

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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Realm of contradiction

To a dispassionate observer Portugal presents the most contradictory picture.

Here is one of the smallest countries in Europe, with only 9 million inhabitants, still holding the largest colonial empire in the world. A country which is at the same time deeply infiltrated and dominated by more powerful foreign economic interests and which acts as an intermediary for these interests in her colonies.

The oldest Fascist dictatorship in the world, a 38-year survival of the Fascist upsurge of the twenties and thirties. But nevertheless a country in predominantly parliamentary West Europe.

LOWEST LIVING STANDARDS

A country where public liberties are ruthlessly suppressed. But a respected and praised member of NATO, which claims to defend these liberties.

A country with the lowest standard of living, the highest illiteracy rate and one of the highest infant mortality rates in Europe (73 per 1,000 live births). But the country with the second highest military expenditure in the world in relation to her national production, waging simultaneously no less than THREE colonial wars (in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique).

Is this a nightmare or reality? Unfortunately it is hard, cold reality.

For the Portuguese people the Fascist regime is not something they can bear as dispassionate observers. It means suffering, it means a terribly hard life, it means ruthless repression, police tortures and political prisons; in Africa it means death. So they continue their 38-year-old fight against the tiny minority whose interests are supported by the Fascist state. And **THEY SHALL WIN** this fight.

Some of the contradictions of the Salazar regime are taking shape in the economic conditions of the country. Its reactionary structure was devised to prevent change, but changes are nevertheless occurring, as a result of a world process, which Portugal has not succeeded in evading totally.

FEWER LAND WORKERS

Traditionally an agricultural country, the population employed in agriculture decreased in the period of 1950 to 1960, from 48.4 per cent. to 42.8 per cent., and agricultural production from 33.4 per cent. of the total to 24.7 per cent. On the other hand, the active population in industry rose from 24.9 per cent. to 29.5 per cent. of the total and their production in 1962 was the highest

in relation to the other activities of the country (39 per cent.).

From 1953 to 1962 the gross national product increased at the rate of 4.5 per cent. per year. But the average rate for agriculture was only 1.2 per cent., while for industry (including electricity production) it averaged 8.7 per cent.

It is calculated that, at the present rate, by 1973 industry would contribute 51 per cent. of the total production and have 35 per cent. of the active population, while agriculture would only contribute 15 per cent. and have only 28 per cent. of the active population.

These changes are taking place within the framework of the Fascist regime. This means that they bring increased wealth to the ruling minority (national and foreign) and very little material improvement to the people, who suffer the same lack of public liberties and the same repression. Salazar's deputy Martins da Cruz, stated in December that there were in Portugal over 20 individuals or families owning more than 12.5 million pounds each, while the gross national product per person was in 1962 only £113 per year.

But these changes also bring new problems to the regime, and consequently can offer new perspectives to the progressive forces who fight it.

GROWING AWARENESS

More and more Portuguese become aware of who is responsible for their condition and their problems, and of the necessity of more and more organized struggle in the country.

An AMNESTY FOR ALL PORTUGUESE PRISONERS AND EXILES continues to be one of the main steps of their struggle. The best help that the Portuguese can receive from abroad is support for this campaign. Let us not spare it!

MANUEL GUEDES

THIS political leader has spent more years than any other prisoner in Salazar jails, a total of over 18 years. As early as 1936 he was arrested in Spain by Franco's police and handed to Salazar's police. After several years in prison he was freed.

Having continued the struggle to organise his people in the fight against Fascism and for a better life, he was arrested again in May, 1952. He was sentenced to 4 years in prison, but has been kept in jail since 1956, for a total of 12 years, under "security measures".

He is in Peniche prison, with others, including Jose Vitoriano, a trade union leader, who has already spent 14 years in jail, Pires Jorge, sentenced to 10 years, Dias Lourenço Blanqui Teixeira, Octavio Pato, Afonso Gregorio, Carlos Costa, Americo de Sousa, Dr. Orlando Ramos, a physician, and many others.

They are in a precarious state of health due to the inhuman prison regime.

You can help by writing them letters of support to the address Cadeia do Forte de Peniche, Peniche, Portugal.

You can help by sending gifts to their families, whose addresses we have already given and can supply to you again.

You can help by demanding their liberation and an Amnesty for All the Portuguese Political Prisoners, to the Minister of the Interior, Lisbon, or to the Portuguese Embassies abroad (in London, 11 Belgrave Square, S.W.1).

Also do not forget the women political prisoners in the Caxias prison (Cadeia do Forte de Caxias, Caxias, Portugal).

INSIDE Portugal

MILITARY BUILD-UP CONTINUES

SALAZAR'S Government, true to their Fascist creed, are spending more money than ever on the Armed Forces.

A new allocation of £1,351,412 has been made to the Air Force and the Army (P.J. 31-12-64). Before that, £775,000 had already been granted. (P.J. 23-12-64). The Navy has been given a new allowance of £1,875,000 for the acquisition of 4 frigates and 4 submarines. These vessels are being built in France by **Ateliers et Chantiers de Nantes, Chantiers de l'Atlantique, Compagnie des Ateliers et Forges de la Loire, and Dubigeon-Normandie.**

Special new allocations to the Navy will have to be made in the future to meet these commitments.

In the last 6½ years, the Portuguese Navy, with 15,000 men in the ranks, has been equipped with 48 new units. Launches for landing troops, nos. CDM 503; LDM 403, 504, 505, 506, were recently launched by the Navy.

MORE TROOPS FOR AFRICA

More troops were sent to Angola on Dec. 5, 1964 (D.L. 5-12-64). Ten days later, a representative of the Minister of the Navy went on a visit to two hospitals to see soldiers who had been wounded in Angola and Guinea (P.J. 15-12-64).

BELGIANS TOGETHER WITH GERMANS

Salazar is making feverish preparations to inaugurate the new military base in Beja (Base, no. 11), under the auspices of NATO, where 6,000 West German and Belgian soldiers will be training. It will be used mainly for the training of jet pilots. Three air-strips are being built under the direction of German officers and engineers. (D.L. 3-1-65).

A BOGUS PLAN FOR EDUCATION

In Salazar's mock Parliament, Dr. Martins da Cruz, criticised sharply the allowance made for Education in the New Triennial Plan (1965-67), (**Plano Intercalar**). The Government have granted only £10,925,000, when the country needs ten times as much.

Another deputy, Dr. Pinto Carneiro criticised the plan bitterly. The allocation fell below all expectations. The real conditions were extremely grave. At the University of Coimbra, for example, he said, the financial provisions will never enable the local authorities to build the much-needed Chemistry and Physics laboratories. At present, the badly-equipped laboratory of Chemistry has only 60 seats for its 1,300 student. (D. Sess. Ass. Nac., 18-11-64).

Among the many faults of the plan, pointed out Dr. Cruz, was the fact that no provision had been made for the creation of practical schools of Agriculture, and this in a country where the majority of the population still earn their living from the land (D.L. 11-12-64).

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE TELEPHONE COMPANY LTD.

New telephone tariffs, which came into operation in January provide for the following increases:

	increase
Telephone installation	20%
Monthly subscription	66%
Cost of call	40%

The contract between the APT (British owned, capital £9.6 million) and the Portuguese Government is due to expire in January 1968.

The contract dates as far back as 1882, having been previously revised in 1887, 1908 and 1928.

Two alternative solutions have been envisaged for the future: either the Government makes an outright purchase or, by mutual agreement, the contract could be extended for a further 25 years, after which the Company would automatically become the property of the State.

The Minister of Communications, explaining why the first alternative had been chosen said (D.L. 17-11-64) "Whatever the length of a new proration, the APT would never be able to pay off the investments made in the final phase of that period." In other words, the APT would not have sufficient time to extract the corresponding profits. It was perhaps for the same reason that in December '63, there were 15,500 unfulfilled requests for telephone installations and in Sept. '64 17,500 (5% of the existing telephones) (D.L. 17-11-64). And it was, perhaps, again for the same reason that Salazar's Government, showing a perfect understanding of the interests of the Company, agreed to finance the Company in the last three years of the contract.

AGRICULTURE IN CRISIS

In the "National Assembly", during the sessions on the 65-67 Development Plan (**Plano Intercalar de Fomento**) the problem that dominated the debates was the appalling state of Portuguese Agriculture and the inadequacy of the Plan even to control the farming crisis.

The unusual agitation in the "National Assembly," a body with purely decorative value under Salazar's regime, can be partially explained by the fact that: "many of the Delegates in the Assembly have interests in farming . . ." (D.L. 24-11-64)

Thus Deputy A. Santos da Cunha (D. Sess. Ass. Nac." 24-11-64) said:

"Is it worth repeating once more that the farming situation is becom-

PORTUGUESE EMPLOYED POPULATION IN 1960

Total 3,315,639

Agricultural Workers, Farmers and Fishermen	1,437,933
Industrial Workers	920,950
Service Employees	305,333
Traders and Salesmen	209,444
Office Workers	163,355
Transport Workers	100,660
Professional People	92,073

(From "10th General Census of the Population", Vol. 3, No. 5, Instituto Nacional de Estatistica, Lisbon, 1964).

PORTUGUESE TRADE 1963

IMPORTS	£ million
From:	
EFTA countries	48.1
Common Market countries ...	72.5
Whole World	217.0

EXPORTS	£ million
To:	
EFTA countries	31.4
Common Market countries ...	30.2
Whole World	139.0

Portugal is an EFTA country. Exports to other EFTA countries only cover 65% of the imports from those countries. Export to other Common Market Countries only cover 40 per cent. of the imports from those countries. (From OCDE Statistics, Series A and EFTA, 1964).

ing more difficult every day? Is it necessary to state again how urgent it is to attack an evil that in some places already seems without solution?"

The Deputy Amaral Neto ("D. Sess. Ass. Nac." 4-11-64) said:

"Our technicians have become too bureaucratic and urbanised. Their system has created numerous offices and departments and they are living in a vacuum, in closed circuits, carefully avoiding less pleasant work, as for instance, going into the country to see what is happening there."

The Deputy Rev. Pinto Carneiro ("D. Sess. Ass. Nac." 18-11-64):

"Agriculture has reached such a state of disorientation, pauperisation and decay that it is on the verge of ruin."

The Deputy Costa Guimaraes ("D. Sess. Ass. Nac." 3-12-64):

"It is quite clear that the scarce two million contos budget allocation (£25 million) is not enough for farming. With such a backward agriculture, we are in urgent need of a quick improvement that will pull it

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The fight of the people

(From our Correspondent in
Portugal)

The great majority of the Portuguese people is opposed to the Salazar regime, because this regime exploits and oppresses them.

On 5th October, anniversary of the 1910 Republican Revolution, there were popular celebrations in Matosinhos (Oporto), Alpiarca, Alcanena, Lisbon and other places. These celebrations are not approved by the authorities, because of the democratic feelings they express.

IN THE CUF ENTERPRISE

The workers of this industrial trust have now succeeded in printing—underground, evidently—their regular "Bulletin." This gives lively accounts of their continuous struggle for better pay and conditions, and of their exposure of the arbitrary rule of the Melo family, who own the enterprise.

New claims for wide discussion of a proposed collective contract for a general increase of 2/6 a day and for equal pay for equal work, have been presented.

DOCKERS AND INSURANCE EMPLOYEES

In November last there have been claims for better wages and conditions by these sections, in Lisbon.

OTHER INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLES

These have been taking place at the Vaz Guedes Enterprise and at the Fish Drying Enterprise, in Palhais.

THE STUDENTS

The valiant students, in Lisbon principally, have reacted vigorously against PIDE arrests aimed at Associations.

On December 10th nearly 300 students demonstrated in the streets of the centre of Lisbon, against the trial of their colleague Saldanha Sanches. They did so despite brutal charges of the police. Sanches was acquitted.

On January 22nd another 300 students demonstrated against the police during a ceremony at the University, demanding the liberation of their colleagues in prison.

On January 21st and 22nd over one thousand students of the medical, economics and engineering faculties at Lisbon University decided at mass meetings not to attend lectures on 23rd, 25th & 26th January in protest at the arrest of their colleagues on January 21st. This decision was adhered to.

On January 26th five hundred engineering students demonstrated in front of the engineering faculty building (I.S.T.). There were clashes with the police as they tried to reach the Ministry of the Interior and Aljube Prison to show solidarity with those under arrest.

On February 2nd 1,500 students demonstrated in the centre of Lisbon against the trial of their colleagues Jose and Maria Morais, Faure da Rosa, and Jorge Vasconcelos. There were violent clashes with the armed and steel-helmeted police resulting in many arrests.

On January 26th parents of the 60 students held at the time made a joint demarche to the Education Minister about the ill-treatment of their children at the hands of PIDE.

Individual protests were also made by parents, including one from Dr. Heliodoro Caldeira, a well-known Lisbon lawyer; and by the mother of the engineering student, Adolfo Steiger, who had been subjected to sleep torture (i.e. prevention of sleep).

On February 8th, 13 prominent Liberals including several lawyers, sent a letter to "President" Tomaz demanding the dismissal of Salazar. On February 16th, another protest was sent to the Primate Cardinal by a Republican ex-Prime Minister.

Other students who suffered torture were Jose Morais, Crisostomo Teixeira, Jose Neto, Carlos Marum, and others.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Successes were obtained by the workers employed in cutting cork in Grandola, Quintinha, Barradas, Pedros, Ameira, Ribeira Baixa, Macieira, Cerro Verde and Casais, in their fight for better pay and conditions.

In the countryside the underground papers, "O Campones," "A Terra" and others, continue to be published.

The fight of the Portuguese people continues unabated. They rely on themselves and their unity.

GUNBOATS AHOY!

From November 1964 to 10-1-65 a total of 25 warships visited Portuguese ports.

The U.S. Navy sent 13, with 14,194 men, mainly from the Amphibian Fleet.

Holland came second with 5, including a plane carrier, submarines and destroyers, with 2,000 men.

Next came France (3 ships), Britain (2), West Germany and Belgium (1 each).

These visits are given a prominent place in the Portuguese press and the Salazar regime uses them as support for its internal policies.

Campaign in Britain

GIFTS AND LETTERS

AT Christmas time, old and new supporters of the British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty Adoption Campaign sent Christmas cards and gifts of books, money and other things to the families and children of political prisoners. One interesting reply was received which indicated that while letters and parcels sent direct to prisoners, by people other than close relatives were not given to the prisoners, there had been cases where parcels sent through the British Red Cross to prisoners had reached their destination. The Committee appeals for people in Britain to follow up this idea.

Southbourne Ward of Southend Labour Party raised £5 which they sent to their 'adoptee', who expressed deep gratitude. This gift will enable the family to provide some extra comforts and make more visits to the prisoner.

One relative in Portugal asks for stamps for the child of a prisoner who is making a collection, another for books and cards — they are simple gifts but ones which give great pleasure, and which are symbolic too of the concern felt in this country.

St. Pancras and Holborn Trades Council have received news from Portugal concerning the difficulties faced by the family of their adopted prisoner. The letter also shows the strong solidarity which exists among Salazar's victims. "We have had to face many difficulties and sufferings and we would not have had enough to live on if it were not for the help given by our closest friends, who have demonstrated their solidarity with us" the letter says.

Children growing up without their father, or their mother (and in some cases without both parents) wives having to provide for the family in a country with such low wages — these people need as much help and encouragement as possible, says the Committee.

American students ask for information

Having read of the B.C.P.A. in this Bulletin, a group of students in the University of Washington, Seattle, have asked for further information and material on Portugal and on what is being done to arouse outside interest.

The Committee has, in the past year established many contacts, both with individuals and organisation in countries scattered all over the world, and slowly but surely information about Portuguese prisoners is reaching not only the general public in European countries with less established links with Portugal than has Britain, but also as far afield as Trinidad, Ceylon and Australia.

The Committee's latest 'News and Information Bulletin' will soon be published.

Political struggle and Portuguese Literature

by J. M. Leal

It is still rather difficult, even today, for many English-speaking people to understand the individuality of Portugal.

There are certainly among them men of high learning who know in depth all the complexities of Portuguese history. A few are even first-class scholars in the field of Portuguese studies. But as happens elsewhere, these are an exception and although they have made remarkable efforts to change the general view about our country (which until quite recently had little publicity in the press), the hard fact remains that the large majority of people abroad have a rather vague idea about the Iberian peninsula.

A CONFUSING WORD

This stems in the first place from vague notions in school about countries which are geographically remote, and to the general meaning that certain words acquire in common usage. One of such words has been the word "Spain", which referred at one time not only to the Spanish nation, but to the whole of the Iberian Peninsula.¹

This connotation derives from the rather facile translation of the latin *Hispania*, the name given by Greek and Roman geographers to the physical entity of the Peninsula. Up to the sixteenth century, when the ideas of the Renaissance and the love for Antiquity prevailed in man's mind, many intellectuals liked to use a terminology which associated them with a past they revered. Thus a few Portuguese would state then that they were born in *Hispania*, meaning by that that they came from the Iberian Peninsula.

In fact this is the only context in which the word can be interpreted, for at the time Spain as such did not exist. The Peninsula was divided into separate kingdoms: Portugal, León, Castille, Catalonia, etc., which were self-ruled and quite independent.

However the concept embodied in one word tends to survive its actual meaning and in common parlance such subtle distinctions are liable to be lost.

THE INDIVIDUALITY OF PORTUGAL

Probably for that reason some of the most interesting work on the special characteristics which distinguish Portugal from other nations has been made by

foreigners. Portuguese contributions have also been considerable, but when it comes to matters of national distinction, a reliable scientific opinion by an outsider may carry more weight than that expressed by a national of the country concerned.

Five years ago an American geographer² set out to find whether Portuguese independence had any valid foundations, or whether it was no more than an ideal to which the people of the western coast of the Peninsula sought to give reality. In the latter case, the existence of Portugal as a nation for eight centuries should be a sufficiently strong reason to refute any doubts about national integrity. Yet from the scientific angle the question would still be open to argument.

A thorough study of historical sources and of the geographical region where Portuguese nationality first emerged have shown some interesting facts.

From time immemorial, the west periphery of the Peninsula, in contrast to the hilly centre, or *meseta*, has offered special conditions for the growth and development of a culture quite distinct from the others. In fact, the northern area of Iberia, part of which was to become the cradle of Portuguese nationality, has a kind of vegetation, determined by the climate of that region, which differs from the rest.³

After a period of migrations, which began in the second millenium B.C., the peoples that settled in the north-west belonged to a culture with central European characteristics and merged their superior knowledge with that of the primitive inhabitants. The north-west, owing to its specific physical characteristics, appears already in the early beginnings of those migrations as a zone that is only cultivated and developed by peoples who had a previous experience of the conditions they encountered there. Through the years that part of Iberia was left alone by the other peoples who, owing to their cultural background, found it uninteresting.

SENSE OF AUTONOMY

A clear sense of autonomy began gradually to pervade the collective existence of the people who had mastered this environment in which they had been living for so long. To this must be added the political isolation of what is the

Portuguese north-west of today, during parts of the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Muslim occupation of the south of the Peninsula imposed the creation of "desert territories", as a no man's land where incursions were fought from both sides.

Northern Portugal and Galicia, which had the same language (Gallician being an off-shoot of Portuguese) were united for quite a time. Later they began to re-orient their economic ties in a different fashion and slowly began to slide apart.

Since 1143 Portugal has been recognised as an independent kingdom. By then the Portuguese appear to have avoided as much as they could any involvement in the internal quarrels of the Christian states of the Peninsula. On various occasions, when two or more states were at war, they kept their neutrality. Occasionally they sought alliances with their neighbours, but this was either to preserve their independence, or with the aim of fighting their common enemy: the Muslim invader.

Determined objectives in a programme of collective action were to differentiate even more that northern community. Embarking on a hard struggle to wrench from the Moors the territories that lay south of the Douro river, the Portuguese by 1249 had extended Portugal to its present size.

The great maritime Discoveries of the XV and XVI centuries made the peoples of the whole country feel that they had embarked on a venture of universal interest. This was the crowning effort that welded together into a living ideal of national unity those regions of the South which had been incorporated into the small kingdom of the north.⁴

TRAITORS AND PATRIOTS

Towards the end of the Middle Ages the privileges of the feudal lords were being forcefully attacked by the Portuguese peasants and small craftsmen, who had found allies in the landed gentry and merchants. These enjoyed flourishing business owing to the prosperous trade of the Portuguese ports.

The people and the new emerging middle classes appealed to the king, as the supreme arbiter of the nation, and thus succeeded in curtailing the heavy taxation imposed by the lords on the peasantry. Guarantees of safeguard were granted also to the merchants who traded in the dominions under feudal rule.

By their constant struggle the peasants succeeded in breaking the shackles of serfdom and their newly-won freedom was sanctioned by royal charter.

Feeling that they were losing ground, the nobility sought an ally in the King of Castille, who finally invaded Portugal. The unity of the peasants, craftsmen, landowners and merchants saved the country, and marked once again the determination of the Portuguese people to live a life of their own.

These long years of inner strife reached their peak in the period 1383-1385, which is a most important landmark in Portuguese history.⁵

A GREAT HISTORIAN

Portuguese writers and historians have won universal fame whenever they have shared the common struggle of their own

people. Their intellectual outlook and their mental attitude towards national events have then shaped and influenced their literary work.

The most eminent writer of Portugal and "the best chronicler of any age or nation"⁶ is Fernao Lopes (c. 1380 - c. 1460), a custodian of the national archives. He was a man of humble origin and a true son of the people.

In 1434, F. Lopes had been commissioned by the King with the task of writing the History of Portugal up to his own time. His initial work was rather sketchy owing to the paucity of information available. Before Lopes there was no great tradition of history writing. But as he progressed in his work and approached the events that lead into the revolution of 1383-85, he brought his methods of scientific research to a remarkable perfection. One cannot conceal one's admiration for F. Lopes, because his methods are essentially the same which are used to-day.

But he was not only a man who sought truth above all, even if it told against his own country⁷. He understood deeply the forces at play in history and he did not fear to denounce the weaknesses and abuses of the day, as well as to narrate the uncertainties and sufferings of the ordinary people. His great attachment to truth is one of his most endearing qualities, specially at a time when the majority of the chroniclers either embellished their account of events with excessive praise for military prowesses of the noble lords, or omitted mention of their misdeeds.

Fernao Lopes describes in the *Chronicle of King Fernando*, who reigned from 1367 to 1383, the forces which were at work in Portuguese society in that period.

The King appears pressed on one side by the nobility, who fought tooth and nail to preserve their traditional privileges, and, on the other, by the landed gentry, who, in their turn, were goaded by a restless peasantry. Yet he is so subtle a historian that the fine web of these divergent interests is studied not only in the broad context of national life, but also for what it meant to the King as an individual person.

LOVE AND POLITICS

King Ferdinand is a ruler who tries desperately to maintain the balance between two opposing forces, seeking a period of peace, or a possible compromise between them. However, the nobles sought to influence the King, looking for an opportunity to turn him against the people.

This arose when the King fell in love with an ambitious married woman, Leonor Teles. From the very beginning of this royal affair the nobles exploited the situation. They promptly supported the King's elaborate negotiations with the Holy See for the annulment of this woman's previous marriage. By so doing they hoped to win the full support of Fernando for other long-laid plans.

The people of Lisbon were aware of

all this manoeuvring and rebuked the King when he achieved his wedding. Fernao Vasques, the leader of the rebellion, a tailor by profession, lost his head for such audacity. But the nobility were overjoyed. Now, they thought, they would have a monarch more sympathetic to their claims.

DYNASTIC INTRIGUES

F. Lopes describes with deep psychological insight the emotional shades that this conflict cast on the souls of Dom Fernando and Dona Leonor Teles. The King begins to shun his own people, travelling overnight from Coimbra to Lisbon. He feels guilty and melancholic, trapped by the woman he loves, who is now playing her hand with the noble lords.

Fernando is ill-advised and lets his only daughter Beatrix, heir to the throne be married off to Don Juan of Castille (1383). A few months later Fernando dies and, since Princess Beatrix is still childless (she was only 11 years old,) Dona Leonor Teles is entrusted with the Government of the country.

It is obvious that this alliance of the Royal House with the ruler of Castille was to facilitate dominance of the Portuguese people. The nation refused to accept it. And so they armed for war and stifled the conspiracy of the lords, who attempted to cover their dealing with a veneer of legality.

THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF LISBON

In the *Chronicle of King John I*, who was the sovereign acclaimed by the people, F. Lopes describes faithfully all those dramatic years.

At the time the Portuguese had to fight the traitors, who surrendered the castles to Castille without a fight. In an age of superstition and religious terror, the people of Lisbon did not hesitate to kill the bishop who was of a mind with the enemy.

F. Lopes excels in his vivid descriptions of the long days of suffering to which the people of Lisbon were subjected during the siege of the city. Once their food stocks had been exhausted, the people endured famine with extraordinary courage. Many went to the square where grain used to be unloaded. There they scratched the soil and ate what small grain they could find. Others, in desperation, stuffed their mouths with grass. Thirsty, they drank a great deal of water. Choked by this unnatural meal, they collapsed on the pavement with great suffering. Many mothers saw their children dying of hunger without any means to help them. And yet, despite all the horrors of their condition, as soon as the church bells sounded the alarm, they all manned the walls of the city and vigorously repelled the enemy. They never lost heart, nor thought of giving in to the Castillians.⁸

F. Lopes understands that the history of a nation is made by the people — a rather revolutionary concept for his time. And he cannot help expressing now and again a certain pride and patriotism, which breaks through his habitual calm, when he remarks that, in spite of such tremendous hardships, the Portuguese have pulled through.

The close connection of many Portuguese writers with national reality, may be well illustrated in another period of Portuguese history.

The 19th century in Europe is full of turmoil. The armies of Napoleon had ravaged Portugal (1807-1811) and Spain. The people (who bore the brunt of this struggle) and the bourgeoisie expect a social change. They all yearn for an amelioration of their condition. The peasants are impoverished and chafe under the burden of taxation. The merchants, who had thrived on the monopoly of trade with Brazil, were pushed into a crisis when this country gained its independence (1822). Their assets declined alarmingly and to survive they had to turn to the development of a Portugal which was still in the hands of the nobility and the Church.

After 1820 the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the nobility entered a new and violent phase. The first bourgeois success was halted, however, by the restoration of the Absolute Monarchy (1828). Then followed a wave of repression, civil war (1832-34), and finally a period of Parliamentary democracy, troubled, however, by the rebellion of small groups led by disgruntled generals. As a matter of fact the middle-class, the small industrialists and the peasants, the overwhelming majority in Portugal, did not benefit greatly from the change. The basic problems that caused the discontent of these classes remained unsolved.

This agitated period coincides with the Romantic movement in Portugal. A. Garrett (1799-1854) and A. Herculano (1810-1877), the leaders of the new movement, were liberal-minded intellectuals who had emigrated and returned to fight in the expeditionary force.

While Herculano, mainly a thinker and historian, tries to educate the people through his writings, A. Garrett, a playwright and a novelist, plunges into the political struggle. He has a seat in Parliament, he contributes assiduously to the Press and raises his voice against the suppression of individual liberties by the Government. The new ideas and the new outlook that both authors propound, reflect clearly the social antagonisms of the time.

Garrett is aware of the contradictions that leave many Portuguese divided between the old and the new, and, like Herculano, he looks to the past. The nostalgia for the Middle Ages, which is a characteristic of European romanticism, reflects the uncertainties of the 40s in 19th century Portugal.

The romantics feel they must break away from old traditions, but they are still sentimentally attached to them. They interpret the heroic period of 1383-5 as revealing the virtues of the middle-class and their patriotism.

Herculano attributes to a Christian and paternalistic attitude of the Portuguese medieval kings, the liberation of the serfs. Like Garrett, he projects his own desire for a conciliation of class interests in his own time, into the medieval past. And while he reinterprets the 14th and 15th centuries in this light,⁹ Garrett analyses with subtlety the con-

traditions which are at the bottom of the psychological conflict suffered by his characters.

Such an experience enlarges Garrett's understanding of the human soul, and by his work he paves the way for the deeper soundings of the novel, which are so characteristic of today. And, insofar as Herculano and Garrett tried to probe the contingencies of existence in the world they lived in, they attained a really high dimension in history and art.

REALISM IN ART

The most important writer of the following generation is the novelist Eça de Queiroz (1895-1900). When Herculano died, Queiroz was a young man in his 30s and had already scored a great success with the second version of *The Sin of Father Amaro*.¹⁰

The ambitious literary project of Eça was to paint a broad fresco of the Portuguese society of his own time. Artistically he was a realist and he used all the modern techniques of psychological and social observation to depict the environment and the men who lived in it. But he did not confine his analysis of Portugal to the novel. He wrote numerous articles in the Press, exposing the vices and hypocrisy of the ruling circles.

Having lived abroad for long, he was also a careful commentator of political events, on men and ideas. This wide knowledge of the world he brought into his books, trying to understand Portugal from a European viewpoint.

One critic has warned us against the tendency to see the nineteenth century Portugal through the works of Eça.¹¹ But if one does not look for facts in a work of fiction, which would be impermissible, but rather to the flavour that the author conveys through the people he analyses, then there is no better portrait than this of the upper classes who ruled the country towards the close of the century.

A NOVELIST AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT

Queiroz knows them well and he shows not only their cynicism, but also their pernicious influence on the life of the whole nation. Education and religion had fallen into empty formalism. Critical qualities had been smothered under a massive acquisition of useless knowledge. In religion the external forms of piety, bordering on superstition, had superseded true faith.

Cant and sham were the great weapons used by politicians in their public speeches and in their statements to the press. In that way they tried to stop the winds of change that blew in Europe at the time. They were rabidly conservative and concealed their poverty of ideas and ideals under romantic phrases.

Thus a sad frustration seemed to fall on individual destinies. That occurs in the provincial middle-class (*The Sin of Father Amaro*), or in a group of distinguished men with noble aspirations (*Os Maias*, 1888) — a book which is not immune from a certain self-criticism. The atmosphere that Eça's characters breathe seems to carry a lethal poison of inaction.

Eça knew well only the upper class of his country, which he immortalised

in a gallery of types. He loathed the institutions they had set up and directed all the fire of his satire against them. He set out to demolish the Establishment by making it the laughing-stock of the world. And though revolutions are not made by works of art, Eça's books prepared the moral and critical climate in which the Republican revolution of 1910 took place.

ART AND FASCISM

The victories won then by the people have already been stamped out by the fascist coup of 1926, and by the 38-year rule of Salazar's dictatorship. Portuguese writers no longer have the freedom of expression that Eça de Queiroz enjoyed, that freedom which was the hard-won prize of the liberal movement.

And yet our intellectuals continue the great tradition they have inherited. Literary fashions may have changed, new schools may have cropped up and sentiments may be expressed in a wrier mood. Fundamentally the problem remains the same. Portuguese writers have to strive for the new and the modern in the context of Portuguese reality.

To adopt in Portugal the urbane and and ironical tone of (for instance) Lawrence Durrell, might be a highly civilised entertainment, but it would always smack of imitation. The Portuguese world under Salazar is tougher and more vicious. The stiff-upper-lip goes with brutal violence, and civilised satire, or a multi-mirrored reflection of a receding world, would not befit the description of Portuguese reality. The privileges of a democracy do not exist there, and Portuguese life has more in common with the evil parables of William Golding than with the urbanities of Durrell.

This is why the tone of Portuguese novels may seem sometimes uncouth and naive to the English reviewers. The characters of those books are taken from a reality which is alien to their own.

NOVELS OF EMIGRATION

Among the talented novelists who are publishing in Portugal today, Ferreira de Castro (b. 1898) may be considered their doyen. From early youth and from personal experience he has directed his attention to the predicament of the Portuguese emigrant.

Forced by hard conditions to leave his own country, the emigrant tends to seek the new Eldorado in Brazil, where he is ready to take any job. Sustained by the wild hope that he will be able to come back rich one day, he soon faces complete disillusion. He discovers that his friends are living in shanty towns and that they have to fight there the same problems they had at home.

In *Emigrants* (1928),¹² one of his first good novels, F. de Castro is also a perceptive observer of the moods of the emigrants confronted with a new country. This aspect is sensitively explored in *The Jungle*¹³ (*A Selva*, 1930), where the environment, and the harsh conditions in which the Amazon rubber-tappers labour, show man in an iron grip of oppression that symbolises all human struggle.

THEY FACE LIFE WITH COURAGE

Later, F. de Castro selected his literary themes from Portuguese life at

home. In *A La e a Neve* (1947) (Wool and Snow) his characters are drawn from the people of the northern town of Covilha, who are employed by or connected with the textile industry. Shepherds and weavers form a small community of simple and hard-working people who face life with courage.

F. de Castro lived with them, and that is why his novel combines so well a sense of pastoral beauty with a militant spirit against fascism. Here we have no longer the story of the emigrant who wants "to get away from it all", but the lively narrative of those who know that happiness can and must be conquered on the land in which they were born.

And these are, in fact, permanent values which have evolved throughout our history, and have made the Portuguese ethos, with all its characteristics and variations, what it is today.

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- 3—Id., *ibid.*, pp. 52-59.
- 4—Id., *ibid.*, pp. 212-216.
- 5—Cfr. A. Cunhal, "Les Luites de classe au Portugal à la fin du Moyen Age" in *Recherches Internationales* (May-June, No. 37, 1963) pp. 93-122. This study was written in 1951.
- 6—Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Fernanda Lopez* (Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1921), p.V.
- 7—Cfr. F. Lopes's prologue to his *Cronica de D. Joao I*.
- 8—Cfr. id. *ibid.*, chapter 148.
- 9—Cfr. A. Cunhal, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
- 10—English translation in the Corgi Books, 1964. Originally published by Max Reinhardt in 1962.
- 11—Fidilino de Figueiredo: *Um Pobre Homem da Povoá de Varzim* (Lisbon, 1945).
- 12—English translation by Dorothy Ball reissued by Collier-Macmillan, London, 1964.
- 13—English translation by Charles Duff and published by Lovat Dickson, London, 1934.

THE INTERVIEW THAT WAS

Salazar must be living in a fantastic world of his own. Otherwise, how can one understand the statements made by the Portuguese Premier to the French newspaper *L'Aurore* (9-10-64)?

Portuguese Africa is a haven of peace — says the senile dictator, who does not seem to read his own censored newspapers. Algeria is a dangerous Communist state that Europe, as the wise Romans did in the past to Carthage, would be well advised to wipe out.

At home, the Portuguese have never been so rich and they have never earned so much.

This professor of economics pretends not to read the statistics which show that Portugal always takes the bottom place in Europe. Why does he not listen to his own appointed deputies at the "National Assembly"?

UNDER COLONIAL RULE

THE Salazar regime can no longer conceal its African failures. In their war communiques they try to minimize their losses, but when they are added up the total is quite heavy.

In the months of November/December the Portuguese had 105 men killed in Africa and at least 40 wounded. A major of the Air Force was shot down with his crew over Mozambique and one Lt.-colonel was killed in action in Angola.

Yet Salazar continues to seek a military solution. Funds can always be found for military purposes. Recently the government installed for the first time in Portugal an automatic system of radio and telephone communications with the military commands in Angola and Guinea. Radio communications have also been established for the first time with Timor, south of Indonesia. (P.J. 10-1-65).

ANGOLA

The colonial war in Angola is now entering its 4th year. The guerrillas there continue to tie down nearly 40,000 men of the Portuguese army. The war communiques issued by the Portuguese forces in Angola show that fighting goes on all the time.

From November 4th to January 6th the Portuguese press reported military operations every week in the regions of Quilumbo, Cunda, the Sandra Valley, the Uije Mountains, Tete, the villages of Tando, Macelete and Batacango; regions of Quinzau, Luango, and Luquiengue; an area near the river Loge; a zone between the mountains of Canda and Quibumbe; the regions of Nucuto and Xulumombo, Quives, Picada, Nambua-gongo, Quixico and Ucuia; along the river Cuango; the region of Casacassala; the regions of Musserra, Massarele mountain, Quives, mountains of Quitoque and Mucongao; the regions of Quicua, Tres Marias, Monte Turco, Quindungo, Cacamba, Povo Sangue and Himbete Pequeno (Portuguese press 14-11-64 to 9-1-65).

NEW TAXES TO PAY FOR THE WAR

Guerrilla warfare, which will continue until the brave Angolan nationalists win their independence, is costing Salazar a great deal of money. Obviously he wants others to pay for it. Dissatisfied with his taxation decree of June, 1963, "for the defence of Angola" he has now substituted a new decree (29-12-64).

The new tax will be imposed on income and capital gains: 4% on amounts between £6,250 and £7,500, up to 30% on more than £625,000 (P.J. 7-1-65).

BOGUS DEVELOPMENT PLAN

1965 budget for Angola amounts to nearly £50,000,000 but of this only £19,025,000 has been allotted for general development. This is quite inadequate (P.J. 5-1-65).

The much-advertised Triennial Plan

(1965/67), known as **Plan Intercalar**, came under heavy fire in Salazar's "Parliament". A "deputy" from Angola criticised its vague wording and pointed out that it would leave only £5,500,000 free for investment in the colony (Diar. Sess. Nac. 24-11-64).

U.S. INTEREST

Angola is the greatest producer and exporter of coffee in Africa (P.J. 11-1-65) (Much of this goes to the United States —Ed.).

The U.S. is interested in buying Angolan mica. This mineral has not been mined since 1961 (P.J. 9-1-65).

GUINEA

The fascists have tried desperately to conceal the bankruptcy of their military campaign against the Guinean patriots, who now control large portions of the territory.

Portuguese communiques are more heavily censored than ever but despite this, some idea of the hard fighting in which the Portuguese troops have been involved recently comes through.

From November 8th to December 28th, 1964, there were military operations in the villages of Xime Amedalai, Saliquinhe, Qunilal, Cacoaca-cacine, Pissoram (where a Portuguese column was ambushed), Oio, Corubal, Guidaie, Guileje (where the Portuguese were routed), Gadamadi, Ganture, Tito, and near Farim to the south of the river Jumbembem (From the Portuguese press 22-11-64 to 1-1-65).

MOZAMBIQUE

The Threat of Napalm

RECENTLY the Portuguese Air Force took part in a large exercise in Nampula. There, the commander of the 3rd military region, General S. Portugal, threatened that he would bomb with napalm all the Mozambican patriots who opposed Portuguese rule (D.L. 11-12-64).

More Money for the Army

A new allocation of £55,250 has been made by the Lisbon Government to an already high budget for the upkeep of military forces in the colony (D.L. 2-11-64).

More troops arrived in Lourenço Marques from Lisbon on Nov. 15 (P.J. 16-11-64).

THE PIDE AT WORK

Fascist fear of the anger of the people has roused the PIDE (Salazar's Gestapo) to fresh activity. Recently many nationalists were arrested by PIDE, charged with being members of the FRELIMO. This was reported in (P.J. 31-12-64). In January other sources reported more arrests including Mr. Joao Reis, Editor of the Newspaper "Tribuna", the African painter Malinga Valente, the Poet Rui Nogar and Luis Unguana.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The Mozambican patriots have begun a series of military operations which mark the start of the struggle for independence.

Portuguese soldiers have been ambushed and military convoys stopped and destroyed at Mueda, Quinheu, Irimba,, (Mocimboa da Praia), Diaca and Charre. The shop of a PIDE agent was burned by the patriots. The nationalists claim that 134 Portuguese soldiers were killed in these operations, and that they shot down two Portuguese planes: one, a military aircraft from Air Base No. 5 (Nampula), the other a civil plane flying over the district of Mozambique (**Mozambican Revolution**, nos. 12 (Nov.) and 13 (December, 1964) and Frelimo Communique of 12-1-65. The nationalists attacked the Portuguese military post of Niaca Dnas, in Cabo Delgado, in December (P.J. 30-12-64). **Mozambique — "an Anglo-American Colony"**

In the "National Assembly", in Lisbon, Dr. A. Lobato, an expert on Mozambican affairs criticized severely the Government plan for the development of the colony. Originally estimated at £166,250,000, it was slashed to a meagre £67½m. That amount is far behind the needs of the colony.

The plan makes no provisions at all for improved social conditions, and this is the most urgent problem of all.

Dr Lobato claimed that the complete sell-out of Mozambique to Anglo-American capital has made Mozambique a foreign colony under the Portuguese flag ("Diar. Sess. Ass. Nac." 4-12-64).

TIMOR

Peaceful Japanese Invasion

In World War II, the colony of Timor (south of Indonesia) was invaded by the Japanese. Those who opposed the invaders, and they were many, were tortured and shot.

And yet Salazar has forgotten all about this. He has now granted a special licence to the Japanese to build and run a large fishing concern in Timor. Major H. Carvalho, the "deputy" for Timor, has denounced this in Salazar's "Parliament".

He also criticized the Government for granting only £618,750 to the colony under the Triennial Development Plan. Of that amount only £220,950 will go to the health services, in a country where, he said, T.B., malaria and leprosy claim many victims every year. Infant mortality has reached alarming proportions he stated ("Diar. Sess. Ass. Nac." 4-12-64).

New improvements have been made in the airport of Dili, capital of the colony (P.J. 1-12-64). (A good system of communications is necessary for the repression of the people and for sending military forces to troubled areas).

MACAO

A new allocation of £42,675 was granted to the military forces in this colony, on the coast of China. (P.J. 4-12-64).

NEWS OF REPRESSION

From our
Correspondent
in Portugal

Terror against the Students

Under the pretext of subversive activities, PIDE announced in November the arrest of 21 students, raising the total in prison to 38.

On December 7th, the father of one the imprisoned, a girl, Mario de Azevedo, an Arts student, sent a public protest to the Minister of the Interior, about the treatment of his daughter at the hands of PIDE. She had been kept "incommunicado" for 12 days, while the law only authorises 3 days. She had been subjected to periods of 3 days' deprivation of sleep and had, as a result of this, to be admitted to the Lisbon psychiatric hospital.

On December 10th, 8 students were arrested during demonstrations against the trial of their colleague, Saldanha Sanches.

On December 11th, Fascist commandos provoked disturbances during a student meeting and later wrecked the headquarters of the Science Students' association.

On January 21st another 30 students were arrested, including five boys and girls between 15 and 17 years.

One of those arrested, Baeta Neves, a law student and a former leading member of the law students' union, was so severely tortured while under arrest that he tried to commit suicide by swallowing broken glass from his spectacles. He was rushed to hospital for an emergency operation.

Another Crime

Maria de Piadade dos Santos was freed last September, thanks to the against repression in Portugal and to the efforts of this campaign in Portugal efforts of the international campaign itself.

She went to live with her father and eventually joined her husband in their common underground fight against the regime.

This provoked the fury of PIDE, and the authorities started to exert pressure on her father Joao Gomes, a glass worker from Marinha Grande. As a result of this Joao Gomes was driven to commit suicide on October 18th.

PERSONALITIES ARRESTED

Princess Maria Pia de Saxe Braganca, Pretender to the Portuguese throne, was held for 24 hours by the Portuguese Police, when she visited Portugal early in February. No reasons for the arrest were given.

There have also been widespread rumours about the arrest of General Delgado while trying to cross from Spain into Portugal at the end of February.

Another farcical trial

On 23-2-65, at the Lisbon Plenary Court, America de Sousa, a metal worker and underground political leader, who had already been kept for some years in Peniche prison, was tried on further charges without the court considering it necessary to arrange for his presence. To his previous sentence of four years another eight years were added, plus "security measures".

FROM 10-11-64 to 26-1-65 a total of 91 people were brought to trial at the Lisbon and Oporto special Plenary Courts, accused of political opposition to the regime.

We will only mention the accused given the longest sentences, with "security measures", which can mean life imprisonment.

On 19-11-64, Joaquim Dias and his wife Custodia Dias were sentenced in Lisbon to 7 years, and 2 years and 2 months respectively, plus "security measures".

On 26-11-64, Francisco Jorge, an Aljustrel miner, was sentenced in Lisbon to 2 years and 8 months, plus "security measures".

On 6-12-64 in Lisbon a woman, Maria Emilia Serra, was given three and a half years, with "security measures".

On 17-12-64 in Lisbon, Mario Araujo, a mechanical worker, was sentenced to 7 years; Antonio Graca, a laboratory technician, to 5 years; Zagalo e Melo, a businessman, to 2 years and 2 months; Manuel Ribeiro, a mason, to 2 years and 6 months, and Francisco Valente, a cobbler, to 2 years, all plus "security measures".

On 22-12-64, the big trial ended in Oporto of 35 people, mainly office and industrial workers, who were all given prison sentences except 6.

On 14-1-65, Antonio Figueira, from Aljustrel, was sentenced to 4 years, plus "security measures".

On 26-1-65 two engineers, Luis Carvalho and Antonio Duarte, were given 26 and 30 months sentences, with "security measures". Another engineer was sentenced to 20 months.

On 5-2-65, at the Oporto Plenary Court, Antonio Dias Lourenco a workers' leader was sentenced to 11½ years in prison, plus "security measures," the longest sentence given for many years to a political prisoner. His wife, Colelia Fernandes, was given 5 years and 1 month, plus "security measures."

Dias Lourenco, a metal worker, had to wait 2½ years in jail for his trial. After his arrest in August 1962 for months he was savagely tortured.

The meaning of figures

The figures we have quoted, although impressive, do not tell the whole story of how repression operates in Portugal.

An average of 1,000 people are arrested every year by PIDE, accused of political "crimes". The majority of these are not brought to trial. In 1964 only 286 people were tried.

The rest are kept in prison for varying periods, beaten or tortured, interrogated and set free again. They frequently lose their jobs and are thereafter kept under police surveillance.

As well as these, a large number of people are arrested by other repressive forces such as PSP and GNR — military organisations, strongly armed—and sentenced for "crimes against religion, state security, and public order". In 1962, for instance, a total of 3,718 people were sentenced on those counts, according to the official "Anuario Estatistico".

The accused who are not given "security measure" by the Plenary Courts, have still to serve prison terms up to 2 years, and they lose their political rights for 5 years. Loss of their jobs and terrible hardship for their families are the inevitable consequences.

Some accused who are sentenced to what appear to be moderate terms, are given at the same time "security measures", which can keep them in prison indefinitely, at PIDE's discretion. They lose all their political rights for 15 years.

Prison sentences take no account of the long hours of torture and beating at PIDE's hands, before they are brought to trial.

Trigger-happy

We noticed in our last issue the events in Lourosa, in October, where 2 young women were killed and 12 people wounded, by shots fired by the brutal GNR.

More recently, on Christmas Day, shots fired by the GNR during a disturbance at a fun fair wounded two boys, aged 9 and 11, in Lisbon (Bairro da Pontinha). The children had to be admitted to hospital. The news was given in the Portuguese press.

Over 50,000 vehicles were inspected by 1,000 police agents in a stop operation, in Lisbon, on November the 30th. **New Commands**

General Raul de Castro was appointed commander of the GNR. General Barbieri Cardoso, the previous commander, was appointed commander of the armed Fascist militia, the "Portuguese Legion". (15-1-65).

"Witnesses" not wanted

Jose das Neves, a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, was sentenced in Lisbon, on 23-11-64, to 1 month in prison for refusing to serve in the Army.

On 10-12-64, two women of the same denomination, Laura Soares and Armanda Lopes, were arrested in Oporto for "religious activities contrary to the social organisation of the country".

Foreign help to Salazar

IT is clear to students of the Portuguese scene that without ready assistance from abroad the Salazar regime would soon collapse in ruins. But these friends of the dictator come willingly to the rescue — in the process fastening economic tentacles on the country which are converting it into a kind of colony of the international bankers and creating additional problems for the coming democratic regime which will take over from Salazar.

Take finance:

According to a report in "The Times" (7-1-65) the Portuguese government, which raised 20 million U.S. dollars through London last June, is now negotiating a loan in the United States through Dillon Reed. The terms believed to have been obtained are 20 to 25 million U.S. dollars for 20 years at 5½%.

Take solidarity:

Mr. Harold Wilson declared not long ago that it was his firm intention to refuse arms to Portugal, as a token of his disapproval of the present Portuguese regime. However, a Minister in his government, Lord Chalfont, graced the annual banquet in London of the Anglo-Portuguese Society with his presence, representing Her Majesty's Government. Cordial messages were exchanged, Salazar sent a special greeting, the ex-editor of the "Daily Telegraph" — who said he had been instructed to avoid political issues — expressed the hope that "the enchanting land of Portugal should continue to blossom", a Portuguese countess sang some "fados", the Portuguese Ambassador was moved by these manifestations, and the official Portuguese press provided the grand final chorus for the whole event to the tune of "the oldest alliance". (P.J., 18-11-64, D.L., D.P., D.N., D. da M., etc.).

As readers of these columns will perhaps have noticed, it is usually the privilege of the Spanish to exchange banquets and friendly declarations with Portuguese officialdom. Britain, however, seems to have become a competitor for this honour: numerous Members of Parliament and other British notables attended a reception at the "Casa de Portugal" in London. The atmosphere was festive. (P.J. 24-11-64).

The President of the British Board of Trade declared in the House of Commons that the Labour Government would increase exports to Portugal. (P.J. 18-12-64).

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth sent the following New Year greeting to Salazar: "It gives me great pleasure to send you and the Portuguese people my

most cordial New Year greetings and my wishes for your prosperity as Britain's oldest ally." (P.J. 3-1-65).

DEUTSCHLAND UBER ALLES

The 10th anniversary of the German Chamber of Commerce in Portugal was celebrated in Lisbon. The President of the Chamber reviewed the growth of Germany's economic relations with Portugal and stated that in the last five years exports from the Federal Republic to Portugal have become twice as great as imports, and that the balance in favour of the Federal Republic has been about 200m. marks.

Germany has contributed 100m. marks to the Alentejo irrigation project and 50m. marks for the construction of Portuguese airports for the tourist trade.

50% of Portugal's imports of machinery, vehicles and tools come from West Germany (P.J. 28-11-64).

The Head of the German Armed Forces Medical Services visited Lisbon at the invitation of the Portuguese government. He was greeted by the Chief of the German Military Mission to Portugal. (D.L. 30-11-64). The visit was a prelude to the announcement of plans to build new military hospitals on a basis of German-Portuguese collaboration. (D.L. 9-1-65). (For some time now, Portuguese soldiers wounded in the Colonies have been treated in Germany. A permanent German Military Mission under the command of General F. Becker is stationed in Lisbon.—Ed.).

FOREVER NATO

At the NATO Council of Ministers in Paris, Dr. Franco Nogueira, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, once more discussed the problem of Africa. He justified his insistence on NATO's responsibilities in Africa by stating that the Russians and Chinese are attempting to infiltrate throughout the African Continent (P.J. 16-12-65 and P.J. 8-1-65). (This, of course, is an indirect way of trying to justify the use of NATO arms for the Portuguese colonial wars.—Ed.).

NATO's Secretary-General, Manlio Brozio, visited Portugal to discuss current problems of the Alliance. This was a new opportunity for the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs to discuss NATO's role in Africa. He said that the time had come for a restatement of the principles of the Alliance in order to embrace the new problems which had arisen since its creation.

He said that certain countries which were outside the geographical area of the Treaty but whose efforts were in the interests of the Alliance should receive recognition for such efforts. Manlio Brozio congratulated Dr. Nogueira on his speech. (D.L. & P.J. 5-1-65).

LOVING SOUTH AFRICA

The new South African Ambassador to Portugal said on his arrival in Lisbon that South Africa was fully aware of the ties that existed between her and Portugal. The increasingly friendly relationship between the two countries was based on mutual confidence and common interests, he said. (P.J. 19-12-64)

A new commercial agreement between

Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique is being negotiated. (P.J. 16-12-64).

Dr. Hastings Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, declared at a press conference in London that his country would maintain good relations with Portugal (P.J. 7-12-64).

WHERE EAST MEETS WEST

Japanese industrialists visited Portugal to consider the possibility of drafting a commercial agreement between Portugal and Japan. Masuo Yanagi, president of the Mitsui Bank and head of the Japanese commercial delegation to Portugal, said he had been particularly impressed by the low production costs of Portuguese industry, and foresaw fruitful co-operation between Japan and Portugal in a number of common projects. (P.J. 6-12-64).

INSULAR PENINSULAR

Since our last issue, several Luso-Spanish reunions have been held. They include the customary banquets, exchanges of honours, awards of distinctions both military and civil, hunting parties in country retreats, etc. Also the periodic meeting between the Spanish and Portuguese Army chiefs, appraising the military situation of the two countries. (D.L., 19-11-64, P.J. 20-11-64).

PRESTIGE AND DANGER

The U.S. nuclear merchant ship "Savannah" visited Lisbon last November. The "President" of the Portuguese Republic was invited on board and cordial greetings were exchanged.

Nearly two months later the Portuguese Official Journal ("Diario do Governo", 4-1-65), published the text of an agreement between the U.S. and the Salazar governments, arising from that visit. One of the points of the agreement concerns the disposal of nuclear residues from the ship into Portuguese waters.

Considering the timing of the publication of the text "Primero de Janeiro" of 14-1-65, asks, rather anxiously, if that disposal may not already have occurred.

STRANGE COMPANION AMONG THE PAPERBACKS

ENGLISH publishers are as a rule rather reluctant to print the work of a foreign author in paperback. They have sound commercial reasons for this. The book must either have glowing reviews in the national press, or become such a commercial success as a hard cover that a more popular and larger edition is called for.

But what reason has now prompted "Tandem Books" (London) to print as a paperback F. Nogueira's elaborate and pseudo-legalistic defence of Salazar's African policy, **Portugal and the United Nations?**

Mr. Nogueira is Salazar's Foreign Minister. His book was received by the Press of this country with indifference. The present paperback edition will serve only as a weak piece of Salazar propaganda in English-speaking countries, where this book is trying to get the reading public that it has not succeeded in obtaining in Portugal itself.

INSIDE Portugal

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out of the slow rate of growth of 1.5 per cent per year."

Deputy Dr. Nuno Fernandes ("D. Sess. Ass. Nac." 24-11-64):

"The Development Plan, as regards farming, seems far from reality. The agricultural sector of the economy has not been treated with care, nor have the people who labour and live from it been attended to.

The Deputy Dr. I. Loureiro ("D. Sess. Ass. Nac." 26-11-64):

"We cannot forget that 40% of the active population work in a decrepit agriculture. The Government has not solved the acute crisis that now faces national agriculture . . ."

The problem of agriculture, like

all the other problems troubling the Portuguese Government, is one of structure. In this case it is the structure of property. In the work of Xavier Pintado "The structure and growth of Portuguese Economy" one reads (Pg. 62):

"In most parts of the country farms are too small and made up of too many noncontiguous holdings to allow integrated farming and rational rotations, while in the south the systems of latifundia prevents more intensive cultivation" . . . "the percentage of cultivated area which is occupied by small, medium and large farms — considering as such those farms which are respectively up to

MOTOR VEHICLES IN PORTUGAL

In 1964 there were in Portugal:

Motor Cars	200,000
Trucks	77,000
Motor Cycles	28,000
Agricultural Tractors	12,000

(From D.L. 3-1-65)

10 hectares, between 10 and 200 hectares and more than 200 hectares — gives a more complete picture of the situation: (see table I)

Thus 0.3% of all the farms are latifundia, which take up a greater area of tilled land, than either of the other two categories. The great majority of the farms (94.9%) are broken into such small units that it is impossible to mechanise them. Only 1/20th of farms in Portugal occupying less than one-third of the agrarian land, belong to the "medium estate" category.

It is obvious that the only solution for Portuguese agriculture is a radical agrarian reform carried out by the democratic regime who will succeed Salazar.

TABLE I

	% of the number of farms	Percentage of the area occupied by the group
Farms up to 10 ha. (24.71 acres) in area	94.9	32.3
Farms between 10 ha. (24.71 acres) and 200 ha. (494.2 acres)	4.8	28.7
Farms with more than 200 ha. (494.2 acres)	.3	39.0

PLEASE HELP US

THE Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin (published on alternate months and now in its fifth year) has been informing British opinion of the character of Dr. Salazar's dictatorship and of the disastrous effects inside Portugal and Colonies of a Government which treats the Charter of Human Rights with utter contempt.

The imprisonment and torture of democrats and of all those who oppose the brutalities of the regime, irrespective of their faith or political creed, has become a daily occurrence under Dr. Salazar's dictatorship.

The Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin has succeeded not only in drawing the attention of Great Britain to the

violation of human rights inside Portugal and Colonies, but has also explained to the world at large, to the international press, to various world organisations, and to men and women in any part of the globe who can read English, the repressive character of Dr. Salazar's so-called "New state."

But we are struggling with economic difficulties which threaten the publication of the Bulletin.

We appeal, therefore, to all democrats and to all those who, like ourselves, wish to see the re-establishment of Human Rights inside Portugal and Colonies, to send us their donations, either big or small, or to subscribe to our Bulletin.

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NO! TO SALAZAR

THE Portuguese Government asked the Administrative Council of the International Bureau in Geneva to create a Committee to inquire into racial discrimination in the Portuguese African Colonies (P.J. 19-11-64).

By this request, liberal in appearance, the Government of Salazar certainly sought international legitimisation of their colonialist policy. The fact is that the fighting in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique clearly proves that the Africans, who take part in it, utterly reject Portuguese colonial domination.

Apparently the policy of non-racial discrimination claimed by the Portuguese dictatorship is not convincing enough for the Africans to associate themselves with it. The Portuguese request was rejected by the African nations present at the Council.

An appeal issued by the French Committee for Amnesty on February 13th against the Portuguese students repression, was signed by 19 French personalities.

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