it for the next quadrennium and thus keep pace with inflation and increasing church membership.

Last year they raised \$14 million of the \$15 million target, a good record because it was the first year of the quadrennium.

The board of missions raises on its own \$6,500,000 a year. For this, it relies on the annual conferences and the individual congregations. In addition to contributing their share of the church's world service budget, annual conferences contribute to special mission projects. More than half the 1,555 missionaries the church sends out get special support from their home congregations. Sometimes, they get total support from the home church, with the support being funneled through the board of missions. Other times, there is a specific pledge of \$1,000 or \$1,500 a year. There is an understanding with the board that if the missionary is appointed, the local church will contribute this sum to his or her support.

The local congregations also respond to special projects about which the missionary writes home. If a new building is needed, the local church helps raise funds for it or for scholarships for students.

Coordinating all this support at the local level is the mission's secretary of the annual conference, a man or woman who helps the board of missions conduct drives for mission support, but who is an official of the conference, not of the board.

The board has some nice endowments left by deceased members of the church and derived \$873,000 from this source in its last annual budget.

In the end, only about \$2 million of the annual \$11,500,000 is raised by gifts from individuals. The rest comes from the world service budget, from such promotions as the Week of Dedication, from special pledges by local churches and conferences, in other words, raised from the membership at large.

There are a few large contributors to this annual \$2 million from special gifts, but none outstandingly large. No specific data is available but at least 10,000 separate gifts are represented in this total which would make the average individual gift \$200 or less. A majority of the gifts are in the \$100 range, a few \$500 or \$1,000. Only a very few would be above that.

Thus, the board of missions draws its support from a very wide base.

APPENDIX 3: THE FOLLOWING LETTERS AND/OR STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED BY INDIVIDUALS WHOSE NAME APPEARED SIGNIFICANTLY AND CHOSE TO REPLY TO THE PORTIONS OF TESTIMONY IN WHICH THEIR NAME WAS MENTIONED:

A. Letter dated July 15, 1963, to Senator Fulbright from Charles Patrick Clark.

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 15, 1963.

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This will acknowledge with thanks your letter of July 8, 1963, together with excerpts of testimony wherein my name was mentioned before your committee in executive session on Friday, April 12, 1963, by one Kenneth T. Downs, an employee of the public relations firm of Selvage & Lee, Inc., whose foreign principal is the Oversea Companies of Portugal.

I appreciate very much your inviting my attention to Mr. Downs' testimony concerning myself as well as your invitation if I so desire to comment in sworn affidavit form on the accuracy of the testimony.

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In line with your invitation to comment on Mr. Downs' testimony, I am attaching a sworn affidavit dated July 15, 1963, categorically denying Mr. Downs' testimony concerning myself as well as any inferences or implications that might be drawn from such testimony.

I respectfully request that you make my letter and affidavit a part of the committee's proceedings with respect to this study.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES PATRICK CLARK.

AFFIDAVIT

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

July 15, 1963.

I, Charles Patrick Clark, a member of the District of Columbia bar, being first duly sworn according to law, depose and say that I have read excerpts of the testimony of one Kenneth T. Downs, an employee of the public relations firm of Selva & Lee, Inc., on Friday, April 12, 1963, in executive session before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. In the course of his testimony Downs testified he prepared and sent to one Michael Teague the following memorandum:

"OCTOBER 10, 1962.

"MICHAEL TEAGUE.

"KENNETH T. DOWNS.

"DEAR MIKE: Can you throw any light on your plans for me. I fervently hope that you will stay on until May, but if not, would you give me as much warning as possible. Sam's sweetness and light policy, to which I have loyally adhered, is not working too brilliantly so far. It takes two to tango. However, it is still too early to make any large decisions.

"I am anxious to hear how your first meeting with Dr. Pinto Basto comes off. What is the latest from Kana?

"I am sending Dr. Pinto Basto copies of the Congressional Record. You might explain to him that we wrote some 20 speeches. Much of the material in some of the speeches was our. Joe Martin, Speaker of the House under Eisenhower, for example, used Sam's stuff without change, apart from abbreviation. You might point this out to Dr. Pinto Basto and tell him that it required a great amount of work on the Hill to get the time allocated for these speeches. Patrick Clark recently did the same thing for Spain, but he paid for his. We didn't put out a penny. In all fairness Comacho should be given a good deal of credit on this one. It was his tireless pressure on some of the Massachusetts Congressmen that made it possible, and he is the one who at the last minute got Speaker McCormack into the act.

"Regards,

"KENNETH T. DOWNS."

I categorically deny the following portion of Downs' memorandum to Teague: "Patrick Clark recently did the same thing for Spain, but he paid for his."

The above memorandum refers to a "Patrick Clark." In his testimony Downs stated in answer to a question from Chairman Fulbright that he believed Patrick Clark was Charles Patrick Clark a lawyer. In explanation of the reference to Patrick Clark, Downs testified: "He is a lawyer, and when he undertakes public relations work he has to go into the very expensive process, so I understand, I don't know Mr. Clark, of paying for any writing, speechwriting, or any of the public relations work as such that is done."

I categorically deny the following portion of the above quoted testimony of Downs: "* * * and when he undertakes public relations work he has to go into the very expensive process, so I understand, I don't know Mr. Clark, of paying for any writing, speechwriting, or any of the public relations work as such that is done."

Further in Downs' testimony, Chairman Fulbright asked Downs: "Where do you get the information that he paid to get similar speeches made on the floor of the House?"

Downs answered: "I heard that from the Washington office."

I categorically deny any inference that might be drawn from Downs' hearsay statement that I "paid to get similar speeches made on the floor of the House."

Further Downs in answer to a question by Senator Hickenlooper testified: "No. The drafting of speechwriting is a very expensive operation, and I understood, and I do not know that this is a fact, this was what I heard in our office in Washington, that he had, since he is not a public relations man, in order to have speeches made, he had to go out and pay for the writing and the preparation of material, and the sort of thing that we do without charge."

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I categorically deny the following portion of Downs' hearsay testimony quoted above: "* * * in order to have speeches made, he had to go out and pay for the writing and the preparation of material * * *"

On further questioning by Senator Hickenlooper, Downs testified: "Certainly no implication whatever that there was anything improper done, but that he was going into a field which was not a lawyer's field—public relations—and had to pay writers to do the work."

I categorically deny the following portion of Downs' hearsay testimony quoted above: "* * * and had to pay writers to do the work."

I quote the following colloquy between Chairman Fulbright and Downs regarding Downs' memorandum to Teague:

"The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Downs, I call your attention to the preceding paragraph or sentence in which you say: 'You might point this out to Dr. Pinto Basto and tell him that it required a great amount of work on the Hill to get the time allocated for these speeches.'

"That doesn't say to get the speeches written; it says get the time allocated for the speeches. The next sentence follows: 'Patrick Clark recently did the same thing for Spain, but he paid for his.'

"That would certainly seem to relate to getting the time allocated for making the speeches and not writing them, does it not?"

"Mr. DOWNS. That was not intended, sir."

"The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, that is what the language would lead a reasonable person to believe, would it not?"

"Mr. DOWNS. It could. It is a very carelessly written paragraph."

I categorically deny any inference that might be drawn from the above colloquy that I ever attempted to get time allocated for any speeches in the Congress for Spain.

In conclusion, I solemnly swear that to the best of my knowledge I do not know or have I ever spoken to Kenneth T. Downs or the persons mentioned in Downs' testimony, Messrs. Wagner, Bledsoe, or Teague.

CHARLES PATRICK CLARK,
Attorney at Law.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of July 1963.

[SEAL]

LOUISE G. BURROUGHS,
Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia.

My commission expires September 30, 1965.

B. Letter dated July 11, 1963, to Senator Fulbright from Sherman Briscoe.

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 11, 1963.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: I appreciate very much this opportunity to file a statement with the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with respect to testimony presented before it on April 12 and May 6, 1963, concerning my services to Selvage & Lee, Inc., a public relations firm which represents the Overseas Companies of Portugal, business firms having interests in Portuguese African colonies.

The purpose of this statement is to extent briefly for clarification the testimony relevant to me which was presented to you.

With some reluctance, I undertook for Selvage & Lee in August-September, 1961 an attitude survey among Negro editors in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago on Portuguese racial policies in Angola and Mozambique. A strong inducement was my long-time acquaintance with Mr. Samuel B. Bledsoe, a vice president of the public relations firm, who over the years has demonstrated an interest in Negro welfare.

I also was induced to take the assignment by views expressed in books and conferences indicating that the Portuguese have somewhat less color prejudice than other white people. With the reforms to be announced, this seemed to open the possibility, although a little remote, for the development of Angola and Mozambique into interracial communities where white people and black people could live together in peace and harmony and equality.

In addition to making the survey, I also suggested to Mr. Bledsoe at his request the names of two organizations—National Newspaper Publishers Association and Johnson Publications—that might be invited to send reporters to Angola at

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Selvage & Lee expense to observe racial conditions there firsthand and report whatever they saw—good or bad. Both organizations accepted the invitations and sent reporters.

All my work for Selvage & Lee was performed when I was on annual leave, or in the evenings after work hours.

All work for the public relations firm was immediately discontinued when it raised questions of propriety in the Department. A promotion I was to receive was withdrawn.

About 2 weeks after the end of my association with Selvage & Lee, I was informed by a letter from Mr. Bledsoe that I would have to register with the Justice Department as an agent for a foreign principal. I had not known this before. Within a few days I filled out the form and returned it to Selvage & Lee for filing.

Pay received from my services totaled \$1,550. This included \$1,000 for making the survey, and \$550 in \$50 weekly retainer fees mainly for telephone consultation with Mr. Bledsoe occasionally in the evenings. I offered to perform this latter service without pay, but I was sent a weekly check anyway.

In retrospect, I realize that as a Government employee it was improper for me to have performed services for Selvage & Lee. All I can say is that my judgment was influenced by my desire to say something or do something that might hasten a better day for the natives of Angola and Mozambique.

SHERMAN BRISCOE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of July 1963.

[SEAL]

GALEN YATES, *Notary Public*.

My commission expires November 14, 1963.

C. Letter dated July 9, 1963, to Senator Fulbright from Mrs. Josephine Schuyler.

NEW YORK, N.Y., July 9, 1963.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Foreign Relations Committee,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: Thank you for sending the testimony before your committee to Miss Philippa Schuyler. Miss Schuyler is abroad and has been for some months.

I take care of Philippa's affairs when she is away which she is most of the time. She has played concerts in many parts of the world. Often she writes articles about the exotic and interesting places she visits. First, she just wrote me descriptions in letters, then I suggested that she write them in articles and I would see if I could get them published. This I did and found editors were interested. She sent the pieces to me, and I sent them out. She never knew until long afterwards who published what. In this way, her articles appeared in the New York "Mirror," the Pittsburgh "Courier," the Amsterdam "News," the Religious News Service, and others. These articles were on many aspects of Asia and Africa. However, nothing on Portuguese Africa ever appeared by her in the "Mirror" or Pittsburgh "Courier." She wrote on the Congo for the "Mirror" and was paid \$50 an article. She wrote on Madagascar, Congo, Uganda, Ghana, and Haiti for the Pittsburgh "Courier."

Everywhere she went, Philippa visited the Christian missions because she admired the great work they have done in Africa. She started collecting data on this with the view of writing a book about it. At this time attention was on Africa and it became the fashion to say that the Christian religion was alien to Africa and that it would have to get out eventually. She intends to show the wonderful good it has brought there and that it took the sword to drive it out of those countries which were Christian before northern Europe was converted. She needed to include an investigation of Portuguese missions since the Portuguese were the first to found missions in Africa.

Visas were hard to get into Portuguese Africa. I went to get a visa for her and had to explain why she wanted to go there. I said that she wanted to visit the missions and write about them. They were anxious to have unbiased reporters go to Angola they said and hoped to get writers from the Chicago "Defender," "Ebony," and the president of an important Negro college, to go there and see conditions for themselves. (I learned later that these were all sent and their ways paid from New York). Philippa was already in Central Africa and they did not pay her way there. They paid a part of her railroad

fare and hotel bill and local expenses like all the other governments, Ghana, Madagascar, etc., within the country as is the custom for them to do for visiting celebrities. There was nothing sinister about it. Americans visit Russia constantly, have their way paid within the country and often come back and write or speak about what they witnessed.

No articles resulted from this trip as you can gather from Mr. Shaw's statement. Later, in discussing Africa on TV and radio, she mentioned her trips to the missions in Angola along with other things about Africa in general. But the subject of these broadcasts was never Angola except insofar as it was part of the violences then erupting in Africa. She had found the missions integrated in Angola, something she saw nowhere else, and found this worthy of comment. Since then we are fighting for integration here, she is naturally interested to see that it had been working somewhere for generations.

Her trips to Mozambique were of later date and was connected with Angola at all. She got her visas for Mozambique without any trouble in any part of East Africa as this is the playground of that part of the world. She went in there to perform and visit its missions. She paid her own expenses out of her concert fees. Her book is now finished and has been approved by the Church of Rome. It has been read and corrected by His Eminence, Cardinal Rugambwa of Tanganyika. We will be happy to send you a copy when it is published.

It seems that someone is trying to smear Philippa and this distresses me since I am the one who arranges her trips and sends out her articles. Philippa's good opinion cannot be bought, but neither can it be suppressed.

Respectfully yours,

JOSEPHINE SCHUYLER.

D. Letter dated July 10, 1963, to Senator Fulbright from Mr. George Houser, American Committee on Africa.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA,
New York, N.Y., July 10, 1963.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: Thank you for sending copy of the testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations by Mr. Downs of Selvage & Lee and Mr. Camacho, chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs. I am happy to have the opportunity to provide you with information about the operation of the American Committee on Africa and to correct some of the statements made by Messrs. Downs and Camacho before your committee.

The principal issue is whether the American Committee on Africa is a private American agency setting its own policies, or whether in some way or other it is basing its program on the interests of foreign governments or political parties. I will divide my comments into two parts. First, how decisions are reached on policy questions within our organization and how our funds are raised; and second, what our relationship is with African individuals, organizations, or governments.

The policies of the American Committee on Africa are established by our executive board. The names of the members of this board are listed on our letterhead, and also on one of the enclosed brochures briefly describing our program and objectives. All of the members of our board are Americans of high standard. In addition, we have sponsors, listed under the title of our national committee, which includes many prominent Americans.

Contrary to the statement by Mr. Downs, there is no mystery about the funds of the American Committee on Africa. Like hundreds and perhaps thousands of other American organizations we have a list of 15,000 or more members and contributors from whom come our funds. We send appeals to these supporters several times a year in order to finance our projects. To the best of our knowledge, contributions come from American sources. Perhaps 5 percent of the subscribers to our magazine, *Africa Today*, come from other parts of the world, including Africa, and this would account for a fraction of 1 percent of our total income. Our books are audited every year by the firm of Garlick & Hoffman (295 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.). In addition, as required under the laws of the State of New York, we submit a yearly report to the New York State Charities Registration Bureau. This is available for study by anyone who is concerned.

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I noted in the testimony of both Mr. Downs and Mr. Camacho that no evidence was given of support for the American Committee on Africa from any overseas interests. I am sure that if they had any evidence of such support they would certainly have made use of it. The fact is that we have not received contributions, nor have we ever solicited any, from governments or political organizations in Africa. It would be against our policy to do so.

Our relationship with any African leaders and organizations is solely one of maintaining contact with individuals and groups playing an important role in African developments. We try to interpret these events and in some ways we give support for certain projects our board has decided upon that relate to developments in Africa. We also do express opinion from time to time on what we think American policy ought to be in relation to events in Africa. In this capacity, we are acting as do hundreds of other voluntary, nonprofit groups concerned with U.S. foreign policy. Unlike some of these, however, we do not maintain a lobbyist in Washington. We are, incidentally, accredited as a non-governmental organization at the United Nations.

We have sponsored visits of a number of key African leaders to the United States. These have included Mr. Tom Mboya, now Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs in Kenya; Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, now Prime Minister of Nyasaland; Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, now Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare in the Government of Northern Rhodesia and expected to be Prime Minister perhaps before the end of this year; and Mr. Kanyama Chiume, Minister of Education in the Government of Nyasaland (more recently brought here under a leadership grant of the State Department), etc. We are proud of the contribution we have made to better United States-African understanding through the important African leaders we have sponsored in this country.

Although we have maintained contact with Holden Roberto, Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Angola in Exile (GRAE) and President of the Union of the Populations of Angola (UPA), we have never paid his expenses to come to the United States. It is not that we might not have done so, but we just never had occasion to do it. We have sponsored two or three press conferences for Mr. Roberto, as we have for many other African leaders.

The gratuitous statement by Mr. Downs that we have brought Holden Roberto to this country eight times is completely false. Mr. Roberto has not visited the United States on eight different occasions. He has usually come here to appear at the United Nations and always at his own expense to the best of our knowledge.

Much of the testimony of Mr. Downs and Mr. Camacho revolves around our relationship with Mr. Roberto and his organization. Mr. Roberto would certainly not have to depend upon us for support. He has his own organization, with its decisionmaking machinery. He never had to be pressured to register as a foreign agent with the Department of Justice, but did so on his own volition at the time he established an office in New York and put one of his Angolan co-workers in charge of it.

Our involvement with Portuguese Africa is only one facet of our interest and our program, although certainly an important one. Our purpose is not that of playing a partisan role for one political party or another, but rather to interpret as we see it the tragic events taking place in Portuguese Africa and suggesting ways by which a different course might be mapped out.

As reflected in the testimony, you as chairman very well stated the position of an organization such as ours operating on the American scene. The American Committee on Africa is one of many private organizations exercising the right of free speech in the priceless democratic heritage of our country.

If there is any further information you would like to have, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. HOUSER.

Sworn to before me this 10th day of July 1963.

[SEAL]

LEONARD J. DOEFMAN,
Notary Public, State of New York,
Qualified in Bronx County.

My commission expires March 30, 1965.

E. Letter dated July 12, 1963, to Senator Fulbright, from Mr. A. D. Patterson. Phelps-Stokes Fund.

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND,
New York, N.Y., July 12, 1963.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: The excerpts of testimony in which I am quoted have been checked against our files and found to be accurate. I refer to the testimony related to your committee's current study of nondiplomatic representatives of foreign principals.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. PATTERSON, *President.*

F. Letter dated July 11, from Mr. Casey, enclosing letter and editorial of James L. Miller.

GALL, LANE, AND HOWE,
Washington, D.C., July 11, 1963.

Re Selvage & Lee, Inc.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: We understand that the enclosed, a copy of a letter from James L. Miller, editor of the Washington Missourian, concerning his trip to Africa as a member of the National Editorial Association, has been mislaid in your office.

The galley proofs of the hearings include a letter from Wayne Sellers, another NEA member, who criticized the tour. Mr. Miller gives an opposite view. We believe that fairness requires that the Miller letter also be included in the transcript.

Sincerely,

E. RILEY CASEY.

MARCH 12, 1963.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have just learned that you had a statement inserted in the Congressional Record, prefaced with a letter from a man who recently visited several African nations as a member of the National Editorial Association African Study Mission.

Among the countries visited was Angola. I understand that some charges have been made that these nonmetropolitan newspapermen on this study mission last January and February were brainwashed in both Portugal and Angola.

Senator, I was a member of the study mission in question, and can assure you that I was not brainwashed in any way. If there was any brainwashing, or attempt at brainwashing, it presumably was done in the various briefings and receptions on the part of the various officials.

I attended no briefings at all in Angola, and only two in Portugal, and one of these was by our own foreign officer, and, I might add, I attended only one reception in these two countries. There was no attempt made whatever at brainwashing.

My conclusions on Angola as well as other African countries, are my own, and nobody else's. While the briefings and receptions were going on, I was out scouting around with the people in all walks of life learning what I could.

I did not associate closely with all the men and women on this study mission, but from what I have been able to learn the conclusions of all of them except one or two, were similar to mine.

I am enclosing herewith the editorial in last week's Washington Missourian which gives my conclusions as honestly and sincerely as I was able to write them.

I am mailing you a copy of this editorial in the hope that you may find something in it that may interest you.

With the kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JAMES L. MILLER.

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MANAGED NEWS

Extension of remarks of Hon. Clarence Cannon of Missouri in the House of Representatives, Thursday, March 14, 1963

MR. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, in eastern central Missouri is a remarkable man, the editor of a remarkable newspaper. James L. Miller, editor of the Washington Missourian, has just returned from the last of a series of trips abroad which have from time to time covered a large part of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

He is widely read and widely traveled and his newspaper, the Washington Missourian, has been awarded year after year by the State editorial association first place in order of excellence among the newspapers of its class throughout the State. Its editorial page was accorded one of the two top places in the Nation by the National Editorial Association in session at Hershey, Pa., in 1962.

His recent editorial just published on his return from Africa is of such international significance that I am including it verbatim in my remarks as follows:

"THEY HAVE REASON TO BE AFRAID

"The American Committee on Africa apparently was afraid to have a group of American newspapermen visit Angola in Africa for fear they might find out something that the committee didn't want them to find out.

"This committee has been carrying on a bitter fight to force Portugal out of Africa. What business that is of this committee has never been explained, but it seems right in line with our meddling in other people's affairs.

"When the National Editorial Association announced last fall that it planned to make a study mission into Africa, including Angola, the American committee printed a stinging article in its publication about the proposed tour under the heading of 'Tripping Through Africa.'

"The article stated that there were some 411 foreign agents in the United States and that about 25 more were about to be added. Who were these 25 potential new agents? the article asked, and answered its own question.

"None other than 25 unsuspecting members of the National Editorial Association," the article explained and added:

"The plan is simple enough. Twenty-five handpicked editors and publishers will pay their own way on a 4-week tour of Africa * * * It seems not unlikely that some of the journalists will produce copy sympathetic to Portuguese ears * * * While we trust that the natural commonsense and intelligence of U.S. newspaper editors and publishers will take them through most normal situations, we are not so sure that this time they will not have met their match.

"At stake is the continuation of the last remaining colonial empire. Let us try to trace the links between this and the role of the visiting newsmen."

"The publisher of the Missourian and the Citizen was one of the visiting newsmen. When the newsmen returned to the States from their mission earlier this month, somebody who failed to identify himself, stuffed a reprint of the article into the mailboxes of correspondents at the United Nations. That happened on the same day the editors returned to New York.

"This whole mess proves only this one thing—the American Committee on Africa is deathly afraid of what the visiting newsmen found in Angola and reported to their readers. If this committee had not been afraid of being exposed by a group of impartial and disinterested newspapermen, there would have been no need for the desperate warning the committee put out, and its attempt to frighten off the publishers by branding them as potential foreign agents if they wrote something favorable about Portugal and Angola.

"Foreign agents for what, or for whom? The Committee didn't say, because it couldn't.

"Now let's take a closer look at this whole situation. To start with, the visiting newspapermen were not handpicked—if they had been the NEA certainly would not have picked the publisher of a weekly newspaper in Missouri. It would have picked much bigger fry.

"Any member of the National Editorial Association was given an equal opportunity to make the African study mission. The only qualification and requirement was the newsman's ability to pay for the trip, and have the time to get away from his office for several weeks.

"If there was any attempt to brainwash the newsmen, it was made by the American Committee on Africa itself, and by no one else—a committee that probably is financed by the American taxpayers.

"No attempt whatever was made by the Portuguese Government to brainwash the visitors.

"They were absolutely free to ask questions, and they were free to accept the answers in whatever light they wished.

"The visitors were free to go and come in both Portugal and in Angola as they pleased.

"They could drive out into the country as far as they wished and stay as long as they wished, and to talk to whomever they met.

"There were absolutely no restrictions of any kind put in the way of the visiting newsmen—if there had been, it would have been a clear indication that the Portuguese had something to hide, and the suspicious minds of any newspaperman would immediately have been aroused.

"The very fact that the American Committee on Africa expressed the kind of fear it did is in itself the best possible proof that it was afraid the visiting newsmen might find out how our Government is meddling in other people's affairs and the enormous amounts of the taxpayers' money we are wasting.

"We all know how foolish it would be to hand a class of first grade pupils in Washington \$100,000, for instance, and tell them to run the school system for the coming year.

"Yet that is what we are doing in some African countries, only on a much grander scale.

"We are pouring millions and millions into the Congo yet it is doubtful whether the leaders and politicians of that miserable nation could operate a peanut roaster successfully, let alone a government.

"And we are not finished paying in the Congo. The American taxpayers will have that burden on their shoulders for a long time to come. Now we are trying to create and even worse and possibly more costly condition in Angola by forcing Portugal out of there.

"Even the black leaders in most of the other African countries will tell you that if Portugal is forced out of Angola within the next few years, and the country is turned over to the natives, the result will be far worse than the Congo ever was. There will be anarchy, rape, murder, and a general disregard for all law. The cost to make the repairs in the end and to slowly bring back order over a several-year period will have to be borne as usual by the American taxpayers.

"Is that part of our foreign policy? It appears to be. It appears our policy is to meddle in other nations' business, and then call on the American taxpayers to pay for whatever damage we have done.

"In Addis Ababa we are spending millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money for a new airport for the Ethiopian Airlines, which is owned lock, stock, and barrel by the country's emperor, Haile Selassie, who calls himself the King of Kings, the Elect of God—and, he might add, the elect of United States, for the money he is able to get out of us.

"Every dime we are spending on this airport will go to enrich this monarch, who already has more wealth and property than he knows what to do with. This man, in fact, is the world's greatest dictator. He doesn't only own his country and everything in it but the Coptic church as well. When you are in Ethiopia you either do as the king says, or be locked up. Mr. K. could learn a few tricks from this Ethiopian.

"In Liberia, where we are constructing one of the world's greatest radio stations, the President of the country is building himself a palace that was supposed to cost \$2 million, but is already up to around \$4 million. Only God knows what the final cost will be, yet there are few schools in the country to teach the people to read and write. And the majority of these are financed and operated by foreign missions.

"Our policy in South Africa is with the jungle Bantu, and against the white man, who was there before the native African. It was the white man who settled the country, developed it, and made it what it is today—in fact, he did more than that—he saved one tribe after another from being wiped out by stronger tribes, who were chasing the weaker ones southward, where these weaker tribes finally ran into the white man, who was pushing up from the south.

"For us to tell the white man in South Africa what to do would be the same as France or England telling us in America to either wipe out the Indian reservations or get out and hand the country back to the Indians. That seems to be our policy in South Africa.

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"In the vicinity of the Holy Land they have a network of highways that compares to the best we have in this country.

"They will point to these roads in Jordan and tell you—America built them for us.

"Yet we right here in Franklin County had to wait 20 years to get a road from Washington to Union, and then only after several people were killed.

"They are driving on well-constructed roads through the rugged mountains north of Jerusalem, but we in Franklin County can't get a sorely needed new road from here to the Diamonds. We've been trying to get this road for the past 10 years, and now we are informed that we might have to wait another 6 because there is no money available.

"But there seems to be plenty of money available for the 'Amos and Andy' governments in Africa and parts of Asia.

"In Jerusalem you see more new American cars on the streets than you do right here in Washington. The reason for that is simple enough. The American taxpayer either pays for his own car, or does without, while in some of the foreign countries they seem to have no problem getting new American cars."

G. Letter dated July 15, 1963, from Jack Piotrow, assistant to Hubert H. Humphrey, and memorandum of May 2, 1963, to Senator Humphrey from Mr. Piotrow.

U.S. SENATE, July 15, 1963.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: Thank you for giving me an opportunity to comment on the testimony of Mr. Martin T. Camacho, chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, before the committee investigating the activities of the agents of foreign principals in the United States. Reporting on his visits to the Congress, July 2-3, 1962, Mr. Camacho states that he spoke with me on July 2 and that, "while sympathetic," I remained noncommittal and was willing to convey his views to Senator Humphrey.

Mr. Camacho came to my office on three separate occasions in 1962—each time at his own request. The last of these meetings may have taken place on July 2, although I have no record of any such conversation on that date. Mr. Camacho was correct to state that I "listened carefully," but he was mistaken to imply that I sympathized with his point of view. The contrary should be apparent from a confidential memorandum which I addressed to Senator Humphrey on May 2—fully 2 months before Mr. Camacho's reported conversation with me on July 2.

A copy of this memorandum is enclosed. Among other things it reveals that Mr. Camacho wanted to secure Senator Humphrey's withdrawal from the American Committee on Africa. I would appreciate it if you would include this letter and my memorandum of May 2, 1962, in the record of the committee's proceedings.

Sincerely yours,

F. JACKSON PIOTROW,
Assistant to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

MAY 2, 1962.

Memo to the Senator.

From Jack Piotrow.

Subject: Visit of Dr. Martin T. Camacho and Paul Wagner, Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs.

These gentlemen represent an organization which is financed by a consortium of Portuguese business enterprises to propagandize the Portuguese case on Angola and Mozambique. They came to you because your name is on the national committee of the American Committee on Africa. In the past they have accused this committee of backing Communist goals in Africa and of using the names of its sponsors for underhanded and pernicious causes.

ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S. 1205

WHAT THEY WANTED FROM YOU

1. To keep an open mind about Portugal and Angola.
2. To withdraw your name from the American Committee on Africa.
3. Failing that, to "call off the wolves" against Portugal. In this case, the "wolves" are the American Committee on Africa and the board of Methodist ministers, who have criticised Portuguese actions.
4. Finally, they insist Portugal needs time to carry out the reforms demanded of it.

CAMACHO'S PICTURE OF THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

1. There is no indigenous nationalism in Angola. All pressure against Portuguese rule comes from outside, from Communists or Communist-backed sources.
2. There is no reign of terror in Angola, no slave or forced labor.
3. There has been much social and economic progress in Angola and Mozambique since 1940. For instance, Camacho estimates that literacy (meaning the ability to read a newspaper) is about 15 percent although the U.N. has placed it at around 5 percent.
4. Portugal recognizes the need for reforms, including political education leading to "decentralization" (apparently meaning a slight relaxation of control from Lisbon).

CONCLUSIONS

In touching base with you, Camacho and Wagner did not seem to have much hope of success. I indicated that you support the administration's position, as enunciated by Adlai Stevenson in the U.N., that although Portugal cannot be expected to cure all of the ills of the past overnight, reforms cannot wait until Portugal thinks the time is ripe. I rejected the view that the American Committee on Africa is Communist-inspired or is being used for Communist purposes.

H. Letter dated July 9, 1963, from Donald G. Henderson, consultant, Committee on Foreign Relations.

JULY 9, 1963.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I think it obvious that Mr. Martin Camacho's report to his employers regarding his conversation with me is a distorted and selective version of what actually occurred. However, for the record, I wish to set forth my own recollection of our conversation. It might be noted parenthetically that I am not on the personal staff of Senator Gore, or connected with the House Foreign Affairs Committee, contrary to the description in the Camacho report.

In the first place, I was generally aware of the fact that Mr. Camacho was linked with Portuguese business interests, and so did not feel it necessary to query him regarding his affiliations. He made no reference to those interests, or to his employment by Selvage & Lee—of which specific connection I was unaware at the time.

Mr. Camacho began by attacking Ambassador Adlai Stevenson for having personally brought about the shift in U.S. policy to support the January 1962 U.N. resolution that Portuguese refusal of self-determination for Angola threatened world peace and security. In response, I stressed the fact that no such distinction could be drawn between President Kennedy and his senior advisers: that it was the President's policy and not Mr. Stevenson's. I then clearly stated my personal belief that the United States neither could nor would change its policy so long as Portugal failed to accept self-determination for its African territories. Without quite committing himself, Camacho then seemed to shift to the position that self-determination was indeed the touchstone of the situation. It was in this context—and not that of reforms—that I talked about timetable and target dates.

1206 ACTIVITIES OF AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS IN U.S.

With regard to the enunciated Portuguese reforms in Angola, I hazarded the guess that the reforms were neither as inconsequential as the African nationalists made out, nor as substantial as Portugal claimed. I went on to say, however, that even a more impressive reform program almost certainly would not prove meaningful unless the principle of self-determination was accepted.

Both at the beginning and end of our conversation I stressed the fact that I was presenting nothing but my personal opinions, and that I was in no way reflecting the views of any of the 17 members of the Foreign Relations Committee. In this connection, Camacho's emphasis on these reservations impart a conspiratorial flavor to our interview which is entirely misleading.

Mr. Camacho totally misrepresents the situation when he notes that I recommended he "make every effort" to see certain Senators. In fact, he raised the subject and urged me to name interested and influential Members of the Senate that he might try to contact. I made the obvious rejoinder that Senators were busy men with little time for personal interviews, and that they could not afford to devote a great deal of attention to any one facet of African affairs. I then gave him the names of those Senators who had visited Africa, along with the assumption that he would wish to see the representatives of his home State and possibly of neighboring States.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD G. HENDERSON, *Consultant.*

I. Letter dated July 12, 1963, from Congressman Harlan Hagen.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Washington, D.C., July 12, 1963.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
*Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: I appreciate the opportunity of commenting on the testimony of Mr. Martin Camacho before your committee insofar as Mr. Camacho made reference to me.

I do not feel that any unfavorable inference could be drawn from Mr. Camacho's reference to me and that consequently a comment really is not necessary; however, I would appreciate the inclusion of the enclosed comment in the record.

Comment: "For the better information of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate with respect to the issue of lobbying activities by representatives of foreign governments, I am most happy to volunteer information with respect to the activities of one Martin T. Camacho.

"Mr. Camacho communicated with me on or about July of 1962 with respect to the problem of presenting the position of the Portuguese Government with respect to the troubled situation in its oversea possessions or dependencies in Africa. It is my recollection that he communicated with me because he was correctly informed that I have a fairly large Portuguese-American constituency. I assume that, given that fact, he might conclude that I had a more than usual active interest in the relationships of Portugal to the rest of the world. In point of fact, I do have such an active interest because many of my constituents have relatives in Portugal. It is my understanding that Mr. Camacho was in the process of communicating with all Members of the House who were in the same position vis-a-vis their constituency; however, at no time did he affirm or imply that agreement with his position was in any way related to election practices or results.

"I advised Mr. Camacho that I was not a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and that he could more effectively present his case to members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I identified for him members of that committee with whom I was best acquainted.

"Mr. Camacho left with me some printed material which I understood related to the official Portuguese position and either on that occasion or a subsequent occasion when I saw him in the halls of the Capitol he advised me that a special order discussion of the Portuguese problem in Africa would be had at a subsequent date. He suggested that I might wish to participate in it. He did not, however, suggest what viewpoint I would represent. I did not in fact participate in such special order proceeding and do not know whether or not it occurred.

On pages 971 and 973, the franked envelopes were stuffed with reprints of speeches about Portugal by Congressmen most of whom were from Massachusetts. Approximately 910 reprints were mailed to Massachusetts residents, non-Portuguese, from Boston, and approximately 800 Portuguese-Americans in Massachusetts received reprints from Washington. These envelopes were not used "all over the United States."

On pages 975 and 976, the letter in question was registered with the Department of Justice, and carried the registration notice.

On page 992, I identified my connection with Selvage & Lee before the Salem Dennyery.

I wrote Chairman Fulbright my views about the American Committee on Africa, and sent him a copy of my letter to the Justice Department on the committee's responsibility to register.

Yours truly,

MARTIN T. CAMACHO.

SELVAGE & LEE, INC.,
Washington, D.C., July 11, 1963.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: In reviewing testimony given your committee by members of my firm today, we found that Mr. Bledsoe and I, testifying separately, had between us done a serious injustice to Mr. Bernardo Teixeira, which I hope may be corrected in part by inclusion of this letter in the record of your hearings. This we respectfully request.

I stated he was employed by us as a translator. Mr. Bledsoe described him as press attaché of the Portuguese Embassy.

Mr. Teixeira, a Washingtonian of Portuguese birth and American citizenship, a thoroughly bilingual experienced journalist, equally at home in this country and Portugal, is locally employed for press contact at the Embassy, but does not enjoy the diplomatic status of an attaché. You will not find him listed in the "Diplomatic Blue Book of Washington," and he is not part of the Portuguese Government service. He has continuously performed other work besides his press contact duties at the Embassy. For instance, for several years he did on the side the weekly Portuguese language broadcast for the U.S. Information Agency's Voice of America. Along with other activities, he has been writing a soon-to-be-published novel.

There is a touch of absurdity to a literal reading of the statement by Mr. Bledsoe that we depended on Teixeira to report what the State Department had to say to his Ambassador. I find on analysis of what he has done for us that he is a very good interpreter to us of the Portuguese mind, and likewise quite keen at reflecting American attitudes to his Portuguese principals. His estimates of the official mood have been interesting and significant at times. But we get our factual information direct from normal Government information sources, not from him.

I hope this will set our unintentional misrepresentation at rest.

Sincerely,

JAMES COPE, *Chairman.*





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