

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

Vol. 12, No. 2

April 1972

THE DEAL

INSTITUTO DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
ARQUIVO DE HISTÓRIA SOCIAL
N.º J. L. 139 Ctas. Publ. 139

In an attempt to solve the international monetary crisis, and their differences concerning it, Nixon and Pompidou met on Terceira Island, one of the Portuguese Azores islands, on the 13th and 14th December last. The international monetary crisis is far from being solved and the meeting itself is already half forgotten, but other events which accompanied it cannot be forgotten so easily.

Two days before the meeting it was announced that an agreement had been signed in Brussels, another two days earlier, between the US Secretary of State, William Rodgers, and the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Patrio, extending the presence of the US in the American base of Lajes, in the same Terceira Azores island, until 1974. Such a timing of events is highly significant.

The Nixon-Pompidou meeting took place in the Azores not because the Azores is half-way between France and the United States, but for other reasons. The meeting took place in an island where the Lajes base is US-occupied territory, with a force of 5,000 Americans, and dollars as currency accepted in the island shops. Nixon, after all, received Pompidou not in a half-way neutral territory, but in his own house. Pompidou was also interested in the Azores as a meeting place because the French have a missile tracking base in another Azores island, Flores. The sell-out of Portuguese territory by the fascist regime has been a truly all-round affair.

This sell-out was certainly in grand style in relation to the Lajes base. The extension is in exchange for 438 million dollars (£176 million). However, as Caetano stated on December 16th, the Portuguese fascists did it mainly because of common ideological principles, and, indeed, the majority of the money (£166 million) is going to be repaid with interest, extracted, with a few more lashes of the whip, from the Portuguese people.

Caetano chose his moment well. Subsequent, as always, in relation to the dominant foreign interests in Portugal, he was very keen to obtain political capital from the meeting he had in the Azores with Nixon and Pompidou. In the latter, renewed French support for

fascist Portugal's entry into the Common Market was expressed.

Caetano was also at ease in his old cold war warrior role, pursuing the Portuguese fascists' avowed international policy inherited from Hitler and John Foster Dulles. At the Azores meeting it was decided to set up a third base in the Azores (on Santa Maria island), this time an anti-submarine NATO affair, bringing together the US, Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Holland and Canada. The main victory in this decision, for the fascist cold war supporters, was the return of France to a NATO anti-Soviet set up, in opposition to her recent policies. Salazar must have smiled contentedly in his grave.

It is very probable that the Azores meeting will have much further-reaching consequences for the future of Portugal and her colonies, for Southern Africa and for NATO's aggressive policies, than for its original aim of solving the international financial problems.

This was the feeling amongst many people in the United States itself, including several newspapers and black Senator Charles Diggs (who in protest resigned from his membership of the US delegation to the United Nations), Senator Clifford Case and four others tabled a resolution requiring the extension agreement to be submitted to the Senate. It was indeed the feeling of millions of Portuguese and Africans who suffer under fascism and colonialism, and of millions of decent people all over the world—a feeling of indignation for such a blatant and concrete support for one of the most reactionary régimes the world has ever known.

ENGLISH FOLLOWING

The Azores bases are not the only foreign military bases in Portuguese territory. NATO has, in Oeiras, near Lisbon, the Comberlant headquarters and in Caparica another base (both recently objects of armed attacks by Portuguese patriots); and yet another military installation in Ovar. The West Germans have the Beja air base. All were pawned or sold by the fascists in exchange for military and financial support for the Portuguese régime.

England shares these facilities and the Montijo air base. But her main support for the fascists lately has been of an economic nature with increased investments and trade.

This point was very clearly made just after the Azores deal when—in reply to questions concerning the possibility of English interests in Portugal being left behind because of the rush of dollars into the country with the new agreement—the British Ambassador to Portugal stated that his Government had recently provided Portugal with credits worth £200 million for acquisition to be made in England, as reported in the censored "Diário de Lisboa" of 27.1.1972. And the race for more bargains in the Portuguese sale continued with the support given by the British Government to an English group tendering for the building of over 200 miles of motorways in Portugal, and with the friendly visit of the Portuguese Foreign Minister to London last month.

The support by the British interests and Government for the Portuguese fascist and colonialist régime is harmful to the British people because much of the money and credits given to Portugal are needed for investment in Britain herself. It is also politically disastrous, as no help will ever prevent the inevitable downfall of the Portuguese régime.

In their struggle for a better life, the British people will have, for their own good, to get rid of the shameful support which their government and rulers are giving to Portugal's fascism and colonialism.

DGS-PIDE TORTURES

José Pedro Soares is a young Portuguese worker, conscripted to the Portuguese Army. He was arrested by the military police on 1st July, 1971, at the Serra da Carqueira barracks near Lisbon, and handed over that same day to the DGS-PIDE at their headquarters in the António Maria Cardoso Street, in Lisbon.

He was first interrogated by the Director of Caxias Jail, near Lisbon. As he refused to be 'co-operative' he was threatened in the following terms:

"If you do not want to tell the truth, don't. But we are going to have you in our hands for six months and, if it is necessary, for another three or even six months. Now you are going back to jail and tomorrow we will have you here again but the methods we will use will be different. You are in our hands and you will have to tell us everything".

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

His fingerprints and his photograph were taken that same day while he was surrounded by police agents who provoked and insulted him.

The following day Soares was brought to the interrogation room and stayed there for six consecutive days and nights, always in the company of at least one police agent who prevented him from sleeping and exerted all types of psychological pressure upon him. He was told that the alternatives open to him were either to talk, or to go mad and die.

Soares stated that he could not accept DGS as a legal institution because it only practised injustice and he suffered then a first session of beatings; he was violently punched in his stomach and fell on the floor, where he was kicked several times. His nose and his right eye were badly bruised.

He was then forced to stand against a wall for three consecutive days and nights.

On the fifth day of this session the Caxias Jail Director, after more attempts at 'persuasion', punched him in the face, and a group of agents kicked him all over. Afterwards they let him sleep for two and a half hours and he was brought back to Caxias at 6 p.m. on the 8th of July. He slept in Caxias from the 8th to the 9th and he was visited that same day by his parents.

Still on the 9th July at 4.30 p.m. Soares was brought to the DGS headquarters in Lisbon for another session of six consecutive days and nights with deprivation of sleep. He was incessantly threatened. When they told him that he was going to be shot in the head, Soares replied that the DGS would not escape the responsibility for anything that happened to him. As punishment for this reply he was deprived of his chair for one day and one night.

On the third day the beatings started again. One DGS agent, whose name is known, spat in Soares's face and told him that he would do the same to him as he had done to a communist from Lisbon: 'I fired seven shots at him. While I am an agent of this police force nobody leaves here without confessing. That is why I was given this gun'. The interrogation and the beatings continued until July 15, when he was brought back to Caxias.

THE SECOND PHASE OF TORTURES

Soares remained in his isolation cell until July 24, when he was brought again for interrogation.

During the first day of this session a meal was brought to the prisoner, who refused it. Three agents tried to force him to eat and, as Soares still refused, they punched and kicked him in such a way that they left him bleeding from his nose, mouth and legs. They took Soares to a bathroom, made him wash himself and then took him back to the interro-

gation room. Two agents with rubber truncheons were there and immediately started beating him. Soares was left with his nose bleeding again and his body full of bruises. He was then brought back to Caxias.

After a few days in Caxias he suffered another 'interrogation session'. Again he was deprived of sleep, repeatedly beaten with periods of forced standing against a wall with raised arms.

At one time one agent, whose name is known, started beating him with a leather whip. When Soares tried to escape from this he was surrounded by a group of agents who punched and kicked him. Mad with pain Soares punched one of the agents and was then beaten with renewed fury. They kept him lying on the floor with his feet forcibly raised. When he lowered his feet he was whipped. Soares got up and was beaten again until somebody shouted, 'Enough'. Soares was, by then, all swollen and covered with blood and bruises. A doctor was called in twice to examine him; also a nurse, several times.

Later, he was again savagely beaten with a leather whip by an agent whose name is known.

To supplement all the tortures described, Soares was also spat upon; insults were hurled at his family; his arms were twisted; his face slapped; the chair

he was sitting on taken from under him; and, to prevent him sleeping, water was thrown in his face and loud bangs deliberately made near his ears.

Jose Pedro Soares suffered a total of 820 hours of interrogation as described and was kept without sleep for a total of 21 days and nights. He was kept in isolation from July 1st to September 17th, 1971, or a total of 79 days.

When Soares ended his interrogation and isolation period he heard the following final comment from one of the DGS-PIDE agents:

'It is we who inform the Court, which is going to try you, about yourself. After the way you behaved we believe that you will not change your convictions. Therefore, I shall be in the Court as your prosecution witness to get for you "security measures", renewable every six months on our orders, after your sentence expires. You are going to spend most of your life in jail'.

This is the way human beings are treated by the fascists in Portugal, a country which is a NATO member, a close ally of Britain and a dear protégé of the United States, West Germany, France and Italy. How can these countries pretend to be champions of freedom and democracy and support at the same time régimes such as that which exists in Portugal?

NO TO REACTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS

At the UN General Assembly meeting in New York, at the beginning of October, a statement by Moktar Guld Daddah, President of Mauritania, and head of the Organisation of African Unity, charged NATO with continuous help to Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné (Guinea-Bissau).

On November 24th, a Security Council resolution, approved by 14 votes with one abstention (United States), requested that Portugal should respect the sovereignty of Senegal, that the acts of aggression against Senegal should end and that there should be respect for the right to self-determination and independence for the people of Guiné.

On November 26th the UN General Assembly's Social Committee adopted a resolution inviting the Assembly to confirm the legality of the struggle for self-determination and liberation of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Votes in favour were 74 and against 12 (these included Britain, US, France, Italy and Israel).

The governing conference of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation meeting in Rome, also on November 26th, called on the FAO to give all possible moral and material assistance to the African liberation movements, including those of the Portuguese colonies.

The UN General Assembly, meeting on December 11th in New York, urged the Security Council to consider taking all effective steps to persuade Portugal to grant self-determination and independence to her colonies and condemned Portugal for her refusal to implement similar resolutions. It also condemned the Brevé Portuguese colonial wars, which seriously disturb international peace and security; the indiscriminate bombings and destruction of villages carried on by the Portuguese; the collaboration with Rhodesia and South Africa. Portugal's NATO allies were asked to stop their supply of weapons. The resolution was adopted by 105 votes to eight, with eight abstentions.

The UN Security Council, meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at the beginning of February, approved a resolution condemning Portugal's colonialist policies. There were nine votes in favour and six abstentions (these including Britain, US and France). Representatives of the liberation movements from Guiné (Amílcar Cabral, General Secretary of PAIGC), Angola and Mozambique were heard by the Council, and, together with the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity, invited the Security Council to visit the liberated zones in the Portuguese colonies. Portugal refused to pay her share of the

INSIDE PORTUGAL

THEY CAN NOT LEARN

Introducing the Budget for 1972 the Portuguese Government states that it aims at expansion of the economy accompanied by price stability, while providing for the 'necessary' military expenditure. The Portuguese Dictatorship, it seems, will never learn.

In fact, throughout the period 1966-69 the rate of economic growth decreased, the crisis in agriculture and farming worsened, and the cost of living went steadily up.

In the private sector the main factors affecting the Portuguese economy have been the increasing penetration and domination of foreign capital, the effects of emigration and the tourist traffic; and, side by side with these, attempts to introduce modern schemes of capitalist expansion.

The dominant factor in the public sector has been the increase in military expenditure which went up from £46.5 millions in 1960 to £190 millions in 1970. For the same period the percentage of the total budget allocated to public services and investments went down from 62.7 per cent to 48.5 per cent, as shown in the following table.

PORTUGUESE STATE EXPENDITURE

	1960		1965		1970	
	£m	%	£m	%	£m	%
Public Loans ..	12.0	7.5	26.0	10.1	33.0	7.3
High State Organs ..	2.0	1.1	1.0	0.6	5.0	1.1
Military & Security ..	46.5	28.7	110.0	42.7	196.0	43.1
Running of State Services ..	46.0	28.2	57.4	22.2	103.5	22.8
Investments	56.0	34.5	63.0	24.4	116.0	25.7

The remittance from emigrants and the receipts from the tourist trade provided the sources of foreign currency which maintained a favourable balance of payments despite the growing trade deficit, but at the same time they heated up inflation.

Faced with a deteriorating economic situation, the Caetano Government switched in 1969 to a policy of easier credits, but this aggravated inflation even more. From January to August 1971 prices in Lisbon increased by 10.1 per cent while salaries in industry and transport only went up by 3 per cent.

The industrial sector, despite some increases in production, has been unable to strengthen its structure effectively to face the difficulties involved in the link up with the Common Market. These difficulties can hardly be avoided since isolation will not be corrected by powerful foreign concerns with substantial investments in Portugal who look forward to an even higher rate of profit. The terms of association will be laid down by the members of the EEC without regard for the consequences to the Portuguese people.

Meanwhile the deficit on foreign trade cent of the purchase price of equipment to

be made in the USA. The National Society Bank of Cleveland provided a similar loan (P.J. 28.12.71). Nova, January 1972; 'Vida Mundial', 22.10.71; 3.12.71.)

BIG BUSINESS

But there are still handsome profits to be reaped from the toil and misery of the Portuguese people. Here are just a few of the capital increases achieved by Portuguese firms in 1971-72.

Capital increase in £ million

CUF (Portugal's greatest monopoly)	7.9
Siderurgia Nacional (steel works)	3.9
SACOR (oil refinery)	3.5
Nacional Ultramarino Bank	3.5
Petroquímica (petro-chemicals)	2.1
Borges and Irmao Bank	2.1

THE SELL-OUT TO ENGLAND

The growing support of the British Government for the fascist régime follows upon increased English investments and interests in Portugal.

ICI and its subsidiary terylene producer in Portugal, Fimicisa, are exerting all their influence in government circles to impose an increased import duty on all terylene fibres coming into the country in order to ensure for themselves the monopoly of supplying the Portuguese textile industry—the largest in the country. Fimicisa sell their fibre at twice the cost of the imported product, and their net profits stood at £210,000 in 1970 (D.L. 28 and 29.12.71.)

The 'President' of the Portuguese Republic has inaugurated newly-extended installations in the tungsten mines of Panasqueira—among the largest in the world—which belong to English and South African capital (Charter Consolidated Group) through Beralit Tin and Wolfram Ltd. They employ 1,200 miners, and produced 1,600 tons of tungsten in 1970, exporting minerals to the value of £3.1 millions. They were also responsible for heavily polluting the nearby river Zézere. (D.L. 23.10.71.)

Mr. Michael Conolly, from the board of the London merchant bankers Samuel Montagu and Co. Ltd., visited Lisbon and the Espírito Santo Bank in order to negotiate operations on the London Stock Exchange (P.J. 9.12.71.)

Burnet Engineering Consultants, a London firm associated with US and Swiss capital, are to be partners in establishing a nuclear enterprise in Portugal (The Times, 13.11.71.)

Lord MacFadden, chairman of BICC, which has a subsidiary manufacturing electric cables in Portugal, held a meeting at the British Chamber of Commerce in Lisbon (P.J. 29.10.71.)

The Portuguese Government conferred a decoration on Mr. M. Symington, owner of the Warre and Co. group of port wine traders (P.J. 18.12.71.)

THE UNITED STATES

The Export-Import Bank has advanced a loan to the Portuguese Railways amounting to 980,196 US dollars to cover 42 per cent during the first six months of 1971 amounted

to £114.5m—£10m more than in the same period in 1970.

(P.J. 16.11.71, 17.11.71, 31.12.71); 'Seara' of the Interpublic Group of Companies Inc., of New York, became a partner in the Portuguese advertising firm Cinevoz (D.L. 4.1.72.)

WEST GERMANY

The 'President' of the Portuguese Republic accompanied Herr Peter von Siemens at the inauguration of a new Siemens electrical equipment factory in Evora (P.J. 26.11.71). The increase in West German investments in Portugal was the object of a meeting between a Portuguese working party and the European and International Committee of the Bundestag, composed of parliamentary representatives of all the West German parties, and headed by M. P. E. Lange (Indústria Portuguesa, Lisbon, October, 1971).

The Agfa-Gevaert group opened a new factory in Linda-a-Velha, near Lisbon (D.L. 10.12.71.)

FRANCE

M. P. Huvélin, president of the French National Council of Employers, headed an economic mission composed of 33 representatives of six French banks and 14 industrial firms which visited Portugal to study the opportunities for further French investments, and discuss the integration of Portugal into the Common Market (P.J. 16 and 21.11.71.)

The same topics formed the agenda of the first meeting in Lisbon, of the Franco-Portuguese Committee of Industrial Co-operation (P.J. 27.11.71.)

OTHERS

Japanese investments in plastic, motor cars, textiles, and processed seaweed, in Portugal totalled £2.15 millions in 1970. In that same year plastics yielded a profit of £88,000, or a return of 13.7 per cent on the capital investment. (P.J. 11.1.72.)

The Georg Fischer firm of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, took over Europur, a Portuguese foundry works valued at £715,000 (D.L. 4.12.71.)

MY FRIEND, GENERAL DELGADO!

After mail-listed rule, Caetano tries the soft soap of confusion. On the 25th anniversary of the inauguration of the air service from Lisbon to Luanda and Lourenço Marques, Caetano praised Salazar and 'his friend of many years, General Humberto Delgado' (P.J. 1.1.72). The General, a Presidential candidate for the Opposition in 1958, was assassinated by PIDE in 1965 and the Government has always blocked any attempts to open an enquiry into the murder.

MONEY FOR TOURISM

The Caetano Government expects to invest jointly with private business over £42,840,000 for the development of tourism in Portugal (P.J. 17.11.71.)

GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT

At the town of Olhao, southern Portugal, more than 10 fish-canning factories have been closed down, leaving thousands jobless. (D.L. 29.10.71.)

Official figures, always rather vague, show that of 27,593 people looking for a job in

(Continued on page 18)

NEWS OF REPRESSION

(From our correspondents in Portugal)

FASCIST TERROR

To ease the task of the secret police (DGS-PIDE) and other repressive forces in Portugal, the 'National Assembly' decided last November, without discussion by the 89 Caetano deputies present, that 'serious subversive acts persisted in some parts of the national territory'. This resolution could lead to the proclamation of a state of siege and the introduction of the death penalty. It will certainly open the way to fiercer repressive measures.

The repressive situation has so tightened that even some of Caetano's deputies are getting worried by the protests they receive. Some of the Caxias jail prisoners wrote to deputies Sá Carneiro, Pinto Balsemao and Correia da Cunha, complaining of the treatment they had had at the hands of the secret police. As a result of this, those three deputies visited Caxias jail on January 9th last—a very exceptional event—and Sá Carneiro spoke, in the 'National Assembly' on January 15th, of numerous complaints about DGS-PIDE's actions, demanding an inquiry into the activities of this police force. The inquiry was refused, and in the same 'National Assembly' other deputies asked for more repression, even towards secondary school students, as did the ultra-fascist Casal Ribeiro on February 8th.

The Caxias Hospital prison was visited on February 1st by Caetano's deputy, Pinto Balsemao.

Under the pretext of a drive against 'criminal elements', the police forces have intensified their raids and operations against civilians in Lisbon and other towns, where police dogs and other repressive means are widely used. Repeated stop-operations on the roads took place between November 10th and February 21st in Lisbon, Oporto, Alcobaca and Ponte do Lima, leading to the inspection of 41,956 vehicles.

Amongst many people arrested for political reasons since last October were José da Silva (a clerk, from Lisbon), Manuel Nisa (a clerk, from Fonte da Telha), Ulfo Garcia (an Army sub-lieutenant, in Lamego), Manuel Vieira (a bank clerk), Eugénio Ruivo and Raimundo dos Santos (two Lisbon students), Carlos Osório (TAP Air Line employee), Joaquim de Silva (from Viana do Castelo), etc., etc.

POLITICAL TRIALS

The Supreme Military Court sentenced, on November 8th last, Air Force sub-lieutenant Frederico Madeira to four years in jail for attempted desertion in Mozambique.

The Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced,

on November 12th last, six Lisbon University students accused of distributing leaflets.

The Oporto Plenary Court sentenced, on December 7th last, Soares de Moura to 22 months in jail, Abreu Soares to 20 months, and both to 'security measures'. Two other men were given six and four months prison sentences.

The Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced, on December 21st, two law students, leaders of their union, Mário de Carvalho, to two years in jail, and Francisco da Costa to 22 months; Maria Lobo, a girl, and António Cabral, were both sentenced to 16 months. Civic rights were forfeited for periods of 15 years for the first sentenced, and five years for each of the others.

On January 15th the same court sentenced Vitor Madeira, a metal worker, to 18 months in jail; Jesuino Carvalho and Joao Marques, also metal workers,

and Desidério Madeira, a seaman, each to 16 months.

On January 18th the same Lisbon Plenary sentenced Alvaro Monteiro, an engineering technician and candidate in the 1989 'elections'; Júlio Freire, a shop assistant and Faustino dos Reis, an office worker, each to 20 months in jail; and Mário Cardoso, an electrician, to 18 months.

The Lisbon Fourth Criminal Court sentenced, on February 2nd, the student António Afonso, in his absence, to 15 months in jail.

The Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced, on February 3th, António dos Santos, President of the Journalists' Union and an active opponent of the Government press censorship, to one year in jail, a £70 fine and loss of political rights for five years; and Jorge Messias, a shop manager, to 14 years in prison.

On February 8th the same Lisbon court sentenced António Narciso, a stoker, and Isidro da Conceição, a technician, to two years in jail each; and Domingos Pinho, a customs officer, to 20 months.

(Continued on page 16)

GREAT VICTORY AGAINST REPRESSION PIRES JORGE IS FREE!

PIRES JORGE, the 64-year-old workers' leader has been released from jail after 15 years in fascist prisons. He was arrested for the last time in December 1961 and his health has been affected by the long prison term, following 19 years in the clandestine struggle inside Portugal.

PIRES JORGE'S indomitable courage and political ability are an example to all Portuguese anti-fascists; and his release from jail an encouragement for further victories for the national and international campaign for the liberation of the Portuguese political prisoners. Our 'Bulletin' campaigned ceaselessly for his release during these last ten years.

These victories are much needed to save the lives of other long-term prisoners, such as those whose names follow:

DIAS LOURENCO, 56-year-old workers' leader, has spent over 14 years in jail, after 12 years in the clandestine anti-fascist movement inside Portugal. He was sentenced in 1962 to 17 years in jail.

JOSE MAGRO, who is 52, has spent over 18 years in jail and eight years in the clandestine movement inside Portugal, and is the Portuguese political prisoner with the most years in prison. He suffers from serious nervous complaints. He is serving a 164 year sentence.

ROGERIO DE CARVALHO, 51 years old, was sentenced to 14½ years and has

already spent 12 years in jail. He suffers from a nervous complaint and from a serious bone disease.

ILDIO ESTEVES, who is 47, has spent nearly eight years in jail. He was arrested for the last time in October 1965. The five-year sentence he was given has already expired, but he is kept under the 'security measures'. He suffers from serious spinal troubles and has had to be admitted to the Caxias prison hospital.

In the sinister prison fortresses of Peniche and Caxias there are many other long-term prisoners whose lives and health are in serious danger. They include **ANTONIO GERVASIO**, **JOSE CARLOS**, **GUILHERME CARVALHO**, **DOMINGOS ABRANTES**, **DINIZ MIRANDA**, **CANAIS ROCHA**, **JORGE ARAUJO**, **MANUEL PEDRO**, **ANGELO VELOSO**, etc., etc.

MORE VICTORIES NECESSARY

An amnesty for all the Portuguese political prisoners would be a major step in the struggle against repression in Portugal; it would be an act of the most elementary justice for dozens of innocent men and women.

Write demanding this amnesty to: Professor Marcello Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal.

The anti-fascist fighters of the oldest and longest fascist dictatorship the world has known must not be forgotten!

RECENT TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL (I)

by José Vitoriano

José Vitoriano is a 34-year-old cork worker and one of the leading Portuguese trade unionists. Elected by his fellow workers to the leadership of their union he was first arrested by the Portuguese secret police in 1948, tortured, released from jail in 1951, re-arrested and savagely tortured in 1953, kept under inhuman prison conditions until August 1966, when he was freed as a result of a national and international campaign in his favour, after over 16 years in jail.

We reprint here, slightly edited, an article published by him in the September 1971 issue of 'WU Movement'.

Although deprived of all trade union liberties since 1933, the Portuguese workers have never accepted this situation. For almost 40 years they have been carrying on a difficult and intense struggle to reconquer the liberties which fascism has taken from them, trying to use the fascist unions in their action against the employers.

After a short period during which the workers boycotted the National Trade Unions (fascist unions set up and controlled by the government, which replaced the free unions), during which period illegal trade unions existed, the working class and other strata of the working population abandoned this line of policy and started action within the fascist or, so-called, 'national' unions (sindicatos).

The workers' struggle within the 'national' unions is developing in two directions. On the one hand, through committees and meetings by exercising pressure on the leadership (appointed by the employers and government) to support and defend their demands; on the other hand, by struggling to replace this leadership by workers in whom they have confidence. Despite all the irregularities practised by the fascists, and despite repression, threats, blackmail and pressures of every kind, a number of leaderships composed of honest workers have been elected in recent years.

But, in the struggle for their demands, the workers do not always use this method, given the very limited opportunities which the fascist unions provide. This struggle is developing particularly on the basis of action in the factories through united committees supported by the mass of the workers in the factory.

CAETANO'S DEMAGOGY

After having replaced Salazar, in 1968 Caetano began to carry out a demagogic political policy of 'liberalisation', also including the trade union field. In July 1969 some modifications of the legislation governing unions were introduced, the most important of which was the abolition of the regulation that the government had to approve trade union leaderships.

But further obstacles were soon raised to the free election of trade union leaderships by the workers. To avoid the consequences of abolishing government approval after an election, the government instituted preventative approval. Thus it was laid down that in order to occupy a post of responsibility in

the trade unions, only workers who had the right to participate in elections to the so-called National Assembly could be elected. As is known, this right is refused to people who express ideas contrary to the fascist régime existing in the country.

The aims and the effects of this restriction are clear. Checking on the eligibility of a candidate is done by appointed committees whose members must also fulfil the condition of having the right to participate in elections to the 'National Assembly'. These committees and delegates to the National Institute of Labour (the government department which controls the unions) can demand that candidates should present documents 'certified by competent bodies' proving that they fulfil the conditions of eligibility demanded. The above-mentioned committees demand that all candidates present within five days documents proving that:

- (1) they enjoy civil and political rights;
- (2) they are not ineligible by reason of a court conviction and they are not insane;
- (3) they are not bankrupt or insolvent;
- (4) they have not been sentenced by a court and they are not on bail;
- (5) they do not express ideas contrary to the existence of the Portuguese State and its régime.

This example shows well the fallacious nature of the new trade union law. In addition to an endless bureaucratic process which can eliminate some or all of the candidates from a list, this law, in fact, prevents any workers suspected by the police or administrative authorities of holding ideas contrary to those of the régime putting themselves forward for a trade union position.

THE RIGHT TO ELECT HONEST LEADERS

Despite these misleading conditions and the repressive character of the new trade union law, workers have understood Caetano's demagogy and have opposed it. A huge mass movement to elect truly democratic leaderships has grown up and developed in many unions where elections are to be held, or where leaderships by administrative committees have been imposed.

The extent of the movement on the one hand, and the concern of the fascists to avoid having their demagogy unmasked on the other, have prevented the complete application of the restrictions which the fascist law permits. Many victories have been won. The presentation of 'B' lists (opposition lists to the official government and employers lists which are called 'A' lists) has become a common practice. In many cases these 'B' lists are signed by thousands of people and supported by broad committees set up by sponsoring committees, or committees to promote 'B' lists. These bodies carry out an extensive activity to distribute and popularise a list among workers (in certain cases they even succeed in organising assemblies) to discuss the problems of the working class and the action

programmes that they propose to carry out, or for which they propose to fight if they are elected. In this way, when the date of the elections approaches, the mass of workers is mobilised and help the unions.

In many unions, assemblies to elect new leaderships have been attended by thousands of workers. Here are a few significant examples: at the elections in the National Union of Technicians and Metal and Engineering Workers of the Lisbon District, about 4,000 workers took part, of which a number travelled dozens of miles in hired buses, something which had never before been seen. The 'B' list (the workers' list) received 1,436 votes against 18 for the 'A' list (employers' and government list). The previous leadership had been elected in 1967 by a vote of 95 people. In the same union in the District of Porto, about 3,000 metal workers took part in an assembly. The pre-election atmosphere was so greatly in favour of the working class list that the official list was not even put forward. The only list presented, that of the workers, received 1,853 votes. Before the elections, two trade union meetings were held in support of the workers' list in which there took part respectively 1,200 and 1,600 metal workers. In the Lisbon section of the National Union of Shop Assistants, the first meeting had to be adjourned because the hall was too small to hold the great number of members present, another meeting was called in a bigger hall and more than 2,000 shop assistants took part. The 'B' list received 688 votes against 72 for the 'A' list. In the National Union of Shop Assistants, whose leadership is elected by an electoral college composed of delegates from the different sections on the basis of three delegates per 100 members, the 'B' list defeated the 'A' list by 190 votes to 27, which corresponds to 6,000 shop assistants to 900.

The large gap between the number of those taking part in assemblies and the number of votes is explained by the fact that a large proportion of the workers do not have the right to vote.

INCREASED NUMBER OF TRADE UNION ASSEMBLIES

But the great trade union agitation which is going on is not limited to assemblies connected with the election of new leaderships. A number of other meetings in which thousands of workers have taken part, take place in connection with new collective agreements and to discuss drafts drawn up by the new leaderships, or even so that the leaderships can inform the members of the progress of negotiations with employers' organisations.

During the course of the struggles in factories, led by unity committees, which in a number of cases take the form of work stoppages or strikes, workers are more frequently appealing to those unions whose leaderships enjoy their confidence. One of the new aspects of trade union activity is the discussion by the mass of workers of new draft collective agreements in unions which are led by men who have the con-

fidence of the workers.

Following are a few examples. In April, 1970, an assembly of the Bank Employees' Union of the Lisbon District, organised to discuss the new draft collective agreement, brought together 7,000 employees in the sports hall at the Benfica Stadium. At the same time, similar meetings were held in Porto and Coimbra in which there took part respectively 2,000 and several hundred bank employees. In August, the Metal Workers' Union of Lisbon called a meeting to discuss the draft collective agreement with the Portuguese Air Transport Company. Several hundred workers took part in this meeting.

Following on a series of meetings of factory delegates, a meeting took place to discuss a new collective agreement and other issues of interest to the working class, in which almost 3,000 metal workers took part. This was one of the biggest meetings in the history of the union. In the Lisbon Shop Assistants Union more than 1,000 people took part in a meeting called to discuss questions connected with the demand for a 44-hour week. Later, at a meeting called by the trade union leadership to inform workers of the decisions taken by the Arbitration Commission on the collective agreement, more than 2,000 shop assistants came together in a meeting called to discuss the government's refusal to approve the 44-hour week, which had been granted by the Arbitration Commission following on an extended struggle by the workers to win this demand. Three days later, 5,000 shop assistants demonstrated in front of the National Assembly in protest against the refusal. This demonstration was violently dispersed by the police. The Glass Workers' Union of Marinha Grande called together almost 2,000 workers to demand a new collective agreement; they then demonstrated through the streets of the town. The Wool Workers' Union of Covilhã called a meeting of 2,000 workers for the same purpose. We could quote a number of other examples such as the meeting of 1,000 dockers, and so on.

(Continued next issue)

Some US Firms With Direct Investments in Angola

Brown and Root Inc., from Houston, Texas; Carnation and Company, from Los Angeles, California; Diamond Distributors, Inc., from New York; Diamond Shamrock Corporation, from Cleveland, Ohio; Diversa Inc., from Dallas, Texas; General Tyre and Rubber Co., from Akron, Ohio; Gulf Oil Corporation, from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Mobil Oil Corporation, from New York; Price Waterhouse and Co., from New York; Tenneco, Inc., from Wilmington, Delaware; Texaco, Inc., from New York (included in the Cahex group of companies which are owned 50 per cent by Standard Oil of California and Texaco Inc.).

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.

expenses of the Addis Ababa meeting.

BRITAIN

The British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty issued an appeal for protests against the arrest and trial of the Portuguese bank employees' leader, Daniel Cabrita.

Several public demonstrations of protest against the visit of the fascist Portuguese Foreign Minister, Patricio, to England, took place in London at the beginning of March, during this visit.

US

The city of Dayton, in Ohio, rejected a bid by Gulf Oil Corporation for petrol supply, accepting a slightly higher offer from another company, because of protests by the Gulf Boycott Coalition Group. This group opposes Gulf business interests in Angola and Mozambique which support Portuguese colonialism.

SENEGAL

The Senegalese Information Minister, Muzanne Camara, stated on December 22nd, in Dakar, that the recent US agreement with Portugal on the Azores will strengthen Portuguese colonialism. He said that the President of the Senegalese Republic regrets that the US Government, which abstained twice at the Security Council on a complaint by Senegal against Portugal, has found it necessary to sign a new agreement with the Portuguese Government.

HOLLAND

The Dutch Angola Committee campaign to boycott Angolan coffee in Holland has already resulted in four large coffee roasters, accounting for 27 per cent of the market, deciding to join the boycott. Holland is one of the main buyers of Angolan coffee after the United States; 29 per cent of the coffee drunk in the Netherlands in 1970 came from there.

Three Dutch trade union federations—the NVV, the NKK and the CNV—appealed to the Dutch Lower House of Parliament last December, insisting that Portugal must be excluded from associate membership of the Common Market as long as her government maintains its present policies of oppression in Portugal and in the colonies.

GDR

A second form mathematics manual in Portuguese, for use in schools in the liberated areas of Mozambique, is being prepared in the German Democratic Republic.

WEST GERMANY

The West German Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Committee made an appeal for protests about Siemens AG involvement in the Cabrita Basiss slum building—accompanying Siemens Annual General Meeting in Munich on March 20th.

ORGANISATIONS

The World Federation of Trade Unions condemned Daniel Cabrita's arrest, and protested to the International Labour Organisation against the two-year jail sentence imposed upon him on February 10th in Lisbon.

The Libyan Chief of State, Colonel Muammer el-Khadafi, called for a complete boycott of Portugal and the severing

of trade and other links of African states with her at the opening on January 14th of the 19th Session of the Organisation of African Unity Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, in Tripoli, Libya. Libya's delegation to the meeting also expressed the readiness of their country to take part in military operations against Portugal.

A World Council of Churches Symposium, held in Frankfurt, West Germany, on March 3rd, condemned Portugal's colonialist policies and NATO's support for them; and the new £235 million Cunene river scheme in southern Angola, which, it was stressed, will only benefit a tiny colonialist minority in Angola and the South African racists.

KEY TO REFERENCES

P.J.—'Primero de Janeiro'
D.L.—'Diário de Lisboa'

Two of the leading, censored, Portuguese newspapers.

On February 10th the same Lisbon Plenary sentenced Daniel Cabrita, leader of the Bank Employees Union, to two years in jail and loss of civic rights for 15 years; Manuel Candeias, a metal worker and trade union leader, and Afonso Rodrigues, an electrician, also to two years each; José Marcelino, a technician, to 16 months; and Augusto Rosa, a factory worker, to 14 months. Daniel Cabrita, arrested on June 30th last, stated in court that he had been tortured by the police with deprivation of sleep for 13 days and beatings which left him with a broken nose. He was kept in isolation for 76 days and he only signed an incriminating statement to put an end to his tortures. One of the reasons for Cabrita's arrest was a protest he made to the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, Switzerland, against the lack of trade union rights in Portugal.

On February 22nd still the same Lisbon Political Court, whose presiding judge is selected by the Government, sentenced 44-year-old António Gervásio, a farm worker and workers leader, to 11 years and eight months in jail, loss of political rights for 16 years and 'security measures'.

The only 'crime' found by the courts for all the accused in all these trials was their political opposition to the Portuguese fascist régime.

Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin

K. Shingler, 10 Fentiman Road, London, S.W.8. 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.

THE COLONIES

The minimized losses reported in the Portuguese war communiqués and press from October 26th, 1971, to January 21st, 1972, were:

Armed Forces Killed	
Guiné	57
Angola	37
Mozambique	36
	150

The sum total for twelve weeks and three days was 150 men killed. Among the casualties one air-pilot is reported dead in Guiné, and two Air Force sergeants in Mozambique. In Angola, one lieutenant-colonel was killed in action (3.12.71).

The sum total of Portuguese dead in the Armed Forces for 1971 runs to 841 (Guiné 250; Angola 259; Mozambique 332).

Our attempted count is based upon the brief communiqués issued in the Portuguese press by the Portuguese Military High Commands, giving the names of those dead in the colonial wars. It is certainly falsified by the colonialists but it is the only one available from the Portuguese side.

In 1971, war communism ceased to give the number of those wounded.

GUINÉ

THE WAR

The Portuguese war-communicés from October 16th to December 31st, 1971, report an increasing guerrilla activity in the north and northwestern parts of the colony. Intense fighting took place in the regions of Choqueomone, Naga, Blambe, Canjambari, Suana, Ingoré and Sumbundo. In the Maqué region, to the north of Olosoato and near Jumbembem, the Portuguese forces were engaged by the PAIGC forces.

The Portuguese entrenched camp of Gadamel was severely pounded by 100mm. guns in a series of attacks mounted by the freedom-fighters. On the night of November 26th, Burtantuma was blasted by PAIGC forces. (P.J. 13.11 to 13.12.71.)

The PAIGC war communiqués of November 29th, 1971, report 34 ambushes and 42 assaults on colonialist strongholds in the months of September and October.

Heavy fighting flared up from December 20th to 29th, 1971, between the colonialist forces and the guerrillas in the Morés Forest. (P.J. 13.1.72.)

MORE CRIMES

After napalm bombings the Portuguese Air Force is spraying the fields of the liberated areas with chemicals to destroy the country's harvest, as stated in Algiers by Amflear Cabral, the PAIGC leader. ('Sunday Nation' (Kenya), 14.11.71.)

ANGOLA

SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA

The support by South Africa for the Portuguese colonial wars is becoming stronger. The South African Navy comes to the Angolan coast on frequent visits. On November 26th, 1971, the helicopter of a South-African frigate crashed in Angolan territory, killing four members of the crew

(P.J. 26, 28.11.71).

Dr. Agostinho Neto, the leader of the MPLA, has already declared that there are South African troops equipped with artillery, stationed at Niendo and Lumego, in Southern Angola. (AFP 5.11.71.)

KATANGA MERCENARIES

At least 2,500 mercenaries of Katanga are fighting alongside the Portuguese soldiers against the nationalists in Angola, according to statements made by the MPLA leader, (Radio Lusaka in English, 5.12, 18.00 GMT.)

UNPREDICTABLE ENEMY

The Portuguese themselves admit that they have to hold an enemy who is pressing at unpredictable points all along an 'immense front'. (P.J. 23.12.71.)

For the time being, the strategy of the MPLA, whose forces have harassed the Portuguese during the dry season, has succeeded in avoiding the usual colonialist offensive at this time of the year. (Standard Tanz., 9.10.71.) Meanwhile the guerrilla war is advancing in the Luanda and Malango districts.

THE LIBERATION WAR

The Portuguese war-communicés from November 15th, 1971, to January 12th, 1972, though using phoney statistics to conceal the activity of guerrilla warfare, are nevertheless forced to admit intense attacks by the Angolans on Belongo, Sangombe, Mavinga, M'Poto and Cabeco da Velha. Frequent engagements are also reported in the eastern Angola, in the Moxico area. And by December, the Portuguese authorities reckoned that the MPLA forces had increased their assaults on Portuguese troops. (P.J. 14.11.71, 13.1.72.)

From August to November 1971, the MPLA guerrillas report, among many others, attacks on the African colonialist units near the Wanbomba and Luangano rivers. Portuguese troops were also engaged near Gago-Coutinho and the Chieme post. The Xilombo barracks were shelled on November 20th, 1971. In the Bié area the Portuguese forces have been under frequent attack. (MPLA War Comm. 13.2.71.)

VISITORS REFUSED VISAS

A group of 15 United States churchmen and churchwomen, who visited South Africa to study United States investments there, were denied visas for Angola by the Portuguese authorities. The group intended to visit Gulf Oil's refinery at Cabinda. (Times of Zambia, 24.4.71.)

OPPOSING THE CUNENE DAM

The joint plan between Portugal and South Africa to build a dam and power station on the Cunene river, with massive western capital, is being courageously opposed by the MPLA forces.

Norsier hopes to strengthen his hold in Namibia with this project. (Standard (Tanz.) 3.1.72.)

BRAZIL INVESTS

The wealth of Angola is attracting even more investors. And now Brazil is keen to

join in. The Bank of Brazil will be opening agencies in Angola. (P.J. 20.1.72.)

USA REAPS OIL PROFITS

Foreign investors and their Portuguese associates are the real beneficiaries in Angola. The USA-owned Cabinda Gulf Oil Company has struck more oil, 20 miles off the coast on the continental shelf. There is already a daily output of 4,000 barrels. (D.L. 27.12.71.)

In 1971 Cabinda has exported more than 130,000 cubic metres of wood. (P.J. 18.12.71.)

ENGLISH FOLLOW SUIT

The English-owned Tanganyika Concessions Ltd., during the financial year 1970, had an increase in gross receipts of the Benguela Railway Company of from £10,326,659 to £11,624,012; net profits reached £1,958,000. The construction of the Cuban variant in the railway network is proceeding according to plan at a cost of £1m. Strict security measures have to be maintained to protect the operation of the eastern sector of the line, which only functions by daylight. This was stated by Lord Colyton, chairman of the group, and an ardent supporter of Portuguese colonialism and fascism. ('The Times', 13.12.71.)

THE COFFEE CRISIS

In 1970/71 Angola produced coffee worth £60,038,860 which it had great difficulty in exporting, because of the existing surplus in the international market. ('Diário de Notícias', Lisbon, 27.11.71.)

CHOLERA OUTBREAK

There has been an outbreak of cholera in Angola, with 40 cases in Benguela. A rather curious piece of news reporting an aerial spray of disinfectant, near Luanda, by a military aircraft (P.J. 13.1.72) appears to be more an exercise in chemical warfare, for there is no such way of preventing cholera.

MOZAMBIQUE

KAULZA'S WORD GAME

The megalomaniac Portuguese Army Commander in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga, who has been promising for the last few years the end of the war in that colony claimed on October 30th, 1971, that although the Portuguese are on the road to victory, the end of the war is still a long way off. And he demanded from his men more sacrifices. (P.J. 31.10.71.) Yet on November 1st, Kaulza stated that the war had already been won in Mozambique... it was only a matter of time. (P.J. 1.11.71.)

NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The new Governor-General of Mozambique, Pimentel dos Santos, arrived in the colony on December 2nd, 1971. An engineer by profession, Pimentel dos Santos said that only total victory over the guerrillas would give satisfaction to the Portuguese colonialists. (P.J. 4.12.71.)

THE WAR CONTINUES

The verbose Portuguese war communiqués cannot conceal the hard facts of the war, nor explain how the so-often-betrayed enemy is constantly striking again.

Intensive military action by the FRELIMO forces is reported in Cso Del.

(Continued next page)

(From page 17)

gado, Mocimboa do Rovuma, Omar, and in Tete, where the guerrillas have mounted a series of severe attacks. (These attacks were also reported by 'The Times' 23.10.71.) (P.J. 25.10 to 6.12.71.)

TRAINS BLOW UP

A train on the way to Cabora Bassa, in the Tete region, where the giant dam is being built, was derailed by a mine on the itinerary from Mutarara to Moatize (7.12.71.) (P.J. 16.12.71.)

Guerrilla action is also reported in Southern Niassa. (P.J. 9.11.71.)

On December 11th, 1971, a train carrying Portuguese troops on the Nacala railway was blown up by a bomb. Seven soldiers and eight civilians were killed and 15 soldiers and 20 civilians were wounded. (P.J. 20.11.71.)

FRELIMO SUCCESSES

The success of the Frelimo forces in the Tete region is clearly admitted by the Portuguese. In view of the intensity of the war, thousands of African refugees are streaming into neighbouring Malawi. (Star, South Africa, 6.11.71.) Frelimo war communiqués report that the Portuguese have pulled out from the Mocim and Ngangolo posts in Cabo Delgado. The guerrillas have also had successes in the area of the Zambezi.

One aircraft and one helicopter were shot down by the Frelimo fighters at Bwanda and Khamlano, on September 17th and July 6th, 1971, respectively. ('Mozambique Revolution', No. 49, October-December, 1971, pp. 3-4.)

REFUGEES

Despite all the talk by Portuguese authorities about the recuperation of the African populations, the fact is that there are in other African countries 60,380 refugees from Mozambique, 413,810 from Angola and 82,700 from Guinea. (This amounts to 556,890 people. ('Marches Tropicaux', 16.10.71.)

COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Lourenço Marques is the second greatest port in Africa after Durban (South Africa). A new £164,220 quay will be built in 1972. (P.J. 31.10.71.) The port is mainly used for the export of minerals from South Africa.

Seventeen containers worth £714,000 have been acquired for the Lourenço Marques port. These containers will be used to take goods to Rhodesia and South Africa. (P.J. 28.11.71.) Oil is also sent through to Rhodesia. A pipeline is to be built to take natural gas from Pande, in Mozambique, to Nandini in South Africa. (P.J. 17.1.72.)

ENGLISH-AMERICAN REFINERY

The American-owned Mobil Oil, together with British Petroleum, Calix and Shell, intends to build an oil refinery in northern Mozambique, near Nacala. There is already one refinery in the South, at Matola. (P.J. 23.11.71.)

BRAZIL ALSO

The Brazilian financier, Nicanor Marques, has been in Lourenço Marques to lay down the foundations for an import network of Brazilian products. (P.J. 20.11.71.)

DIAMONDS AND URANIUM

The Diamoc Company has been granted a 25-year concession for the exploration of diamonds in the Tete region. (D.L. 23.10.71.) Uranium has been discovered in the vicinity of Quelimane and other areas of the Zambezi. (P.J. 8.11.71.)

INSIDE PORTUGAL

(Continued from page 13)

September, 1971, only 1,484 were successful, leaving a total of 26,109 unemployed. (D.L. 30.10.71.)

NO WAY TO VICTORY IN COLONIAL WARS

The colonial wars are seriously undermining the Portuguese economy. This fact can no longer be concealed from anyone. Indeed the most staunch supporters of the régime are now the first to emphasize the gravity of the situation, in view of the widening gap between the people and the Government.

In the 'Geographical Society' in Lisbon, Colonel Hermes de Oliveira rebuked those who had been too optimistic in forecasting an impending victory by the Armed Forces in Africa. 'The nature of the war, he said, 'can never lead to a military victory alone. Everything has to be changed before the problem can be solved'. (P.J. 14.12.71.)

Admiral da Roboredo, a deputy in the National Assembly, carped against people in high places who had made excessively optimistic statements on the colonial wars. He pointed out that this was leading to a lack of interest among a large number of Portuguese, who were becoming psychologically unprepared to bear the necessary sacrifices. Inflation and an 'unrestrained and diabolical speculation' were also making life in Portugal intolerable. (V.M. 10.12.71.)

On the other hand, the Minister for Defence criticized 'certain persons' for believing Portugal had an excessive number of troops in Africa. These troops were indeed costing the Government a lot of money and 'more sacrifices' were needed from the Portuguese. Agitation and songs against the war in schools and universities were a morbid and demoralising factor'. (P.J. 31.12.71.)

The new Secretary of State for the Army, Brigadier J. Alberty Correia, capped all these statements by declaring that 'it is still impossible to foresee the end of this struggle'. (P.J. 19.1.72.)

MORE MEN FOR THE AIR FORCE

The war in distant territories is stretching Portuguese capabilities to the limit. The Air Force is requiring more men and aircraft. And the inclusion in the secondary school curriculum of the disciplines required for a pilot's training has been advocated by Lieut.-Col. G. Borges at the Higher School of the Air Force (P.J. 5.11.71 and 24.12.71.)

NEW FACTORY FOR SPARES

The building of factories for the production of spare parts for military vehicles is being considered by the government. (P.J. 27.11.71.)

MORE SHIPS FOR THE NAVY

A new patrol boat for the Portuguese Navy has been launched at Figueira da Foz (P.J. 1.11.71). Four new corvettes are being built at Portuguese shipyards (P.J. 29.12.71.)

NEW LOAN

The Government has obtained a £14,280,000 internal loan to be used in the colonies of Angola and Mozambique. (P.J. 28.12.71.)

THE SECRET POLICE

Major Silva Pais, the Director-General of the PIDE-DGS (Portuguese Gestapo), has been in the Portuguese colonies over Christmas on a visit to the agents stationed there (P.J. 29.12.71 and 6.1.72.)

... AND THE CIA

The Portuguese secret service maintains close links with the CIA and some of its officers attend training courses in America. There are CIA 'Special Forces' instructors with units of General Kaulza de Arriaga, fighting the Frelimo in Mozambique.

The CIA has also assisted the Guinea attempted invasion of 1970 from Portuguese Guinea-Bissau. (E. H. Cookridge, 'The Africa Dossier', in 'The Daily Telegraph Magazine', No. 377, 21.1.72, p.27.)

PIDE KILLED DR. MONDLANE

With the assistance of Interpol, it has now been clarified that officers of PIDE were responsible for assembling the parcel bombs, which were carried to Tanzania, probably by native agents employed by PIDE. These bombs were then sent by post to Dr. Mondlane, the Frelimo leader, and Marcelino Santos, Frelimo's Secretary for Political Affairs. Dr. Mondlane was killed by the first bomb on February 3rd, 1969. ('The Observer', 6.2.71.)

DYING YOUNG

According to statistics provided by the United Nations, Portugal is one of the European countries with the lowest expectancy of life (P.J. 23.11.71.)

BISHOPS BACKING THE COLONIAL WAR

The Portuguese-born Archbishops Nunes Gabriel, of Luanda, Angola, and Alvim Pereira, of Mozambique, who had attended a Synod on Justice in the World, have backed entirely the colonial policy of the Portuguese Government in Africa. (D.L. 11.11.71 and 'The Guardian', 23.10.71.)

ENGLISH VISITORS

Professor Derek Barten, 53-year-old Nobel Prize winner in chemistry, 1969, has been awarded an honorary PhD at Coimbra University. (D.L. 8.11.71.)

Dr. E. M. Koloner, from Hammersmith Hospital (University of London), has been lecturing in Portugal (D.L. 17.11.71.) and Mr. William Gaskill, Director of the English Stage Company, has lectured on the theatre to 34 people in a Lisbon theatre seating 565 people. (D.L. 21.11.71.)

All these visits are being used by the fascists for propaganda purposes.

FOREIGN POWERS HELP FASCISM

ARMS FOR PORTUGAL— SOME SUPPLIERS

Despite the development of arms manufacturing in Portugal, it is obvious that the country is not self-sufficient and has to rely on purchases from friendly countries. The publication 'Arms Trade with the Third World', from SIPRI, Stockholm, printed in its 1971 issue, an exhaustive analysis of the sources on which Portugal relies for its colonial wars. We quote from that article:

SOURCES OF SUPPLY:

'Since its arms production capacity is extremely limited, Portugal is dependent on outside sources to meet its military requirements. Despite the fact that the larger part of Portugal's armed strength is engaged in Africa, NATO members are prepared to supply weapons to Portugal, theoretically to enhance Portugal's contribution to NATO. This contribution is extremely limited. Army participation was reduced from two divisions to one in the early 1960s, and the remaining division assigned to NATO is only at 50 per cent strength. Air force participation is limited to one squadron of P-2E Neptune maritime patrol aircraft. These facts are well known to Portugal's NATO allies, who continue to supply arms both for commercial reasons and in return for military facilities in Portuguese territory. Notwithstanding the difficulty of preventing the transfer of arms to Portuguese forces in Africa, and despite substantial evidence concerning the use of NATO arms in Africa, Portugal's suppliers insist that the weapons they deliver are for use in "metropolitan" Portugal only.'

UNITED STATES

'Up to 1961 Portugal received 302 million dollars of US military aid. Since the 1963 re-negotiation of the agreement on the Azores base, the USA has continuously voted against or abstained from voting on resolutions in the UN condemning Portuguese African policy. In addition, Portugal has been one of the exceptions to the general phasing out of US military aid to Europe.'

FRANCE

'The bulk of French arms supplies was delivered during the 1960s. Supplies consist mainly of weapons suitable for counter-insurgency and, probably for this reason, France has become one of Portugal's most important suppliers. There are two main benefits which France derives from supplying arms to Portugal:

'The first is financial.

'The second is strategic. In 1965, France opened a tracking station in the Azores, in connection with the "force de frappe" missile programme, which was initiated in 1963. Much of the equipment supplied by France has been used in Africa.'

WEST GERMANY

'After the United States and France, West Germany is the most important supplier of

arms to Portugal. The justification for West German arms supply and military aid is based on the NATO partnership and the presence of West German military facilities in Portugal. Commenting on the purchase of 40 C-91R fighters from surplus Luftwaffe stocks at the beginning of 1966, a spokesman of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry said: 'The transaction was concluded within the spirit of the North Atlantic Pact. It was agreed that the airplanes would be used only for defensive purposes within Portuguese territory. Portuguese territory extends to Africa—Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea'. This statement was made before the delivery of the planes but there was no reaction from Bonn.'

BRITAIN

'British arms supplies have been concentrated to the Portuguese Navy, covering large numbers of different categories of ships: minesweepers, patrol boats, frigates and submarines. Army equipment supplied by Britain reportedly operated overseas included the 8.6 inch "M20" rocket launcher and armoured cars.'

AND MORE FROM THE WEST

President Nixon, receiving the new Portuguese Ambassador to the US, stated recently in Washington that the Portuguese programmes of economic development have the full support of the United States (P.J. 7.12.71).

Rear-Admiral E. Crawford, Joint Chief of Staff for the US forces in Europe, visited Portugal where he held talks with Caeetano's Defence, Navy and Air Ministers, Portuguese High Commands and US Rear-Admiral E. Fluckey, Commander of NATO Iberian Headquarters in Portugal (P.J. 13.7.72).

Portugal's Defence Minister, General Viana Rebelo, held talks in Paris with the French Defence Minister, M. Debré, on the subject of French-Portuguese military co-operation (P.J. 23.12.71).

A member of the West German Cabinet, Dr. Rohwedder, Secretary of State for the Economy, visited Portugal for discussions with the Portuguese Ministers of Finance and Economy and the inauguration of the Siemens factory in Evora (P.J. 22.11.71).

The West German Ambassador in Portugal visited the West German air base in Beja and the air forces of his country stationed there (D.L. 28.10.71).

Mr. John Biffen, Conservative MP for Ormsley, England, visited Angola and Mozambique and made several public statements praising the Portuguese colonialists (P.J. 7.1.72).

BRASIL

Since the coming to power of the military régime, Brazil has abstained in the United Nations from voting on resolutions condemning Portugal for its colonial policies or South Africa for its pursuit of apartheid, by citing the need for 'diplomatic pragmatism'. The same spirit must have pre-

sided over the recent visit to southern Africa of the president of the 'Banco do Brasil', Mr. Nestor Jost, whose trip coincided with a visit to Brazil by a South African trade mission. To reciprocate, the Confederation of Brazilian Industries is to send a mission to South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, and, later in the year, will organize in Luanda a trade fair of Brazilian agricultural machinery.

Portugal and Brazil have for some time had bilateral economic agreements. But co-operation between the two countries goes far beyond the economic sphere. There is already active co-operation between the Brazilian and Portuguese navies and it is understood that there is a secret agreement between the two countries whereby Brazilian land forces could operate in Portugal's colonies under certain circumstances.

Despite these developments, the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Mr. Gibson Barbosa, is scheduled to visit Senegal, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, Cameroon, Zaire and Nigeria in September of this year. Mr. Barbosa has described these eight West African countries as 'one of the world's largest potential markets for Brazilian manufactured goods'.

Seen in the context of the special relationship between Brazil and Portugal, and Portugal and South Africa, Brazil's new colonial role should be regarded with apprehension by all Africans intent on keeping or achieving their independence. ('Latin America', 28.1.72).

In view of Brazil's expansionist mood in Africa, it is hardly surprising that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Barbosa, should have gone to great lengths to emphasise that the problem of Angola and Mozambique are the sovereign and exclusive competence of Portugal (P.J. 18.11.71).

This assertion is more than a show of 'diplomatic pragmatism'. It indicates an active policy. A Brazilian journalist, Mr. Sousa Neto, of the 'Tribuna da Imprensa', faces a possible prison sentence of three years 'for having written an article offensive to the Portuguese Prime Minister' (P.J. 11.12.71).

SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, met his opposite number in Lisbon, General Viana Rebelo. It is believed that the talks were related to the purchase by South Africa of Portuguese military equipment ('The Star', South Africa, 20.11.71).

The South African Army Chief of Staff visited Lisbon for secret talks with high-ranking officials at the Portuguese Ministry of Defence. Observers believe that the talks concerned the tripartite military understanding between South Africa, Malawi and Portugal for action against Frelimo, the Mozambique independence movement. (Agence France Press, 9.12.71).

Mr. Botha announced recently in Cape Town that South Africa is to purchase six corvettes from Portugal ('The Times', 11.12.71). This decision follows the news that South Africa and Portugal may soon combine to build large numbers of warships to overcome difficulties encountered by the Republic in buying vessels on the international market. This development may lead to the establishment of a Portuguese shipyard in South Africa ('Daily Telegraph', 3.12.71).

FIGHT OF THE PEOPLE

(From our correspondents in Portugal)

All over Portugal thousands and thousands of courageous Portuguese men and women continue their undefeated battles for their dignity, for their rights, for a better life, defying the fascist repressive forces which are supported by the foreign interests in Portugal and her colonies.

These battles are concentrated on three main fronts. One is the struggle for the daily bread, for better wages and conditions, for the right to work. Another is the struggle against the colonial wars waged by the fascists and their foreign bosses in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. The third is the struggle against fascism, against repression, and for democratic and civil rights.

WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES

They continue to be in the forefront of the fight as they have been during the 45 years' existence of the Portuguese régime.

At the West German Gründig electronics factory in Ferreiros (Braga) 2,700 workers went on a successful strike for three days.

The workers in the Philips factory in Cabo Ruivo (near Lisbon), mainly women, stopped work on December 20th last in protest against the delay of a bonus payment. The stoppage was successful, thanks to the joint action of the men and women workers.

Other industrial actions took place in the electric products EFACEC Factory in Oporto; in the Sonal and Leao factories, in the Avis and Siteour textile factories, and in the Angola sugar refinery (Matosinhos), amongst many others. Women workers, fully supported by men workers, were again active and successful in the Onil clothing factory (Louras) and in the Benito Garcia tinned fish factory (Afurada).

The metal workers have been fighting for the implementation of a new collective agreement on wages. This has been delayed by the State-controlled unions (sindicatos) organisation and by the action of the factory owners, who are threatening to resort to increased redundancies. The workers have been specially active in the Oporto and Setúbal districts.

The bank clerks have been fighting against redundancies in several banks in Lisbon and Oporto. They exposed the damaging activities of the government-imposed union leaderships, after their struggles last July. They continued to fight against the imprisonment of their leader, Daniel Cabrita.

AGAINST THE COLONIAL WARS

The clandestine armed organisation

ARA (Armed Revolutionary Action) carried out another of their successful actions on January 12th. They planted two powerful explosive and incendiary charges amongst a large amount of war material—some recently arrived from France for the paratroop units—waiting in a shed in the Lisbon harbour, to be sent to the colonies. Most of the material was destroyed.

Not one single ARA member has been arrested so far.

Protests against the conditions imposed on servicemen took place, amongst others, in the Alfeite Arsenal installations near Lisbon.

AGAINST REPRESSION

The Portuguese National Committee to Help Political Prisoners, composed of leading personalities in Portugal, continued their courageous fight against political repression. They continue to issue a regular Bulletin, which gave, last December, a detailed account of the tortures inflicted upon José Pedro Soares (see this issue) and other political prisoners, and of the conditions in the Peniche and Caxias jails. Portuguese artists offered 103 of their works to the Committee to support it financially.

Last December members of the local committee against repression in Moscavide near Lisbon, came on the streets to collect funds for the political prisoners, at Christmas. Twelve people were arrested by the police, but they were later freed (as a result of widespread protests) and cheered by a crowd of four thousand people in the streets. In Sacavém and Barreiro near Lisbon several people were arrested for similar reasons and in the same way, won release.

Protests against political imprisonment have been signed by women south of Lisbon and by the families of the Caxias jail prisoners.

A Students' Committee of Support for the Political Prisoners was active against the imprisonment of several Coimbra student leaders who had to be acquitted at their trial in Oporto, in February.

The Portuguese Supreme Court confirmed last December, after much pressure by lawyers and the public, that statements made by prisoners without the presence of a lawyer—as happens with the people arrested by the DGS Secret Police—are not valid. There are considerable doubts amongst people in Portugal about the readiness of PIDE-DGS to accept this High Court decision.

FARMERS AND PEASANTS

Farm workers in Crato have been

fighting for better wages.

Small farmers in Torres Novas and in Lustosa (Viseu) have been fighting against the government and taxation, clashing in Lustosa with the repressive forces.

One thousand small farmers in Paredes (Penafeil) met to protest against increased meat imports which threaten their livelihood. In Talhadas do Vouga (Aveiro) they continued their fight against the forestry service and the cellulose factory owners; the farmers re-occupied common land which had been taken from them.

STUDENTS

The Coimbra students have been trying to free their union (the largest in the country) from government interference. Large meetings have taken place. As a reprisal, several law students have been suspended and evicted from the university. Other actions for better conditions have taken place in the Industrial and Commercial Schools of Matosinhos, Espinho, Infante D. Henrique in Oporto and Lisbon Industrial Institute.

FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Celebrations of the progressive 1891 January 31st Republican Revolution, which has been associated with the anti-fascist struggle since 1926, took the form of public gatherings in Oporto, Aveiro, Guimarães and Figueira da Foz.

The Braga district democrats held a meeting of their committees, issuing a communiqué signed by 71 of their leaders, who oppose the régime.

DOCTORS

The great November 1971 action by the Lisbon doctors led to a strike in the Lisbon hospitals, to which the government replied with dismissals of hospital directors and doctors, and military mobilisation of the doctors. The mobilisation was eventually abandoned because of public outcry. The leader of the Doctors' Guild (Ordem dos Médicos), University Professor Miller Guera, a Catholic and one of Caetano's MPs, resigned in protest against the action of the authorities.

The struggle has continued, bringing about a confrontation between the Health Minister, Rebelo de Sousa (a Caetano protégé and a doctor, active since his youth in the fascist movements) and the majority of doctors, who have been repeatedly insulted and accused by the Minister. The election of the new leader (bastonário) of the Ordem dos Médicos was due to take place in Lisbon on January 28th but had to be abandoned because of the illegal actions of a minority of fascist doctors in collaboration with the government who, amongst other things, called the police to surround the premises in which the election was being held.