

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

Vol. 11, No. 3

July 1971

BRITAIN AND FASCISM

Sir Alec Douglas Home, the British Foreign Secretary, visited Lisbon officially on June 1st, holding a series of talks with Rui Patrício, the Portuguese Foreign Minister.

Sir Alec (then Lord Home) was in Lisbon 10 years ago, in May 1961, honouring the celebrations of the 1926 fascist coup d'état on May 28th. He had friendly talks with Salazar, the sinister Portuguese dictator, reinforcing the support of the British Government for the fascist régime.

Sir Alec was slightly more cautious this time. He arrived on June 1st, close to the fascist celebrations, but a few days later, when only the props of the celebration remained in the streets of Lisbon. After all, lots of things have happened since 1961 and the Portuguese régime is certainly far from popular in today's world. But the 1971 talks had the same objectives as 10 years ago, that is, to strengthen the support for Portuguese fascism, to strengthen the position of British financial and industrial interests in Portugal and her colonies.

The British ruling class, the oldest ally of the Portuguese ruling class, has still one of the leading shares in the exploitation of Portugal and her colonies. The largest number of foreign companies in Portugal are British—209 out of a full 1,400. Total British investments, though undisclosed, must be near the £300 million mark, if the colonies are included. A drive for further investments is on, as shown by the visit to Lisbon, at the beginning of May, of a British trade mission and to Angola of a similar mission, which left London on May 26th, via Lisbon.

NATO

Sir Alec also led the British delegation to the NATO Council meeting in Lisbon on June 3rd and 4th.

The infamous and criminal Portuguese fascist régime is a founder member of NATO, having signed its initial treaty in April 1949, in Washington.

In 1952 the NATO Council met in Lisbon and from this meeting originated NATO's reorganisation, the adhesion of Greece and Turkey and increased activity in the 'cold war'. Salazar and the fascist régime fervently supported this and savagely repressed the public demonstrations in Lisbon against the meeting. NATO military installations and bases were set up in Portugal and, in February 1967, the headquarters of the newly-formed NATO Ibero-Atlantic area or Iberlant were established near Lisbon.

The June NATO meeting took place in the Ajuda palace, specially renovated at a cost of over £290,000, paid for by the Portuguese, the people with the lowest standard of living in Western Europe. It was preceded by NATO naval manoeuvres, along the Portuguese coast, with participation of Portuguese ships ('Sunny Seas' and 'Rusty Razor' manoeuvres); by a new decree, issued by the Portuguese Government on May 11th, establishing closer co-operation and integration of Portuguese military personnel in the NATO installations and bases in Portugal; by the visit to Lisbon on May 14th of the US permanent representative in the NATO Council, Robert Elsworth, a good friend of President Nixon; and by the close guarding of the meeting-place by the Portuguese secret police (DGS-Pide), perpetrators of so many crimes, murders and tortures of innocent people in Portugal and her colonies.

Mr. Josel Luns, Dutch Foreign Minister for 19 years, was appointed NATO Secretary-General in Lisbon. Mr. Luns is an open supporter of Portuguese fascism, as shown by many public statements and actions to that effect. He was a personal friend of Salazar, who allowed him to come to Lisbon during the second world war; in June 1968 he was awarded in Lisbon one of the highest Portuguese decorations (the Grand Cross of the Order of Christ).

At this moment, when the whole future of NATO is at a cross-road because of new and positive develop-

ments concerning the problem of European security, it is only to be feared that the Lisbon meeting will strengthen the most aggressive elements in the organisation, including a possible involvement in Africa.

The African involvement is a declared aim of the Portuguese government, faced with three colonial wars in Africa. As recently as January 21st last, the Portuguese Defence Minister stated in Beira, Mozambique, that his government 'will offer to NATO all the Portuguese ports in Africa'.

AND THE COMMON MARKET

The Portuguese fascists, already members of EFTA, along with Britain, are also trying at all costs to become integrated in the Common Market, in order to get more economic support for their régime. On November 24th last they presented a formal request in Brussels to open negotiations to that purpose. The first conversations were held in that city on January 7th and a second round took place there between March 29th and 31st.

Marcello Caetano stated in March that he was ready to go into Europe and that same month a mission of West German Social Democrat, Christian Democrat and Free Democrat MPs and Government officials visited Lisbon to study, amongst other problems, Portugal's association with the Common Market.

The well-known, repeatedly-produced and undisputed facts about the nature and the actions of the Portuguese fascists prove that it is in the best interests of the British people not to allow Britain to have anything to do with or give any further support, either through NATO and the Common Market or through the continued support of Portugal at the United Nations or in any other way, to a régime that is a shame for all mankind.

Only shame can come to those who support fascism, only harm is done and problems created by allowing fascism—which was supposed to have been irrevocably defeated 26 years ago—to survive in this part of Europe.

Britain's continued and growing involvement with Portuguese fascism must be stopped by the British people.

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 acknowledgement of the source.

THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

There is no clearer indictment of a political régime than when that régime puts in jail those who fought with the majority in their country for better living conditions, for a happier life, for social justice for that majority, against a régime based upon economic exploitation of the people. This is the case in Portugal.

The numbers of the political prisoners may be lower in Portugal than in some other countries, but this is to be expected from a political system which relies more on mass terror and on repeated arrests and release from jail of those whom it selects as special victims. Indeed it is not possible to keep in jail the eight million people who constitute almost the total of the Portuguese population and who are all in opposition to the régime.

Portuguese fascism relies on keeping in jail those who openly threaten it by seeking to build mass opposition movements. It relies on inhuman prison conditions that gradually destroy the health and the resistance of its opponents.

Peniche

A maximum security jail in an old fortress, by the sea, at the top of an isolated peninsula. Harsh warders,

secret police agents, armed detachments of the GNR with machine guns and rifles. That is Peniche.

The movement of protest in Portugal against the political prisons forced the Caetano government to allow some 'National Assembly' deputies to inspect the jails. But after that visit one of Caetano's deputies, Sá Carneiro, stated (on February 18th last) in the 'National Assembly', that the contact allowed with the prisoners had not been sufficient to judge of their true situation. Indeed, a real enquiry about the Portuguese political prisoners, on the spot, in Portugal has never been allowed by the Portuguese Government.

There they are in Peniche. Men such as workers' leader Pires Jorge, 64 years of age, 14 years in jail after 19 years in the clandestine anti-fascist movement, now in a precarious state of health. Also José Magro, 51-years-old, nearly 18 years in jail; last November he was sent from the Caxais prison hospital—where he was because of bad health—back to Peniche. Other long-term prisoners are Dias Lourenço (whose 10-year-old son died last January), Blauqui Teixeira, José Carlos, Rogério Carvalho, Guilhermo Carvalho, Domingos Abrantes, Hildo

Esteves, Diniz Miranda, Jorge Araújo, Canais Rocha, Angelo Veloso, José Pulquério, etc., etc.

Twenty-five political prisoners are kept under the criminal 'security measures' which can mean life imprisonment.

Last October there were in Peniche clashes between the warders and the prisoners. Four prisoners were brutally beaten by the jailers.

Caxais

In this other fortress, near Lisbon, are kept the women prisoners. Amongst them Ursula Machado, arrested in September 1968.

You Can Help Them

You can help by demanding from Caetano (Professor Marcelo Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal) the release and an amnesty for all Portuguese political prisoners. Other prisoners have been released because of public protest. Act now! You will be on the side of justice!

KEY TO REFERENCES

PJ—'Primeiro de Janeiro'

DL—'Diário de Lisboa'

Two of the leading daily, censored, Portuguese newspapers.

INSIDE PORTUGAL

Under Pressure

Portugal has increased its holding in the International Monetary Fund from US \$75 million to US \$115 million, of which 75 per cent is being paid in 'escudos'. This measure will give Portugal greater drawing rights in case of need. This step is obviously taken in view of the persistent deterioration in Portugal's Trade Balance (see this issue), resulting in a reduction in the surplus on the full balance of payments which had shrunk to no more than £10 million in 1970 (DL 23.4.71).

Since this weakness will be aggravated by tariff reductions on imports under the EFTA agreements, and by moves towards joining the Common Market, the arrangements with the International Monetary Fund will never solve the 'escudo' problems.

Profits at All Costs

However, there is still a very profit-

able state of affairs for Portuguese banks as the following figures for net profits in 1970 show:

	£
Bank of Portugal ..	1,620,000
Nacional Ultramarino (Overseas Bank) ..	1,650,000
Espirito Santo & Commercial de Lisboa	1,260,000
Português do	
Atlantico ..	1,230,000
Pinto & Sotto Mayor	1,020,000
Borges & Irmao ..	826,000
Totta & Açores ..	659,000
Fonseca & Burnay ..	590,000
Electricity companies also had a bumper harvest of profits in 1970:	£
Companhia Portuguesa de Electricidade ..	7,130,000
Companhias Reunidas de Gás & Electricidade ..	1,430,000
(PJ 4.4.71, DL 24.3.71).	
The Companhia Portuguesa de	

Electricidade is a giant monopoly concern formed in August 1969 from the merger of several companies, and mainly responsible for supplies of electricity in Portugal. The Companhia Reunidas de Gás and Electricidade is an international concern, dominated by Belgian capital, which supplies electricity and gas to Lisbon; in 1969 its capital was increased by £1 million to reach a total of £11.4 million.

Meanwhile the weekly incomes of the Portuguese people is distributed as follows: only 1 per cent of the population earn more than £36 a week; 13 per cent get less than £3.50; 21 per cent earn between £3.50 and £5.50; while the major group, representing 46 per cent of the population, have incomes of between £5.50 and £12.50 a week (DL 12.2.71). Consumer prices in Portugal are, on the average, only slightly lower than in Britain.

It is not surprising that in a recent OECD publication listing 22 countries according to income per head of population, Portugal ranks lowest of all but Turkey.

	US\$
Sweden	3,000
USA	2,800
Germany	2,100
Great Britain	1,600
Italy	1,400
Spain	1,400
Portugal	500
Turkey	300

(P] 16.12.70).

Betrayal and Sell-Out

In 1961 a total of £16 million of foreign investments entered Portugal in 1968 this figure had swollen to £83 million (Report of the Bank of Portugal for 1968, Lisbon).

In spite of the failure of underdeveloped countries throughout the world to overcome their economic backwardness by means of foreign investment, and the persistent stagnation of the Portuguese economy since 1966, the government slavishly pursues a policy which, in its disregard of the interests of the Portuguese people, amounts to national betrayal.

According to the magazine 'Usine Nouvelle', the agreement signed in December 1970 by the Portuguese Sociedade Financeira and a group of French banks will contribute to the financing of the most important industrial sectors of the Portuguese economy, namely: mechanical equipment, telecommunications, chemical industries, railways, and maritime transport ('Provincia de Angola', 12.3.71).

The Swiss firm, Etablissements Sim, SA, of Morges, is now associated with the Portuguese concern António Peixoto Ltd. in a £107,000 car spares enterprise. Eighty per cent of the production is for export (P] 12.2.71).

The new pharmaceutical laboratories of the West German firm Merck, to be built near Lisbon, will get all its electrical substructure from the well-known West German consortium Siemens (DL 20.2.71).

The South African and British owned Beralit Tin and Wolfram, a subsidiary of the Charter Consolidated group, exploits one of the largest tungsten mines in the world at Pansqueira in Portugal. In 1970 Beralit's net profits reached £1,082,307, setting a new annual record, 1,634 tons of wolfram and tin concentrates were produced. A new development is the additional investment of £20,000 for the equipment of the Ribeira mine, especially rich in tin, and intended to produce 600 tons of concentrates per year. ('The Times', London, 21.4.71).

The Dutch and the Swedes share the Plunder

The Lisnave shipyards at Lisbon, built in 1967, are mainly owned by the Dutch enterprises Nederlandsche Droogdok Maatschappij, Rotterdam and Maatschappij, Wilton Frijenroed Bronswerk, and by the Swedish firms Kokums Mekaniska Verkstads and Eriksbergs Mekaniska Verkstads, while a smaller share is held by the Portuguese monopoly CUF. With an initial investment of £10 million, it has the biggest dry dock in the Western hemisphere, able to take 326,000-ton tankers of the 'Universe' class, the biggest in use (Daily Telegraph, 6.4.71). It has done servicing and repairs to 550 vessels since its opening. Amongst its building operations is the supply of 30,000 tons of tanker sections annually, meeting the needs of other European shipyards for the next five years.

A new dry dock, inaugurated this year, can handle vessels of 1,000,000 tons, and is capable of holding at the same time one ship of 150,000 tons and another of 75,000 tons. Additional investments of £10 million are planned. There is also a project to invest £29 million in constructing the largest shipbuilding yard in Europe at Sestilhal, a little South of Lisbon. Other shipyards are planned for the Cape Verde Islands and for Mozambique, on the strategic oil routes.

In 1970 Lisnave Shipyard cleared £1.4 million in net profits (DL 31.3.71). All this was and is made possible by the low wages and intensive exploitation of the 5,200 Lisnave workers, whose strike for better conditions of employment was savagely repressed in 1969.

And the Others Too . . .

The American trust 'Times' has invested £1.7 million in a new watch-making factory in Almada, south of Lisbon (Industria Portuguesa, Lisbon, January, 1971).

The National Bank of Paris recently opened an office in Lisbon. This Bank was party to an agreement signed in Paris, in December 1970, with the Sociedade Financeira Portuguesa, for industrial investments in Portugal reaching £13 million (Industria Portuguesa, February, 1971).

Twenty-five managers of large European enterprises recently met in Lisbon to discuss financial problems (DL 5.3.71). This gathering was followed by the visit of the directors of the computer firm Honeywell Bull, to inaugurate a time-sharing centre (DL 13.3.71). Meanwhile the first general meeting of the Japanese-Portuguese

Chamber of Commerce took place also in Lisbon (DL 12.3.71).

Fascism for the 70s

Under a façade of liberalism, Marcello Caetano is pursuing with more dynamism and better public relations the old policies of ruthless fascist rule.

Caetano's latest move was to approve in November, 1970, the creation of an 'association of studies', the SEDES, which has the close participation of two members of his cabinet (Xavier Pintado and Joao Salgueiro) and has the collaboration of several deputies in the 'National Assembly' (Daily Portuguese Press, February, 1971). Since the 130 deputies in the 'National Assembly' are all members of the Government party, the only one allowed in the country, the political character of the association is clear.

But this is indeed a cunning manoeuvre to place within the Government apparatus the undecided opponents of the régime, to detach the weak from the more coherent sectors of the opposition, in order to organize a captive opposition, which would serve the régime well in trying to find inside the country the support it lacks, and in improving its image abroad.

'Salazar with the Pepsodent Smile'

But the people of Portugal, who see Caetano now quite often either on television, or in his lightning tours through the country, have not been deceived by the publicity gimmicks aimed at selling them a totally discredited policy. And in an age of slogans they have coined their own. For them the new Premier is 'Salazar with the Pepsodent smile'.

Caetano's Military Officers

The Army continues to get special treatment from the Portuguese Government. A High School for the Air Force has been founded to prepare well-qualified officers for the higher ranks of the force (P] 26.2.71).

Meanwhile a new chief for the High Staff of the Air Force has been appointed, General M. T. Polleri, who obtained special qualifications in Great Britain and the United States, being a former member of the military commission of NATO (P] 24.3.71).

The War Bill

In 1971, Portugal will spend £43,788,500 on keeping its armed forces in Angola and Mozambique. Allocated for the war in Angola are £27,186,000 and for that in Mozambique £16,602,500 (Agence France Presse, 16.3.71).

(Continued on page 34)

FIGHT OF THE PEOPLE

The Portuguese people continue to be faithful to the glorious moments of their past, when they fought for their dignity and their freedom.

Workers' Strikes

Strikes for better wages, which are forbidden by the fascists, took place recently in the Joffa Clothing Enterprise in **Alhos Vedros** (500 women); in the Tudor Batteries factory in **Castanheira do Ribatejo** (400 workers); in the Fabopol Tyre factory in **Santa Tirso**; in the textile **Ferro** factory in **Fafe**; in the Ford car assembly factory in **Azambuja** (700 workers, seven-day strike at the beginning of March); in the General Motors car factory also in **Azambuja**; in the Barros textile factory in **Cabo Ruivo** near Lisbon (600 women and 200 men, three-day strike in March).

The Ford and Barros factories were occupied by the armed police (GNR and PSP) and by the secret police. The Barros workers clashed with the police; the women workers stoned the repressive forces in self-defence. Two women were arrested and 20 workers dismissed.

May Day

May Day celebrations are forbidden by the Portuguese Government. But, as in other years, they took place in many parts of Portugal. In **Oporto**, right in the centre of the town (**Praça da Liberdade** or Freedom Square), a public demonstration was violently dispersed by the repressive forces, after a number of clashes with the demonstrators, which lasted for several hours. Ten people were wounded and taken to hospital. Many were arrested. Twenty thousand people participated in the **Oporto** demonstrations.

In the 'Sindicatos'

Portuguese workers continue to use their 'sindicatos' (state-controlled unions) to put forward demands.

The authorities refused to accept three of the members of the legally-elected **Lisbon** metal workers 'sindicato'. This aroused a large movement of protest and a meeting of 22 other 'sindicatos' sent a signed protest to the authorities.

The **Oporto** metal workers 'sindicato' has also been very active and 6,500 workers signed a document concerning their working conditions.

In February there were large meet-

ings of the **Oporto** insurance employees (1,000 people) and of the **Lisbon** taxi drivers (1,200 people). Also 20 other 'sindicatos' met to discuss their problems.

After a similar meeting of 21 'sindicatos' in April, a document was sent to **Caetano** demanding the right to strike and the implementation of other workers' rights.

Fishermen, Farm Workers and Farmers

The **Pêvoa do Varzim** (near **Oporto**) fishermen went on strike for over five weeks. Several arrests were made. The **Benfica do Ribatejo** farm workers went on strike for six days. A total of 700 small farmers in **Sever do Vouga** made a protest about the taking over of their common pasture land by the government forestry services. A similar action is in course in **Préstimo** (Aguada). The cellulose industry, the main consumer of trees, is now big business in Portugal, with leading positions occupied by foreign capital (Swedish and others).

Against NATO's Help

To protest against the NATO meeting in **Lisbon** and its support of the fascist regime a commando of the clandestine anti-fascist movement blew up, on June 3rd, the **Lisbon** telecommunications post office centre, isolating the town from the rest of the world for eight hours.

The Students

Great student struggles have been taking place in Portugal since last December. The students are continuing their fight for their unions (Associações Académicas) and their rights.

In December, after a series of large demonstrations and sit-ins by the **Lisbon** students, the University was closed by the authorities.

In January there were more demonstrations and violent clashes with the police in **Lisbon**. The Higher Technical Institute (IST) was again closed by the authorities. The **Lisbon** University students went on a general strike for six days and were followed by the **Coimbra** University students for several days, with meetings in **Coimbra** of over 2,000 students. A **Lisbon** demonstration stoned the US Embassy building and on January 21st the Government had to decree special powers to deal with the situation.

In February the authorities closed the students' union in **Coimbra** and this was followed by a strike of 9,000 students with public demonstrations. In March there was another partial strike by the **Coimbra** law students.

At the end of March there were 23 students in the jails of the secret police; many of them were brutally tortured.

Against the Colonial Wars

Protests against the colonial wars—which lead to an annual conscription of 60,000 young men into the army—are growing. At the funerals of soldiers killed in the wars there are frequent speeches calling for an end to the fighting.

In February, anniversary of the **Angolan** insurrection, there was in **Lisbon** a public demonstration of students against the war, followed by many arrests. In many parts of the country anti-war slogans appear painted on the walls of barracks.

A new clandestine journal 'No to the Colonial Wars' appeared last April, supporting the sabotage in **Tancos**, in March, when 14 army helicopters and three aircraft were blown up.

The number of deserters increases. The authorities made public last December, for the first time, that six army officers had deserted.

Against Repression

The National Committee to Help the Political Prisoners, who publish in Portugal, in a semi-clandestine way, regular news about the prisoners, has been recently enlarged by the adhesion of well-known personalities. It has signed another public protest to **Caetano** concerning the prisoners. The Committee now has the support of several regional committees.

Over 5,000 people in Portugal have signed a demand to the government for the release of the political prisoner **José Magro**, kept for over 17 years in jail (see this issue). Many other signatures demanding an amnesty continue to be collected.

Caetano's new project of press law, which basically maintains the existing censorship, has been rejected at a 'sindicato' meeting of 150 leading Portuguese journalists.

The **Lisbon** graduate engineers have organised a committee to demand the release from jail of their colleague **Blangu Teixeira**, kept in **Peniche**. Eight hundred **Lisbon** engineers have already signed a demand to that effect. In **Oporto** there was also a meeting of 100 engineers, who took similar action.

'NO' TO REACTION

lets, demonstrations and meetings against Portuguese colonialism.

Britain

The Joseph Rowntree Social Services Trust made a grant of £30,000 to Frelimo's Mozambique Institute. This brought protests from, amongst others, Conservative MPs Harold Soref and Iain Sproat and Labour MP Reginald Paget; and from the Portuguese Embassy in London.

On April 26th Barclays Bank involvement in the Cabora Bassa project came under strong attack by members of the Dambusters Mobilizing Committee at the Bank's Annual General Meeting. Public protests against this involvement have continued.

Holland

The Angola Comité has been campaigning actively against the supply of Dutch Fokker transport aircraft to Portugal and the importation of coffee from Angola.

Italy

A press conference on Portuguese colonialism, which took place in Rome on April 29th, was attended by Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA, Mohamed Sahnoun, Vice-General Secretary of the Organisation of African Unity, and by the members of an Italian Parliamentary Mission including Christian Democrat, Socialist and Communist deputies, back from an official visit to Zambia and Tanzania.

Belgium

On February 10th 560 members of the Louvain Catholic University (professors, lecturers and students) sent messages to the Portuguese Primate Cardinal and to the Portuguese Ambassador in Belgium, expressing their deep concern for the imprisonment and the trial of the Angolan priest Pinto de Andrade by the Portuguese authorities.

Organisations

Last January the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the Teachers' Trade Union's International Federation sent protests to the Portuguese authorities against the repression of the students' movements in Portugal.

Support for Portuguese women came on March 8th, International Women's Day, in the form of messages from the World Federation of Democratic Women, the West Berlin Women's Democratic Union, the National Council of Polish Women and others.

At The United Nations

On December 8th last the UN Security Council condemned Portugal for the abortive November invasion of the Republic of Guinea.

On December 13th the Trusteeship Committee of the UN General Assembly approved by 71 votes to 10 (including Britain, U.S. and South Africa) a resolution condemning the building of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique and demanding an end to the activity of foreign enterprises in the Portuguese colonies. This resolution was later approved at the General Assembly by 85 votes to 11.

The following day the General Assembly approved by 94 votes against six (these again including Britain, U.S. and South Africa and Spain) a resolution demanding an end to Portugal's colonial wars and to NATO's support for Portugal in these wars. The resolution also proclaimed the right of Africans in the Portuguese colonies to achieve independence by 'all necessary means at their disposal'. It demanded a stop to the use by the Portuguese of chemical and biological weapons and the treatment of captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war. Finally, it called the Security Council's attention to the 'grave situation' in the Portuguese colonies and to the collaboration between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

On the same day the General Assembly approved by 83 votes to four another resolution requesting the UN specialised agencies to support the African Liberation movements; and asking the World Bank and the IMF to refuse all technical, financial or economic aid to Portugal.

On December 19th last, President Sekou Touré, from Guinea, complained to the UN Secretary General, U Thant, about further aggressive moves and violations of air space by Portugal.

At the UN Economic Commission for Africa, meeting in Tunis last February, the support of Franco and West Germany for Portugal came under attack from a Frelimo Mozambican representative. A resolution, which was passed, demanded an end to the financial and military aid given to Portugal by foreign countries and international organisations.

In March a working group of the UN Committee for Human Rights, meeting in Geneva, Switzerland,

accused the Portuguese authorities of repeated violations of human rights in their colonies. On March 12th in the same city the African nations prevented Portugal from taking her seat in the Inter-Governmental Technical Exchange Group of the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

On March 26th the UN Decolonisation Committee decided to send a six-member group to Africa, as in previous years, to maintain contacts with the representatives of liberation movements from colonial territories.

On April 28th Senegal called on the UN Security Council to ask Portugal 'firmly and definitively' to end serious violations of Senegal's territory. It accused Portuguese army units based in Guinea-Bissau of having attacked and burned Senegalese villages in the Casamance region killing four Senegalese and injuring seven.

On May 28th, at a press conference in Lisbon, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Patricio, delivered a sharp attack on the United Nations and announced that Portugal is going to leave UNESCO because UNESCO had requested a visit to study the educational situation in the Portuguese colonies.

U.S.

There has been a wide campaign of protest against the involvement of the Gulf Oil Company in the exploitation of Angolan oil—with an investment of \$54 million up to 1969—and of their support for the Portuguese colonialist authorities.

Prominent in this campaign have been the United Church of Christ (with its two million members), Presbyterian church groups, returned volunteers, the Southern Africa Committee and the American Committee on Africa. In April 27 members of the US Congress announced their support for the campaign. Boycott of Gulf products and pressure on universities, which are Gulf shareholders, are envisaged. Gulf has threatened to sue the United Church for defamation.

Protests have also recently arisen against the supply by General Electric of a £23 million transformer system for the Cabora Bassa dam.

Sweden

Africa groups in Arvika, Göteborg, Lund, Stockholm and Uppsala have been actively campaigning with leaf-

1970 PORTUGALS TRADE

Main Imports		Main Exports	
	(£ millions)		(£ millions)
Machinery	123	Textiles and Clothing	102
Chemicals, Synthetic Fibres	94	Wood, Wood Pulp and	36
Rubber	75	Reains	32
Foodstuffs	54	Machinery and Transport	27
Motor Vehicles and Aircraft	41	Wines	24
Oil and Petrol	41	Cork	19
Iron and Steel	32	Diamonds	15
Diamonds	24	Tinned Fish	13
Cotton		Tomato concentrates	
Total Imports £639 m.		Total Exports £388 m.	
Trade Deficit £251 m. (1969 Deficit £182 m.)			

Countries of Origin			Countries of Destination		
	£ million	Per cent		£ million	Per cent
Foreign Countries	546	85.5	Foreign Countries	293	75.4
W. Germany	98		UK	79	
UK	90		USA	34	
France	45		W. Germany	25	
USA	44		Sweden	21	
Italy	35		France	18	
Spain	28		Italy	12	
Portuguese Colonies	93	14.5	Portuguese Colonies	95	24.6

These trade figures are a clear demonstration that the Caetano régime is completely incapable of solving Portugal's economic problems. In actual fact the worst deficit ever of Portugal's trade balance was reached in 1970. It shows a staggering increase of £69 million or 38 per cent in relation to 1969. The figures also prove, once again, the position of Portugal as a colonial country which is at the same time a colony and a convenient intermediary for the western powers.

Portugal imports from other countries over five times as much as

she imports from her own colonies. And she exports to other countries more than three times the amount she exports to her colonies. The meagre positive trade balance that Portugal has with her colonies is 127 times smaller than her trade deficit with foreign countries.

Portugal imports more goods from West Germany alone than from all her colonies. Her huge trade deficit with West Germany (£73 million) is 37 times higher than her positive trade balance with her colonies.

Britain is Portugal's second best

supplier and her best customer, by a long way; a powerful help to her régime.

After West Germany, the worst Portuguese deficits are with France (£27 million) and Italy (£23 million).

The only sizeable positive trade balances of Portugal with foreign countries are those with the Scandinavian countries — Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway in this order. These, however, are lower than in 1969. Good profits for the Portuguese exporters of cheap labour goods to these countries as well as to Britain and the USA (second best buyer).

The nature of Portugal's imported and exported goods also reveals the unbalanced state of her economy. It was to be expected that, being an underdeveloped country, Portugal would import large amounts of machinery, chemicals and other manufactured products. But how you explain that a country which has the largest section of its working force still employed in agriculture and fishing, has, as her third most important import, foodstuffs, including large amounts of wheat?

Amongst the exports the largest Portuguese industry—textiles—continues to hold an exceptionally high position, profiting from cheap labour at home and in the cotton-growing colonies, but burdened by high imports of synthetic fibres from West Germany and Britain. Traditional exports such as wines, cork and tinned fish have been superseded by more energetic competition from manufactured or semi-manufactured products such as machinery and wood products; but there is in these products a heavy participation of foreign capital.

FOREIGN POWERS HELP FASCISM

Portugal receives so-called aid, through the system of alliances which links her with the imperialist countries. There is a great deal of publicity about this 'aid', but it is not help in any genuine sense of the word. It has been developed as a means of exploiting the peoples of Portugal and the Portuguese colonies.

The international monopolies exercise their influence in Portugal through the following means:

1. Financial and industrial investment.
2. Political and diplomatic activity.
3. Military help, supplies and treaties.

4. A system of cultural agreements, visits and co-operation.

Relations between the Portuguese fascist régime and the western powers, which have always been close, have been gradually consolidated, until they amount virtually to criminal interference on a large scale in the internal affairs of Portugal, and the struggles of the colonial peoples for independence.

Strauss and Sandys, West Germany and Britain

The successive visits to Portugal and her colonies, of so many well-known people in the world of politics

and finance, and the statements which they make, are very explicit indeed.

The recent presence in Angola and Mozambique of such politicians as the West German Franz Joseph Strauss, the American Ambassador to Lisbon, the military adviser to the Italian Embassy, and many other influential personalities, means that negotiations are going on, with the Portuguese Government about the further opening up of Portugal, Angola and Mozambique to the interests of the governments and monopolies these people represent.

Duncan Sandys, Conservative MP

(Continued on page 34)

SALAZAR. A POLITICAL INQUEST (2)

By L. Simas

On March 19th, 1933, all leave was cancelled for the Lisbon garrison, groups of armed police patrolled the streets, and squadrons of naval and military aircraft showered the city with propaganda leaflets in which General Carmona, 'President of the Republic', urged the people of Lisbon to vote for the constitutional statute which would bring Salazar's Corporate State into being. 'Whatever divergence there may be on secondary points', pleaded the puppet President of Portugal, 'everyone must agree that the New Constitution establishes unequivocally the principles of a moral, social and political order which will constitute the basis of private and public prosperity'.

He foretold the coming of 'a new epoch of orderly labour, of peace in the Portuguese family, of security, and stability and efficiency in government'. All that was necessary was to vote for Salazar. The people of Lisbon had their doubts. At the end of the day, when all was added up, in spite of intimidation, persuasion, the show of armed force and the rhetoric of propaganda, two-thirds of the people on the Lisbon electoral register had abstained from casting a vote. By any reckoning, a massive demonstration of distrust.

This attitude of distrust, which was reflected somewhat less dramatically in the rest of the country, where 40 per cent of the voters stayed away from the polls, was amply justified in the years to come, as the real content of the Corporate State became apparent. The militant trade unionists and politically conscious workers, for their part, had no illusions as to what was in store for the industrial and rural proletariat. Between the lines of the texts on 'the Christian concept of society' borrowed from the papal encyclicals 'Rerum Novarum' and 'Quadragesimo Anno', preaching industrial harmony and the reconciliation of worker and employer on the basis of 'social justice', they read the true meaning of the new Constitution and its accompanying National Statute of Labour. They knew it to be a Charter drawn up in the interests of the big monopolists enabling them to dissolve working-class organisations, outlaw strikes, and create a vast State apparatus of Guilds, Syndicates, and Labour Tribunals covering every industry for the purpose of enforcing collective contracts, governing wages and working conditions on terms dictated by the employers. Whatever hint of medieval paternalism might be implied in the use of 15th century names for fascist institutions, the workers recognised that Salazar's formula for 'industrial harmony' was brutally simple—the class war was to be ended by the capitulation of the proletariat.

The immediate answer was the general strike of January 1934, and if this premature rising, which was brutally repressed, represented a severe setback for the working class, it also revealed that the deep antagonisms within capitalist society cannot be conjured away merely by inventing Corporations and getting the stool-pigeons of the employers to sign legally binding collective contracts in the name of the workers. The Corporate State was the formal mechanism through which the great industrialists and landlords intensified the exploitation of the labour force in their factories and on their estates—but the real instrument in their hands always was, and still is, police intimidation and ultimately, police violence.

However, the capitulation of the proletariat is not an historical possibility, and Salazar's fascist policies, so far

from abolishing the class struggle, served only to aggravate it. By intensifying the exploitation of labour, by driving a pauperized peasantry into the industrial proletariat, by hastening the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands, by recruiting an infamous police force to defend the wealth of that small oligarchy, Salazar created the conditions in which monopoly capital is isolated as the enemy of the whole Portuguese people.

A 'Good' Small Farmer's Son

If the organized industrial workers had few illusions about Salazar and his New State, the other social classes in Portugal had to learn from bitter experience.

The landless peasants, mainly concentrated during the nineteen-thirties in the wheat-growing district of Alentejo, where they worked as hired men on the estates of the great landowners, formed a rural proletariat who could expect little improvement in their starvation wages, or much reduction in the inhumanly long hours of their working-day, from any government of rich men. But for the peasant small-holders of Minho in the north, and the landowning farmers of the more prosperous districts of Beira and the Algarve the case was different. Mainly illiterate, stubbornly conservative, superstitiously religious, sullenly resentful of the anti-clericalism of the liberal Republican governments, they were an easy prey for the sirens of fascist propaganda.

The peasant proprietor, it is true, had a deep suspicion of all government—and his highest hopes were that it should abolish all taxes and leave him in peace... but, after all, Salazar sounded like an 'homem de bem', a man who could be trusted. Did he not uphold both private property and the family, the two institutions dearest to the farmer's heart? Was he not a 'good Catholic', free from the taint of anti-clericalism? The parish priest praised him from the pulpit, and it was said that the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon was his friend. Moreover, everyone knew that Our Lady of Fatima, appearing miraculously in the year 1917 at the Cova da Iria, had solemnly warned the three little shepherd children of the danger of Bolshevism, and who but Salazar stood between Portugal and the Anti-Christ? One could do worse than trust him, thought the peasants: he was a 'man of the people', the son of a small farmer, one of us who would surely look after his own.

Nothing, alas, could have been further from the truth. The new Corporate State dealt with the peasantry as ruthlessly as it dealt with the workers. Devoted to the interests of the landlord and the industrialist, it sought to extend the great estates of the one and the labour force of the other. It initiated schemes for large-scale wheat growing and afforestation which elbowed the small farmer off his ploughlands and the shepherd off his grazing. The fascist corporative organizations, Guilds, Boards and Federations, enabled the large-scale cultivators, the storage-house owners and the middlemen to get a stranglehold over the marketing of such products as potatoes, wine, fruit, and forced the small farmer to sell his produce at ruinously low prices or be left with it on his hands. The smaller the farmer, the heavier the burden of taxation—indeed, the revenue from land-tax rose more steeply in the districts farmed by small landowners than in the regions covered by the great estates. The restrictions on bank credits drove the peasant to raise short-

term loans from moneylenders at exorbitant interest rates. All these things spelt ruin for the peasantry: foreclosure on their mortgages, and eviction from their land.

Between 1926 and 1950 more than 200,000 individual land holdings were eliminated from Portuguese agriculture. The same 1950 census returns show that the rural proletariat numbered 950,000 as against 450,000 small farmers; of these only 335,000 owned their own land. And these figures do not take into account the great number of peasants who have been absorbed into the industrial proletariat, nor those who are forced to supplement their incomes by part-time work for wages, nor the massive emigration in search of work abroad. Written large across Salazar's agricultural policies was the death sentence passed upon a whole class: 'expropriation of the small landowner—proletarianisation of the peasantry'.

Big Business Paradise

The overthrow of the parliamentary Republic by the military coup of 1926, to which Salazar's 'Estado Novo' put the final touch, effected the concentration of power into the hands of the smallest, wealthiest, and most privileged sector of the bourgeois class, made up of a few great industrialists, bankers and landlords. But at that date, when they took over political hegemony, they did not enjoy a corresponding dominance over the national economy, whether in industry, banking, or in trade. In many branches of industry they had little or no part, extremely small-scale and artisan industry was widely prevalent, and the fusion of industrial and banking capital was, as yet, insufficiently developed to be of decisive influence.

Under bourgeois parliamentary government, with their policies of 'laissez-faire', the concentration of Portuguese capital, and the means of production into fewer and fewer hands, towards which capitalism inevitably moves, would have come about gradually by the operation of the laws of free competition. The role assigned to Salazar by the handful of great capitalists and landlords whose interests he served was to hasten this process of accumulation and concentration ruthlessly, through direct State intervention, whether by way of financial assistance from the government to the great concerns, or by creating the conditions in which medium-scale firms were driven to merge with the monopolies and the small enterprises and artisan workshops were put out of business. Once again all the texts on the 'Christian concept of society', copied with tongue in cheek from Papal encyclicals, turned out to be nothing better than cynical shams. Just as 'industrial harmony' was spelt out to mean intensified exploitation of the worker, and the sacredness of private property and the family' was exemplified, in practice, by the expropriation of the peasant and the break-up of his household, so the hymns in praise of individual enterprise were chanted as a preliminary to the bankrupting of the small industrialist and the artisan.

State control of prices and marketing through the corporative institutions, regulations concerning factory premises and equipment, restrictions on 'un-economic' competition with the various branches of industry, tax assessments weighted heavily in favour of large enterprises, control of investments and credits—all these things were used as instruments of monopoly finance-capital in its annexation of the Portuguese economy. In addition there was direct financial help from the State to great industrial concerns, tax-exemptions for large-scale exporters, the creation of joint-stock companies to put the capital of small investors at the disposal of the

monopolies; and, when need arose, the compulsory merger of obstinate rivals.

Before death laid his cold finger on Salazar's shoulder the octogenarian dictator could see that he had done his work. Already in the principal branches of industry 11 per cent of the factories employed 64 per cent of the total labour force. In the milling industry the number of firms producing higher quality flour had been reduced from 240 in 1934 to 76 in 1960; but 58 of these were said to be 'under the recommended size', and the whole of this branch of milling was to be put into the hands of half a dozen of the great companies. Regulations for the printing industry, published at the end of 1962, imposed such strict requirements for equipment that it was calculated that two-thirds of the 900 printing establishments would have to close. Sena Sojar, an English concern, whose refinery produced one-third of the total output of sugar, was supporting the compulsory merger of the 21 existing firms in the industry into no more than four groups, while the 17 milk-processing concerns in Madeira were to be amalgamated, by decree, into one.

Sad 'Garden of Europe', where the gardeners starved and the maggots grew fat upon the fruits!

The Traitor Auctioneer

The man who showed his respect for the sacredness of private property by evicting the peasant from his land, and who encouraged free enterprise by compulsory mergers and enforced bankruptcies, might be expected to manifest his fervent nationalism by putting his country up to auction for the benefit of foreign investors. And this, indeed, was the policy Salazar pursued.

It is true, of course, that at the time he took power Portugal was already a semi-colonial country, economically dependent to a large extent on Great Britain. Since this subordinate position, which was the determining cause of the backwardness of industry and the abject poverty of the people, did not conflict with the interests of the privileged handful of monied men who had chosen him as their tool, Salazar saw no reason for interfering with such a state of affairs. On the contrary, he played the part of the accomplice, increasing the tempo of the imperialist exploitation of Portugal by all and sundry, so that when his 40 years were up a list of the groups controlling all the important branches of Portuguese industry read like a roll-call of the great international trusts and monopolies. There they all were—Marconi, General Electric, Grundig, Plessey, Siemens, Phillips, BICC, ICI, Unilever, Shell, BP, Mobiloil, Standard Oil, Ford, General Motors, Leyland, Fiat, Toyota, Charter Consolidated, and Oppenheimer. . . .

Salazar, acting as auctioneer of the nation's resources, tempted this consortium of alien interests with the bait of cheap raw materials and workers on starvation wages, a stable rate of exchange without currency restrictions, and the right to send back to their own countries the huge profits to be earned by the exploitation of Portuguese working men and women. Speaking to Hugh Kay of the 'Catholic Herald' in 1963, he justified this policy on the score of 'Portugal's natural poverty', an old, old song with Salazar. 'The national capital', he said, 'is insufficient for the rhythm of economic development we require, and it would be against our interests to hinder or prohibit the influx of foreign capital'.

However, the ratio of this 'rhythm of economic development' to the ever-increasing influx of foreign capital deserves the same characterization as Falstaff's tavern reckoning . . . 'O monstrous! But one halfpenny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!' The latest

official figures from the National Development Bank show that foreign investments and credits for the year ending in 1969 increased to £72 million, while the growth rate of Gross National Production had actually fallen from 6.3 to 4.7 per cent in relation to the previous year. Such a 'rhythm' has a sad tempo appropriate only to the dirge sung at a pauper's funeral.

Indeed the foreign imperialists treat Portugal as they would treat any other semi-colonial country, by the merciless exploitation of its working people, and the shameless plundering of its resources. Portugal's real economic interests do not enter into their reckonings. In the mines the methods used are so primitive that the labour force absorbs 65 per cent of the capital involved, while it was calculated in 1964 that the machinery installed in the coalfields supplied no more than 1.8 horse power for each worker employed; but at the same time Beralit Tin were making profits which worked out, in some years, at £100 per worker, and the dividend declared had even reached 160 per cent.

The West German financed irrigation scheme in the Alentejo may actually result in a decreased wheat yield, since there are greater profits to be made by allocating large stretches of arable land to afforestation in order to provide raw material for several associated foreign-owned cellulose factories, and to tomato growing for the also foreign-owned tomato concentrates industry. Hand-in-hand with this increasing foreign domination over Portuguese economy, goes foreign interference in the internal affairs of the country, and the domination of Portuguese politics by international monopoly capital.

It may seem strange and contradictory that the Portuguese monopolists, having got a stranglehold on the country's economy, should tamely surrender this hegemony to foreign imperialists. But it must be remembered that they grew up side by side, that their common interests in the exploitation of the working people were more significant for them than their conflicts in this or that sphere of production, and that in the course of their parallel growth they became intimately linked. It can be said that there is now no wholly 'Portuguese' monopoly grouping—to a greater or less degree they all are associated with international finance-capital. In the same way, as a general rule, there is no foreign investment in Portugal in which 'Portuguese' fascists and monopolists do not have a finger. As the share of the English, American and West German monopolists gets larger, so the national character of their 'Portuguese' partners dwindles, and their interests become identical. Just as Salazar acted as the tool of alien imperialism in his foreign and colonial policies, so he, and his unholy alliance of bankers, industrialists, and landlords, became shameless accomplices in the plunder of Portugal.

Besides, if Salazar and the fascist régime were to stay in power, he had to maintain a disproportionately-large military establishment, create and keep on an active footing, great forces of riot and political police, and subsidise a countryside network of spies and informers. To meet the requirements of this weapon of repression, which was, indeed, the keystone of his Corporate State, Salazar felt over himself in his eagerness to auction off his country—despite all the patriotic rhetoric which led enthusiastic sycophants to picture him as Nun'Alvares, the 15th century Constable of Portugal, come back to life in a happy hour. Even before the outbreak of the colonial wars this overgrown, parasitic apparatus of repression was a heavy drain upon Portugal's finances. What was Salazar's solution to this problem? Sell the

country, in job lots, to the foreigners. After 1961, with the swollen war-expenditure in Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, the question became acute. What was Salazar's answer? Sell the country to the foreigners . . . wholesale.

The Politician

Such were the policies, but what of the politician? The notion that Salazar was an academic recluse, a cloistered professor of economics to whom the country, faced with bankruptcy, turned in its hour of need, is wholly fanciful. On the contrary, from his earliest days as a student of the Faculty of Law at Coimbra University, where he became a leading personality of the reactionary group known as the Academic Centre of Christian Democracy ('the name was not very happy', Salazar confessed to the Italian newspaper 'Il Tempo' in 1962, 'but the accent was on Christianity and not democracy, in which some of us believed and others didn't'), he intervened actively in Portuguese political life. By 1918 he was sufficiently well-known as a politician to be offered the post of Finance Minister in the brief dictatorship of Sidónio Pais.

It is true that Salazar always held himself a little aloof from the factional wrangles of the right-wing republicans and monarchists. Deeply influenced though he was by the political theories of Charles Maurras, and the corporative notions of the absolutist monarchist party known as 'Integralists', he always recognized that the formal constitutional quarrel between monarchists and republicans was a luxury that Portuguese reactionaries could not afford. Especially was this true since the abortive royalist rising in 1919 when it became clear that the restoration of Dom Manoel, or, for the matter of that, of Dom Duarte Nuno was not a viable programme, that the parliamentary Republic could only defend itself by appealing to the people, and that the working class, though still immature and inadequately organized, was awakening to perspectives of political power. Until then all that was most reactionary in Portuguese political life had been sucked into monarchist conspiracies and made to serve their purposes; from then on these Royalists found the position reversed—it was they who had to serve purposes other than their own. On the other hand, the republicans, in their efforts to exorcise the poltergeist that haunted the empty House of Bragança, had called up a mightier spirit—the people of Lisbon had come out on to the streets and taken up arms. The memory of that sight deprived the parliamentary Republic of the will to defend itself when its next crisis came.

Salazar had tailored his political strategy to fit such a situation. While his attitude of aloofness from the bitter struggle between monarchists and republicans increasingly marked him out as the man who could unite all the reactionary forces, he awaited the day when a republican government which had lost the will to resist would be overthrown by military conspirators who could neither govern the country nor agree amongst themselves on a political programme. The day after that, when the army and the generals who set themselves up as the saviours of Portugal, faced financial and political bankruptcy, the 'obscure professor' would realise his ambitions. And so it all happened from 1926 onwards.

Thus Salazar came to power without having created any mass party supporting some demagogic programme. He had manoeuvred himself into office by taking up the right political stance, catching the eye of influential people, proving himself the most suitable tool for the purposes of the big monopolists. Now that he had

attained power it was his immediate objective to destroy all political opposition. The workers' organisations were dealt with ruthlessly, by savage police repression, and the democratic republican groupings were harassed and intimidated out of existence, but Salazar could not deal with the reactionary politicians such as the Integralists in this summary fashion. They had too many influential connections, particularly among the army officers on whose support Salazar had to rely. This perpetuation of the fragmentation of Portuguese politics was a real embarrassment to the régime, and might end up in a serious challenge to Salazar. Already it was being suggested that the dictatorship was a necessary expedient to deal with the 'crisis', but not a 'political solution'. Salazar's answer was to create a new kind of political party—not for his adherents, but for his potential right-wing opponents.

The peculiarity of this institution, the 'National Union', which was built from above, as it were, so that it had a superstructure before it had a foundation, and officers before it had any membership, consisted in the fact that it had no recognisable political programme. Its essential function was to act as a sort of huge catchment area for all reactionary trends, however incompatible, into which they could sink and lose their political identities. No matter who you were, absolute or constitutional monarchist, republican, syndicalist, integralist, once you stepped across the threshold of the National Union you became the victim of a strange impediment of speech which prevented you from saying anything but 'Salazar! Salazar!'. The rationale of this odd state of affairs was supposed to reside in the nature of the New Constitution itself—now that there was a 'just society', founded on 'Christian concepts', politics had become obsolete in Portugal. What was needed was obedience to authority. Salazar told the 'National Union' in 1934: 'Those are not with us who prefer liberty of action to obedience, nor those who put the promptings of their intelligence, however enlightened, or the impulses of their will, however noble, before the directives handed down from above'. During an 'election' some 24 years later, the 'National Union' wrote a postscript to this speech, certifying its own political bankruptcy: 'It is not for the National Union, or its candidate, to put forward a programme. . . . Surely politics had been abolished in Portugal.

The Successor

This 'abolition' of politics by a piece of shameless casuistry, quite typical of Salazar, does not mean,

however, that political problems have been resolved—as Marcello Caetano is finding out. On the contrary, all the contradictions inherent in the policies pursued by the régime are becoming increasingly acute. The fascist dictatorship is ever more clearly recognised as a government of national betrayal, the agent of foreign finance-capital and its Portuguese accomplices. As it isolates itself more and more by its disregard for the interests of workers, peasants, and middle-class people, so it increases the scope and strengthens the solidarity of the democratic forces opposed to it. Its ideological crisis, initiated by the defeat of fascism in the Second World War, is now being hastened by the defection of cadres of the Catholic Church to whom it had once looked for support.

Caetano's answer, as one would expect from a disciple of Salazar, is to stage a sham burial of Salazarism and a sham resurrection of 'liberalism'. These genres live in a world where everything can be done by sleight of hand. Has the PIDE become an object of hatred within the country and of scandal abroad? Re-christen it DGS . . . and keep it as ruthless as before. Is there a growing protest against the stifling of Portuguese industry by financial restrictions? Relax the controls . . . in favour of foreign investments. Is there pressure, both at home and abroad, for the re-introduction of democratic practices? Hold sham elections on a hand-picked electoral roll. Is the Opposition growing stronger, more resolute, and more united? Create the opportunity for so-called opposition groups to collaborate with the fascists in the 'liberalisation' of fascism, and so confuse, divide, and defeat the real Opposition. Such are the expedients by which Marcello Caetano seeks to evade the realities of the situation Salazar left behind him.

But realities cannot be conjured away, nor truths shirked for ever. At the end of the day Salazar's heirs and their masters will have to settle accounts, not with sham 'liberalisers' and mock oppositions, but with the people of Portugal whom they have betrayed.

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THE COLONIES

The minimised losses reported in the Portuguese war communiqués and in the press from January 18th to April 23rd, 1971, were:

Armed Forces Killed

Guinea	71
Angola	73
Mozambique	82

226

Numbers for the wounded are rarely given, and since the war has increased in intensity they have been completely eliminated. This time no

numbers were given for the Militia wounded, though four killed were reported in Guinea. In this colony one soldier was reported missing.

The sum total for 13 weeks and three days is 230 men killed and one man missing.

GUINEA

A Tough War

The new policy of pretending that the war in this colony is coming to an end, and that now all that remains

to be done is to develop what the Portuguese commanders call 'psycho-social action' amongst the Africans, is clearly reflected in the Portuguese war communiqués from January 18th to April 14th.

These very vague communiqués aim at suggesting that the attacks of the liberation forces (PAIGC) are always made from outside territories. When they happen deep down inside Guinea they would be due to 'the infiltration of the guerrillas'.

But even so, the Portuguese have to admit that the PAIGC forces have been very active at Farim, Copa and Cambor in the Eastern zone. Vigorous

shelling has been reported of Chamarrá, Guilge, Gadamael Porto, Sao Domingos, Bigene, Guidage, Ansonhe, Madina Mandrira, Pirada, Bajocunda, Ualicunda and many other centres (PJ 18.1.71 to 14.4.71).

Some particularly violent attacks by the liberation forces could not be ignored by the Portuguese press. The attack on Canquelifá and Ansonhe, which was shelled, was deeply felt by the colonialist troops (PJ 14.4.71).

Colonialist Crimes

The colonialists omit that, in their desperation, they bomb with napalm women and children in the liberated villages and that they come to the free areas in helicopters to murder old men and women—the civilian population who are no longer under the odious Portuguese rule. This is the 'psycho-social action' of the army.

Naiting a Lie

Statements made by General Spínola, the Colony's Governor and army commander, pretend that the guerrillas are only 5,000 strong. Yet, according to Portuguese sources: the losses inflicted on the guerrillas ought to have reached a figure of 20,000 men killed.

Spínola stated that of a 550,000 population, 80,000 have either left Guinea or sought refuge in the bush. Of those 80,000 a total of 60,000 would have moved to Senegal, which means that the remaining 20,000 would have either been killed, wounded or captured by the Portuguese.

Indeed it appears from this that Spínola is fighting a ghost and that the enemy 40,000 Portuguese soldiers are facing daily is non-existent. The lies of General Spínola are thus exposed (Commentaries of the Information Services of the PAIGC, January, 1971).

The 'Uninhabited' Territories

Many visits made by a large number of foreign journalists to the liberated areas have confirmed the control exerted by the liberation forces in Guinea. Now an American journalist, who has been to the Portuguese side, reports that the Portuguese concede that 44 per cent of the country's territory is now 'uninhabited' (J. Joagland; 'International Herald Tribune' 1.3.71).

ANGOLA

Phony Figures

In an attempt to pretend that they are winning the war, which now has

lasted for more than 10 years (since February 4th, 1961), the Portuguese are wording their war communiqués to conceal the real situation.

They have devised a system of false statistics which show the number of military operations mounted by the guerrillas expressed in percentages.

Grossly exaggerated also are the number of losses inflicted on the guerrillas, when compared with their own. In March the Portuguese allege they have killed 202 guerrillas and in April, 204, which makes a total of 406 guerrillas killed in two months. Their own dead for the same period were claimed to be only 15 (PJ 7.2.71; 9.3.71; 7.4.71).

But our own count of their dead, for the same period (see above), reported throughout the two months in the Portuguese Press, reveals a total of 51 killed. On the other hand the MPLA forces report that, from January to March, 1971, 469 Portuguese soldiers have been made 'incapable of fighting again'.

The Portuguese admit guerrilla attacks on their installations and on their posts at Massau, Lumbala and Caripande (PJ 7.2.71; 9.3.71).

Poisoning the Liberators Food

The US State Department was informed by the American consulate, in Luanda, about Portuguese use of herbicides to destroy food crops raised by members of the liberation movements (New York Times' 9.12.70). Senator Clifford Case (Republican, New Jersey) has asked Secretary of State William P. Rogers for information about the use of herbicides by the Portuguese in their operations against African nationalists.

Higher Exports

In 1970, the mineral exports from Angola reached a record figure of £74,974,991. Diamonds accounted for nearly half the total (£33,941,310) ('Actualidade Económica', 11.3.71).

From the German-British owned Cassinga mines 6.1 million tons of iron ore were exported. Japan (2.2 m. tons), West Germany (1.9 m. tons) and England (500,000 tons) were the main customers. At this rate Angola could become one of the world's great exporters of iron ore ('Jeune Afrique', 23.2.71).

In the same year the exports of coffee have reached nearly £58 million (DL 3.3.71).

Money Making Goes On

The Petronal (a subsidiary of the international and Belgian Fina Group) which struck oil in Angola in April

1955, has been expanding gradually and is now working in collaboration with Profabril, linked with the Italian branch of Forster Wheeler. The capital now invested in the Luanda refinery is more than £4,350,000 (Marchés Tropicaux, 27.3.71). In 1972 it is hoping to produce one million tons (DL 16.3.71).

Belgians Want to Invest More

All this good news of intensive colonialist and capitalist exploitation is so exciting to Belgian financiers that 'L'Echo de la Bourse' (15.2.71) is suggesting higher investments in Angola beyond the traditional sectors, such as oil, diamonds and paints, where Belgian finance has been reaping vast profits. 'La Côte Libre' of 8.2.71 says that projects in the mining sector would require nearly £30 million and in other sectors over £15 million.

MOZAMBIQUE

Reluctant Admissions on War

A new propaganda campaign is being conducted here, to coincide with the intensive war effort started by General Kaulza de Arriaga in June 1970. The much-heralded new style offensive is now entering its fifth phase, said General Arriaga, March 19th, 1971, on Portuguese television.

In Western and Eastern Nyassa, he admitted, however, that the enemy continued quite active and could not be destroyed, because its forces had moved to areas of "very difficult access" to the Portuguese. This shows no doubt the extent of Portuguese control in Mozambique.

But General Arriaga was also quick to state that the primary aim of the Portuguese forces was "to conquer the heart of the African populations, to promote them socially and educationally, and to give them a timely access to higher forms of life".

Whatever this gibberish may mean, it implies an admission of four centuries of total indifference for the African, despite the 'civilizing mission of the Portuguese' (PJ 20.2.71).

Tortures by PIDE-DGS

How the African heart is being conquered can better be understood from the report submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, whose representatives came recently to Dar-es-Salaam. Witnesses from Mozambique told them about the tortures inflicted by PIDE (the present DGS), and the barbaric cruelties committed by Portuguese soldiers in African villages (Mozambique

Revolution', No. 45, Oct-Dec. 1970, pp. 8-12).

Also early reports this year of the death in jail of 18 African nationalists, after two months of torture by the PIDE-DGS, give an idea of the "persuasion" exerted by the Portuguese authorities. Among the victims was Joel Monteiro, arrested in 1964, a leader of the FRELIMO ("Le Monde", 30.1.71).

Arrests of Nationalists

Frelimo militants have also been very active in the districts of Lourenço Marques and Gaza, where the PIDE-DGS have arrested 1,400 Mozambicans between June and August, 1970 (Frelimo Comm. for March, 1971).

The Fight Goes On

Thus, when the Portuguese Press prints an interview with a Frelimo traitor, A. Murupa (arrested on November 6, 1970), who claims the war will not last long, it is not difficult to evaluate such a statement (DL 25.2.71).

Particularly when Portuguese war communiques had made a startling admission, three weeks earlier (January 31st, 1971), that Frelimo units had penetrated deep into the district of Cabo Delgado, south of the river Messalo, and appeared to be on the move to the important road Pontepuez-Porto Amélia. Frelimo was also active in Tete, South of the Zambezi, near the town of Mague, in the vicinity of the Cabora Bassa dam ('Diário de Notícias', 12.7.71).

Unreliable War Communiques

Portuguese war communiques are becoming wordier, and less factual, speaking frequently of a 'crushed enemy'. And yet the 'crushed enemy' forces the Portuguese to move 63,518 tons of war equipment in less than one month, continues to blow up bridges and vehicles, ambush Portuguese columns and attack villages and military posts (DL 25.1.71 and 8.2.71).

Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin

K. Shingler, 10 Fentiman Road, London, S.W.3. Subscriptions for one year, including postage: Britain and Europe 75p, Overseas (air-mail), £1. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin.

We are also told that 6,854 guerrillas have surrendered to the Portuguese (PJ 20.1.71), whereas the traitor Murupa had said Frelimo had no more than 5,000 guerrillas (DL 25.2.71).

Mini-Cabora Bassa

Plans at a total cost of £8,555,000 have been approved for the construction of a new dam at Massingir on the Olifants River ('African Development', September, 1970).

Japan and Iron Ore

Prospection by the Japanese-owned Sumitomo company has revealed in Mirriote (near the Nacala port) a deposit of 100 million tons of iron ore ('Marchés Tropicaux', 20.3.71).

Oil and USA

The Gulf Oil Company (Texas) is going to bore the sea-shelf near Beira, while the Bureau de Recherches Géologiques et Minières is prospecting for oil, under a £1,160,000 contract, on 38,600 square miles of northern Mozambique (DL 26.2.71).

The 'Angoche' Sabotage

The Portuguese 1,600-ton coaster 'Angoche', used for ammunition transport, was found, on April 27th, abandoned and half-wrecked by an explosion, off the Mozambique coast. Its 23-man crew and one passenger had disappeared (DL 6.5.71).

'White Fathers' Leave

The 'White Fathers', an order of Roman Catholic missionaries, who had been in Mozambique for 25 years, were ordered to leave the colony, accused of sympathising with the liberation movement. The 'White Fathers' complained that the church in Mozambique had become identified with the Portuguese rule and the hierarchy would not take a stand over 'ambiguities and police brutalities' ('The Times', 29.5.71).

Inside Portugal

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Changes that Change Nothing

The régime continues its pretence of change, allowing such enterprises as the largest 'Drugstore' in Europe to be built in Lisbon—yet another sign of the Americanization of Portugal (DL 13.3.71).

At the same time Caetano has stated that the much vaunted 'autonomy' of the overseas colonies must not be confused with independence (Le Monde 17.2.71). The local

administration of the colonies will only enjoy 'more flexibility' (The 'Times', 1.4.71).

Seeking New Pact With USA

On March 30th, Marcello Caetano revealed that his Government has begun moves to negotiate a new agreement on the American military base of Lages, in the Azores. The last agreement expired in 1961. If no new agreement is concluded, Portugal will put the base under the authority of NATO (PJ 2.4.71 and Le Monde 8.4.71).

No Parties Allowed

In an interview with Mr. M. Thomason, president of United Press International, Caetano recently rejected any idea of relaxation of Press censorship. He also opposed the idea of allowing the formation of opposition parties in Portugal (The Guardian 31.3.71).

Foreign Powers Help Fascism

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and former British Minister, was reported to have declared recently in Lourenço Marques (Mozambique) that he hopes to see the blockade of Beira, and the remaining sanctions against the rebel Rhodesian régime, lifted in a matter of three months (PJ 7.4.71). Mr. Sandys later denied his statement.

Referring to the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam, Mr. Sandys said that he was impressed by the progress made in the planning and building of such a large-scale project (PJ 12.4.71).

France

A high point of Portuguese diplomacy in recent months was the visit, last January, of the Foreign Affairs Minister, Rui Patricio, to Paris, where he made several speeches and heard protestations of French friendship: i.e. friendship of French monopolies towards the Portuguese fascist government.

President Pompidou has said that France holds Portugal in great esteem and that she will maintain her policy of close collaboration between the two countries.

The French Minister Schumann, stated that Portugal can absolutely rely on French friendship, understanding and support in any application to associate with the Common Market ('Diário de Notícias', 23.1.71).