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THE LESSON OF TWO STRIKES

THE 1965 PERO PINHEIRO STRIKE

In May 1965 the 5,000 stone-workers of the Pero Pinheiro region presented a claim for a 10 escudos (2s. 6d.) daily wage increase.

Pero Pinheiro is a region within a 4 miles radius near Sintra (Lisbon district) where some of the best Portuguese marble is extracted and worked.

The stone workers at first presented their modest claim through the 'proper' channels, i.e. the state trade-union (Sindicato).

When they received a flat refusal their struggle became more active. Meetings, with thousands of people attending, took place. Finally, they went on strike.

The headquarters of the State union were occupied by the workers and immediately the G.N.R. (militarised repressive force) besieged them. The G.N.R. eventually stormed the building, despite the resistance of the workers, killing two people and arresting dozens of others.

The strike lasted for 12 days, despite brutal terror and a virtual military occupation of the whole of the Pero Pinheiro region by the G.N.R. forces.

The claim was not immediately successful, but later in the year daily wage increases of 5 and 8 escudos were obtained, and overtime payment at time-and-a-half was agreed.

THE 1966 LISBON DOCKERS STRIKE

Since last year the 3,600 Lisbon dockers have been fighting for wage increases and better working conditions, based on a written contract. Lisbon is the largest Portuguese port and one of the largest natural harbours in the world.

Up to May this year the employers and the Fascist authorities had constantly refused these demands.

This forced the dockers into a ban on overtime. For nearly 6 weeks, they held firm and united, resisting all pressures and attempts at intimidation by PIDE and the Fascists. Shippings were greatly delayed.

On June 27th the dockers achieved victory. The authorities conceded an

immediate wage increase of 50 per cent (8s. a day), and a new contract, to be signed in six months, was promised with basic daily wages of between 25s. and 27s. 6d. Also payment of overtime at 1½ or double rate, and other benefits.

These were exactly what the dockers claimed. Victory was total.

Lessons

In a country like Portugal where no free trade-unions are allowed, where strikes are punishable with 2 to 8 years prison sentences, where PIDE is always ready to terrorize the workers and crush any claims, where the employers direct the political machinery aimed at keeping salaries fixed, collective wage claims and strikes have a deep political importance.

The 1965 Pero Pinheiro strike was an example of determination but it was also an example of violent repression. It ended in partial victory.

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The 1966 Lisbon strike was also an example of determination. But this time the dockers were better organized, they were able to impose their strength and terroristic moves by PIDE were checked. Victory was total.

In the complex Portuguese situation, both types of struggle will probably occur in the future.

Strikes and wage claims have the greatest importance in the anti-Salazar struggle. They lay foundations for political struggle, indispensable steps before the final overthrow of the regime.

They are also the best answer to the empty phraseology of Portuguese ultra-revolutionaries at home and abroad whose main activity has been verbal violence and aborted coups.

From 1965 to 1966 in these and in hundreds of smaller struggles the Portuguese have achieved many victories.

From 1965 to 1966 there has been progress in the anti-Salazar struggle of the Portuguese people. We have no doubt that more and more successes will be achieved in the coming years, until the final downfall of the Fascist regime.

FERREIRA DE CASTRO

Portugal is at present celebrating fifty years of the literary career of Ferreira de Castro, the distinguished novelist, whose works have appeared in 21 countries and have been translated into 15 languages, including English.

This commemoration, unsupported by the authorities, has become a public event. As soon as someone reported this unobtrusive anniversary in the national Press, a spontaneous movement of sympathy arose inside Portugal. People from all walks of life, intellectuals as well as ordinary men and women, who appreciated Ferreira de Castro's works joined in the celebrations.

This broad appeal is indeed remarkable. To see an author honoured by his own colleagues is a common occurrence; to see him applauded and feted in worker's clubs throughout the country has something of a national consecration.

And yet the reason for such success is understandable and well merited. Ferreira de Castro is an unassuming man. He was born of poor peasant parents in 1898, in a small village of Northern Portugal. He lost his father when he was 8 years old. His only education was at the local primary school. For the rest of his life, Ferreira de Castro was entirely self-taught.

The land is poor in that part of the country. Labour is scarce and men emigrate. Ferreira de Castro was the eldest of his three brothers. So, at the age of 12, like many others, he emigrated to Brazil, seeking a better life.

In Brazil he soon learned the illusions of emigration. Sent up to the Amazonian jungle, he saw there, still with the eyes of an astounded child, the horror of the exploitation of man in the rubber plantations, and the struggle of the rubber tappers against a hostile nature. That harsh experience gave him the subject for the world famous novel, *A Selva (The Jungle)*, which he published in 1930.

After an extremely hard life, in which he knew much hunger, Ferreira de Castro found employment as a journalist and in 1916 had his first novel printed. A long and painful period for the complete mastery of literary expression had begun.

He returned to Portugal in 1919 with £5 as his whole worldly wealth. Life was still hard and the writer starved for many days.

Finally success came. *Emigrants (1928)* tells the drama of those who seek a better fortune in Brazil. This novel is original in its subject, preceding, by many years, novels with a similar theme by Latin and North American authors. Ferreira de Castro has since then enjoyed an international reputation.

Ferreira de Castro has a vivid and pungent style and shows penetrating observation in all his novels. He never tries to assuage social and human contradictions. His love of mankind makes him shirk easy or pseudo-intellectual solutions, for he has suffered the hardships of life and knows also its beauty. In him the artist has never betrayed the man. His more recent novels, like *A Leda e a Neve* and *A Curva da Estrada* are deeply rooted in experience and uphold vigorously the values of human dignity against any form of oppression.

This intellectual probity is what Ferreira de Castro's admirers inside and outside Portugal acclaim in the work of the eminent novelist.

INSIDE PORTUGAL

Portugal is at the moment one of the countries in the so-called "free world", where life grows steadily harder and where selfishness and greed for profit are revealed in their ugliest forms.

The complete disregard for the individual and the callous indifference of those in power towards pressing social problems is a dominant feature of life under Salazar.

Only militarists seem to count; the Government has money for them only.

The Armed Forces come First

The building of 6 corvettes is soon to begin. These vessels will strengthen the Portuguese Navy, which, in the last 12 months, has acquired 14 new launches. Of those, 3 weigh 500 tons and one 280 tons. In the meantime 2 more frigates of the "Dealey" type have been launched. One was built in the *Lisnave* shipyard (Lisbon), and the other in Viana do Castelo (Northern Portugal), both with financial assistance from the U.S. Government.

Such a big increase in naval units requires a larger staff. This problem is not always easy to solve. Easier conditions have been laid down for the admission of cadets into the officer corps, as a result of falling quotas in the Navy School. A new detachment of Special Fusiliers (no. 13) has been formed, as well as companies nos. 8, 9 and 10. (D.L. 3.6.66). And the Air Force will acquire a £29,562 motor launch (D.L. 22.5.66).

Salazar needs Men

To carry out this policy, 250 new cadets have qualified at the Military Academy (P.J. 20.5.66). And Naval Fusiliers have taken part in exercises in the Aveiro dunes, where 2 sergeants and 1 rating were severely wounded (D.L. 15.5.66).

A Cloud on Army Reinforcements
At the Military School of Tancos 600 new paratroops were sworn in (D.L. 18.6.66). Soon they will be sent into the colonial war in Africa.

Portuguese newspapers used to report the name and number of regiments that left for the Colonies. Now, in order to conceal the cost of the war effort, they just report that a "contingent of troops" has left in an unspecified ship... (P.J. 28.5 and 1.6.66).

Why are they so afraid?

Fear seems to have seized the Portuguese authorities to such an extent that even in places where the Army is most unlikely to expect any trouble, new military works are in progress. For instance in that tourists paradise, Madeira, all the ground close to the Saint Martin battery is to be commandeered for the Army (D.L. 14.6.66).

In Lisbon, at Ajuda, the eighteenth-century barracks of Count of Lippe, is to have all the grounds in the vicinity placed under military control (D.L. 27.6.66).

Nato assists Salazar

From Nato the Portuguese Army obtains know-how and the technical improvements necessary for the efficiency of the forces that are sent to the Colonial wars.

In May, exchanges took place at the annual "NATO Meeting for the Study of Ammunition and Light Weapons", held in Lisbon. The NATO representatives visited the Portuguese Firing Ground at Alcochete and also Salazar's ammunition factories (P.J. 26.5.66).

Have these NATO officers ever thought that the weapons and ammunition manufactured in Portugal will be used, not to defend liberty, but to keep oppression at home and in the colonies?

Dust in United Nations eyes

Meanwhile, to keep the pot of trouble boiling at the United Nations, the Portuguese representative in New York has protested against the "Committee of 24", for not including in their memorandum against colonialism, issued early this year, the territories of Goa, Damao and Dio, which are now part of the Indian Union. (Portugal claims they are being occupied by that country!) (P.J. 15.6.66).

The Individual and Totalitarian State

What about the social problems and the situation of the individual in Portugal? Do the gentlemen in power ever look down, from their Olympian seat, to the distressing aspects of ordinary living? Do they ever care for the welfare of their own people?

They seem to forget that many Portuguese fishermen die at sea because they lack modern life-saving boats. The coast is mainly equipped with old boats, man-powered. They are nearly all sheltered in decayed sheds. The rails on which the boats should glide are rusty and dangerous. All the boats need proper equipment (D.L. 18.5.66).

And in education, which is the future of any nation, the Minister closes his eyes to the fact that fewer and fewer teachers take to the profession, because the salaries are so low. The number of students increases, but fewer and fewer qualify, mainly because they have to earn their living as well as pay for their studies (D.L. 17, 28, 29.5.66).

Damage to an Engine

And finally, a revealing case from ordinary life.

A working man, Senhor Mateus, lost his 12-year-old daughter on a railway level-crossing on January 12th. He was so poor that he had to ask the State-owned Railway Company (C.P.) to assist him with the funeral.

The Company refused. And in April, the Company ordered the father to pay them £3 12s. 6d. for damage caused to the engine involved in the collision (D.L. 66).

More Taxes

A tax of 7 per cent has been imposed on consumer goods by the Portuguese Government and another of 20 per cent on specific luxuries. From August 1 the new taxes superseded an earlier consumer goods tax levied to swell funds needed to wage the war against Portuguese African rebels (Times 4.7.66).

Foreign Loans

The World Bank approved the concession of two loans to Portugal amounting to 30 million U.S. dollars, to be invested in the production of electric power (D.L. 11.6.66).

The German House of Commerce in Portugal recently drew attention to the increasing expansion of foreign capital in the Portuguese economy. In their report they stated that in 1965 alone, 122 new enterprises were set up in Portugal with foreign capital: 34 firms are British, 23 German, 19 Spanish, 10 Swedish and 9 American (June 1966, Lisbon).

The Portuguese Bank stated that direct foreign investments in Portugal more than doubled since 1964. From £3.55 million in 1964 they increased to £8.4 million in 1965 (D.L. 3.6.66).

During the first Metallmechanics Industries meeting in Lisbon it was stated that 3/4 of the capital invested in those industries is foreign.

It was also pointed out that economic expansion based on foreign capital means the constant drain of money outside the country (D.L. 14.6.66).

A factory for synthetic polyester fibre has been launched in Portalegre. It cost £1.25 m. and the factory is expected to produce about 3,000 tons of polyester fibre per year. It is controlled by I.C.I. (D.L. 16.5.66).

The "FORD" factory in Azambuja is being enlarged at a cost of £455,000. This investment will increase to £1.7 m. Ford's assets in Portugal (P.J. 26.5.66).

Salazar's Government has extended by 25 years its contract with the British firm *Marconi*. It has also conceded to this company the exclusive right to run submarine telephone cables in Portugal. Two submarine telephone cables have already been planned, one connecting Portugal to England and another to South Africa (P.J. 3.6.66).

Marconi, with a capital of £937,500 had a net profit of £297,500 in 1964.

The Salazar Government's generous concession to the *Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co.* (another British company, which has the monopoly of telephone communications in Lisbon and Oporto (vide Port. & Colonial Bul. Vol. 5, No.3) did not meet the expected public support. According to the Chairman's statement: "the accounts for the year 31st December 1965 show a net profit of £546,474 which is a reduction of £373,189 over the corresponding 1964 figure.

"The main reason for the fall in Net Profit was the effect of the introduction of the telephone tariff surcharge from January '65. Subscriber resistance to the increased costs resulted in a fall in the number of calls and in the demand for new telephones" (Guardian 16.5.66).

REPRESSION IS NO SOLUTION

(from our Correspondent in Portugal)

Repression is no solution. Except for desperate men. And Salazar and his men are desperate men. They must continue repression to stay in power at all. They know they cannot win, they know they can only try to delay their downfall. Repression indeed is no solution.

Arrests, tortures, trials go on constantly in Portugal. Other forms of intimidation are also widely used.

In the large industrial centres on the South bank of the Tagus, opposite Lisbon, for instance, workers and the general population live as if in an occupied country. Plain clothes or uniformed policemen prevent people from talking to one another in the streets. People are constantly arrested, brought to the police stations for identification, searched and brought home to check their addresses.

In Barreiro, when workers leave their factories, the G.N.R. comes on to the streets, fully armed, sirens blasting, stopping the traffic. Informers and provocators are everywhere, disguised as peddlars, beggars, drunkards, knocking at the doors of the opponents of the regime, making enquiries. In the factories, a network of spies and informers keep a constant watch on workers who decide to fight for their rights.

But they go on fighting. Also they fight against the repression, for an amnesty, for the liberation of their fellows in the political prisons.

The political trials

On 22. 6. 66 the Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced 37-year-old engineer *Veiga de Oliveira* to 4 years in jail and "security measures", (which can keep any prisoner in jail for life at PIDE's discretion)

The Fight of the People

(from our correspondent in Portugal)

Matozinhos is the largest sardine fishing port in Portugal, harbouring nearly 5,000 fishermen. Last April and May, they refused to go to sea unless better payment was offered.

The shipowners tried to get fishermen from other places to man the boats, but these refused.

The struggle was successful; and better pay has been obtained.

Transport workers win

In June, the 7,500 employees at the British-owned Lisbon transport monopoly enterprise (C.C.F.L.), obtained wage increases of 8 to 15 per cent. They also obtained better working conditions, including annual holidays of between 8 and 26 days.

This is encouraging the struggle of the Oporto transport workers, for similar objectives. Arrests by PIDE, last June, of workers who had attended meetings has not halted their activities.

Civil Servants win

153,000 civil servants have obtained salary increases of between 20 to 25 per cent, starting September 1st.

Massive Struggles

Struggles for better wages and conditions are widespread.

They are taking place amongst the 150,000 building workers, the 30,000 truck and car drivers, the 20,000 railwaymen, the 20,000 tinned fish workers and the 2,500 tobacco workers.

On June 17th, the journalists obtained a collective contract which constituted a partial victory for their claims.

Against Repression

600 relatives of political prisoners have signed an appeal for an Amnesty, addressed to the authorities.

The underground Press

The underground press, the only free press existing in Portugal, continues its valiant fight.

Political underground journals representing the interests of sections of the workers and agricultural labourers and also published underground and help them in their struggles. We cite "O Corticeiro" ("The Cork Worker"), the "Boletim dos Trabalhadores da CUF" ("Bulletin of the CUF-industrial monopoly-workers"), the "Campones" ("The Peasant"), etc.

The Students

The struggle for free student associations continues. A number of organizing committees for these associations have been very active this year. Other Associations already authorized, are doing good work and carrying on the tradition.

The New Code of Law

Widespread discussion and criticism of reactionary aspects of the new draft Code of Law, have been taking place at the Lawyers Corporative body ("Ordem dos Advogados"), in Lisbon.

Catholic lawyers have also been discussing the new code.

Other forms of struggle

At the CAFI cork factory in Lagos (Algarve), the workers occupied the factory for a day, without working: in protest against pay and working conditions. Five workers were arrested, but this did not stop them and they finally won.

At the fertilizer factory in Pampilhosa (Mealhada), there was a one-day strike against a lowering of wages.

The farm workers

Struggles for better wages have been taking place principally in the Alto Alentejo and Baixo Alentejo provinces, where are the richest land and the largest farms in the country.

Inter-forces clashes

Clashes between soldiers or sailors and the repressive forces are frequent in Portugal.

A recent one took place in Lisbon on July 27th. A policeman was wounded and had to be admitted to hospital.

On 28. 6. 66, *Jose Carlos* a cork worker, arrested in May 1963, was sentenced by the same court to 5 years in jail, plus "security measures". He has already spent 5 years in Salazar's jails.

On the same day and in the same court, *Jorge Alves*, a building manager and *Jose Vilar*, a draughtsman, were sentenced respectively to 10 and 9 months in jail.

On 14. 7. 66, the Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced the underground political leader *Rogério de Carvalho*, in his absence, to 6 years in jail plus "security measures", and architect *Vieira de Almeida* to 6 months in jail, loss of political rights for 5 years and a fine of £25. Lord Gifford, a British lawyer, attended this trial.

On 21. 7. 66, *Eduardo Pires*, a political prisoner already serving a 4-year prison sentence, was given another 4 years by the 3rd Lisbon Criminal Court.

Trying the students

On 26.5.66, the Angolan student, *Manuel Gonçalves Junior*, was sentenced by the Lisbon Plenary Court, to 3 years in jail plus "security measures".

On 26.7.66, the same court sentenced the students *Jose Sanches* and *Ligia Gomes* (a girl) to 3 years and 20½ months in jail, plus "security measures".

On 22.7.66 the boy and girl students *Joao Soares* and *Maria Boavida*, were sentenced in Lisbon to 18 months and 1 year in jail, plus £125 "compensation" to the State.

Portuguese youth, which should be helped to build a better country, is being persecuted and terrorized. To fight for students rights is equated with "subversive activities".

From 1964 to March 1966 a total of 107 students were arrested by PIDE.

"Witnesses" tried

On 9.7.66 the trial by the Lisbon Plenary Court of 49 members of Jehovah's Witnesses, including 35 women ended.

They were given sentences between 1½ and 5½ months in jail, in default of the payment of fines, with loss of political rights for 4 years.

Visitor arrested

Mr. Manuel Santos, a Portuguese and a deputy stage manager at the Theatre Royal, Bristol (Bristol Old Vic) married to a British citizen, was arrested on his arrival in Portugal on 23.7.66, on a visit to his family. No explanation has been given by PIDE of this arrest.

The Repressive Forces

A new recruiting drive for one of the armed repressive forces P.S.P. (Policia de Seguranca Publica) was initiated on May 22nd.

On July 24th a total of 1,500 members of the armed Fascist militia (Legiao Portuguesa) gathered in Evora (Alentejo province) for a parade and celebrations.

Mr. R. Chilcote, an American scholar, teaching at the University of California, was arrested on a visit to Angola last year. Writing in the American weekly "The Nation" (30.6.66) he states that one of the PIDE agents who questioned him, Mario Ferreira, had been trained in Washington by the C.I.A. and recruited for espionage work in the Portuguese colony of Macao (in the Chinese mainland).

Stop Operations

Repressive actions directed against political opponents of the regime travelling on the roads, under the pretext of traffic control operations, took place between May 23rd and June 26 last, in Lisbon and district, Oporto and district, Vila Real, Leiria, Evora, Braganca, and Faro; that is to say, from the extreme North to the extreme south of the country.

70,800 vehicles were inspected by the police in these operations.

LIBERALISM in NINETEENTH CENTURY PORTUGAL

(Part 2)

By A. Leal

As was pointed out in our previous issue 1, the critical study of the rise of Liberal ideas inside Portugal is absolutely necessary if we are to understand the political and social history of the country, not only in the nineteenth century, but also in our own time.

The Republican Revolution of October 5, 1910, was the fruit of the Liberal ideas and institutions which cost so many sacrifices to establish in Portugal. When democratic institutions were hampered in their normal functioning under a Monarchy, a change of regime took place. The road seemed then to be clear for the important reforms which were urgently needed to improve the economic conditions and the welfare of the Portuguese people. But in its 16 years of existence the Republic was beset by many reactionary coups and by a number of internal contradictions. Finally, the May 28 putsch in 1926, that brought Salazar to power, introduced the dictatorship that is still oppressing the country.

During this long period many changes have undoubtedly occurred, but the fundamental problems that irked Portuguese society are still with us. The fact that Salazar is quite sensitive to the questions raised in the last century by Liberal opinion only confirms this assertion. For, in the celebrations of 40 years of the dictatorship, which were held this year on May 28 at Braga, the Portuguese Premier claimed in a speech, that the "economic and financial problems" which had haunted Portugal since the seventeenth century had now been solved.

On the other hand, albeit the reactionaries feel still obliged to argue against Liberalism, there are ideological problems and contradictions inherent in the way in which that political doctrine grew inside Portugal, which have played too readily into the hands of its enemies. Therefore the critical study of Liberalism in the light of a modern perspective, will enable us to evaluate that period much better. It will also help the democratic movement in their struggle against Dr. Salazar's dictatorship.

This assessment has to begin with a brief examination of the economic situation in Portugal, after John VI withdrew to Brazil. The King had thus avoided being arrested by Napoleon's men, who had invaded Spain and Portugal, on the grounds that the Portuguese had refused to enforce the continental blockade imposed by the French on England.

THE ECONOMIC PLIGHT

The major national problems fell under two headings.

First, there was the need to bring the country back to normal and to make it stand on its feet. To achieve that end, it was urgent to increase the national output, and that could be done only by starting a belated industrialisation. And in fact from 1813 to 1814 new factories were built and a small industrial complex began to emerge. This happened three or four years after the French armies had been driven out of Portugal. The North of the country led the way to industrialisation, with

Oporto out in front, at least until 1830. (2)

Yet the privileges, which the nobility and the Catholic clergy enjoyed in the land and over those who made a living out of it, were a hindrance to progress. The landlords, or *donatarios*, rented the land to the peasants from whom they received many tributes in kind. Then, on top of this, the peasant had to pay ecclesiastical tithes. The situation was such that the rights of the landlord, together with those of the clergy, added up to one-third of the total of national taxation.

Considering that, in 1820, nearly 80 per cent of the population depended on agriculture for their living, and that, in 1800, the cultivated land was no more than one-sixth of the whole of Portugal it is easy to see that this system was not only oppressive, but hopelessly inefficient. (3)

There was also another obstacle to economic development.

Many tolls, tributes and taxes had to be paid for manufactured goods, when they circulated inside the country. The municipal councils imposed taxes in the area of their jurisdiction, both for goods and agricultural produce entering or leaving the zone under their control. All these surcharges crippled trade and commerce in the provinces and strangled all economic developments inside the country.

On the other hand, the Government itself could and did interfere freely in the sectors of private economy. The authorities maintained a network of internal customs and kept for each region and district a different table of taxation. (4) Coupled with those restrictions, there were also the privileges enjoyed by the guilds, which limited the supply of manpower for the new industries. So when merchants, lawyers, magistrates, industrialists and some army men carped against "feudal rights", they really meant the preservation of all these privileges.

Secondly, the cost of the upkeep of the English troops in Portugal was a heavy burden on a budget that was based on such an unsound economic system.

The public debt had been increasing since 1817. By 1819 the situation had reached a point where the whole economy of Portugal was moving fast to bankruptcy. The additional factor that Portugal, after the French invasion, had no longer the monopoly of trade with Brazil, affected the Portuguese merchant navy and shipowners. An old ossified economic system had begun to feel the desperate need for a change.

FIGHTING BRITISH DOMINATION

These facts and figures were accurately brought to the knowledge of the King in Rio by the Regents. They also reported dissatisfaction amongst the armed forces and deep discontent against the privileged position that British officers had in the Portuguese Army. They had better pay than the Portuguese and were quickly promoted to ranks higher than they actually had in their own Army. Besides Beresford ruled the country as if it were a British colony.

The Regents of the Kingdom appeared too subservient to the English Governor. In 1815,

a Portuguese contingent had been ordered by Beresford to leave Lisbon and fight in Rio de la Plata and Montevideo, in South America. This seemed a complete waste of already meagre resources.

And so patriotic Portuguese officers began to plot for the overthrow of the Regency and for the expulsion of the English.

But the conspiracy was uncovered in 1817. Many officers were arrested. And General Gomes Freire de Andrade (1757-1817), a distinguished soldier and the leader of the conspiracy, together with 11 others, were sentenced to death. Beresford's misrule continued and the Regency showed itself incapable of dealing with the pressing economic problems that afflicted the country.

But the example of Gomes Freire had blazed the path for national regeneration. In 1818, Manuel Fernandes Tomas (1771-1822), a lawyer, organised, with others, a small conspiratorial group in Oporto. They had to be careful, for now the authorities were suspicious and the penalties for those indulging in subversive activities were far more severe than formerly. All the conspirators were true representatives of the discontented bourgeoisie.

Taking advantage of one of Beresford's periodic visits to Rio to confer with the King, the patriots succeeded in making a military *pronunciamento* in Oporto, on August 24, 1820. Troops left barracks and in the camp of Santo Ovidio their commander proclaimed the need for national reform.

They expressed the intention of organising a provisional Government, which would convene the *Cortes*, or National Assembly, and draft a constitution. (The *Cortes* had not been held since 1689.)

The insurgents encouraged the soldiers to fight anarchy and mutiny. They expressed the wish to preserve and defend the Roman Catholic religion and keep as their sovereign, John VI.

On September 15th, Lisbon rallied in a similar way to the Oporto movement. And on October 1st, after some negotiations with the *junta* of the North, the leaders of the rising in the two cities met in the capital. (9)

THE LESSON OF 1820

The revolutionary coup had been quiet and without bloodshed. In essence, it aimed at attaining all the necessary changes that would give the bourgeoisie the control of public affairs within the framework of a Constitutional Monarchy.

This respect for the monarchy and its institutions may well have been the cause of many of the fatal mistakes and the troubles that the 1820 rising was forced to face later. (10) By then the bourgeoisie expected to create a proper and free home market, which would include the Portuguese colonies. And for that reason the "vintistas", or men of 1820, as they would thereafter be called, wanted to keep Brazil as a colony, but freed from the same onerous taxation that crippled the metropolitan economy.

The military coup had been organised by a small group of civilians and Army men. The people had been completely left out. No one had bothered to prepare the larger sections of the population for a direct struggle against the "Ancien Regime". And yet, so great were popular grievances, that they welcomed any change. For that reason, sensing rather than understanding what was happening, they immediately supported the rising in the great urban centres. In Lisbon, some hesitant officers were even pressed by the local population to join the insurgents. (11)

It is a fact that the peasantry were quite illiterate, and the very small working class of

the towns, though slightly educated, could not be compared with their modern counterpart.

But the potentialities of this great mass were left completely unexplored; they were never tapped. The people had been reduced to the role of spectator. And this was undoubtedly another serious weakness of the 1820 Rebellion. Because when the counter-revolution tried to put the clock back, the people, ill-informed and confused, fell victim to the divisions inside the liberal camp.

On the other hand, as the whole struggle between Liberals and the supporters of the Ancien Regime took place inside the political framework of a monarchy, the issues at stake became even more confused. At times it appeared more like a dynastic wrangle than a true battle against the obsolete rights of a privileged class.

In fact, the lack of proper agitational work among the peasants and the urban population was going to work against the Liberals themselves. For later, when they were forced to take up arms to overthrow the reactionary aristocracy, the people were misled by right-wing demagogues, who knew how to make their own propaganda. And this, as we shall see in another issue, is responsible for the many compromises and concessions, which the Liberals had to make not only to foreign interests, but also to the moderate faction which existed within their own movement.

The coup of 1820 had succeeded, because the social, economic and political conditions were ripe for political action. Beresford was in Rio seeking to obtain, as he did, far more powers for himself inside Portugal. And economically the country was running with an annual deficit of nearly £12m. (12) This was a very large sum indeed for that time and for a small country of less than 3 million people. (13) From the way Portugal was going, bankruptcy seemed to be a foregone conclusion.

But the success of a military *coup* is not necessarily the success of a revolution. And this the Liberals would have to learn the hard way and at the cost of tremendous sacrifices.

LIBERALISM HAS ROOTS INSIDE PORTUGAL

Many upholders of the reactionary tradition and the critics of Liberalism have sought to spread the view that the ideology and the economic theories of the Liberal movement inside Portugal were all imported from abroad. According to those self-styled nationalists the new ideas were quite alien both to the Portuguese mentality, and to the economic problems that dominated the country. Brandishing this argument, they pretended to damn Liberalism for ever.

But in fact the progressive tradition goes back to the XIVth century, as has already been noted. It is the wrong-headed view over the meaning of tradition, that clouds the critical approach. In fact, it was only the juridical framework of the Spanish Liberal Constitution, voted in Cadiz in 1812, which has served as a model for the 34 articles of the *Political Constitution of the Portuguese Monarchy*, finally approved and endorsed by Parliament on September 14, 1822. And no one would dispute either that the ideals disseminated by the French Revolution appealed to Portuguese progressives.

But there is here an important point to consider. Although the ideas that prepared and came with the French Revolution had a nearly universal appeal, they were not the cause of radical changes. Ideas may influence the mind of men faced with a particular

historical situation, but that situation has to exist first. Social and economic factors urged on the independence of the U.S.A. (1775-1781). The ideas of liberty that were developing and spreading across Europe helped America to give an articulate form to her desire for independence. Yet they were never the primary force in the rising of the American people against British rule.

A CRUCIAL PROBLEM

Likewise, the causes of political and social unrest inside Portugal in the early 19th century are to be found in the social set-up and in the uneven distribution of wealth which prevailed there at the time. This concern with the social and economic situation, that had been created inside the country after the Discoveries, had existed for nearly two centuries and shaped current of thought, which was going to emerge once again before and after 1820. In fact, an economist and a Counsellor of the Treasury, Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo (1618-1680) had stressed that many Portuguese subjects could not find a living at home, owing to the lack of national industries. Hence, he pointed out, the chronic emigration, which landed them in the territories of the Portuguese Empire. Once there, they took part in colonial exploitation, which was mainly sustained by trade with the outside world. The odds were that this commercial policy favoured European countries, who had their own industries and who could manufacture the raw materials brought from afar by the Portuguese.

However, such a policy, named by a modern author, the policy of transportation⁽¹⁰⁾, was not in itself sufficient to support Portugal economically. A proper and adequate development of agriculture and the creation of an efficient industry at home were needed to complement the intensive Portuguese trade with the colonies. Macedo's view was shared by such experienced men as Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos, a Governor of Angola in 1617, and Severim de Faria (1583-1655).

It is unnecessary to underline that these seventeenth-century authors owe nothing to foreign ideas. Their opinions are their own. And they were not going to fall into total oblivion. Reconsidered in the 1700's, these ideas were to be implemented only 100 years later. An important event had contributed to this. The independence of Brazil in 1822. Portugal was now being forced to seek its own development at home.

THE BOURGEOISIE AND LIBERALISM

The class that felt the pinch more than any other was the bourgeoisie. Liberalism was the motto engraved on their banner of rebellion. Inspired by the new ideas, the bourgeoisie was compelled to fight the conservative aristocracy and a hidebound civil service. For the Liberals believed in themselves as an enlightened *elite*, who had now the mission of guiding an illiterate and stupefied peasantry. Indeed they mistrusted the masses of the population, whom they also assumed to be incapable of understanding their own misfortunes, let alone able to put an end to them. This sense of historical mission inspired their battle against the Authoritarian State, the supporter of privileged nobility.

Yet the Liberals were the children of their own time. Bound by their own limitations, they conceived an industrialised Portugal, which would not be dispossessed of her colonies, though these would be ruled in an enlightened way. In an atmosphere of intellectual tolerance and with free institutions, the nation would be able to decide for herself the best course to pursue.

Timid, however, in the solutions they applied, the Liberals came to rely upon

Amnesty for Portugal

A Portuguese Amnesty Conference demanding an Amnesty for all Portuguese political prisoners and exiles, is to be held in Toronto (Canada), next October 28, 29 and 30.

A sponsoring Committee, whose chairman is the Reverend G. V. Kimball, has been formed.

Amongst the many distinguished Canadian sponsors are: Mr. T. C. Douglas, M.P. (National Leader, New Democratic Party), Mr. Barry Mather, M.P., Professor C. P. Macpherson (University of Toronto), Professor L. S. Dewart (St. Michael's College), Professor M. R. MacGuigen (University of Toronto); Chairman Canadian Civil Liberties Association), Professor W. M. Kilbourn (York University), Reverends J. R. Hord, J. Morgan and C. MacDonald; trade-union leaders George Burt, F. Daoust, P. Vadeboncoeur, G. Gallagher and K. A. Smith; student leaders, Douglas Ward, Mary Brewin, and many others.

Previous Portuguese Amnesty Conferences (Sao Paulo, Brazil in 1960; Montevideo, Uruguay in 1961, and Paris, France in 1962) have been a powerful help in the struggle against repression in Portugal.

We are sure the coming Portuguese Amnesty Conference in Canada is going to be another successful step in the struggle against repression in Portugal, and will contribute to the liberation of more and more Portuguese political prisoners, and for an Amnesty. The Amnesty campaign is deeply felt and fought for by the great mass of the Portuguese people.

Messages of support, please, from all of you and from all the organizations to which you belong, to be sent to the Committee Sponsoring the Portuguese Amnesty Conference, 209 Crawford Street, Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

We count on you!

foreign investments. Having inherited a country with most inadequate means of communication, they had first to set up the skeleton services necessary for the circulation of goods. Because of this, industrialization moved at a slower pace than had been expected.

Foreign interests inside Portugal found it easy to create difficult social problems and undermine the country's independence.

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COLONIAL STRUGGLE

The Price we Pay

Salazar's wars in three Portuguese colonies are exacting a heavy drain on the national economy and on human lives. From mid-May to the beginning of July (2½ months), in spite of all attempts at concealment the Portuguese Communiques reveal a total of 74 dead and 39 wounded. The wounded are usually not mentioned.

Of those dead, 25 were killed in action in Angola, 28 in Mozambique and 21 in Guinea. These figures always play down real losses. The PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) communique of June 1, reports in Southern Guinea 53 dead (Portuguese soldiers and mercenaries) and 100 wounded, and in the North 86 dead and 100 wounded. That is: 139 dead in one colony only.

GUINEA

The news which come from this colony shows that the Guineans, taking advantage of the rainy season, have launched severe attacks on the Portuguese troops, who, entrenched in their encampments, feel dangerously isolated. The Secretary-General of PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral, has been touring the liberated zones. When he was in the north—on June 5—the Portuguese launched an attack, in the hope of killing him. In the early morning 10 B26 bombers flew over Djagali and blasted the village. Some of the aircraft still bore the colours of West Germany on their fuselages.

The Guinean liberation Army has attacked the Portuguese in the North, in Guidaje, Farim, Olossato, N'Gore, Buruntuma, Cankelids; and in the South, in Guiledge, Bodanda, Empade, Madina and Beli. Madina Barracks, in the region of Boe, were also attacked.

A Portuguese regiment was ambushed at Cacine (PAIGC War Comms. 1, 3, 9 and 10-6-66).

Not only are these operations by the Guinean nationalists confirmed in the Portuguese War Communiques, but also other attacks by them are reported at Sare and in the S.W. region of Camamundo, Mansaba and Olo.

The Portuguese report some minor success at Nova Saja, Flaque Cibe and the Barraca peninsula, to the South of Tite (P.J. 26-5; 8, 15-22-6-66).

Tourism to Support the War

Running short of time, the Portuguese authorities are encouraging a small travel agency in Bissau in the hope of bringing in some much-needed foreign currency. The new firm SETUR has been allowed to increase its capital to a maximum £37,500 (D.L. 18-5-66).

Apart from Bissau, the capital, it is hard to see where the tourists could go. But the war has to be paid for and tourism is a desperate device to this end.

CAPE VERDE

The islands of this archipelago are becoming more and more a German Colony. By a recent

agreement between the Portuguese and German Governments; issued in the *Diario do Governo*, April, 1966, a fishing factory, entirely run by the Germans, has been set up in these islands (*Industria Portuguesa*, no. 459, May 66).

At the same time the Government is backing the *Companhia da Pesca e Congelacao de Cabo Verde* (The Fishing and Canning Industry of Cape Verde) with a loan of £187,500. This company will work in close collaboration with the Germans and will be controlled by them (P.J. 17-6-66).

These islands are having great difficulties in getting the necessary materials for the building industry (P.J. 15-6-66).

ANGOLA

The War that will never end

The war of attrition continues in Angola. The patriots are succeeding, as the Portuguese war communiques now report, in engaging Salazar's men in frequent actions.

In a colonial war, where there is no front military operations are always inconclusive. And Salazar's men are beginning to understand that in such a war they can never win.

In the last 2 months the Portuguese have been active in the regions of Mata Sanga, Canda mountain, Zala—Bela Vista, along the rivers Luauque and Quenque in the Mucaba mountain, Canacassia, on the itinerary of Nambuagongo, in Cafuge, Quitoque, and Ave Maria.

The Angolans have engaged the Portuguese in the Mucaba mountain, in Camioneta Vermelha Mata Madureira, on the itinerary from Quipedro to Micula and in the Catumbro Villego. A supply column was attacked by the freedom fighters near Daladiata.

The Angolans also engaged the colonialist troops in the regions of Sanga, in the Hinda plains and on the road from Bela Vista to Zala.

While the Portuguese have been operating in regions, where they know the Angolans are likely to strike, such as in the areas of the Luso river valley, in Quimbaje and Quissalvoa, the patriots are reported to be showing initiative in the regions of Chivanze, Mucondo, Madureiras, and the valleys of the rivers Cunga and Loche (P.J. 19, 26-5 and 3, 10, 14, 16, 23, 30-6-66).

Electrical Power Increases

On the other hand, the exploitation of the Angolan riches is stepped up feverishly. This explains the increase in electrical power, which is controlled inside Angola and Mozambique by the Portuguese trust SONEFE.

In 1965 the Angolan output was 113 millions kWh. This means an increase of 17 per cent on the previous year. Total revenue in Angola and Mozambique reached £1,453,875 or £28,875 more than had been foreseen (D.L. 27-6-66).

A Nazi heads the Oil Exploration

As the result of a contract made between the *Petangol* and *Angol* (a subsidiary of *Sacor*, from Lisbon) an intensive search for oil is going to be pushed still further in this

colony. The new contract has a clause that allows the entry of foreign capital into this project. Together the two companies will invest, between now and December 31st, 1970, the amount of £18,750,000.

The President of the Board of Directors of the *Angol* is the well-known Portuguese Nazi, General Santos Costa (D.L. 13-6-66).

Brazil joins the Oil Game

By a new agreement, signed between the Portuguese and Brazilian Governments, Brazil is going to invest in Angola through private firms interested in oil exploration (P.J. 15-6-66). A Brazilian M.P. has suggested that oil from Angola might be exported to Brazil (D.L. 21-6-66).

Japan buys in Angola

The Japanese concern, Kawasaki Steel, will import, between 1968 and 1973, 4m. tons of iron ore from Angola (D.L. 20-6-66).

MOZAMBIQUE

THE WAR IS INTENSIFIED

The Mozambican liberation movements, FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique) and COREMO (Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) are systematically increasing their military activity against the colonialist Army. This is clearly seen from the number of operations against the patriots, which are quoted in the Portuguese war communiques.

Thus, in the May communique, dated from the 16th to the 31st, 650 operations are reported, including a wide search for the guerrillas in the area of Mecanheas. In an earlier communique covering the first half of the month, the operations of the Portuguese troops are described as "patient and exhausting" (P.J. 1-6 and 17-5-66).

The military activity of the patriots in the northern part of the country has forced the Portuguese to call up all officers conscripted and trained in 1957 and 1962. They are sent, after a short retraining, to the districts of Niassa and Cape Delgado (*Remarques Africaines*, nos. 252, 3-11-65, p. 24).

The Mozambican nationalists, according to COREMO, have struck successfully in the areas of Tete, Zambesia, Nyassa, Manica and Sofala (*The Valiant Hero*, 7-4-66). The Portuguese communiques admit the action of the patriots in Alto Namuando, Cape Delgado and Massangulo (P.J. 1-6-66). Portuguese military convoys were ambushed by the freedom fighters, who also blew up points of the roads used by Salazar's men (P.J. 16-6-66).

Help for Salazar

The Mozambican railways are being supplied by the U.S.A. with "Diesel" engines. Six have already been received (P.J. 26-5-66).

Salazar Support for Rhodesia

In May, the British tanker, *British Flag*, unloaded at Beira refined oil products (D.L. 28-5-66).

On May 17th Mr. Bottomley then (Commonwealth Secretary) stated in Parliament that Britain will give a £162,000 compensation, divided over 3 months, to the "Portuguese" Company, who owns the pipe-line Beira-Umtali (Rhodesia). Owing to the oil embargo against Rhodesia, the pipe-line has not been in use.

The British firm *Lorho* is the main shareholder of that "Portuguese" Company (P.J. 18-5-66).

The "Hydroelectric Society of the Reveue" has held its annual meeting in Lisbon. The shareholders were told that a new power-station was under construction at Chicamba

and that the contract for the supply of electrical power to Rhodesia had been renewed. (P.J. 28-5-66).

White Settlers are Wanted!

2,400 acres are being cleared in the Chimoio forests for metropolitan demobbed Portuguese soldiers who wish to settle in Mozambique as farmers (P.J. 17-6-66).

A Retrial of Nationalists

New judicial rules, inspired by the Fascists, have been promulgated in order to prepare for a retrial of Mozambican writers, artists and intellectuals, who were acquitted on March 23. One of the accused, Ebenizario Gwambe, is said to have died during interrogation by the Secret Police (*The Times*, 1-7-66).

Ten Mozambican democrats have been tried and sentenced in Lourenco Marques. An appeal to the High Court, resulted in increased sentences (P.J. 16-6-66).

TIMOR

The Japanese seek timber

The Japanese have been prospecting since June 8, in the forests of the Portuguese part of this island, with a view to setting up a joint company for the exploitation of timber in this colony (D.L. 31-5-66).

KEY TO REFERENCES

"P.J."—"Primeiro de Janeiro".

"D.L."—"Diario de Lisboa".

Two of the leading daily, censored, Portuguese newspapers.

VIETNAM and PORTUGAL

Indignation against the Vietnam war and American policies here is growing in Portugal.

The Portuguese people know what foreign support for a Fascist regime means. It is the United States support together with that of other western powers like West Germany, Britain and also NATO—which keeps Salazar in power.

Despite all their difficulties, despite the terror and oppression in Portugal, the Portuguese know that the world does not end at the Portuguese borders.

Slogans against the American policies in Vietnam are frequently found written by anonymous hands on walls in Portugal. Last January 18th, when a U.S. fleet visited Lisbon, there were student demonstrations against the Vietnam war during a concert given by an American band from the missile-launching "Springfield" at Lisbon University.

Messages of solidarity were recently sent to the North Vietnamese women and youth by Portuguese underground women and youth organizations. Telegrams of protest were also sent by the Portuguese women to President Johnson and the U.N. Secretary General.

The Vietnamese people also understand the difficulties and the struggles of the Portuguese people, despite the tremendous hardships Vietnam is enduring. Recently the Federation of North Vietnamese Trade Unions sent a telegram of solidarity to the Lisbon dockers on strike (see leading article of this issue).

LONG-TERM POLITICAL PRISONERS

ANTONIO DIAS LOURENCO, is a 51-year-old Portuguese metal worker and political leader.

Since his youth he has taken part in the Portuguese workers' struggles. In collaboration with others he organized a night school for workers in his region and was active in cultural initiatives and in workers co-operatives.

This brought him the hatred of the Fascist authorities and he was obliged to take the path of underground political struggle. In 1947 he led the great strike of 20,000 Lisbon ship-building and other workers. He was arrested by PIDE in 1948, tortured and sentenced to 6 years in jail with "security measures".

On 19th December 1954 he succeeded in escaping from the Peniche fortress by throwing himself from a height of 30 feet into the sea.

He continued to work underground successfully and lead many struggles, but was finally arrested in August 1962. He was savagely tortured over 6 months and sentenced in his absence, in February 1965—nearly 3 years later—to 11 years in jail plus "security measures". He never betrayed his companions in political struggle.

Dias Lourenco, has now spent a total of 10 years in jail. Letters of support can be sent to him at:

Cadela do Forte de Peniche
Peniche
Portugal.

AGOSTINHO SABOGA, is a 56-year-old glass worker, from the glass-making centre of Marinha Grande.

He took part in many workers' struggles and was arrested for the second time in December 1958 and badly tortured. In October 1959 he was sentenced to 5½ years in jail with "security measures". He has now spent a total of 11 years in jail.

Earlier this year, due to an internal haemorrhage, A. Saboga had to be transferred from

Peniche to the S. Joao de Dus Prison Hospital. Letters of support can be sent to him, c/o his wife:

Lucinda Saboga,
Rua Dr Diniz 58
Figueira da Foz
Portugal.

Four other long-term Peniche prisoners were recently transferred to the S. Joao de Deus Prison Hospital because of their serious state of health. They are Jose Magro, Jose Carlos, Jose Rolim and Antonio Santc

SOFIA FERREIRA and JOSE VITORIANO Must Be Freed!

The Portuguese political prisoners who have spent the longest time in all, a man and a woman, Sofia Ferreira (10 years) and Jose Vitoriano (16) await anxiously for further actions seeking their liberation.

Sofia Ferreira, a sick woman, is kept at the Caxias fortress near Lisbon. Jose Vitoriano, a trade-union leader, is kept at the Peniche fortress, 50 miles north of Lisbon, on the Atlantic coast.

They, their families, all their fellow prisoners and millions of Portuguese feel greatly encouraged with the recent release of the long-term Portuguese political prisoners. Dr. Orlando Ramos, Jose Raimundo and Joaquim Carreira.

More demands for their liberation can achieve a comparable success.

Write to the Portuguese Embassy in your country (in London 10 Belgrave Square, S.W.1) or to the Portuguese ministers of the Interior or of the Justice (Ministerio do Interior or Ministerio da Justica, Lisbon, Portugal).

ANTI-COLONIALIST SOLIDARITY

On August 3, 1959 Portuguese repressive forces in Bissau ("Portuguese" Guinea) killed 50 African dockers who were on strike and wounded over 100 other strikers. This massacre took place on the Pijiguiti quay of Bissau port.

Since then, August the 3rd has been observed by the peoples of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, and by all Africans who oppose colonialism, as Solidarity Day with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

"Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin" opposed Portuguese colonialism from its first issue. It continues today to oppose it, more strongly than ever, and demands

today, as 6 years ago, complete and immediate independence for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

It also does this in practical terms by giving full support to the struggles of the Portuguese people in Portugal against police repression, for democratic liberties, for better wages and conditions, for an Amnesty and the liberation of the political prisoners.

These struggles will pave the way for the downfall of the Salazar regime.

These struggles weaken the Portuguese colonialist regime and are a concrete help to the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, who are fighting for independence.

Victory will be theirs.

MORE FOREIGN HELP FOR SALAZAR

THE OLDEST AND THE NEW ALLIES

During a meeting held in Untali, Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of the illegal Government of Southern Rhodesia, expressed his confidence in the strength of the ties between "those countries trying to preserve the Western values in Africa" and concluded by thanking friendly countries for their help to Rhodesia in her present plight (P.J. 22.5.66).

Portugal is one of the "friendly countries" and the Smith regime certainly owes much to Portuguese help. The British Government knows this and permits it.

Mr. Wilson's denunciation of the Portuguese regime, while his Party was in opposition, was strongly worded. This stopped when he came into power and anti-British feeling in Portuguese official circles, several times openly expressed in recent years (as, for instance, in connection with Goa) has now almost completely vanished. (Ed.)

A group of South African jurists visited Portugal and inspected some of the Portuguese prisons. (D.L. 3.6.66).

A British agricultural mission visited Portugal. The mission, composed of 16 members, was headed by Mr. Charles Jarvis, president of a British agricultural development organization (P.J. 8.6.66).

DEUTSCHLAND, DEUTSCHLAND

The new German Ambassador, Dr. Herbert Muller-Rostschach, was an Attache to the Nazi Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1939. (P.J. 13.5.66).

The German Secretary of State for Agriculture visited Portugal, and inspected particularly the Alentejo Province (P.J. 7.6.66), where there are huge German investments.

It is also in the Alentejo town of Beja that the Germans have their military base, the

first and, so far, the only one they have managed to obtain outside their own boundaries. (Ed.)

THE STARS AND THE STRIPES . . .

The Portuguese Commander of the Air Zone of the Azores was decorated by the American Government for his activities in this Portuguese Archipelago (P.J. 26.5.66).

The American garrison in the Air Base of Lajes, Azores, has been recently reinforced (P.J. 7.6.66).

General Disosway, technical Commander-in-Chief of the American Air Forces in the Azores, on a recent visit to Lisbon inspected the headquarters of M.A.A.G., the American permanent military mission in Portugal (P.J. 12.6.66).

An American commercial mission from Louisiana visited Portugal, having been received by the Portuguese President of the Republic and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who explained Portuguese international policies (D.L. 2.6 & P.J. 4.6.66).

AND A FEW OTHERS

The Brazilian Minister for Naval Affairs visited Portugal. Enthusiastic speeches and manifestations were made throughout his stay (D.L. 25 to 28.6.66).

A Spanish Naval Division visited Lisbon, with a complement of approximately 1,500 men (P.J. 31.5.66).

Members of the Thailand College of Defence visited Portugal, and were received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. (D.L. & P.J. 20 to 22.5.66).

A Division of the French Navy, with a crew of over 1,000 men, visited Lisbon. Admiral Dartigues, who was in command, was decorated by the Portuguese Government (D.L. 29.6.66).

Portugal sent an ex-Governor of Mozambique as the official representative for Dr. Banda's investiture as President of Malawi (P.J. 3.7.66).

. . . BUT SOME SAY NO!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE LISBON DOCKERS

Solidarity with the Lisbon dockers who struck last June has been expressed by many trade-union organizations in other countries.

Leading amongst these were the World Federation of Trade-Unions, the International Union of Transport, Port and Fishing Workers Unions, the Czechoslovak Federation of Transport and Communication Workers, and others.

At the United Nations

The colonialist policies of the Salazar regime have again come under fire at the U.N.

In June the Congo (Brazzaville) government protested to the Security Council, against the bombing by Portuguese planes of Congolese territory on June 8th. Two Portuguese planes were shot down. Congo (Brazzaville) has borders with the Angolan territory of Cabinda.

The U.N. Committee for Decolonization (Committee of 24) meeting at Algiers in June, approved a resolution asking all United Nations members and specially the military allies of Portugal, to stop all military, economic and technical help to Portugal.

The resolution was approved by 18 votes in favour, to one against (the United States) and 3 abstentions. The British delegate decided not to attend the meeting.

On 22nd June, the U.N. Secretary-General U Thant, refused to accept a protest by the Portuguese Government concerning the oil embargo against Rhodesia.

On 3rd July, U Thant distributed a report concerning the implementation of the Security Council resolution of November 1965 demanding an end to the supply of arms and military supplies to Portugal. He also made clear that he refuses to accept an invitation by the Portuguese Government to visit the Portuguese colonies.

In a letter dated 15th July, answering a suggestion by the Portuguese Foreign Minister for talks on the Portuguese colonies U Thant reminded Mr. Nogueira that the basis for any talks is the resolution approved last November by the Security Council.

On July 27th, the Zambian delegate to the United Nations complained at unwarranted Portuguese military activity on the border between Zambia and Angola. The Zambian village of Deichipatela was bombed by the Portuguese with grenades of British and American manufacture. Angolan nationalists have recently been active in a new zone of operations in the East of Angola, which has borders with Zambia.

Sweden

The magazine "Damernas Varld" no. 22 of 1st June 1966, published an article on the Portuguese political prisoner Sofia Ferreira, signed by Cordelia Edvardson.

At the I.L.O.

At the meeting in Geneva (Switzerland) of the International Labour Organization, the African and Arab delegates demanded more energetic measures against the Portuguese colonialist policies.

Uruguay

The Union of Portuguese Women in Uruguay, staged on May 22nd and June 18th at the El Galpon Theatre, in Montevideo, a play entitled "Freedom, Where Are You?" based on the book "The Resistance in Portugal", by the Portuguese sculptor Dias Coelho, murdered by PIDE agents in Lisbon in December 1961.

The play is also a tribute to Catarina Eufemia, a peasant woman, from Alentejo (Southern Portugal), murdered by the G.N.R. on 19th May 1954.

Last June the Uruguayan papers "Epoca", "Popular" and "Revista de los Vienes" published articles on the Portuguese situation.

Kuwait

The Government of Kuwait announced on July 26th, the severance of all diplomatic and consular relations and export and import ties with Portugal. Portuguese ships and aircraft will also be banned in Kuwait.

Greece

The Athens Association of the families of Greek political prisoners and exiles sent our Bulletin a message of congratulations on the liberation of the Portuguese political prisoners Joao Raimundo, Joaquim Carreira and Dr. Orlando Ramos.

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Increased printing charges and coming increases in postal charges are making life very hard for the "Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin".

For nearly six years we have worked to expose the nature of the Salazar regime and have campaigned with success for the liberation of many Portuguese political prisoners.

The Portuguese people need our help more than ever. We wish to continue, but growing costs make it difficult.

Help us and help the Portuguese in their struggle for freedom. Send us donations and subscriptions. We need your help!

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