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AMNESTY!

The majority of the Portuguese people, supported by a large number of leading personalities in many countries, are now calling for an amnesty for Portuguese political prisoners.

This campaign is gaining momentum, but in the meanwhile political repression in Portugal continues unabated.

The recent pseudo-election period was used by the Salazar Government to carry out new repressions. Many of the supporters of a plan of reforms framed by the Opposition—the "Plan for the Democratization of the Republic"—were arrested and later (4.11.61) court charges were brought against them.

Recently-arrested democrats like Dr Arlindo Vicente (presidential candidate in 1958), Antonio Abreu (an engineer) and Dr Ribeiro Santos and Raul Rego (journalists), are still in jail.

In November the Plenary Court in Lisbon sentenced six more people to prison terms of between eighteen months and three years. Such sentences, due to "security measures," can be transformed into life sentences.

On December 5th six further people were given sentences for political reasons. These sentences total eighteen years four months, and are subject to "security measures."

Many political prisoners face threats to their lives. In the Peniche Fortress, Manuel Rodrigues da Silva, who has already spent more than twenty years in prison (nine of them in the Tarrafal concentration camp) recently suffered a stroke which has paralysed one side of his body. He has to be cared for by his fellow-prisoners. These prisoners are subject to inhuman treatment and sixty-two per cent. of them are being kept in prison although their terms have expired.

In the Caxias Fortress near Lisbon women political prisoners also face threats to their lives.

All sections of democratic opinion in Portugal support the call for an amnesty. During the election campaign (4.11.61), a telegram supported by all the opposition candidates from Oporto was sent to the President of the Republic demanding an amnesty for all political prisoners. The signatories included well-known liberal figures such as Colonel Helder Ribeiro, C.M.G., and Dr Cal Brandao. In Brazil, the Portuguese exiles have been issuing printed material with

their publication "Portugal Democrático," calling for an amnesty. In Caracas, Paris and London all the Portuguese emigrés support this campaign.

In Britain, many distinguished people have already subscribed to an appeal for a West European Conference of Amnesty to be held early in 1962. Among the supporters are: Labour M.P.s Tom Driberg, John Stonehouse, Jennie Lee, Fenner Brockway and K. Zilliacus, Sir Julian Huxley, Canon Collins, Rev Michael Scott, Dr Donald Soper, Henry Moore, Alan Sillitoe, Hugh MacDarimid, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Searle, Sir Alan Lane, Basil Davidson, Doris Lessing, Professors J. D. Bernal and J. M. Cameron, Commander Fox-Pitt, Johnny Dankworth, Cleo Laine, and many others.

Further signatures of support may be sent to the Group of Portuguese Democrats in Britain, 4 Sherwood Gardens, Barking, Essex.

GOA LIBERATED

Goa has at last been freed from the hands of Portuguese Colonialism.

Portuguese people deeply regret the loss of their fellow-men in Goa. But these deaths and the Indian too are once again the result of the disastrous policy of the Salazar Government, that persistently refused to negotiate with the Indian Government about the cessation of their rule in that part of India.

Geographically, ethnically and economically Goa is part of the Indian Union. There was no reason at all for Portuguese rule in India, except Salazar's interest in the rich natural resources of Goa.

In September, 1961, the iron ore export figures for Japan and West Germany were respectively 268,000 and 130,000 tons. At the present rate Goa will become by 1965 the most important foreign supplier of iron ore to Japan with 6,300,000 tons a year.

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'Election' Campaign: A VICTORY

The farcical election for the National Assembly, staged by the Salazar Government, ended on November 12th, after one month. During that period the banned Opposition gained important victories and succeeded in disrupting the Government's plans.

Despite the absence of legal opposition parties and in the face of severe police repression, plus censorship of press, radio and television, the Portuguese Democrats succeeded within weeks in setting up skeleton forms of organisation for political propaganda. They managed to hold meetings in small halls, overcoming the difficulties imposed by the government. Even public demonstrations—although forbidden—were successfully held. The majority of the Portuguese people showed by their response, their opposition to Salazar, thus exposing the failure of his policies.

The Salazar Government hoped to divide the Opposition over the colonial issue. This met with a resounding failure. The Democrats, from left to right, agreed that the Salazar policy, which had brought war to Angola, should be changed and that the peoples of the Portuguese Colonies should have self-determination.

THE OPPOSITION PROGRAMME

Throughout the campaign the Opposition stressed that three main conditions were essential for a free election—(1) inspection of the electoral lists by both sides; (2) freedom of speech and meetings; (3) control by both sides over the actual poll. These conditions had never been met in previous "elections."

Initially, the Salazar Government would not allow publication in the press of the Opposition's programme of reforms, the "Programme for the Democratization of the Republic". Later—when it was found that the programme had already been made public—this was permitted.

The main points of the programme are:

1. Immediate restoration of liberties connected with public, religious and working activities.
2. A revised election law.
3. The constitution of political parties.
4. The liberation of all political prisoners and the right of exiles to return home.
5. The re-employment in their posts of all persons dismissed for political reasons.

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FOREIGN POWERS AND SALAZAR

The Brazilian politician Carlos Lacerda, noted for his opposition to ex-President Quadros, has expressed his support for Portuguese policy in Angola. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 3.10.61.)

Retired U.S. General Frank Hawley has expressed similar views. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 4.10.61.) So, too, has British Conservative M.P. John Biggs Davidson. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 7 and 12.10.61.) declaring: "To defend the Portuguese position in Angola is to defend the position of the West in the world... there are three bastions of civilisation south of the Sahara—Katanga, the Rhodesian Federation and Portuguese Africa."

Sixty U.S. businessmen, members of bodies supporting Radio Free Europe, visited Lisbon on 7.10.61.

Four members of the N.A.T.O. International Secretariat have had talks with Portuguese military authorities in Lisbon. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 7.10.61.)

On 11.10.61, U.S. Representative to N.A.T.O. Thomas Filletter, met Salazar, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, the U.S. Ambassador in Lisbon and the chief of the permanent military mission in Portugal. (M.A.A.G.)

Portuguese General José Esquilvel visited Portuguese N.A.T.O. organisations in Paris and London. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 12.10.61.)

The Portuguese Minister for Overseas Affairs held recent talks with three ministers of the Rhodesian Federation in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique. They were Sir Donald McIntyre, Finance Minister, F. S. Owens, Minister of Commerce and Industry, and J. M. Caldicott, Minister for Economic Affairs. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 12.10.61.)

A military mission from the Rhodesian Federation and another from the Union of South Africa attended military manoeuvres in Mozambique as observers on an ex-

change basis. ("Diario de Lisboa" 12.10.61.)

The chief of the U.S. permanent military mission in Portugal visited Portuguese Navy installations in Lisbon on 13.10.61.

Portugal's Navy Minister recently visited West German naval installations on the invitation of Defence Minister Strauss. (21.10.61.) Herr Strauss was later decorated with the Great Cross of the Order of Christ, Portugal's highest order.

Willy Messerschmidt, famous German aviation expert, paid a visit to Lisbon under the auspices of the German Embassy in Lisbon. He demonstrated a trainer aircraft which had been built in Spain under his direction. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 8.11.61.)

A spokesman of the London and Rhodesian Mining Company recently stated in Salisbury that agreement had been reached between the Rhodesian and Portuguese authorities for a pipe-line to be laid between the port of Beira, Mozambique, and the refinery at Umtali, Rhodesia. ("Umtali Post" 10.11.61.)

Colonel Chester Allen, military attache to the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon, visited Angola on 12th November.

Seventy-five members of the NATO Defence College, with their commandant, General H. Martino, visited Portugal on 12th November and were given official information about the political, military and economic situation in Portugal.

Dr. Verwoerd, declared on 17th November, in a message to the newspaper "Portugal in Africa" that "whatever occurs in Angola and Mozambique is of as much interest to the Union of South Africa as to Portugal."

Sir Roy Welensky (Premier of the Central African Federation) visited Lisbon on 18th November and talked with Salazar and the Portuguese Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Overseas. He declared to the

press before leaving that he had "been deeply impressed by the conceptions and elevated understanding of Dr Salazar about the problems of defence in Africa." ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 19.11.61.)

The NATO Civilian Telecommunications Study Committee, comprising 28 delegates from all the member countries, met in Lisbon on 28th November under the Presidency of General E. Loissen.

The Director of the Sena Sugar States Company returned to London after visiting Angola and Mozambique. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 28.11.61.)

Portuguese delegates attended in The Hague, Holland, a seminar on "European Participation in African Development." ("Diario de Lisboa," 5.12.61.)

At the annual dinner in London of the Anglo-Portuguese Society on 1st December, the Marquess of Salisbury declared: "The cause for which Portugal fights in the new crisis threatening her is also our cause." ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 3.12.61.)

The Captain-General of the Spanish Army, Munoz Grande, visited Lisbon on 5.12.61.

The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chief of the General Staff were decorated by General Franco.

At the same time voices from other nations are heard against Salazar policies: At the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool last October there were M.P.s Jennie Lee and George Thomas. At the seminar in New Delhi in October last President Nkrumah, of Ghana, made this point in a message. Others who spoke out against Salazar at the seminar were the Moroccan Minister, Dr. Abdel Krim Khadib, the Indian Minister of Justice, Ashok Kumar Sen, Kenneth Katunga from the United Rhodesian Party and former Labour M.P. Mr. Anthony Wedgwood Benn.

THE WAR IN ANGOLA

Repeatedly, the Portuguese Government has announced the "victorious" end of the war in Angola. Nevertheless, the press continues to publish official communications about further military operations against the Angolan nationalists.

The immense majority of the Portuguese people consider the heroic struggle of the Angolan people to be a just fight against a common oppressor. Their only wish is for stronger unity to be built amongst the Angolan nationalist organisations and amongst themselves against Salazar's colonialism.

The commandant of the special Portuguese repressive force, Guarda Nacional Republicana, General Fino, was nominated military commandant in Angola on 27th November.

On 30th November the Salazar paper "A Provincia de Angola" demanded new facilities for foreign investments in Angola.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND PORTUGAL

At the U.N. successive voices have been raised against Salazar's colonial policy. At the General Assembly on 11th October, 1961, the Madagascar delegate asked for immediate independence for Angola and Mozambique. On 15th November, the Liberian delegate made the same request.

The position of Brazil in supporting the demand for independence for Angola was a severe blow for the Salazar Government in view of Brazil's intimate ties with Portugal. Bitter press commentaries were published on 14th October.

In a meeting of the Commission on Dependent Territories an Afro-Asian motion condemning the refusal of Portugal to give information about her colonies was approved by 83 votes to 3, with two abstentions. Only Portugal, Spain and South Africa voted against. France and Bolivia abstained.

On 20th November, 1961, a report of a five-nation sub-committee on Angola, appointed by the General Assembly in April, stated that the situation has "not improved but deteriorated." The recent disturbances, it adds, have resulted in the loss of thousands of lives, the flight of nearly 150,000 refugees, and the creation of a "writtable atmosphere of war."

The Salazar regime has reacted angrily against the U.N. U.N. planes were refused permission to fly over Angola on their way to the Congo. In an interview with France-Presse (16.11.61), the Portuguese Foreign Minister declared that Portugal will not leave the U.N., but that she will never allow self-determination to her colonies.

In a message from the Portuguese President of the Republic (1.12.61) the U.N. is accused of tending to become "an organism of universal subversion."

THIRTY YEARS OF CULTURE

by Lourenço da Ponte

IN 1936 the Spanish Civil War broke out—the purest of all wars, as it was considered by the numerous European and American intellectuals who rushed to participate. The opposing forces were clearly defined. On the one hand the "haute bourgeoisie" and the landed aristocracy, on the other the popular masses. The position to be taken in the struggle could not be affected by any other motive than the obligation of a political conscience or a concept of social morality. Compromise had no possible place.

The Portuguese Case:

Since 1926 Portugal had been living under a régime at first called the "National Dictatorship," and later not called the "National Dictatorship." Just as the issues at stake in the Spanish Civil War were crystal clear, so in Portugal the situation leading up to the imposition of the régime was a classic case for a political manual.

When in 1926 the Democratic Republic was at last becoming rooted (being well on the way to finding economic stability and having undertaken the first steps towards the development of the country and the introduction of social welfare) the army, which had for some time been uneasy about the political situation, revolted. This revolt was backed by high finance and the great landowners, who, fearing the uprising of the productive classes, ably conducted the revolution along that aberrant path of bourgeois social structure to which the generalised term "fascism" can be applied—and which, in a final analysis, is nothing but the renunciation of its dominant role by the bourgeoisie (a role which is only possible under a liberal régime) and its subsequent feudalization under a governmental oligarchy on which the bourgeoisie then becomes dependent. The whole process becomes a vicious circle and the bourgeoisie atrophies. This is probably at the bottom of the opposition to the government which has grown among the middle and upper classes in the last few years.

The events in Spain had a special repercussion in Portugal. The triumph of Franco would, by making the destinies of the two countries identical, consolidate the position of the Portuguese Government. On the other hand, a democratic victory would eventually have contributed to the liberation of Portugal, by helping, or at least not hindering, the struggle against the dictatorship which had already started in Portugal. Salazar knew this when he joined with Hitler to help Franco. The Portuguese who managed to join the democratic army, knew this too.

The Neo-Realist Movement:

This atmosphere of historic crisis, in which the elements of the problem were so clearly balanced, instigated in the Portuguese a consciousness of enormous responsibility and, consequently, led towards a more active struggle against their government, creating a mood in many ways similar to that of the French Resistance or Post-War Italy. In the cultural field, this mood led to the creation of a movement later called "Neo-Realism."

The common denominator for the artists who contributed to the neo-realist movement, was an active preoccupation with the political and social problems of the country, either from the local point of view or in a more universal perspective. For the first time in Portuguese literature, the problems of the masses were taken as themes—hunger, misery, the exploitation of credulous innocence, the alienation of human values cultivated as a guaranty against the maintenance of the Establishment. All these were vehemently described and denounced, opening up new possibilities for a revival of hope and dignity.

At first this literature appeared in periodicals: "O Diabo," 1934-41 ("The Devil"), "Sol Nascente," 1937-40 ("Rising Sun"), and "Seara Nova" and "Vértice," 1939 ("Vertex"). The first two were banned, the two last are still published, but subjected to considerable official pressure.

Shortly afterwards the new themes made their appearance in novels, poems and essays, in painting and sculpture. Some of the more important writers whose work is related to this movement are: The novelists Manuel da Fonseca (also a poet of repute) who, in "Cerromaior" (1944), described the imprisonment of villagers after their land had been seized; Carlos de Oliveira, who wrote on the effects of monopolization on the owner of a small tile works ("Casa da Duna," 1943); Alves Redol, in his trilogy "Ciclo Port-Wine." Soeiro Pereira Gomes is a novelist of exceptional quality who mingled his political experience with a deep knowledge of Portuguese life. Being a member of the banned Communist Party, he spent a long time in the underground, and in his few spare moments he wrote two novels, "Esteiros" (1947) and "A Engrenagem" (1951). The former is an admirable narrative, tinged with lyricism, about a little boy who has never known the enchantment of childhood, since at an early age he began to face the need to earn his living. The latter gives us the obsessive atmosphere of the terror that pervades Portuguese life under Fascism, as is indirectly suggested by the title of the book ("Contraption").

Poets of the group are: Mario Dionísio (who is also a notable art critic), who expresses the drama of a perpetually frustrated hope, which nevertheless "breaks through the blanketed complicity of things"; Alvaro Feijo and Políbio Gomes dos Santos, who both died of tuberculosis in their twenties—the former's poetry is a poetry of action, violent and pamphleteering, sarcastic, profoundly bitter. Políbio Gomes dos Santos writes verse of an intimate lyricism, in which the desolation of the world is seen through his own inner desolation, with the appeal of action felt as a disturbing phantom. Another poet of the group is Armindo Rodrigues, a poet of ideas, whose conceptual poetry expresses the urgency of action needed to modify the sordidness of his country.

The movement also produced a fine historian and essayist, Antonio Jose Saraiva, now in exile, author of a monumental and remarkable "History of Portuguese Culture." In music Fernando Lopes Graca, and in painting Julio Pomar, were linked to the ideals of neo-realism. Both passed already through Salazar's jails. Lopes Graca is the only Portuguese composer internationally known.

However, with the successive banning of books, and even the imprisonment of some of the writers, with the problem of a public in which more than 10 per cent. could neither read nor write, and with the failure of the various attempts to alter the political situation, the works of these writers began to change their tone. Besides, the situation had changed, especially when, after the Second World War, the Allies, contrary to what had been expected, unaccountably supported the government of Salazar. Hope began to fade completely.

Works of art cannot make a revolution. Nor can stones resist tanks, as the people of Lisbon discovered in June, 1958, during the last pseudo-elections for President of the Republic, when they desperately tore them from the pavements with their nails and hurled them against the armoured cars which attacked them. The people had thought they could acclaim their candidate.

Neo-Realism therefore lost most of its militant characteristics. It gave way to a more bitter literature, which achieved, without hope, a greater maturity. The analysis of problems became deeper. It was no longer sufficient to denounce corruption and misery. It was no longer sufficient to seek a way out. It was necessary to create a new consciousness.

Before and After Neo-Realism:¹

Of the writers before the Neo-Realist movement, some continued, as they still do, to play a fundamental role in Portuguese cultural life. Of these I will mention a few of the most important.

Ferreira de Castro, the novelist. The August 1961 number of *The London Magazine* has an article on his work, in which the author, Henry Poulaille, considers that he is a writer of the first rank, and that at least one of his works ("A La e a Neve") is without parallel in any language. Castro's life is itself like the story of a neo-realist novel. He had to leave Portugal at the age of twelve because fatherless and poverty-stricken, there was no future for him in his homeland. From twelve to sixteen he worked in a gang tapping for rubber in the Amazon Forests—later he wandered through Brazil haunted by nostalgia for his native soil. He returned home and became a journalist, started a review and began writing a series of novels which earned him a reputation in Portugal, until, with the publication of "Emigrants" and its successors, he won world recognition. ("The Storm," "Eternity," "Cold Earth," "Jungle"²).

His novels are taken direct from life, are the fruits of bitter personal experience. He writes movingly of the painful existence of peasants in Portugal ("A La e a Neve"), of the human cattle in a ship's hold who go to seek prosperity in the elusive Eldorado of Brazil ("Emigrants"), the lonely life of shepherds, the world of spinningmills, poverty, early death. In "The Turn of the Road" and "The

Mission"³ he considers the problem of personal responsibility and moral consciousness; the former is concerned with the psychology of a political militant about to betray his past, the latter with the crisis of conscience of a religious community when faced with the choice of escaping bombing by painting the word "Mission" on the roof of their building and in so doing drawing attention to the neighbouring factory, or risking destruction by remaining unidentified. His concerns are profoundly humanistic, his indictment of man's inhumanity to man is damning. He states facts when he says of the Portuguese emigrants:

"These men go off to try their luck because they are starving, or because they have reached the conviction that in the world where they live only the rich man is entitled to happiness. In these particular circumstances they are moreover deceived by other men who take advantage of them in their own countries, by making them believe that such as they are, rough and illiterate, they will find fabulous wealth in exile. So they go off fascinated by the mirage." ("Emigrants")

Aquilino Ribeiro, now in his seventies, has an enormous number of published works. With Miguel Torga, an extraordinary humanist poet, he was the Portuguese nominee for the Nobel Prize. For more than fifty years he has been writing novels about his native province of Beira, whose peasants he understands better than any other Portuguese writer. His style is directly affected by that of the nineteenth century; his novels regionalistic in the manner of Thomas Hardy. He was more concerned with the rustic life of the peasants, their individual characteristics, than with the social and political context. It is significant that in his latest work ("When the Wolves Howl") he has taken an active position against a government so largely responsible for the misery of the peasants he knows and loves so well. The book was immediately banned and Aquilino Ribeiro was committed for trial on a charge of "aiming at the discredit of the régime." In his defence, which was smuggled out of Portugal and published in Brazil, Aquilino makes an indictment of the dictatorship. The defence is entitled: "When the Wolves Judge, Justice Howls."⁴

Also outside the stream, and not committed in any way, is Jose Regio, poet, novelist and dramatist. He expresses in his poetry the conflict of the individualist in relation to institutions, values and his fellow-men. He seeks a solution in a search for God, which is an attempt to escape from the problems he himself poses so lucidly, an attempt to burst the frontiers of the world in which he is caged, through a mystical apprehension of the universe. In some of his poetry, however, he satirizes the society in which he lives, attacking middleclass hypocrisy, its "moeurs" and customs, and gives glimpses into what he considers the roots of the evil—the renegation of human dignity. This is also the theme of novels such as "Jogo da Cabra Cega" ("Blind Man's Buff"), banned in 1937, or "A Velha Casa" ("The Old House"), an autobiographical series in which he searches for his identity in a strange world.⁵

The poet Jose Gomes Ferreira is important for the lucid and pungent way in which he considers the position of the bourgeois intellectual, living in a society in which he cannot identify himself with his class, which is alienated and corrupting, and because

he rejects it, he lives "without flesh in common with the world around." He puts the problem of the position of someone like him, fruit of this society, in the world of the future, which he nevertheless seeks to build. This situation, exacerbated in the Portuguese context, is precisely that of a large number of European intellectuals.

Repression and Culture:

In a country as small as Portugal, with such a diminutive number of readers, such a severe repression against any cultural manifestation, which does not identify itself with the established interests of the régime (and none of any importance has yet appeared which does), with almost no magazines, with publishers constantly afraid of the losses or even of the ruin which might be provoked by the banning of the books they dare to print, the only surprise is that a literature exists at all. That this literature is abundant and that the standard is high, is cause for even greater surprise.

The number of artists, academics and scientists who have been denied the means to continue their activities, is alarming. Some have managed to leave the country and have joined the staffs of foreign laboratories and universities. Among them Manuel Valadares, who is now directing an important nuclear laboratory in France; the poet and essayist Jorge de Sena, who is teaching at the University of S. Paulo, Brazil; Rui Luís Gomes, Professor of Mathematics in an Argentinian University. Others, such as Bento Jesus Caraca and Abel Salazar, have died in Portugal, unable either to leave or to work. Those who have managed to work at all have done so in spite of the government. Egas Moniz, awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine, is one such, and was several times insulted by the official press and radio.

These repressive measures are the reason why the intellectuals have refused to allow their names to be used by the government's propaganda. Artists, for instance, have not taken part in exhibitions organized by the Secretariado Nacional de Informação (Information Office). Among them Nikias Skapinakis has been persecuted for his political ideas.

Various Catholic writers, who signed a document protesting against repression and the torture of political prisoners have been persecuted, among them Sophia de Melo Breyner Andresen, one of the best poets of the younger generations.

One could say that in Portugal the Fascist government has identified culture with opposition. All thinking and ideas seems to them highly suspicious and dangerous. The word "intellectual" is an insult. It was, therefore, a surprise when, in 1956, the Portuguese government organized an exhibition entitled: "Thirty Years of Culture," commemorating the 30th anniversary of the régime. But the surprise gave way to mockery and indignation when it was discovered that the government was sufficiently hypocritical to want to shine with the reflected light of works which they had banned and the artists and scientists they had persecuted.

The Portuguese intellectuals protested. But most of the protesting documents had to circulate clandestinely.

Younger Portuguese Writers:

Of the younger Portuguese writers there are a few who must be mentioned because of the importance of their work. Perhaps the most remarkable is Mario Cesariny de Vasconcelos, one of the dominant personalities of the Portuguese Surrealist Movement. In his extraordinary poetry he undertakes a daring criticism of a daily experience of alienations and makes a profound analysis of the corrupt social organization. At the same time, his poetry shows a valid and necessary path for the reconstruction of life through the liberation, on the level of a concrete reality, of all prisons, inner and external.

Antonio Maria Lisboa, also a surrealist poet, would almost certainly have played a major role in Portuguese literature. But he died in 1953, at the age of 25, one of the 5,000 Portuguese who that year must have died of tuberculosis. Even the limited work he left was enough to have exercised a profound influence on his generation.

Alexandre O'Neill, a typical committed poet, has published a book of poems significantly called "No Reino da Dinamarca" ("In the State of Denmark") and "Abandono Vigiado" (1960). His poetry is a combination of bitter humour and a profound and human tenderness.

As for the novel, in the last few years there has been an extraordinary outburst of writing. This is partly due to the stimulus given by the Portuguese Society of Writers (Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores), an independent organization which aims to help writers and to dignify their status. Among the new novelists are José Cardoso Pires, Augusto Abelaira and Vergílio Ferreira. There has been a widening of themes and a standard of artistic quality which is considerable. The theme of responsibility is one which frequently recurs. The Portuguese writers insist on being, in spite of everything, "unacknowledged legislators of the world."

All the writers mentioned in this article are opposed to the Portuguese régime. The only ones known openly to support it are those who contribute to a magazine entitled "Tempo Presente" ("Time Present"), where, among the quotations from Charles Maurras and some other masters, or confessions in verse of their Fascist ideology, denunciations and defamations of other Portuguese writers are printed. All this with the assured benevolence of Portuguese authorities.

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- 3 THE MISSION, translated by Ann Stevens in "The London Magazine," vol. 1 (September, 1961), pp. 6-54.
- 4 Sao Paulo, n/d (1960).
- 5 See also TETRACORNIO, edited by Jose Augusto Franca: 'Meio Seculo xx de Literatura Portuguesa,' Lisbon (February 1955).

Some aspects of agriculture in Portugal under the Salazar regime

by CARLOS MONTEIRO

PORTUGAL is a rectangular-shaped strip of land running down the western side of the Iberian peninsula. It covers an area of approximately 89,500 sq. kilometres. It has a Mediterranean climate, although the northern part of the country comes under the influence of the Atlantic; its winter is damp and its summer dry. The River Tagus valley divides the country into two distinct temperature and rainfall zones: a northern zone with average annual temperatures lower than 15 deg. C and annual rainfall above 800 mm., and a southern zone with higher temperatures and average annual rainfall between 600 and 800 mm.

Rural population and cultivated area

Portugal has a population of 8,510,799,¹ 1,410,135 of whom are occupied in agriculture, which amounts to 47 per cent. of the actively employed population (3,005,110). According to official reports this agricultural population is scattered over a cultivated area of 6,630,000 hectares, that is, 89 per cent. of the total area of the country excluding rivers, lakes, etc.

The social stratification of the population deriving its living from agriculture is as follows: Employers 10 per cent., workers who are members of the farmer's family 30 per cent., wage-earning workers 60 per cent.²

The distribution of the agricultural population over the country is very irregular, varying from a density of 8-9 people per square kilometre in Alentejo to 36 per square kilometre in Douro Litoral.

The population employed in the second economic sector (manufacturing industries, building, electricity, gas and water) amounts to 24.1 per cent. of the actively employed population, while the third sector (communications, transport, commerce, public administration and other services) absorbs 26.7 per cent., higher, in fact, than the second sector.

It has been the systematic policy of the Portuguese Government to make Portugal an agricultural country.

Agrarian Structure

The essential aspects of Portuguese agrarian structure become apparent when we look at the type of enterprise cultivating the land and the methods employed. The National Institute of Statistics distinguishes between three types of enterprise: complete family enterprises 32.4 per cent., partial family enterprises 49.9 per cent., and business enterprises

17.7 per cent. of the total number existing in Portugal.³ Half the enterprises are therefore of a partial nature, i.e. the entrepreneur and/or his family, contrary to the practice in the complete family enterprises, has to work outside the farm in order to supplement the insufficient return he derives from it.

On the other hand, a large number of the first type of enterprise listed as complete do not have, as the following table shows, the necessary dimensions to guarantee reasonable productivity of labour or an adequate standard of living for the farmer and his family.

Areas (in Hectares)	no. of farms	Percentage of total area occupied
Up to 10 Hectares	94.9	32.3
From 10 to 50	43	17.0
From 50 to 200	0.5	11.1
From 200 upwards	0.3	39.0

It is obvious that the vast majority of farms are very small and occupy only one-third of the total area. The disadvantages of this type of enterprise are obvious: low productivity of labour and economic inability to adapt itself to new techniques. On the other hand, the number of the average-sized enterprises which predominate in developed countries does not exceed 5 per cent. in Portugal. Very large farms occupy a greater total area than any other class.

These figures prove beyond doubt that during its 35 years of power the Portuguese Government has followed a policy of protecting the big landowners, contrary to the interests of the rural population and the economic development of the country. From the data already given, it is clear that over 80 per cent. of Portuguese small farmers have to resort to subsidiary paid work if they are not to have an exceedingly low standard of living. Both factors weigh heavily against the technical progress of agriculture.

Technical development of agricultural enterprises

In an era in which science and technical improvements have provided agriculture with new methods that have freed man from the arduous tasks of rural life, Portuguese farms still operate, almost without exception, under rather primitive conditions. In Alentejo, an area of large landholdings, only 1.7 per cent. of the total number of farms possess any form of mechanisation and 56 per cent. employ animals for traction purposes. On the remaining farms (42 per cent.) the labour is entirely manual, returns are low and the work is entirely without prospects. In northern Portugal, where farms are predominantly small, more than 50 per cent. have neither animals nor machinery at their disposal.

According to the "Study of the European Economic Situation in 1955—United Nations," Portugal has the lowest number of tractors in Europe (5,500) followed by Greece, with 8,000. The same is true with regard to combine harvesters.

Portugal, together with Greece, Italy and Ireland, is one of the lowest fertilizer-using countries in Europe. Other ways of increasing production, such as the improvement of plants, control of water, crop-spraying, spreading technical knowledge, are all overlooked. Half the country suffers from an excess of water in winter and severe drought in summer. The protection of plants against various diseases, is in the hands of private firms, with all the drawbacks that such a situation entails. The recently-established laboratories which were set up to control plant treatment, as provided by these firms, and to improve such treatment, have to struggle along with insufficient means to fulfil their function. Means for spreading knowledge among the rural population are ineffective.

The absence of a rational economic policy—designed not for the exclusive benefit of the big entrepreneur but taking account of the ever-growing needs of the population—has meant that Salazar's Government has made only partial use of the technical resources at the disposal of agricultural science and of the manpower available. The Portuguese Government has handled the country's agriculture in such a way as to benefit only the large landowners, who are closely linked with the politicians. The limited resources of small farmers not only prevent them from making investments, but from buying modern equipment and the necessary fertilizers as well.

Portuguese agriculture is thus in a state of complete stagnation, from which it will only emerge by adopting new methods and ideas—which Salazar's Government, by its very anti-popular nature, is incapable of doing.

Production and Consumption

Cereals form the basic diet of the Portuguese people. Fifty-nine per cent. of the required calories come from wheat (24 per cent.), millet (15 per cent.), potatoes (10 per cent.) and other cereals (10 per cent.). Proteins are obtained mainly through cereals (45 per cent.) and fish (18 per cent.). Meat provides only 3 per cent. of the protein total. The daily calorie intake of the Portuguese people is the lowest in Europe—2,430 per day.¹

In spite of its importance for the Portuguese diet, cereal production has been very irregular, and it does not meet the needs of the population. The per capita production of wheat was 74.86 kgs in the period 1946-50 and 75.42 in the period 1956-59, while that of millet decreased from 53.83 kgs to 42.54 in the same two periods.

In 1952-53 Portugal's cereal production (together with Spain and Greece) was the lowest in Europe: wheat 860 kgs per hectare, millet 835 kgs per hectare and rye 675 kgs per hectare.

In 1960 the production of wheat decreased by 34 per cent. compared with the period 1953-57, while millet production did not increase. The total production of cereals decreased by 25 per cent. and that of potatoes by 17 per cent.⁶

Official reports indicate unfavourable weather as the cause of the decline in agricultural production. From what has been said, however, it is clear that fundamentally the stagnation of agriculture stems from its defective structure, coupled with extremely low productivity.

Prospects for rural workers

The distribution of national income and property divides the population into three groups: wage-earning workers and farm labourers, big entrepreneurs and small entrepreneurs. As seen above, the position of the small farmers tends to worsen every day. Only a small minority of big landowners and capitalists become richer and economically more powerful. The small farmer can neither modernise nor mechanise his farm. What he gets from the soil does not meet his basic needs and those of his family. In the prevailing system of economic inequality, he is crushed by the big landowner, who enjoys technical and commercial advantages and is politically influential. The proletarianisation of the small peasant is becoming inevitable.

The prospects facing the wage-earning agricultural worker are no brighter. 30.74 escudos (17.34 for women) is the average salary for a day's work, and only 180 days a year are in fact working days.

This economic instability and the uncertainty of working conditions are aggravated by the existence of 20,992 unemployed agricultural workers, 55 per cent. of whom are unemployed for less than six months of the year, 45 per cent. for more than six months of the year. The policy of Salazar's Government tends to increase rather than diminish the numbers of unemployed.

Conclusions

From what has been said, it is clear that the Portuguese Government, constituted as it is by the most reactionary elements in the Portuguese nation, has led agriculture, as well as the country as a whole, into a catastrophic situation. Portugal's economy in general and its agriculture in particular are in a state of crisis, and only the various expedients devised by the Government have delayed the precipitation of events.

The feudal structure of agriculture creates a wastage of land and defective methods of cultivation, which are the corollaries of low investment of capital and labour.

The country's political structure, constituted for the exclusive benefit of a small minority of big landlords and capitalists, does not favour the preparation and methodical application of a far-reaching, rational plan, which would enable the country and its agriculture to break out of the vicious circle of poverty and stagnation.

To sum up, agrarian reform is an economic and political necessity, not only because it would increase the number of independent peasant farms, do away with agricultural labourers and increase the size of the smaller farms to an economically profitable unit, but also because it is what the peasants aspire to and demand, for it implies the abolition of the feudal servitude on which the Portuguese way of life is based.

Only by destroying Salazar's Government and replacing it with another government representing the real interests of the nation is this plan possible, a plan which would lead the country forward to the progress, well being and happiness of its people.

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- 6 Portuguese Memorandum to the O.E.E.C.

THE OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN

(from the front page)

6. The restoration of trade union rights.

7. The suppression of all fascist organisations such as Uniao Nacional, the Portuguese Legion, the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Fascist Youth).

8. Suppression of PIDE (the political police). The abolition of the special political courts and of special penalties for political crimes.

9. Investigation into those responsible for Fascist policy.

10. Investigation into the acquisition of wealth by corrupt means.

11. Strict adherence of Portugal to the principles of the U.N. Charter.

THE CAMPAIGN

In the campaign the Opposition demonstrated once again their indomitable spirit, despite the Salazar repressions.

They denounced the ruinous government policy in the press. At many meetings held all over the country, enthusiastic audiences cheered the true representatives of the people.

The government raised tremendous difficulties. Halls and rooms for meetings were refused under pressure from the authorities. Many people were arrested.

Although public demonstrations were forbidden, thousands of people all over the country came out on the streets, showing their hatred of fascism.

There were demonstrations in Coimbra, Grandola, Alpiarca, Couco, Covilha, Barreiro, Aljustrel and Torres Vedras, all facing brutal repression. But it was principally in Lisbon and Almada that the big demonstrations were held.

In Lisbon on 29th October, during the funeral of Dr. Camara Reis (one of the candidates), there was a big demonstration. Again, on 2nd and 11th November thousands of people fought the authorities for the right to appear on the streets. On 11th and 14th November more than 20,000 people demonstrated in Almada. Police attacks on the demonstrations caused the death of a young worker, Candido Martins, and many people were wounded by shots.

THE EPILOGUE

The Government never granted the three basic demands of the Opposition. The poll was therefore a farce.

On the other hand, the democrats managed to present a united front and by demonstrating their considerable popular support, exposed the true nature of the regime.

The Army Ministry, after a meeting of commanders, publicly threatened the country with force. On the same day the Opposition candidates announced that, in face of the Government's actions, they had decided not to go to the polls.

On election day (12th November) only an insignificant minority voted for the available candidates — all Salazar fascists.

A.R.

VOTERS AND CANDIDATES

Out of 8,510,799 Portuguese people (1953 census) 4,807,965 were old enough to vote in the recent election (i.e. 56 per cent. of the total). But due to restrictions which limit the franchise on educational, financial and sex grounds (i.e. women are excluded), only 2½ million theoretically qualify for the franchise. In fact, due to repressive measures of the Government, there are only 1,235,902 names on the electoral roll. This means that only 15 per cent. of the total population can vote, compared with 68 per cent. in the United Kingdom. Even in Turkey 50 per cent. vote.

The Opposition put forward 84 candidates in 10 administrative districts.

AGAINST THE COLONIAL WAR

The Portuguese people continue to oppose the war in Angola. In June more than 100 textile workers sent a letter to the President of the Republic demanding an end to the war.

In August, 35 women textile workers in Oporto acted similarly.

In November, a Portuguese Medical Officer in the Navy deserted from the frigate "D. Francisco de Almeida"—one of the British frigates recently sold to the Portuguese Government. Earlier (in October) other desertions were reported from Angola. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 15.11.61.)

FRANCO AND SALAZAR

Last November the President of the Portuguese Republic visited Madrid.

The two countries are linked by the Iberian Pact, which provides for the use of military forces for the mutual help of the two fascist regimes. Every six months there is a meeting of the chiefs of general staff of both countries.

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES ARRESTED

Four American Methodist missionaries were arrested in Angola on 17th October by the Salazar authorities. They were kept in prison until 2nd December, when they were deported.

Among the candidates were people of all political opinions. There were long-known liberal and republican politicians like Dr Camara Reis, Cal Brandao, and Veiga Pires. There were persecuted scientists like Prof. Mario Silva and Dr Dias Amado; lawyers like A. Macedo.

There were also younger people, representing sections of public opinion who have come to the fore only in recent times, such as the Catholics Lino Neto and Alcada Baptist; army officer Capt. Varela Gomes; students like Nuno Bernardino and Lousa Henriques; young trade unionists like Silva Andrade.

The Government placed every possible difficulty in the way of the candidates. In Lisbon, the Opposition had to redraft their list three times. The Monarchist list was refused because it was presented two minutes after the announced deadline.

In Ponta Delgada, in the Azores, where there is an American base, the candidates were arrested.

In Mozambique the Opposition list was rejected after having been accepted and the campaign was suspended. In Braga and Santarem the Opposition lists were held up for a fortnight after the campaign had started.

THE M.P.L.A. AND THE PORTUGUESE OPPOSITION

The M.P.L.A. (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the powerful Angolan Nationalist Movement, has expressed its support for the Portuguese people's struggle against Salazar. A communique dated 3.11.61 states that the problem of Angola could be solved peacefully under a democratic Portuguese government, but fighting will continue so long as Salazar remains in power, since Portuguese fascists leave no other alternative open to the Angolans.

DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON

Demonstrators paraded with posters and picketed the Savoy Hotel, London, on November 30, in protest against the Anglo-Portuguese Society's dinner. Lord Salisbury, who attended the dinner, once again defended Portuguese policy in Angola.

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