

# PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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## THE COLONIAL WARS

Portugal is to-day the largest old-style colonial empire in the world. Her colonies, mainly in Africa occupy a total territory of over 800,000 square miles. This is an area larger than the areas of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Ireland and Spain, all put together. The total area of the Portuguese colonies is over 22 times larger than the area of Portugal itself.

Portugal has been occupying these colonies for over 400 years. It is also therefore the oldest colonial empire in the world.

After hundreds of years of classical colonialism Portugal is to-day a convenient intermediary for the exploitation of her colonies by the economic interests of the great Western Powers, mainly the United States, Britain and West Germany.

The Portuguese colonialist government has consistently denied the right of independence to the peoples of her colonies. When these peoples decided to struggle for independence, the Portuguese colonialists waged against them ruthless wars of extermination.

The Portuguese colonialists have been engaged for over 9 years in a war against more than 5 million Africans in Angola. The Portuguese colonialists have been engaged for over 7 years in a war against more than 500,000 Africans in Guinea-Bissau. The Portuguese colonialists have been engaged for over 5 years in a war against more than 7 million Africans in Mozambique.

These wars have been brutal and merciless, with massacre of civilian populations, torture and bombings by napalm, with weapons supplied by NATO and the Western Powers. In the first line of defence for Portugal's allies and companions in Africa, the white racists of South Africa and Rhodesia.

And despite this, Portugal is still a member of the United Nations; still

a member of NATO, and the oldest ally of Britain. Despite all this, Western economic and military aid is still pouring into the hands of the Portuguese fascists and colonialists.

The Portuguese régime started the colonial wars under the leadership of Salazar, the old companion of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. The régime is now, since September 1968, under leadership of Caetano. But the colonial wars still rage with the same violence and brutality, the colonialist troops are still murdering

innocent people, the Portuguese colonialist air force is still using napalm against civilian populations.

The new Portuguese government is pursuing exactly the same colonialist policy as did Salazar. The alliance with Rhodesia and South Africa has been strengthened. The alliance with NATO and the western powers has been maintained. Over 12 million Africans have still to win freedom from the oldest colonialism.

Only a large movement of condemnation of the Portuguese colonialist policies by world public opinion can strengthen the United Nations opposition to these policies and eventually force the Western Powers to stop their military and economic help to the Portuguese fascist régime.

The colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique must end! The peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique must be independent!

## AMNESTY THE PRISONERS!

DESPIITE considerable recent success in winning release from jail of a number of Portuguese political prisoners, the situation of many more of these prisoners continues to cause great concern.

MANUEL PEDRO, arrested in May last year, was tortured by the secret police with deprivation of sleep for 11 consecutive days and nights, and was savagely beaten on repeated occasions. He was also given drugs to weaken his resistance.

JOAO HONRADO, who has spent over 11 years in jail, is in a serious state of health, kept in isolation in the Penitentiary jail in Lisbon.

Even in the mock 'National Assembly', one of Caetano's deputies Sá Carneiro, referred on December 11th to the 'violence and arbitrariness' used towards the political prisoners. He demanded that defence lawyers should be present during police interrogations.

### FREEDOM FOR PIRES JORGE

PIRES JORGE, the heroic 61-year-old workers' leader, is kept in the Peniche fortress after more than 13 years in jail. This, together with 19 years struggle in the clandestine anti-fascist movement in Portugal, has seriously undermined his health. To save his life his release is urgent.

### OTHER PRISONERS

Amongst the long-term prisoners mainly in the sinister and deadly Peniche fortress are:—

DIAS LOURENCO, BLANQUI TEIXEIRA, OCTAVIO PATO, JOSE MAGRO, JOSE CARLOS, GUILHERME CARVALHO, MARIO ARAUJO, ROGERIO CARVALHO, JORGE ARAUJO, DOMINGOS ABRANTES, ILIDIO ESTEVES, DINIZ MIRANDA, VEIGA DE OLIVEIRA, etc. etc. Their release is also urgent.

None must be forgotten. Write to them (address Cadeia do Forte de Peniche, Peniche, Portugal). Send them birthday greetings. **Blanqui Teixeira**, will be 48 on May 4th. **Guilherme Carvalho** will be 49 on June 6th. **Rogério Carvalho** will be 50 on May 10th. **Ilidio Esteves**, will be 46 on June 3rd.

### DEMAND AN AMNESTY

Expose the pseudo liberalism of Caetano by writing to him and asking for an Amnesty for all the political prisoners (address Professor Marcello Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal).

There is no better cause than to fight against fascism and for the liberation of the anti-fascists.

# FOREIGN POWERS HELP FASCISM

## THE HEART OF DARKNESS

The building of the Cabora Bassa Dam is a political move by the Portuguese Government, designed to attract neighbouring African States to the Portuguese-South African economic sphere.

This is a false move. Malawi did not join forces with its white neighbours because of Cabora Bassa. It had done so long before the engineers attempted their first drawings.

Only a highly industrialized nation such as South Africa can benefit directly from the dam. In other words, Portugal is spending resources she cannot afford, to serve the interests of South Africa and Rhodesia; and the economic viability of the project will depend on South Africa alone. The obvious consequence is that in order to keep Mozambique as an administrative colony, Portugal is making it into an economic colony of South Africa.

It is therefore quite proper that the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs should speak not only on behalf of his country but also on behalf of Portugal in the self-congratulatory speech he delivered during the Vasco da Gama commemorations in Cape Town, when he said: 'Portugal and South Africa share a deep sense of responsibility for the welfare of all peoples who live in these lands'. And later: 'Our countries confidently await the time when the world will come to understand our aims and our achievements.' Among such achievements, reference was made to the Cabora Bassa Dam. (P. J. 9.11.69).

Rhodesia has donated another 300 thousand cigarettes to Portuguese troops fighting in Angola. (*Vida Mundial*, 12.12.69).

The Malawi Ministers of Transport and of Industry visited Lisbon, where they were received by Premier Marcello Caetano. 'Complete agreement' is reported to have been reached in the talks held by the two African Ministers with Portuguese Government officials and bankers (D.L. 20 & 26.11.69). These meetings pursued the contacts for economic

cooperation recently established directly by the Governor-General of Mozambique and President Banda. On his return to Mozambique, the Governor-General was pleased to announce that Portugal could count on the 'realistic' cooperation of Malawi (D.L. 17.11.69). It was later announced that Dr. Banda had accepted an invitation to visit Mozambique, thus becoming the first African Head of State to be the official guest of a Portuguese Colony (P.J. 18.11.69).

The 'Daily Telegraph' of London reported (1.11.69) the gaoing for up to 20 years (including 15 years of possible 'security measures') of 4 Cape Verde citizens who opposed the Portuguese presence in that colony. In this article, Mr. John Biggs-Davidson, M.P. (an old hand making on-the-spot reports praising Portuguese colonialism) is quoted as having said on his return from the islands: 'poor, yet cultured, the islanders scratch a living from the fields and fisheries on the edge of famine. But there is no basis for revolution'. (What then is a basis for revolution, Mr. Biggs?—Ed).

## NATO

Tentative suggestions were made, at a meeting of NATO countries in Brussels, that the time might have come to draw up a list of matters which could, with profit, be discussed with East European countries (i.e. the countries against which NATO was set up in the first place). The Portuguese delegate indirectly rejected any such constructive proposals (which, at any rate, could hardly have had any hopes of being implemented given the belligerent nature of the Organization) by attempting to place the aims of NATO in the context of a 'world-wide confrontation between East and West' and thus, once again, asked for the more direct help of the Organization in the repression of nationalists in the Portuguese colonies (P.J. 8.11.69). The notion that Portugal is extending the NATO spirit to Africa was stressed again, at a further meeting of the Organization, by the Portuguese Minister of Defence (P.J. 9.12.69).

## TRADE UBER ALLES

An Anglo-Portuguese conference on trade and investments was held in London last November under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce and the Banco Português do Atlântico, of Lisbon. The importance of British investment in Portugal was stressed and further industrial cooperation was called for (P.J. 26.11.69). British investment in Portugal was also one of the main themes of the recent exhibition 'Portugal Today' organized by the Portuguese Trade and Tourist Office in London (P.J. 17.1.70).

Willy Brandt's Government is continuing the traditional friendly policy of West Germany towards the Portuguese dictatorship (a tradition which the Administrations of Adenauer and Kiesinger carried on from the days of Nazism). Shortly after coming to power, Mr. Brandt officially invited the Portuguese Secretary of State for Industry to visit West Germany. The reported purpose of the talks was the increase of West German investment in the Portuguese 'economic sphere' (i.e. Portugal itself and the colonies) (P.J. 25.1.70).

The Portuguese Air Force has acquired 20 new Dornier aircraft from West Germany to supplement a fleet of 40 previously purchased (Aircraft Illustrated, Surrey, G.B., Jan. 1970).

An Israeli naval expert recently visited Portugal, where he contacted the Portuguese Association of Shipbuilders and met the Minister of Navy. There was no official communication on the matters discussed (D.L. 24.1.70).

The military attachés of France, Great Britain, Brazil, West Germany and United States visited Angola and Mozambique, where they obtained first-hand information about the present stage of the Portuguese colonial wars (P.J. 26.11.69) & 1.12.69). This visit was preceded by that of the U.S. Deputy Secretary for African Affairs, who visited Angola, South Africa and Mozambique (*Vida Mundial*, 7.11.69). It roughly coincided with the meeting between the Portuguese Ambassador in Washington and the U.S. Secretary of State, William Rogers. The matters discussed by the two politicians were not disclosed, a fact stressed by the Portuguese newspaper reporting the meeting (P.J. 21.11.69).

# FIGHT OF THE PEOPLE

(From our correspondents in Portugal)

## A GREAT YEAR

The year of 1969 will be remembered by all Portuguese anti-fascists as a year of great successes in their struggle against the 43-year-old régime in their country.

A wave of industrial disputes (which always have political meaning in Portugal) have swept all Portugal since the beginning of the year. Nearly 100,000 courageous industrial workers have been involved. The students, specially the Coimbra students, also fought bravely for their rights.

Later the October 'elections' were fought by the anti-fascists with massive support of the Portuguese people and complete exposure of the fraudulent and repressive policies of the régime.

## THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

The committees of democrats that were formed all over Portugal during the brief September-October 'electoral' period, have decided not to yield to the Government pressure and repression aiming at suppressing their activities.

In November there were meetings of democrats in the Lisbon and Oporto districts.

On November 9th there took place the 6th National Democratic Meeting with anti-fascist representatives from the districts of Lisbon, Oporto, Setúbal, Coimbra, Beja, Braga, Faro, Leiria, Portalegre, Ponta Delgada (Azores Islands), Santarém and Viseu.

On November 23rd the 7th National Democratic Meeting took place with anti-fascists representing all the above districts (except Viseu) plus other representatives from Bragança, Évora, Funchal and Viana do Castelo, the large majority of the districts in which Portugal is administratively divided. The delegates decided to organize the Movement of Democratic Opposition, all over Portugal, with the object of using all the legal possibilities of fighting and exposing the present Portuguese régime. This year there will be local 'elections' in Portugal (by the *funtas* de *Freguesia* or local councils).

December 1st, the anniversary of the national insurrection against Spanish domination in the 17th century, was celebrated by democrats

in several parts of Portugal.

January 31st, the anniversary of the Republican revolt in 1891, was celebrated by the democrats with public meetings which took place in Aveiro, Braga and Oporto.

## FOR AN AMNESTY

The campaign in Portugal for an Amnesty for all Portuguese political prisoners has gained considerable momentum in recent months.

An appeal for an Amnesty issued by the Movement of Democratic Opposition was sent to the authorities signed by nearly 16,000 people. Another 1,500 people signed an appeal for the release of the prisoner Jorge Araújo, 70 priests signed telegrams to the authorities demanding the release of the political prisoners and the dissolution of the secret police.

## INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Over 4,000 glass workers in the largest Portuguese glass-working centre, in *Marinha Grande*, launched a 'go slow' movement. They refused to sign a new collective contract proposed by the factory owners and the authorities, because they want better pay and conditions. *Marinha Grande*, in central Portugal, is a traditional centre of working class struggles.

'Go slow' actions also took place amongst women textile workers in the CIRA factory in *Castanheira do Ribatejo* and in the UFA chemical plant in *Burceiro*, both near Lisbon.

## STRIKES AND STOPPAGES

Recently the employees of the *Sahtarém* abattoirs went on strike for 1 week. The women cloth workers in the BORE factory, in *Alhos Vedros*, and the cork workers in the *Barreiros* factory, in *Lavrado*, both near Lisbon, also went on strike. Stoppages took place in the Baptistas Russo factory in *Lisbon*, in the CIDA factory in *Moita*, and in the CIMA factory, near *Lisbon*.

## WAGE INCREASES

After intensive efforts wage increases were won by the railway-

men, the employees of the Lisbon newspaper '*Diário de Notícias*' and by the workers in the Tejo cement factory in *Allandra* and the EFACEC electricity materials factory in *Oporto*.

## OTHER STRUGGLES

Industrial actions have been taking place in the largest Portuguese industrial enterprise, CUF, in *Barreiro*, near Lisbon, and amongst the Portuguese Airways (TAP) employees.

Inside the State-controlled unions (*Sindicatos*), struggles for better wages and conditions have taken place amongst the *Oporto* textile, metal workers, and nurses, the *Alenquer* textile workers and the *Lisbon* women cloth workers.

The 17,000 Bank employees have also been pressing for a new collective contract. There have been large meetings in December, in Lisbon, and in January, in Lisbon (3,000 employees) and in Oporto.

## THE STUDENTS

The Lisbon University Literature and Languages Students went on strike against the University administrative policies, on December 12th.

Also in Lisbon, the authorities ordered on February 19th the closure of the Law Faculty, after a strike and incidents with the students.

On January 21st there were in Lisbon, student street demonstrations against the colonial wars.

## PROGRESSIVE WRITERS

Meetings to pay tribute to the recently-deceased anti-fascist writers *Alves Redol* and *Mário Sacramento* took place on January 24th and November 30th, respectively, in Algés, near Lisbon and in Ilhavo, near Aveiro.

## CAETANO AND THE INDIAN UNION

The Ministry for Overseas has approved the creation of a Government Commission for the Matters of the State of India (Goa, Damão, and Diu), the Portuguese colonies liberated in 1961 by the Indian Union. (P.J. 28.1.70).

## YOU MAY QUOTE US

All the material and articles published in the 'Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin' may be reproduced or quoted. We shall be grateful for an acknowledgment of the source.

## KEY TO REFERENCES

"P.J."—"*Princípio da Jantar*".

"D.L."—"*Diário de Lisboa*".

Two of the leading daily, centered, Portuguese newspapers.

# INSIDE PORTUGAL

## ECONOMIC GROWTH SLOWS DOWN

**SEARA NOVA.** Lisbon, in its issue of January 1970, gives the following figures for Portugal's Gross National Product in the period 1965-1968:

Year	% Growth Rate, at 1963 prices
1965	10.5
1966	17.4
1967	4.5
1968	1.0

The 'Diário de Lisboa,' on Dec. 26th, 1969, published indices of industrial production for the first eight months of 1969, abstracted from the Supplements of 'Indústria Portuguesa,' the Review of the Association of Portuguese Industry.

Commenting on these statistics, which show that industrial production, excluding building, dropped in August to 14.9% below the figure for January, the paper remarks that these figures, though short-term and subject to seasonal factors, are significant and disquieting.

## FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Behind the 'liberal' façade of M. Caetano's Government the self-out of Portugal's economy to foreign interests goes on. 'Vida Mundial,' Lisbon, 2.1.70, provides the following data.

## MINING

'Minacervo,' in which Great Britain, France, West Germany and Luxembourg have capital invested, increased its assets from £600,000 to £743,000.

## PHARMACEUTICALS AND CHEMICALS

'Schering Lusitana,' the Portuguese branch of the German pharmaceutical and chemical firm, Schering, trebled its investment from £30,000 to £93,000.

B & B Chemicals Ltd., Lisbon, the Portuguese branch of the American group, B & B Chemical Co. Inc., invested £6,000 in the production and sale of chemical products.

Swiss interests invested £42,800 in the new 'Paragla' firm to manufacture acrylic resins.

## METAL INDUSTRIES

'Industrias Metalicas Dine,' a

branch of the Swiss holding firm Riviere S.A., increased its investment from £2,000 to £215,000.

## FARMING AND WINES

'Zambeco' is an enterprise launched with an initial capital of £6,000, mainly from Dutch sources, to develop farming and livestock.

J. M. Fonseca Internacional Wines, associated with the American group Heublein Inc., increased its capital from £83,000 to £120,000.

## ELECTRICAL & ELECTRONICS

Fábrica Portuguesa de Artigos Eléctricos S.A.R.L., an electrical products firm owned by Phillips, increased its investment from £30,000 to £150,000.

Acumuladores Wilhelm Hagen (Portugal) S.A.R.L., a West German firm operating in Portugal, invested £143,000 in the manufacture of electrical batteries and similar products.

The American Control Data Corporation invested £136,000 in its new Portuguese branch 'Control Data Eléctrica Lusitana'.

## TOURISM

Dr. Manfred Lohman, Director of the West German Society for Economic Collaboration and Development, in the course of a Lisbon lecture stated that West Germany had invested 43 million Marks in tourist enterprises in Portugal. He went on to say that, at the moment, West German capitalists find it very profitable to invest in factories in Portugal in order to sell the goods they manufacture on the West German market (P.J. 14.11.69). Of course the wages of Portuguese workers may be four times lower than in Germany—or even less.

A little later, in an address to the Portuguese-German Chamber of Commerce, M. Caetano's Secretary of State for Industry added a plaintive footnote. He complained that the foreigners who took advantage of the cheap labour available in Portugal often give nothing in return, and having pocketed their profits, 'fold their tents like the Arabs and go home, leaving behind them only a sorry memory of a rather discreditable selfishness' (P.J. 15.11.69).

The American Firm, Great Lakes Properties has formed a consortium, called Lutor, with the Banco Português do Atlântico, to build the new tourist town of Vilamoura in the south of Portugal. With an

investment of £100m., in which the Banco Português do Atlântico has a 50% interest, it is planned that the holiday resort should provide housing for 35,000 people. Efforts are being made to attract further foreign investment, and representatives of a big Liverpool property development company recently visited the site, while Fortes, the well-known British concern, have been interested in the possibility of building a giant 500-bedroom hotel. Lutor would like to persuade other development companies to finance whole village units in which cottages would sell at around £5,000 (Sunday Times, 30.11.69).

## JAPANESE CAPITAL IS ALSO WELCOME

A Japanese-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce will soon be established in Portugal, with the object of encouraging Japanese investment in the country (P.J. 22.12.69).

## CELLULOSE

A new cellulose enterprise was established in Portugal. It is CEMIL-Celulose de Minho—with investments calculated at £14.3m., and it is intended to have a daily production of 500 tons. A contract for the supply of equipment to this new enterprise, to the value of £5.1m., was awarded to the Finnish Firm A. Ahlstrom Usa Keyhtio.

## AIRCRAFT

The U.S. Export-Import Bank has recently granted credits amounting to 15.2 million dollars to Portuguese Airways (T.A.P.) for the purchase of three Super-Constellations, one Boeing 727, and three Boeing 707's. A new credit, initially of 4.1 million dollars, to reach eventually 6.5 million dollars, has now been granted for the purchase of two Boeing 707's (D.L. 6.1.70). T.A.P. planes are frequently used to fly Portuguese army officers from Portugal to the war operations in the Portuguese Colonies.

## GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE

The year 1970 has seen the promised 'new style' of Caetano's more efficient dictatorship. Reforms have been introduced in the Portuguese Administration and on January 14, 1970, the Government was reshuffled under the drive for 'nationalization'.

Thus, the number of Ministries was reduced from 14 to 9 and a team of technocrats was brought into

junior posts. The Defence and Army Ministries have been merged under the present Minister of Defence General Sá Viana Rebelo. Those of Health and Corporations have been combined into a Ministry of Social Affairs under Rebelo de Sousa, the former Governor-General of Mozambique, a doctor, ex-leader of the Fascist Youth and a Caetano protégé.

Public Works and Communications have been joined under engineer Rui Sanches, Caetano's nephew and a former Minister of Public Works. The Prime Minister has relinquished the Foreign Affairs portfolio to Dr. Rui Patricio, who had been serving as Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

In the Ministry of Education, Professor Veiga Simão, a Cambridge graduate and former Rector of the University of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique, has been appointed as the new Minister. (P.J. 15.170).

#### PAY RISE WIDENS THE GAP

In order to abate the growing discontent with the rising cost of living, Marcelo Caetano on January 1st 1970, gave a pay rise to civil servants and to the Portuguese Armed Forces.

This proved to be a great disillusionment. Caetano's pay scheme has widened the gap between the Hierarchy and those at the bottom of the scale. Salaries for the top civil servants range from £188 to £235 monthly, whereas those for the great majority go from £28 to £35 (P.J. 28.11.69). Generals and Admirals are included in the first category. Colonels will receive £147 monthly, Lieutenant-Colonels £122, Majors £101. Those officers with special qualifications in Engineering, Naval Construction and Ballistics have higher salaries than their colleagues of the same rank.

Meanwhile salaries of sergeants will range from £40 to £49.50 monthly (D.L. 6.12.69).

To show the way in which the Government values the services of the local administrators and those of its other employees, it suffices to say that the mayors of Oporto and Lisbon will receive £271 monthly and the mayors of the other districts £218.

Yet doctors in the municipal services receive from £32 to £36 monthly, according to the region where they live. A clerk will get £36 (D.L. 2.1.70).

Mayors (governadores civis) are quite useful to the Government for the upkeep of the fascist machinery. Doctors can only be of use to the people.

No wonder therefore, that Caetano admitted on December 17 that 200,000 civil servants could not be satisfied with the present pay rise (P.J. 18.12.69).

And the deputy Camilo Mendonça described in the National Assembly the general mood over the pay rise as one of 'frustration' (P.J. 13.12.69).

#### THE OPENING OF THE 'NATIONAL ASSEMBLY'

The 'National Assembly', or Caetano's Parliament, opened on December 2nd last. The 'União Nacional' or Government party, the only one represented there, elected as its new president the wealthy farmer Amatal Neto (P.J. 29.11.69).

The 130 deputies will collaborate with the Government and will revise the 'Constitution' of 1933. (Vida Mundial, Lisbon, 12.12.69).

#### 20,000 CRIPPLED MEN

On December 12th, the deputy Correia Cunha pointed out that there were now in Portugal 20,000 men—crippled or blinded in the African wars—who should be trained and given adequate jobs (Diário das Sessões, 12.12.69).

#### CALL FOR AMNESTY

Deputy Correia da Cunha also advocated that former political prisoners ought to be allowed into public service, provided they were as 'patriotic' as the National Assembly's deputies (id., ibid.). Dr. Correia das Neves went slightly further by demanding a widespread amnesty covering those 'who have committed political infractions'. (Vida Mundial, 19.12.69).

#### SABRE RATTLING BY TOMAS

The 'President of the Republic' A. Tomás, stated recently before the Diplomatic Corps in Lisbon that 'the yearning for peace should not be identified with the pacifism of abdication'. (P.J. 30.12.69).

The Minister of National Defence, in his New Year message to the Armed Forces, emphasized that 'the last 10 years have been the most arduous for the Armed Forces and in which enormous sums and large contingents of men have been used'. (Vida Mundial, 9.1.70).

#### PORTUGUESE BUDGET IN 1970

The annual estimates of revenue and expenditure of the Government for 1970 shows revenue of £417.3m. and expenditure just over £416m.

Of the expenditure, £158m. is 'ordinary' government expenses and £158.6m. is extraordinary costs.

About 58 per cent of the extraordinary expenses, £91.5m. is going to the armed forces. The biggest items are the cost of the forces overseas, and the re-equipping of the Army and Air Force.

In 1970 the industrial rate of growth is expected to be below the average (P.J. 1.1.70).

#### BRUTAL COST OF THE WAR

Admiral Roboredo has supported before the National Assembly the new 'Law of Means' in what concerns the financing of the three colonial wars in Africa.

He described the wars not as a struggle between 'black and white', but as 'a fight of black and racialist communists, well supported from outside, against their brothers of all pigmentation, who live in the Portuguese Provinces' (D.L. 9.12.69).

The Admiral's style is poor, but his facts are revealing.

The Overseas wars cost Portugal about 25 per cent of its total revenues to pay for the upkeep of the Armed Forces stationed in Africa. The total expenditure on the Armed Forces amounted to nearly 41 per cent of that revenue. This is a far greater proportion than is spent by European industrialized countries with the same population and size as Portugal.

For this very reason the economic measures to be taken inside Portugal had to be severe (D. das S. 18.12.69).

The Admiral also said that 48 per cent of the Overseas expenses are for servicemen's pay. In 1968 this amounted to £45.5m. Yet he hastened to add that the emigrant's remittances offer good means of payment. And besides, the deposits in the banks on December 31st, 1969 had reached £1,566m., 'which proved that the wars in Africa had not made business slack'. (D.L. 19.12.69).

Logic is not the Admiral's strong point, but who could fail to agree with him in this?

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**NATIONALISM** is one of those ideas with tremendous charismatic powers, which has got deep roots among the people, where the consciousness of an independent national life is inextricably linked with a desire for social and economic betterment under self-rule. Its emergence, however, is the outcome of a historical process, which has been marked by many vicissitudes and shaped by the conditions of an inner divided society.

#### FIRST STIRRINGS OF NATIONAL FEELING

In over 800 years of political independence the people of Portugal have preserved the autonomy they won with great effort and toil. But, as was the case in other European countries, they were never the masters of the nation.

Led first in the IX and X centuries by feudal barons and later in the XI and XII centuries by kings, who had broken the ties of vassalage, they made up armies who slowly wrenched the territories south of the Douro river from the grip of Arab rule. Portugal has been an independent state since 1140. Later, following over a century of territorial consolidation (1249-1383), the Portuguese faced the threat of total annexation by Castile.

Those were the days when ordinary people really emerged as the driving force of autonomy. They found then a common cause with the merchant class, who had grown in the coastal towns of Lisbon and Oporto. Their resoluteness in the uprising of 1383 persuaded the vacillating Dom João, whom they had chosen as their leader to head the movement, and in the following 28 years they kept up the struggle until Castile renounced her claims.

Historians tend to describe the stormy years of 1383-85 as the period of a dynastic crisis, which led to the intervention of the King of Castile in Portugal, and indeed under the clause of a marriage contract, he appears justified in invading the neighbouring country to secure for his wife, the daughter of the deceased Portuguese King, the Crown that the revolution denied him. He had in this the backing of the Portuguese aristocracy, who had joined the ranks to fight the rebels.

#### THE NOBILITY AND THE NATION

Yet the motives of the nobility were not entirely legalistic. In the

days of King Fernando's reign, the aristocracy had come to fear at moments the unrest of the peasantry and of the Lisbon people.

These classes made up the nobility. The peasants were always heavily taxed. In some instances they had to hand over as much as 70 per cent of what they produced. And ever since 1253, their grievances had led them to a continued struggle which brought some improvement to their situation.

The plague of the Black Death (1348-49), by taking a heavy toll of the population of Portugal, as elsewhere, was an accidental factor in this process, for it made farm labourers scarce. Thus the landed nobility became more amenable to peasants' demands. But in 1383, when they saw the discontent of the people, both in town and country, take the form of armed rebellion, they believed that Castilian intervention was the only thing to preserve their privileges better than any possible political compromise with leaders who relied on popular support.

#### AN ALIEN IDEAL

The idea of nationalism was quite alien to the nobility. Even the minority of the aristocracy who fought the interventionists did not understand the social implications of a movement that had galvanised the whole nation.

Non-Alvares Pereira, the great military leader of the Portuguese forces, is a good example in question. After the victory, he became the owner of such vast estates that the King, Dom João I, was obliged to buy large tracts of them for the Crown. Patriotism or loyalty to the King of the rising nobility were the subjects of a nation, was what they felt within the existing social framework.

Yet, at that time, the people had great hopes of gaining social advantages and of breaking free from the rigid feudal system. Although their hopes were not entirely deluded, for the new King John I granted them certain rights and privileges, the greater beneficiary was the merchant class.

This had been admitted through its representatives to the Royal Council in 1385. On the other hand, the betrayal of a large part of the aristocracy to Castile enabled the King to award titles and the confiscated lands to loyal bourgeois supporters. This 'new' aristocracy

## ANATOMY OF COSMOPOLITAN NATIONALISM (1)

by A. Leal

then came to share power with the remnants of the old aristocracy, that had stood by Dom João.

Later, in the first decade of the 15th century, Portuguese nobility came to regard the privileges which had been curtailed by the Crown at the time of the revolution. And when the Crown embarks on the work of discovery, conquest and colonization, which began in 1415, the merchant-knight, who combines trading with soldiering, is the new social type that characterizes the age.

#### PRECOCIOUS NATIONALISM

The Portuguese revolution of 1383-5 is therefore the important event that gives the people of the country a national consciousness and cannot be treated as an episode of the Hundred Years War, just because the English aided the Portuguese, whilst the French backed the Castilians. Given the nature of the struggle inside Portugal, it is much more than that, and while nationalism was still growing in France and England, in Lisbon it had come already to maturity.

This explains to a certain extent why Portugal, having quite early attained national unity, was one of the first countries to launch into maritime discovery and colonization. But such a daring policy of expansion implied also an ideological process, in which the idea of nationalism was transformed and made to serve the interests of the ruling revolutionary groups of 1383. It had been broken by the early 15th century, and the compromise reached by the two classes—the nobility and the merchants—had made them the true masters of the nation. Popular sentiment was going to be seized on to further their class interests.

Intellectuals and authors, the Court chroniclers and high officials of the day, as well as missionaries, became the eloquent expositors of the new idea of Empire and of ultranationalism. The Church, which in the 1380s had supported the aristocracy against the revolutionary movement, continued to be one of the pillars of the new Establishment and the sole educator of the people. The Portuguese people, if we are to judge from their constant aversion to mili-

tary service overseas, were slowly indoctrinated in the new political creed, until the lure of getting rich quickly drove the poorer peasants out of the country to the colonies.

#### NATIONALISM AND THE IMPERIALIST IDEOLOGY

In the ideology of expansion, the former ideal of 'Reconquest', which had been a factor in liberating Iberian territories from Arab occupation, is going to be transformed into a crusading mission against Islam. Christianity, considered the true religion of the only existing God, endowed the 'conquistadores' with a sense of superiority, which led them to treat all 'heathen' civilizations contemptuously and the pagan enemy with ruthlessness.

Slavery was justified on the grounds that those who were not the masters of their souls, through living in error of the true religion, were not the masters of their bodies either.

Having obtained approval for their actions in the Papal Bulls of 1452, 1455 and 1456, the Portuguese felt quite entitled to capture the goods and the territories of all the non-Christian peoples they discovered. In the hands where they ended up, even if at first they had only small coastal settlements, as was the case in West and East Africa (where they spared no time in driving the ideological wedge of religion into the local population).

And it may even be seen as a symbol that the Cross of Christ the Portuguese bore on the sails of their galleons is still imprinted on the wings of the military planes that drop napalm on children and women of the liberated villages in Guinea.

#### UNION WITH SPAIN

This conversion of the progressive ideal of nationalism into an oppressive ideology of imperialist expansion served not only to keep the privileged position of the ruling class, who reaped great personal profits; but also the old economic structure inside Portugal. And when new possibilities of gain appeared, such as the silver mines of Spain's America, colonies, Mexico and Peru, the ruling class fought within

three generations the nationalism that had brought them to power in the 14th century. And so the Dual Monarchy was established in the Iberian Peninsula (1580-1640) under the Spanish Hapsburgs, despite the desperate efforts of the people, betrayed by their military leaders, to stop the invader.

Later these bishops of combined trade proved less rewarding than expected. So as soon as the political opportunity turned up, the Portuguese nobility, by a palace coup, proclaimed the secession, and by cashing in on popular discontent, appealed to the people, who courageously sustained a twenty-eight year war with Spain (1640-1669).

#### THE REAL MEANING OF NATIONALISM

The political pattern of behaviour of the ruling oligarchy under monarchial capitalism is by now well known, and the oligarchy is confined to their class interests at the expense of the whole nation. When those interests can better be served by the surrender of patriotism they are prone to a cosmopolitanism that renounces even political autonomy. In the 17th century we had the first example of this pattern of behaviour. And this depended largely on the changing economic situation throughout the centuries.

Initially the discoveries had been financed from Portuguese funds, but later the need for the nationalists flourished, and German bankers owned ships, which traded their own goods, but were incorporated in the Portuguese India fleets. On the other hand, before the early 16th century, Portuguese traders had contended with the local people of foreign merchants at Lisbon. At that time the ruling class of Portugal, although using some foreign capital, enjoyed a certain amount of economic autonomy, preserved by its monopoly of the Eastern trade. And this was a solid basis for the nationalist outlook of the oligarchy.

However, by 1595 the near-century-old Portuguese monopoly had been broken, and the economy of the country began to fall more and more under the pressures and exactions of foreign capital. The Low-Dutch War (1598-1667) motivated as much by Portuguese religious feeling against the Calvinist heretic as by national sentiment, made Portugal seek the protection of an English alliance. This began a slow process of further economic surrender,

which led the oligarchy inevitably into new international compromises.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese mercantile middle-class had been growing. The first stratum of that class which emerged in the 14th century, had become the aristocracy that wanted union with Spain by 1580. And in the next two decades the Iberian aristocracy, together with the clergy and the Crown, came to own 95 per cent of the land in the Peninsula. Then following the secession of 1640, the nobility barred the way to the middle-class, which only attained social status under Pombal's dictatorship (1755-1777).

It remained, however, quite restricted in its sphere of action and bound in its ambitions by the rights of the Church and the aristocracy. It was after the patriotic war against the French that the middle-class, fired by the ideal of Liberalism, rose in 1820 against the British governor, who after the expulsion of Napoleon's armies posed as a protector and ruled the whole country. Thereupon followed a period of great political agitation and a counter-revolution that led to Civil War (1832-34).

Once this was over, the Portuguese bourgeoisie came at last to power within the framework of the Monarchy. The Monarchy was finally removed as an administrative and institutional obstacle by the revolution of 1910.

#### A FLEXIBLE FORM OF NATIONALISM

The former involvement of the bourgeoisie in a patriotic war (1807-1813) in which the people had been the hard-core of resistance, made nationalism one of the dominant topics of liberal propaganda. The Romantic movement as an expression of a victorious middle-class was also going to fashion a nationalist ideology, well attuned to popular sentiment.

Yet the nationalism shown in the days of the Liberal government is rather different from that found in the writings produced in the dark hours of struggle.

In a pungent analysis of past failures, which showed how the ingrained suspicion of the people had deprived the Liberals of a broad base of support, a contemporary Portuguese intellectual voiced frequently the idea of national abjection that had set in in the rebel

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# THE COLONIES

## PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

THESE are the minimized losses reported in the Portuguese war communiqués and press from November 1st, 1969, to January 27th, 1970.

	KILLED		WOUNDED
	Armed Forces	Militia	Militia
Guinea ... ..	58	—	—
Angola ... ..	68	62	107
Mozambique ... ..	99	—	—
	225	62	107

Numbers for the wounded are not always available. The sum total for twelve weeks is 287 killed and 107 wounded. There were 123 members of the militia reported missing in Angola.

## GUINEA

### NEW AREA IN THE LIBERATION WAR

The liberation war in this colony, which began in 1963, continues with great intensity. Near the border with Senegal, operations have been stepped up by the freedom fighters, and the Portuguese Army, already hard pressed in many other areas of the colony, is trying to avoid a critical situation in the area. This is clear from Portuguese War communiqués from November 1st, 1969, to January 28th, 1970.

All report frequent attacks by the PAIGC militants against the Portuguese positions at Barro, Bigene, Guidage, Cuntma, Cucheu, Catifó, Ponta, Augusta Barros, Biessxkoba, Flaque, Cibe, São Domingos, Jaque, Cantim and Pirada, among many others.

The Portuguese military camps of Nova Sintra, Giulege, Gadamel, Porto, Cameconde, Cabedu, Madina, Xaquili, Finete, Canjambari, Enxale and Cufar, to mention only a few, were regularly shelled.

There are now other areas where Caetano's men admit new activity of the PAIGC fighters, such as Bipo Polibaque, Bochenau, and along the Melinde and Balana rivers (*War Communiqués*, 7-15-12-69).

In the Portuguese 'War Comm.' of 22 to 29-12-69, the colonialists admit that they raided a liberated area, when they report they made 'a reconnaissance' of the island of Como.

This shows unwittingly the existence of the liberated territories.

The PAIGC fighters have also

ambushed the colonialist troops in Northern and Southern Guinea.

## INSIDE PORTUGAL

*continued from page 505*

### £130m. FROM EMIGRANTS

In 1969, Portuguese emigrants throughout the world have sent home nearly £130.5m. (9m. contos). The fascist daily, 'Diário da Manhã' (5.2.1970), that gives the news, waxed lyrical over this valuable contribution to the Portuguese balance of payments.

### NEW CHIEF OF STAFF

Admiral Roboredo has now retired as Chief of Staff of the Navy and has been replaced in that post by Admiral Ornelas e Vasconcelos, an officer trained in Anti-submarine Tactics at Londonderry, the British base in Northern Ireland. He has also stayed in England and the United States for long periods of specialization and took part in the 'First Seapower Symposium' (Nov. 1969) at the Naval War College in Newport. (U.S.A.) (*D.L.* 12.1.70).

### PORTUGUESE FRIGATE IN NATO FORCE

The Minister of the Navy, Admiral Crespo, on taking stock of the Navy's record in 1969, congratulated himself for the important role it has played in combined manoeuvres with the Spanish and Brazilian navies.

Particularly dear to the Admiral's heart was the fact that a Portuguese frigate is now included in the permanent naval force of NATO (*D.L.* 24.12.69).

## BORDER CONFLICT WITH SENEGAL

In their desperation the Portuguese Colonialists try to intimidate Senegal, having shelled and raided territories inside that country. For that reason the Security Council, at the request of the Seneguese representative, met on December 15th to discuss the incidents created on the border by the Portuguese troops. (*D.L.* 17.12.69).

### TWO CAMPS LOST

The PAIGC War Communiqués of December 1969, report two great victories against the colonialists. The Portuguese military camps of Quirafo and Madina-Xaquili in the Eastern Front fell into the hands of the freedom-fighters on November 18th, '69. The Camp of Fische was raided and destroyed. (*PAIGC Actualités*, no. 11.11.69). The future looks quite grim for the colonialist troops.

### STRENGTH OF THE NAVY

The Portuguese Navy is 20,000 men strong and has nearly 200 vessels of different types and categories. But it is short of manpower. (*P.J.* 21.1.70).

### LACK OF MEN

The head of the Military Academy which trains all the army officers has stated that the 'military vocation' is in decline in Portugal both in numbers and in the quality of those who have graduated. In the 1968-1969 session, of the 568 candidates who had enrolled in the Academy only 500 graduated. (*P.J.* 8.11.69).

### OVER 40's IN THE ARMY

This may explain the alteration of the law whereby officers over the age of 40 may be now called up for military service. The need is particularly pressing for doctors and pharmacists. (*P.J.* 5.12.69).

### MORE MONEY FOR WAR

A special £8,700,000 allocation was granted to the Overseas Forces on December 24, 1969 (*D.L.* 30.12.69).

### MORE TROOPS FOR AFRICA

More troops left for Africa on Nov. 27th, 1969. On January 9th, 1970, the Portuguese liner 'Imperio' carrying troops for Africa, had serious trouble at sea 400 miles off Cape Verde. It had to be assisted by Portuguese vessels and was towed by the Greek trawler 'Nassos Mykonos' to the island of St. Vincent. (*P.J.* 27.11.69 and *D.L.* 12.1.70).

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## ANGOLA

### THE FIGHTING GOES ON

In Cabinda the patriots have shelled the Portuguese camps of Miconge and Sangamongo. They have destroyed vehicles and ambushed colonialist forces along the route of Chimbeta to Sangamongo. In the Northern area the Portuguese were attacked in the region of Nova Caipemba, Terreiro, Elem, Quibaxe, Bala Atumba, Zala, Muxaluando, Bela Vista, Calombo, Bolongongo, Quiage, Aldeia Viciosa and Quiexxe.

In the Eastern Zone the Portuguese were frequently engaged in the regions of Alto Cuito, Gago Coutinho, Cangamba, Cazage, Cazombo and Bié. At Umpulo, the Portuguese forces were shelled in their camp. In the areas of Chimbila and southern Moxico the colonialists were harassed by the patriots and many of their convoys attacked.

### NATO AND THE STRUGGLE

Agostinho Neto, the leader of the MPLA, has made an assessment of the conditions of the liberation struggle against the Fascist Army. 'The Portuguese', he states, 'have learned the same tactics used by the NATO countries who fight guerrilla wars. Their offices have attended courses in France and in the United States and have made their own experiences of Algeria and Viet-nam, both in their military operations and in psychological warfare'. (*Angola—In people on revolution*, 1969, p. 7).

On the other hand, according to Neto, there are North-American officers at Cabinda to give the Portuguese technical assistance. And to the South-eastern region South Africa has sent troops to fight the Angolan patriots' (*ibid.*, p. 8).

### SOUTH AFRICAN TAKE OVER

The entirely Portuguese-owned UNIPESCA, a fishing company at Cacuaco, only a few miles from Luanda, was heavily in debt to the Totta-Standard Bank (a South African-Portuguese Bank) and on the verge of collapse. So in 1965, the South African 'Delta Fisheries' bought 90 per cent of its shares. Later another South-African company, the PESCANCOL, created a branch, the 'South-African Invest-

ments for Angola', which has acquired 75 per cent of the shares of UNIPESCA. By September of this year, the company expects an annual output of 26,000 tons of fish.

Since 1965, Portuguese legislation has made Angola an ideal place for South-African investments.

The new firm Diamint, with head offices in Luanda, Angola, is a joint South-African and Portuguese venture, for the exploitation of mineral resources. It has a capital investment of £150,000.

I.C.I. (South Africa-Johannesburg) a branch of the British I.C.I. opened I.C.I. Angola, an import-export firm, with an initial capital of £7,000. (*Vida Mundial*, 2.1.70).

In 1970, Angolan exports to South Africa will increase substantially. About 500 tons of sisal and 12,000 tons of coffee will be exported to South Africa. (*Vida Mundial*, 7.11.69.)

### MORE IRON ORE EXPORTS

The Mining Company of Lobito is contemplating a 6m. tons export of high quality iron ore in 1970. The Company has already found in its own territory 'excellent perspectives' for gold-mining. This will need a 3m. dollar investment (*D.J.*, 14.1.70).

The Company's Cassinga Mines supplied about 2m. tons of iron ore to West German steel industries in 1969. Their output in that year was estimated to be nearly 5m. tons. (*V.M.*, 5.12.69).

### GOLD FOUND

The Mining Society of Huila has found large gold deposits in the Chipindo area. (*P.J.*, 17.12.69).

### AND MORE OIL

By the end of 1970, it is expected that Cabinda will increase its daily average of 30,000 drums of oil to 150,000. This will mean an output of 7.5m. tons of oil annually. (*P.J.*, 5.11.69).

### THE BRITISH 'TANKS'

According to Richard Eder in the 'New York Times' (6.1.70), the Benguela railway is a political and economic factor of great importance in the Portuguese struggle against the African nationalists.

Lord Colyton, the Chairman of 'Tanganyika Concessions Ltd.' (TANKS), which owns the railway, has pointed out some adverse factors facing it in 1970. Receipts from the

transport of copper from the Congo and Zambia were disappointing for some months in 1968/69. This was mainly due to the suspension of traffic in April and May following 'terrorist activity' and later to shortage of wagons affecting Zambian copper shipments. (*The Times*, 12.12.69 and 23.1.70).

### THRIVING WITH THE WAR

In 1969, the Commercial Bank of Angola increased its assets, worth £2,175,000 to £3,625,000. A special department has been created for financial investment (*D.J.*, 6.12.69).

### JAPAN READY TO MOVE IN

It seems that Japan is very keen on the Cabinda oil. In 1967 Japan imported £1,769,000 worth of oil from that area.

### LEARNING ABOUT OIL

So great is the interest of the authorities in promoting oil exploration in the colony, that 'Encounter I on Oil Exploration' was held in Luanda during the week of January 16th. North-American experts attended this 'Encounter' and Prof. S. Marsden of Stanford University will remain for some time at Luanda University as an academic adviser. (*P.J.*, 12 & 17.1.70).

### COPPER IS FOUND

The Copper mining company 'Empresa de Cobre de Angola' will continue its prospection work in the Tetelo region and will invest initially 1m. dollars, being ready to invest eventually up to 10m. dollars (*P.J.*, 12.1.70).

## MOZAMBIQUE

### FRELIMO KEEPS UP THE FIGHT

Meanwhile the war goes on with unabated fury, as the Portuguese War Communiqué (October to December, 1969—*P.J.*, 14.11.69 to 20.1.70) reveal.

The Portuguese report frequent attacks by the FRELIMO fighters in all fronts at Niassa, in the Jeci area, in Cape Delgado in the centre and to the south of the Mueda plateau and in Tete. Regular ambushes of Portuguese convoys and mine explosions on the tracks used by the Portuguese have also increased.

*continued overleaf*

## THE COLONIES - continued

Frelimo war communiqués are quite detailed in their operations against the Portuguese. From August 7th to October 21st, military operations were so frequent that at certain times they were carried out almost daily. On September 15th, a Portuguese aircraft was shot down by the Frelimo fighters ("MOZAMBIQUE Revolution", Oct. 69; pp. 7-8). On November 3rd, Frelimo artillery forces carried out a heavy attack on the Portuguese post of Milepa in the Niassa province.

Many other operations were carried out successfully in the same province at Dias-Unamgo, Macalogo, Ngueni and Chussumino. (Frelimo W. Comm.—29-12-1969).

### PORTUGUESE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The Portuguese authorities are involved in a large propaganda campaign aimed at discrediting the liberation movement of the FRELIMO. For this reason they give malicious exaggeration to the divergences that exist at the moment among the FRELIMO leaders.

On the other hand, they try to make as much capital as possible out of a few deserters from the FRELIMO, who are interviewed by journalists in Lourenço Marques. (P.J. 1.12.69).

Yet these divergences, however irritating they may be, can be expected in any liberation movement engaged in a protracted armed struggle, as the editor of 'Mozambique Revolution' (Oct. 1969, p.1) points out. They are in a way the teething-troubles of a growing nationalism that is fighting valiantly against the corrupting legacy of Portuguese colonialism.

### MILITARY ATTACHES ON A VISIT

The military attachés of Brazil U.S.A., South-Africa, France, Federal Germany and Spain visited Cape Delgado on December 15th, 1969. They were near the war zones in Northern Mozambique. (P.J. 16-12-69).

### SOUTH AFRICA INVESTS

A new company has been formed, with the powerful backing of the South-African 'Johannesburg Consolidated Investments Company Ltd.' and an initial £3,190,000 to prospect and explore with exclusive

rights all minerals, save oil and natural gas. (V.M. 9-1-70) over an area of 30,000 square miles. (V.M. 9-1-70 and Times, 22-12-69).

South Africa is tightening its economic grip on Mozambique. The South-African concern 'Anglo-American Corporation', has now an unrevealed share in the £18,705 initial capital of the new firm ORTIM. (V.M. 2-1-70).

### COAL FOR JAPAN

From Mozambique 12,000 tons of coal have been exported to Japan. (V.M. 12-12-69).

### OIL AND BIG MONEY

The U.S.A. 'Sunray' oil company and its associates ('Mozambique Gulf Oil', which is a branch of the 'Pan American Oil', 'Hunt International', 'Texaco Company') together with the West German 'Gelsenberg', the French 'Aquitaine' and the South African 'Anglo-American', have prospected successfully for oil on the Mozambican coastal shelf. (P.J. 8-1-70).

### CABORA BASSA AND SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA

The £150m. hydro-electric project at the gorge of Cabora Bassa on the Zambesi River is the ambitious plan of Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian colonialists to bar the way to the advancing forces of the Mozambican fighters. Lisbon plans to bring in 1m. white settlers to the Zambesi valley, to strengthen the 100,000 now living in the colony. South African troops have already been seen at the Cabora Bassa site.

The scheme is being built under tender to the Lisbon Government by the ZAMCO consortium headed by the South African mining 'Anglo-American Corporation.'

In the autumn of 1969, the Swedish Government, pressed by a popular campaign, made the Swedish firm ASEA withdraw from the ZAMCO consortium.

Then the GEC—English Electric tried to negotiate the £15m. contract. The attitude of the British Government on the prospective deal was quite encouraging and the Portuguese press was pleased. (P.J. 12-11-69).

The Labour barrister, Lord Gifford (speaking in the Lords) urged the Government to prevent British firms from taking part in the Cabora Bassa scheme. To allow the deal to go through would be breaking the

## MILITARY GRAZE

Portugal, the country with the lowest standard of living in Western Europe, is allocating at least 44 per cent of her annual budget, to military expenditure.

The increase in this expenditure since 1949 is shown by the following table:

Year	£ Million
1949	17.7m
1954	26.3m
1960	37.8m
1961	61.5m
1962	71.8m
1963	71.5m
1964	80.6m
1965	83.5m
1966	92.4m
1967	136.8m
1968	147.6m
1969	148.0m*

\*Estimate

British regulations and UN resolutions on sanctions against Rhodesia, he pointed out.

Now it appears that SIEMENS AG of West Germany may well clinch the deal. ('Times' 27-11-69 and *Peace News* 23-11-69).

### BARCLAYS FINANCES THE PROJECT

And yet British involvement to the project has not ceased. BARCLAYS BANK-DCO (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) is concerned in the group financing the dam project. The British Government attitude to participation in the dam is evasive. Lord Shepherd, Foreign Office Minister of State, has said that there would only be a contravention of sanctions, if there was evidence of the use of Rhodesian goods and the involvement of a British institution in their export from Rhodesia.

The General Manager of Barclays Bank DCO in Johannesburg has commented that as a member of a consortium it could not directly break sanctions against Rhodesia. His Government was not affected by British Government decisions—and the South African assets of Barclays were subject to South African regulations only. (*The Times*, 22-12-69, *Sunday Times*, 19-12-69).

Thus the struggle has to go on.

# 'NO' TO REACTION

## UNITED NATIONS

On November 28th last the Senegalese representative at the U.N. demanded a meeting of the Security Council to deal with an attack by the Portuguese Army on November 25th against the Senegalese village of Samine, near the border with the Portuguese colony of Guinea (Bissau.)

On December 4th the Republic of Guinea representative made a similar complaint concerning an attack by Portuguese troops against two Guinea villages.

On December 10th the Security Council approved by 13 votes in favour, with two abstentions (United States and Spain) a resolution condemning the Portuguese attacks against Senegal. On December 30th President Senghor of Senegal stated in Dakar that his country would reply to any further shelling of its villages by Portuguese troops from Guinea-Bissau.

On December 22nd last the Security Council approved, by 9 votes in favour with six abstentions (Britain, United States, France, Spain, Formosa and Colombia), a resolution condemning the Portuguese attacks against the Republic of Guinea.

On December 12th last the U.N. General Assembly approved by 87 votes against 1, with 23 abstentions, a resolution on Southern Africa which specifically condemned Portugal for its inhuman treatment of political prisoners in her African colonies. The following day the same Assembly approved by 76 votes against 5 (Britain, United States, South Africa, Portugal and Argentina) a resolution asking all the U.N. agencies to support the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. The resolution recommended that international organisations such as that of the Civil Aviation (ICAO) and the Universal Postal Union should cease all collaboration with Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

## AFRICAN UNITY ORGANISATION

The general secretary of this organisation, Diallo Telli, stated in Paris, on January 13th, that the African countries members would enter into a common and decisive

action against the Portuguese colonialists if these persisted in their present position of waging colonial wars against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

## IN BRITAIN

In reply to an appeal by the British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty, prior to last November elections in Portugal, 35 members of Trade Unions Executive Committees and 15 other trade-unionists sent a message to the Portuguese authorities expressing their concern about the political situation in Portugal and the repressive policies of the régime.

An appeal by the same Committee resulted in many Christmas cards being sent to the Portuguese political prisoners and families.

## HOLLAND

The Dutch Angola Comité published last October a booklet by Mr. S. Bosgra and Mr. C. Van Krimpen entitled 'Portugal and Nato', which exposes the extent of the military help given to Portugal by NATO and its nation-members.

## BRAZIL AND OTHERS

Brazil and Portugal are contemplating granting joint citizenship to the nationals of both countries, as a step towards the eventual creation of a Luso-Brazilian community of nations (*D.L.* 13.12.69).

Another sphere where there is enthusiastic cooperation between the two dictatorships is that of repression, as is indicated by the close contacts between the Portuguese and Brazilian police. Thus, another visit was paid to Lisbon by Brazilian security men: the Head of the Guanabara Secretary for Security and his assistant went to Lisbon where they held several meetings with Portuguese counterparts (*Vida Mundial*, 19.12.69).

A meeting was held in Paris, sponsored by the Banco Português do Atlântico for the discussion of financial and technical cooperation between France and Portugal (*D.L.* 29.10.69).

The heads of Staff of the Spanish and Portuguese Armies met in Madrid to discuss matters of 'Peninsular security' (*D.L.* 26.11.69).

# ALVES REDOL

IN December last the distinguished Portuguese novelist, Alves Redol, died in a Lisbon hospital, after a prolonged illness.

Born in 1911 at Vila Franca de Xira, Alves Redol was a true son of the people, having shared with them the hardships of the ordinary working man. For this very reason his political consciousness was soon aroused by the brutal conditions imposed on the country by the fascist dictatorship. So he was deeply involved in the struggle against the régime. In the Forties he took part in the United Democratic Movement (MUD) for the re-establishment of human rights in Portugal, being a member of the Writers Group. He was imprisoned several times by the former PIDE, the secret police, now renamed the General Directorate of Security (D.G.S.).

His whole life both as an author and as a man was an outstanding example of political integrity. For this reason he was feared by the fascist authorities even after his death. On the day of his funeral about 10,000 people gathered at Vila Franca de Xira, which was besieged by forces of the Republican Guards, policemen with dogs, 200 men of the shock brigade and PIDE agents.

Redol's early novels such as *GAIBEUS* (1940) and *FANGA*—(1943)—which had a 6th edition in (1963)—portrayed with an intense realism and, especially in the case of *FANGA*, with great literary and artistic merit, the hard lives of the Portuguese peasants, the poorest working people in the country. Amongst the best known of his later novels are *OLHOS D'AGUA* (1954) and *BARRANCO DOS CEGOS* (1962).

Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, K. Shingler, 10 Feniman Road, London, S.W.8. Subscriptions for one year, including postage: Britain and Europe 15s., Overseas (airmail), £1. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin.

# NEWS OF REPRESSION

(From our correspondent in Portugal)

## THE 'NEW' SECRET POLICE

SO far the General Directorate of Security which replaced PIDE last November 24th, looks very much like its predecessors. All the agents, possessions, equipment and weapons of PIDE passed into the hands of the new organization.

Its repressive action is also showing the same pattern as that of PIDE, either against the many political prisoners still in jail or in relation to new political arrests. On February 25th the Directorate of Security announced in the Portuguese press the arrest in Lisbon on February 21st of the oppositionist lawyer Salgado Zenha and 21 other people.

## MORE REPRESSION

The leaders of the régime continue to advocate police and armed repression as an indispensable weapon.

On January 19th the Army and Defence Minister, General Sá Viana Rebelo, stated, during a visit to the headquarters of the Army General Staff in Lisbon, that the fundamental objectives of the Army in Portugal were the maintenance of 'internal security and public order'.

Three days later the Minister of the Interior referred publicly to the need to 'localize, denounce and unmask the schools of terrorism in Portugal'.

A new judge to preside over the Lisbon Plenary Court, which conducts most political trials, was appointed on December 12th.

The salaries of two police forces (P.S.P. and G.N.R.) were increased on January 8th.

## BRITISH CARS FOR THE POLICE

On January 18th it was announced that British motor cars had been supplied to the Security Police (P.S.P., one of the armed police forces) P.S.P. was already equipped with West German cars.

## THE TRIALS

In February the trial of Angelo Veloso and other people, accused of 'subversive activities' started in Lisbon. The accused were arrested last May. On March 7th Angelo Veloso was sentenced to 6½ years in jail, Manuel Pedro to 6 years and 4 months, Carlos de Matos to 2 years and 4 months, Maria Madalena de Oliveira, a woman, to 1½ years and Dr. Carlos Horta to 15 months.

Between January 7th and February 14th, the Lisbon Plenary Court tried 22 people accused of stealing £428,000 from a bank in May 1967, in Figueira da Foz, Central Portugal, with intentions of using the money for political purposes. 16 of the accused were given sentences of between 6 months and 20 years in jail. Six were acquitted.

## PORTUGAL AND BIAFRA

The Portuguese fascist and colonialist régime was one of the main supporters of the Biafran government.

This position is in agreement with the intention of the Portuguese government to promote disunity and neo-colonialism amongst the African states in order to prolong their hold over the Portuguese African colonies. The Portuguese government was one of the main supporters of the Katanga régime of Tshombe and is a close ally of Banda's Malawi.

During the Nigerian war military supplies and mercenaries were regularly flown to Biafra from Lisbon and from the S. Tomé island colony (scene of savage colonialist repression in February 1953, when over 1,000 Africans were massacred by the Portuguese troops and police).

## ANATOMY—*from page 507*

camp by the 1830s.

In a Europe that had the Holy Alliance (1815-48) as its watch-dog, the Portuguese middle-class leaders, deeply upset by the complacency of the British cabinet to the arch-conservative Lisbon Government, came to see the Iberian Union as a solution of despair. The sole 'valid' objection to this seemed to be the secondary role, which would perforce be played by Portuguese politicians in that Union, since the unprivileged classes, in view of their social and economic weakness, would hardly count for anything in that change.

The idea of an Iberian Federation is also mooted in the 1890s by Portuguese liberal intellectuals as a means of creating a power block to counter the supremacy of imperial England. But this possibility had been put forward with the sole aim of keeping the Portuguese colonies under the control of the national bourgeoisie. *to be continued*

## INSIDE PORTUGAL—*continued from page 508*

### A CROWDED UNIVERSITY

The University City of Lisbon, heralded as the latest great achievement of the régime, turns out to be totally inadequate for present needs.

Prefabs had to be erected as lecture rooms in the campus. And additional accommodation for 3,000 students of the Faculty of Arts had to be found in a building in another part of the city.

The Institute of Economics is still functioning in an old convent and the Faculty of Science is housed in an altered old building, which belonged to the Company of Jesus.

The Faculty of Pharmacy dates from 1917, and the School of Veterinary Surgery is housed in a building dating from 1865.

All these buildings are totally

insufficient for the existing numbers of students (*Vida Mundial*, 12.12.69).

### TOO POOR TO GO TO THE PICTURES

While the population of Portugal is increasing, the number of spectators in the cinemas is decreasing. In 1968 the number of spectators per performance was 274.

The reason is economic. Old cinemas in poor quarters, where seats were low-priced, are closing down, and new picture houses are opening with seats that cost three times as much. (*D.L.* 16.1.70).

### STUDIOS CLOSE DOWN

The Film Studios of the Portuguese Tobis in Lisbon have closed down for lack of funds (*D.L.* 18.12.69).