

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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MAKERS OF DECEIT

IN the 43 years of its existence the Portuguese fascist regime has certainly not given mankind any example worth following.

But it has undoubtedly shown itself as possessing masterly capacities to delude, confuse and mislead large sections of international public opinion.

The regime came into power through a military coup, by overthrowing democratic institutions. To keep itself in power it used and uses ruthless terror against the immense majority of the Portuguese people, who were and are totally opposed to fascism. PIDE, its secret police, arrested, tortured and murdered the opponents of the regime, and created concentration camps for them. In the 43 years of the regime nearly 100,000 people or approximately 1 in 10 of the whole population, passed, at one time or another, through the hands of PIDE or the other repressive forces.

And yet, despite all this, even after the defeat of nazism and the 2nd World War, Portugal continued to be presented in the west, as a country governed by an authoritarian but paternalistic rule; as a country whose rulers were Catholic and Christian inspired, despite the fact that thousands and thousands of simple Catholic people and even many priests have also suffered its repression.

THE TECHNIQUES OF DECEIT

The extent of the deceit is such as to lead one to feel that more than meets the eye is at stake.

Portugal is a small country, but it has good natural resources, and also controls huge African colonies, which are, indeed, extremely rich in these resources. The deceit of world

public opinion about the true nature of the Portuguese regime at home and in the colonies has only been possible because it has had the accomplished co-operation of many of the mass media in those western countries which have large stakes in Portugal and her colonies.

The techniques used by the Portuguese regime to help create abroad a completely false impression do, indeed, deserve to be analysed in detail.

These techniques stem from the reactionary ideologies which have been prevalent in Portugal since the finish of the golden age of the discoveries, at the end of the 16th century. They originated in the most backward quarters of scholastic and Jesuitic thought, which later merged with the upsurge of fascist ideology following the 1st World War. They were the expression of the economic backwardness of Portugal, of its dual role as colony of more powerful foreign interests and as a colonialist country herself.

The Portuguese corporative system was moulded on Mussolini's, and PIDE was moulded on Hitler's Gestapo. But the techniques of deceit continued to be 'Portuguese', original to Salazar and his clique.

Their abortive attempt in the the Second World War to help fascism to rule the world obliged a re-adjustment of their image in the world.

By a stroke of the pen the fascist and corporative system was boldly proclaimed to be a form of 'organic democracy'. Marshall Plan help was secured, United Nations membership was discreetly arranged, and NATO membership eagerly sought and obtained.

When the 'winds of change' started in Africa the Portuguese colonies

were, by another stroke of the pen, swiftly declared 'overseas provinces'. The Minister of the Colonies became the Overseas Minister. And that was all.

Indeed nothing had or has changed in the fascist rule in Portugal and her colonies. There are few examples in the history of mankind of more cynical manipulation of reality than has been carried on by the Portuguese fascists.

THE LATEST OF THE SERIES

The most recent example of outrageous distortion of Portuguese reality is—as everybody knows, or should know—the attempt to present Salazar's successor, Caetano, as leader of a form of 'liberal fascism' (!!). We have exposed more than enough of this fabrication.

Its latest example is the staging this October 26th of an 'election' for the 'National Assembly'. 130 'deputies' to be 'elected' by 1,816,148 voters or only 18 per cent of the total population (compared with 62 per cent in Britain) plus a few thousands in the colonies. Without any proper control of the electoral roll, with deletion from this roll of all the better-known opponents of the regime! Under censorship of the press and all means of communication, under all kinds of restriction on freedom of speech and meeting, under prohibition of all political parties except the fascist party and, above all, under the reign of terror and repression by the secret police PIDE, the Army and other armed repressive forces!

No, nobody in Portugal believes that these 'elections' will be true elections. There has not been a true and free election there for 43 years. Nobody abroad should be duped by this latest piece of deception.

The Portuguese Minister of the Interior, Rapazote, has already said in his communiqué of 28th June that only a choice of individuals will be allowed and not any confrontation or discussion of the policies of the regime versus those of the opposition.

Despite this, the opponents of the regime, who are the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people, are determined to use the 'electoral' period to expose and unmask the fascist regime, without any illusions about the final outcome of the farce.

Much can be done outside Portugal to help in this gallant struggle for exposure. The important thing is to refuse to be duped by Caetano and his followers.

FOREIGN POWERS HELP FASCISM

NATO'S BOOST

ADMIRAL J. W. O'Grady, the American head of staff of SACLANT visited Portugal to inspect the headquarters of NATO'S Comiberlant zone as well as several NATO installations in Portugal, namely deposits of ammunition and fuels. He also held talks with the Portuguese Ministers for the Armed Forces (*D.L.* 11.6.69).

WEST GERMANY PRESENT

A joint West German-Portuguese Commission visited Beja in order to study the future development of the W. German base in that region. Also present was General Helmut Biefer who heads the permanent W. German military mission in Portugal and the director of the Portuguese Political Police—PIDE. (*D.L.* 14.5.69.)

THE OLDEST SUPPORTER

On June 10th the *Financial Times* published an 8-page supplement on Portugal under Marcello Caetano.

The leading article, curiously entitled 'Signs of Movement', contains such statements as: 'Dr. Caetano, it was hoped, would bring about a rapid liberalization of a régime which for nearly 40 years had suppressed democratic liberties, individual initiative and, through a strict application of pre-Keynesian principles, stifled the economic growth and modernization of the country' . . . 'By normal European standards, Portugal still has an authoritarian régime' . . . 'To claim that any really significant steps have been taken to liberalize the country's political life would certainly be an exaggeration' . . . 'More disquieting is the continued existence of the dreaded political police—PIDE—which, under Dr. Salazar, struck terror into anyone opposed to the régime' . . . 'Dr. Caetano is hamstrung by extreme Right-wing elements in the military and land-owning establishments, who are a constant brake on the adoption of liberal policies'.

These and other passages in the article contain many elements of truth and the *Financial Times* is doing its job of keeping readers informed of conditions in a country in which British capital is so heavily tied-up.

What is specially noteworthy, however—and from the viewpoint of the Portuguese democrats quite chilling—is that this very negative assessment of the Portuguese situation seems to emerge, in the context of the whole of the *Financial Times* supplement, as the very reason why Portugal's present situation should be supported by an even heavier investment of foreign capital in the country. With virtually no exception, each objective statement of the true situation of Portugal is followed by a compensatory 'yet', 'however' or 'nevertheless'—attempting to present Caetano as a more flexible politician than his predecessor.

The image carefully built up is that of a 'conservative by nature', 'aware that economic development must necessarily go hand in hand with a certain amount of political evolution, while making no secret of his conviction that this process should be very gradual'. In other words, the likelihood of change in Portugal is so slight that no danger to foreign investment can be foreseen in the near future.

In one respect, however, in its attempt to reassure its readers, the *Financial Times* goes too far, i.e., when saying that 'the one subject on which almost everybody, except some sections of the Opposition, seems to agree is on the policy towards the Portuguese African Provinces'. Several statements by a very large majority of the Portuguese opposition have been made to the effect that the colonies should be given their independence. And since the Portuguese Opposition represents the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people the *Financial Times* statement is clearly at fault.

It is significant that from the *Financial Times* supplement on Portugal only three main points were quoted by the Portuguese press: Marcello Caetano's message to British investors; the erroneous statement that virtually all Portuguese agree with the Government's colonial policy; and the statement that Marcello Caetano's Government provides facilities to foreign capital seeking investment in the industrial sector and 'believe that Portugal offers unparalleled advantages to those wishing to make use of the EFTA market' (*P.J. & D.L.* 12.6.69).

Sir Anthony Eden (Lord Avon) recently visited Portugal as the representative of some British cattle breeders. He held conversations with Marcello Caetano (*P.J.* 29.5.69) and made a public appearance at the 'National Agricultural Fair' in Santarem, (*P.J.* 3.6.69).

Lord Avon's interest in Portugal is well-known. It will be recalled that he chose to visit Britain's Oldest Ally after his marriage in 1952, visiting at the time the British-owned Urgeirica uranium mines. Portugal was then under the unmistakably Fascist rule of Salazar and Lord Avon was Britain's Foreign Secretary. (Ed.)

A lunch in honour of the Portuguese Ambassador to England was held at the House of Commons on July 9th. This touching ceremony was presided over by Mr. Ben Ford, Labour M.P. for Bradford (North), who is also president of the notorious Anglo-Portuguese Parliamentary Group, created to foster friendly relations between British M.P.s and Portuguese Fascists. Present were numerous M.P.s; also Lord Colyton (from Tanganyika Concessions), Lord Rathcavan (from Lisbon Electric Tramways) Lord Wedgwood, Lady Emmett, etc., etc. (*P.J.* 10.7.69.)

Reginald Paget, Labour M.P. for Northampton, visited Angola and Mozambique last July. He inspected the Portuguese colonialist Army positions in Northern Angola and expressed his admiration for the repressive action of that Army against the Angolan patriots fighting for independence whom he called 'terrorists' (*P.J.* 14.7.69).

THE BRAZILIAN PLAY

Marcello Caetano's visit to Brazil (*P.J. & D.L.* 2.5.69. to 14.7.69) has been regarded as the first concrete step towards the effective creation of a Luso-Afro-Brazilian Bloc.

This old imperialistic dream of the Portuguese reaction was regarded as no more than lip-service to be paid to a common past by the previous liberal-minded Brazilian Governments, who felt that the possibilities of increased cultural and economic exchanges between the Portuguese-speaking nations would be possible only as the result of two events: the end of fascism in Portugal and the independence of the Portuguese colonies.

The present Brazilian Government, however, seems eager enough to help Portugal consolidate and increase control over the colonies. Caetano's plan, typical in its false liberal ring, would lead to an increase of administrative autonomy in the colonies (i.e. increase in the local control of the colonies by their white minorities). This, illogically enough, would be the first step towards the establishment of closer economic links with Brazil, all Portuguese-speaking territories becoming active members of a broad economic bloc.

However, since what Angola and Mozambique produce in agriculture is not very different from what Brazil produces, while the highly industrialized S. Paulo region is still far from able to serve the needs of Brazil itself, and since Portugal can hardly be described as a developed industrial country capable of providing what the others lack one cannot see the viability of such a plan. Nor is it important.

What Portugal is really trying to obtain under this wide cloak is a number of smaller advantages, like the recent solidarity vote of Brazil, in UNO, in favour of Portugal's colonial policy (D.L. 9.5.69). Or financial and/or military help.

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A Brazilian economic mission, presided over by the Finance Minister, visited Angola and Mozambique (D.L. 4.6.69).

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The Brazilian warship 'Custódio de Melo' visited Portugal (P.J. 4.6.69).

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A Portuguese military mission visited Brazil and held talks with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Navy and Air Force (P.J. 12.6.69).

* * *

The Governor of the State of São Paulo visited Portugal. His presence, as the Portuguese press emphasised, coincided with that of the Brazilian Finance Minister (P.J. 14.6.69).

A meeting was held at the Portuguese Ministry of Aeronautics between Portuguese and Brazilian Government representatives. The theme of the conversations was described as 'secret' (P.J. 28.6.69).

The Brazilian press published an article calling attention to the possibility of establishing a Luso-Brazilian sea in the Southern Atlantic, given the strategic positions

of Brazil and Angola. The same article, defending wholeheartedly the idea of a political and economic community, goes on to say that 'should Brazilian and Angolan coffee be united, the pressures of the African block in International Organizations would become meaningless' (P.J. 2.7.69).

On Marcello Caetano's return to Portugal, after his visit to Brazil, a joint communique was issued stating that the two heads of government had expressed in their discussions 'the firm intention of intensifying political, economic and cultural co-operation'. The expansion of trade and the possibility of creating free ports in Portugal and Brazil were also discussed (The Times, 1.7.69).

THE RACISTS

If the Luso-Brazilian bloc has only started to take shape, the alliance between Portugal and South Africa has been, for many years, a gruesome reality.

Last May a South African trade mission visited Angola, where an exhibition of South African products was being held (P.J. 28.5.69).

An exhibition of military equipment captured by the Portuguese troops fighting African nationalists was held in Cape Town. It was sponsored by 'The Mozambique and Angola Soldiers Comfort Fund'. This organization collected another £20,000 for gifts for the Portuguese troops (P.J. 28.5.69).

The Governor-General of Angola declared that South Africa is welcome to contribute towards Angola's 'development', both with finance and equipment. Therefore, even though the trade balance is negative, Angola should continue encouraging the import of South African products (P.J. 6.6.69).

The South African Foreign Minister has been in Lisbon on an official visit. He met the Portuguese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to 'attempt to solve some common problems and to plan how to face battles ahead' (D.L. 15.6.69).

Under the heading 'S. Africans Consulting Lisbon and London', the London Times recently gave unusual prominence to the South African Foreign Minister's visit to Lisbon. According to this newspaper, one of the topics under discussion is likely to have been a South African-Portuguese joint view on the Rhodesian referendum. Mr. Muller, the

South African Foreign Secretary, declared that his country was 'filling the power vacuum in the Indian Ocean as the result of Britain's decision to withdraw her forces east of Suez' (The Times, 11.6.69).

The South African Vice-President of the Senate, Mr. P. Malan, has been appointed to the newly-created position of Consul-General in Angola (P.J. 17.6.69).

An official note from the Portuguese Government Press Office announced the successful completion of the negotiations with South Africa on the Cabora-Bassa dam in Mozambique. (P.J. 2.7.69.)

The Rhodesian Under-Secretaries of State for Commerce, Industry and Agriculture have been in Lisbon for official talks with members of the Portuguese Government (P.J. 26.6.69).

WITH FRANCE

M. Valery Giscard d'Estaing, French Finance Minister, has visited Portugal where he held talks with Caetano and the Portuguese Foreign Minister. In an interview with the Portuguese Press, M. d'Estaing declared that he foresaw an even closer economic and political co-operation between France and Portugal (P.J. 15.5.69).

AND SPAIN

The Spanish Minister for Planning and Development has been in Portugal on an official visit. Summing up in a speech delivered at his farewell banquet, the Spanish Minister declared that a further step was to be taken soon in the technical and economic co-operation between the two countries—carried out within the framework of the Iberian Pact of 1939 (P.J. 14.6.69).

PORTUGAL AND COLONIES

The total populations of Portugal and her colonies are as follows:

Portugal	9,335,000
Mozambique (in Africa)	7,176,000 (150,000)
Angola (in Africa)	5,528,000 (350,000)
Guinea-Bissau (in Africa)	527,000
Cape Verde (in Africa)	232,000
St. Tomé and Príncipe (in Africa)	58,000
Macao (in China)	161,000
Timor (in Indonesia)	550,000
Total	23,567,000

In brackets the white colon populations of Angola and Mozambique, where their numbers are the largest.

INSIDE PORTUGAL

NO SOLUTIONS IN AGRICULTURE

ALTHOUGH 40 per cent of the working population earn their living in agriculture, foodstuffs from abroad made up 14.2% of Portugal's total import in 1965, while the production of foodstuffs only amounted to 19.9% of the country's Gross National Product. This low level of agricultural productivity is well exemplified in the case of wheat.

From 1930 onwards the Alentejo province, in the south of Portugal, was chosen for development as the main area for wheat crops in a country which is heavily dependent on cereals for its nourishment. This policy was backed by the offer of subsidies to the great landowners of Alentejo, and a fixed price was also paid by the Federação Nacional de Produtores de Trigo (National Federation of Grain Producers) for the wheat harvest. Despite this, at the turn of 1967 Alentejo was only yielding 59.9% of Portugal's total wheat production, while the productivity of the soil was only one-fifth that of other European countries, and only 41.4% of the grain needed for home consumption was being grown in Portugal (*D.L.* 5.6.69).

Neither the great landlords of Alentejo, nor the Portuguese Government which has their interests at heart, are likely to do much to alter this sorry situation. There are still big profits to be realized in these conditions because of the miserably low wages paid to agricultural workers.

MORE FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

We give below some recent investments by foreign firms in Portugal (*D.L.* 2.5.69, 9.5.69):

Farmaceutica Knoll Ltd. (Lisbon) of West Germany: £21,500—imports of pharmaceutical products.

Flexipol—Espumas Sinteticas Ltd. (Portugal), a Shell associate: £43,000—plastic foams.

Federico Bonet, SARC (Lisbon), a Spanish concern: £143,000—imports and production of pharmaceutical and chemical products. The West German firm Dortmund is building a plant for the production of nitric acid with a daily

capacity of 205 tons (*P.J.* 22.5.69).

After falling in 1967, the turnover of Geo. G. Sandeman Sons and Co., the Port and Sherry group, partially recovered last year from £7m. to £7.7m. (*The Times*, 16.6.69).

General Motors of Portugal completed its first 40,000 vehicles at its factory in Azambeija (*D.L.* 16.5.69).

THE OIL RUSH

Twenty foreign concerns are tendering for the right to search for oil on the sea bed off the Portuguese coast (*P.J.* 11.5.69).

ISRAELI SERGEANT SINGER

The militaristic madness that has seized the régime has now extended to pop music. Rita Zarai, the Israeli singer, who has been to Lisbon, was praised in the Portuguese press not so much for her song Casatschoka, as for the fact that she was a singer with the rank of sergeant in the Armed Forces of Israel (*P.J.* 27.5.69).

CAETANO DEFIES UNITED NATIONS

Marcello Caetano in one of his 'fireside chats' on Radio and Television has reiterated his view that, in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, Portugal will continue to fight the liberation movements in her colonies.

Meanwhile, he tries to persuade public opinion that a Portuguese withdrawal from Africa, although it would relieve the present budget, would lead to a mass emigration of white settlers into Portugal. The argument so often used by the African nationalist leaders that the whites can remain in the liberated territories, provided they accept the rule of the black majority, was completely ignored by the Portuguese premier.

As a sop to the separatist ambition of the ruling white cliques in the colonies, Dr. Caetano promises in future more administrative autonomy for the colonies.

THE 'GREAT REFORM'

On the other hand, Marcello Caetano, feeling the need to improve the old machinery of the Civil Service, promises a reform of Public Administration in the beginning of 1970.

Dr. Caetano's idea is to make

public services more efficient. And thus the social question becomes merged in the 'great plan' of a Reform (*P.J.* 19.6.69).

PRAISE FOR PIDE

In the same speech, Dr. Caetano praised once again the repressive forces, which do no more than 're-establish the law threatened by violence'.

PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATS AND FRANCO

Senhor Palma Inácio, a leader of the Portuguese clandestine League of Revolutionary Unity and Action, who escaped from Oporto gaol in June, was arrested later that month, in Madrid, by the Spanish police. According to the agreement between the two fascist dictatorships, Senhor Palma Inácio will soon be extradited.

Eduardo Cruzeiro, a Portuguese student arrested in Spain in August 1968, runs the same risk.

SALAZAR FOUNDATION

Six Portuguese banks will make a total donation of £116,000 to the newly-created Salazar Foundation (*P.J.* 16.5.69). The 'Charitable' Gulbenkian Foundation had earlier given £429,000 for the same purpose (*D.L.* 29.3.69).

ONE MILLION PEOPLE COOPED UP

The housing problem is very acute in Portugal. Over one million people in a country of 9 million have to share very small flats, because they are unable to pay rent on their own. (*D.L.* 29.4.69.)

'ELECTION' CAMPAIGN

The Government has made an early start with its campaign for the October 'election' of deputies to the 'National Assembly'. The frequent visits of Marcelo Caetano to towns throughout the country is a careful preparation of public opinion. At the same time the opponents of the Régime have been denied any opportunity to campaign similarly. In the northern town of Aveiro, the Government party, União Nacional, the only one allowed in the country, held a general meeting on May 10th, five days before the Republican Congress was held. The leader of the Aveiro branch stressed once again that old republicans would be welcome in the União Nacional, if they rejected 'progressive and socialist ideas'. (*D.L.* 10.5.69).

On May 3rd, Marcello Caetano, speaking in Oporto underlined the need to maintain and improve the structure of the fascist corporative system, repealing the idea of freely-run workers' Trade Unions (P.J. 23.5.69).

CAETANO AGAINST POLITICAL PARTIES

On May 19th, Caetano, in an interview with the *New York Times*, reaffirmed his opposition to the creation of political parties opposed to the régime, and justified the existence of the hated secret police, PIDE, in its repression of democrats. (P.J. 20.5.69).

The Democrats are acutely aware of the limitations imposed on them. In a manifesto, published by a group of monarchists of the newly-created 'Movement of Portuguese Renovation' (May, 1969), the need for 'fundamental liberties for all Portuguese' before the elections, is one of their main demands.

NO PRIESTS IN THE 'NATIONAL ASSEMBLY'

Portuguese bishops decided at a meeting at Fátima, June 21st to 22nd, that priests should no longer be deputies in 'the National Assembly'. Lay Catholics will have the duty of defending the interests of the Church in the 'Assembly'. (D.L. 27.6.69.)

CAETANO AGAINST AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE

In an interview with the Brazilian magazine *Manchette*, Caetano has stated that in his own opinion the African liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies have no right to independence, because, unlike the situation in Brazil in 1822, these movements are not led by white colonialists, but by African leaders. (P.J. 19.6.69.)

ALGARVE ATTRACTS FOREIGN MONEY

Sir Francis Chichester, who is staying at Albufeira (Algarve) at the house of Mrs. Wilson Young, wealthy shareholder of the American magazine *Life*, has revealed that he wants to buy a house in the Algarve. (D.L. 27.6.69.)

NEW HEAD FOR THE ARMY

General Câmara Pina has retired as Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Army and has been replaced by General Andrade e Silva (P.J. 20.6.69).

NEWS OF REPRESSION

From our Correspondent in Portugal

SENTENCE INCREASED
SUB-LIEUTENANT Mário da Costa was, as noticed in our July issue, sentenced on April 25th to 9 years in jail because of opposition to the fascist regime and to the colonial wars, while doing his military service. After an appeal to the Supreme Military Court this court decided on July 14th to give him an extra 3 months in jail, plus the notorious 'security measures'.

IN THE ROADS

Other police and repressive forces keep a constant watch on the streets and roads of Portugal, trying to spot and identify the opponents of the regime, under the pretence of traffic control or 'stop' operations. On June 18th, in Oporto and Evora alone, 6,935 vehicles were inspected by the P.S.P.

UNDER Caetano's 'liberal' rule the sinister and all-powerful PIDE, the secret police, continues to terrorize the Portuguese. Thousands and thousands of agents and informers keep a tight grip in every town, village, street, factory, office or school.

THE GOVERNMENT ATTACKS THE STUDENTS

On June 22nd, at a meeting of the Cabinet (presided over by Dr. Caetano), it was decided that University Students shall be allowed to defer their military service only on condition that they have good 'academic behaviour'. (P.J. 25.6.69.)

This is the way in which the Government strikes at the democratic students who have been fighting for freedom of expression.

TROOPS FOR AFRICA

More military contingents left for the Portuguese colonies on May 8th and 14th (P.J. 9 and 15.5.69).

On May 20th, 462 paratroopers finished their training period at the Tancos base (P.J. 21.5.69). At the Military Academy, the cadets held a parade on June 7th, to mark the end of their military training (P.J. 8.6.69).

MORE 'COMMANDOS' FOR AFRICA

The President of the Republic has paid frequent visits to the training

ARRESTS AND TORTURES

On June 24th PIDE proudly announced in the Portuguese press, through its mouthpiece the State Secretary of Information and Tourism(!!!) the arrest of 3 opponents of the régime.

These were Angelo Veloso, a student, arrested several times since 1951, sentenced to jail in 1957 and working in the underground resistance movement since 1959; Manuel Pedro, an insurance worker, who has already spent 5 years in jail, and who was working in the underground resistance movement since 1964 and Carlos de Matos, another student, and also a member of the clandestine resistance movement.

All three have been brutally treated by PIDE since their arrest.

Also arrested at the same time was Carlos Horta, an economist, the wife of Carlos de Matos, relatives of Pedro and still other democrats.

FREEDOM OF REPRESSION

On July 6th the P.S.P. (armed police) dispersed a public meeting, by opponents of the régime (held in preparation for the October 'elections'), in the gardens of the Fronteira palace, in S. Domingos de Benfica, Lisbon. Hundreds of people attending were detained for identification and some arrested.

camp of Naval Fusiliers at Vale do Zebro, on the Tagus left-bank (P.J. 16.5.69). On June 27th, he inaugurated at the northern town of Lamego the barracks of a special contingent of 'commandos', who are trained for the colonial wars at the 'Centre of Instruction for Special Operations' (C.I.O.E.). (D.L. 28.6.69.)

SUPPLY FOR AIR FORCE

The firm of Collins is going to supply the Portuguese Air Force with special equipment (P.J. 29.4.69).

NO CHANGE IN FOREIGN POLICY

Dr. Franco Nogueira, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, has shown marked reservations over the suggested meeting by the governments of Finland, Rumania and Hungary to discuss problems of European security. (D.L. 12.6.69).

The Minister has also tried to deny the existence of the secret military pact between Portugal and South Africa. (P.J. 13.6.69).

THE RISE OF FASCISM 1919

IN our last issue, we described briefly the vicissitudes of the Republican régime established in Portugal in 1910, and the successive attempts made by extreme conservative groups against the Republican Governments.

For 9 years, either by armed coups aimed at the restoration of the monarchy, or by overt political propaganda, which was intensified in the period of the presidentialist dictatorships in 1915 and 1917-1918, the authoritarian monarchists succeeded in rallying to their side the most reactionary elements of Portuguese society.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF FASCISM

By taking advantage of the freedom enjoyed under Republican institutions, which allowed them and other right-wing groups to be represented in Parliament and to publish their views, the monarchists campaigned legally for a change of the régime. And, as has already been seen, they tried hard to win over the officers of the Armed Forces to stage successive coups against the Republic.

The last attempt in 1919, well propped up by the military juntas, had been a very severe test for the Government. But this chain of periodic insurrections had also been good training for a final successful coup. By 1925, the dress-rehearsal was due.

The largest Republican party, the Democratic Party (Partido Democrático), was then in power. The President of the Republic was the well-known author and former Portuguese Ambassador in London, Manuel Teixeira Gomes (1860-1941).

Elected in 1923, Teixeira Gomes relinquished his post as Portuguese Ambassador in London in 1922, in the hope that as an outsider to party politics he might be able to reassert the authority of the new régime. This he saw to be threatened by inner strife and by the monarchists. Later events in 1925 gave rise to new anxieties and when he saw that his advice was not heeded by the Republicans he resigned the Presidency (10.12.1925) and left the country.

After the failure of the 1919 insurrection against the Republic, a large number of officers with royalist sympathies had been removed from the Army. But political propaganda

of the right-wing 'integralists' had been rife among the young officers, particularly the 'lieutenants', who were also deeply influenced by the example of Italian Fascism, established in 1922, and by the military dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1870-1930) in Spain since 1923.

THE ARMY AS A SAVIOUR

These officers were hostile to parliamentary democracy and claimed for the Army the role of the saviour of the country. A vague mystique sought to present the Armed Forces as incorruptible and above political interests. From March 1925 to May 1926, an economic issue provided ground for armed intervention as a result of the manipulations of a group of financiers with Army officers.

This economic question arose from the chronic deficit which had plagued Portuguese public finances since the days of constitutional monarchy (1850-1910).

The first surplus in the national budget had been attained under the administration of Dr. Afonso Costa (9.1.1913 to 9.2.1914). But the situation had deteriorated badly after this early success, due mainly to the economic crisis following World War I.

To cover up its deficit, the Government used to obtain loans from private concerns, which, in return, were granted production monopolies. One of the most profitable of these was the match and tobacco industry. But the ordinary consumer had exerted strong pressure on the Government to change a system that hit him particularly hard.

THE TOBACCO QUESTION

In 1925, the match and tobacco monopoly had expired. The Government formed by the Democratic Party, had taken office on an electoral ticket which promised the abolition of such monopolies.

To be consistent with their electoral programme, the Government, headed by Vitorino Guimarães decided to accept the termination of the contract and ruled that the match and tobacco industries would be administered in future by the State.

This caused an immediate upheaval in Parliament and the Press,

and stirred public opinion. The Democratic Party became the target of a smear campaign conducted by other republicans and by the enemies of the régime, who accused the Democrats of trying to find posts for their supporters in the administration.

THE COUP OF 1925

A first armed attempt (on March 5th, 1925), against the party in power was a clear indication of the interests that certain groups had in maintaining the old system of exploitation.

Yet far more revealing of the character of the forces at work was the revolt that broke out in Lisbon on April 18th. As the Government rejected an ultimatum of the rebels, they began to bombard the barracks where the whole cabinet had gathered to plan the suppression of the revolt. Attacked by all the other regiments of the Lisbon garrison, the rebels eventually surrendered on the morning of the 19th. They had hoped that some other officers would either remain neutral or would join them. They soon realized their own isolation and surrendered for the time being.¹

The leaders of the insurrection General Sinel de Cordes and Lieutenant Colonel Raúl Esteves and the officers who took part in the conspiracy were put on trial. And there it emerged that many involved were monarchists with constitutional and 'integralist' leanings, as well as some Republicans.

General Carmona, who later became Salazar's President of the Republic for twenty years, was found to be involved in the conspiracy.²

All these officers admitted their guilt and made long statements in which their authoritarian ideology was revealed under a cover of fervent nationalism. But at the trial the collusion between Portuguese high finance and the military did not pass unnoticed.

Far more extraordinary, however,

PORTUGUESE

932 (II) by A. Leal

was the verdict reached by the military Court. This not only pardoned the rebels, but allowed them to occupy all the posts they had held before the abortive coup.

Another important characteristic of the insurrection was that it had been directed mainly by the military, the number of civilians involved, being rather small. The population of Lisbon had remained quite indifferent throughout. Once back in their garrisons, the rebels could easily re-establish their contacts and improve their organization, whose deficiencies had been the principal cause of their failure on April 18th.

MAY 28, 1926

The unrest persisted, as was shown by the abortive revolt of commander Mendes Cabeçadas aboard a battleship on July 10th. The Democratic Party, under the pressure of the more socially minded republicans was also contemplating a plan of agrarian reform in view of the harsh conditions that prevailed in the country-side.

Thus, time was running short and the conspirators had to speed up their plans. By January 10th, 1926, a military junta had been secretly set up.³ The Democratic party was also going through a very critical period. J. Domingues dos Santos (1885-1958) had succeeded in forming a group, the Democratic Left, which intended to press on with the needed social reforms.

So when on May 27th, General Gomes da Costa (1863-1929), chosen by the rebels to lead the coup, went up to Braga, a very orthodox Catholic town in northern Portugal, it was easy for him to establish conspiratorial contacts with members of the military junta. On May 28th the secret organisation of the Army could give the 'go ahead' for the putsch that would overthrow the Government. By May 30th, the whole Army had backed the insurrection, and the then President of the Republic, Dr. Bernardino Machado bowed to the demands of

Commander Mendes Cabeçadas, a Republican, who led the revolt in Lisbon.

THE ARMY CALLS SALAZAR

As could be expected, the military did not know what to do with the power they had conquered. They disagreed on solutions of the political problem. At first they thought of covering the country with a triumvirate of officers, including General Gomes da Costa, whose march from Braga on Lisbon had much in common with the Fascist March on Rome in 1922.

His troops were stationed a few miles from Lisbon, disposed in a large perimeter which encircled the city. Eventually, the new Government, in which Dr. Salazar appeared for the first time as Minister of Finances, together with a few other professors from the University of Coimbra, was announced on June 3rd. But the muddle, which was going to continue through successive changes in the cabinet, made Salazar temporarily withdraw (30.7.1926).

He was to return later, on April 28th, 1928, with vetting powers on the expenses of all ministries to become the leader of the military and fascist dictatorship. He continued thus until September 27, 1968, when he was removed because of illness.

REPUBLICAN RISING

In the meantime many events had taken place. Gomes da Costa, the Messiah of the 'movement' of May 7th, had been exiled to the Azores on July 11th, 1926. Mendes Cabeçadas had been removed even earlier.

On February 3rd, 1927, a republican rising in Oporto, led by General Sousa Dias (1865-1934), and a revolt in Lisbon on 7th by the marines commanded by Agatão Lança, supported by armed civilians, was brutally crushed by the Government.

In the same year, one of the root causes of the fall of the Democrats, the tobacco question, was solved when the government granted the monopolist trading company CUF (Companhia União Fabril), directed by Alfredo da Silva (1871-1942), the exclusive production of cigarettes (27.3.1927).

For this purpose the TABAQUEIRA company was set up. And on September 30th, the new fascist

party, União Nacional, was founded as the only party later to be allowed to exist. Meanwhile, Salazar had started publishing a series of articles on the economic situation in Portugal in the Lisbon Catholic newspaper 'NOVIDADES'.

The authoritarian régime was consolidating its position in the face of constant democratic opposition, although the 'integralistas', who wanted an absolutist monarchy also tried to impose their own brand of fascism on the country.

When Salazar re-entered the Government as minister of Finance, he had been granted full powers to shape the 'Estado Novo' ('New State').

In the first few years of his rule, despite the efforts of the fascist leaders, the setting up of the new political machinery inevitably took time and there were for a while pockets of freedom which were gradually wiped out. Ministers would come and go, but Salazar soon showed himself as the main political figure of the régime, both as an expositor of the new political creed and as a shrewd and ruthless politician and legislator.

EARLY BRITISH SUPPORT FOR SALAZAR

Salazar's new dictatorial Government faced a severe crisis when in April 1930 there was an armed revolt against its rule in Madeira Island. At that time Lisbon welcomed two distinguished British visitors.

On April 25th, the Prince of Wales, later Edward VIII, arrived in the capital accompanied by the Duke of Kent. And in a post-prandial speech, the Prince made surprising statements, which showed unequivocally the support of the British Government for Salazar's New State.

This came at a particularly good time for the Lisbon Government, when there were already two British destroyers (the 'London' and the 'Carlew') in Madeira waters to protect the interests of British citizens in the area. The intransigence of the Government forces made the clash with the Republicans inevitable. After fierce fighting, the democrats surrendered to the Government troops on May 2nd.

Although more rebellions would be taking place in future, by 1930

Continued overleaf.

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there was no doubt that the Fascist Government had survived one of the most critical periods of its earlier experience.

THE NEW STATE AND FASCISM

Salazar's political theory had its deep roots in the reactionary ideas of the French clique of the 'Action Française' and its mentor André Maurras. Italian fascism, which had also marked his thought, had been tempered in his mind with the social predication of Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical letter 'Rerum Novarum' (1891) and subsequent Catholic teaching along the same lines by Pius XI ('Quadragesimo Anno' 1931).

But as a young man at Coimbra, Salazar had been introduced to these ideas by the indoctrination of 'Integralismo Lusitano'.

The action of the 'integralistas', who under the First Republic had even been lecturing to Naval officers, had been to spearhead the fascist creed among the Armed Forces, the middle classes and students.

In their publications they systematically abused the democracies, and attacked liberalism, trying to evolve a theory of authoritarian rule grafted on to a neo-scholastic interpretation of Saint Thomas' political thought.

Indeed, on the whole, the 'integralistas' had laid down the ideological foundations of the 'New State' and the medieval system of guilds of labour, or corporations, was to be resurrected.⁹

SALAZAR'S 'CONSTITUTION'

One of the first acts of the military dictatorship in 1926 had been to dissolve Parliament and repeal the Constitution of 1911. In 1928 Salazar endorsed all these acts and began to work on a new 'constitution.'

By 1929 he had already secured the co-operation of Dr. Marcello Caetano as one of his legal advisers. On July 30th, 1930, Salazar regulated the work of the 'União Nacional'. And on March 19th, 1933, he issued the 'Constitution of the New State', which he had soon approved by a plebiscite conducted in the style of a Nazi referendum.

The 'Constitution' established the Corporate State in Portugal. The 'President of the Republic' has been elected since 1961 by the 'National

Assembly', the Corporative Chamber and the municipal representatives and the representatives of the Government Councils. The 'National Assembly', which has legislative duties, consists of 130 deputies, who have always been chosen by the 'União Nacional'.

The 177 representatives of the economic and administrative bodies, which form the Corporative Chamber and include the presidents of the Corporations, submit laws and projects to the 'National Assembly'. This, in view of its present composition, is no more than a rubber stamp for the Government's decisions.

Until 1961, the candidate for the 'Presidency of the Republic' was elected by 'direct suffrage'. Yet when it became clear that, despite police repression and Government control of the polls, an Opposition candidate might be a threat to the régime, as was the case with Delgado in 1958, the 'Constitution' was changed.

THE CORPORATE STATE

One of the most important aspects of the 'New State's' ideology is its much vaunted 'solution' of the problem of labour relations. Claiming to have put into practice the essence of Christian thought on the social question, Salazar repudiated opposition between the workers and their employers.

His legislation was devised, he said, to set up a 'harmonious relationship' between the two, who would thenceforth 'collaborate for the common good'. By organising employers and workers in guilds and syndicates (law of 23.9.1933) and by introducing the system of collective contracts, the 'New State', according to official propaganda, had 'solved' the problems of class struggle.

And this has remained ever since a common slogan of the régime, as expressed already by Caetano in 1969.¹⁰

Naturally the preservation of this 'harmony between workers and employers' makes strikes illegal (National Statute of Labour, 23.9.1933, article 9), as had already been the case since February 15th, 1927. And 'collective contracts' aim at protecting this state of affairs by laying down regulations on the 'discipline of labour', which include penal clauses and sanctions for those who break the law (National Statute of Labour, art. 34).

It is therefore no wonder that Marcello Caetano, now the Prime Minister, and the director of two banks, three Insurance Companies and at least two industrial concerns (1967), should desire the continuation of this 'idyll'.¹¹ But the workers seem to think differently!

In spite of risking arrest, deportation and police torture, under the accusation of being Communists, workers have never ceased to strike and to fight against contracts which peg their wages despite a rising cost of living.

They know well from harsh experience what the régime means for the labouring people. Salazar has admitted the truth himself, when he said that though he could never accept any privileges for the working man, the Army was nevertheless privileged under the dictatorship.¹²

PORTUGUESE WORKERS VERSUS THE DICTATORSHIP

For this reason the workers have been impervious to the demagogy of the 'New State'. On February 7th, 1927, they went on strike at Barreiro and fought even longer than the regiments who rose against the Government. Later, when their freely-run syndicates were being dismantled by the fascists, they put up a stiff resistance, which led them to occupy their own factories and defend them by force of arms.

By 1930, at the time of the Republican rising at Madeira, the University students and the workers of Lisbon joined in massive demonstrations in the capital in support of the democrat rebels. And one year after Salazar had promulgated the National Statute of Labour, on January 18th, 1934, the country was paralysed by a General Strike, which wrenched some remarkable concessions from the employers.

WHY DID THE REPUBLIC COLLAPSE?

After this brief survey of political events, one may ask what went wrong with the First Republic to allow the rise of Portuguese fascists to power. The question bears also some relevance to the situation in other countries.

The excessive tolerance of the régime for the right-wing rebels led to its ultimate destruction.

Factionalism among the republican parties made them mini-

mize the real danger of the aggressive fascists, who turn out to be entirely responsible for the succession of coups and the atmosphere of unrest, which, once in power, they would cynically blame on the Republic itself.

The freedom allowed to the fascists was such that, as one historian of the Republic says, one wondered whether a 'revolution had in fact taken place in 1910'.¹³

The lack of really deep economic and social changes, the emphasis instead on the pseudo-problem of anti-clericalism, bred discontent among the working people, who turned in their frustration to the anarchist groups. These, despite the courage of their militants, soon proved by their fragmentary tactics, to be no match for the well-organized machinery of fascist repression.

But gradually the workers became better organised and already on May Day of 1930, there were severe clashes in Lisbon between workers and police.¹⁴

The Portuguese working people were to become the leading force of opposition against fascism in the following 39 years and to remain in that position today.

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MOZAMBIQUE

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FRELIMO STEPS UP THE WAR

Although the Portuguese Governor-General told the Legislative Council in Lourenço Marques that the situation in the North is improving, Portuguese war communiqués report a stepping up of Frelimo attacks in the Marere area (Cape Delgado), as well as along the Messalo river and in the Nyassa and Tete districts. (D.L. 17-5 to 10.6.69.)

BIG PORTUGUESE LOSS

On June 21st, a launch carrying a Portuguese military column sank in the Zambesi river, in the Mopeia area. 101 men were drowned and many vehicles lost. (D.L. 23 and 25.6.69.)

BRITISH AND W. GERMAN WEAPONS

On March 8th, at 5.00 a.m., Frelimo troops attacked the Portuguese post of Minhana (Cape Delgado). Nearly 40 Portuguese were killed and many weapons of British and West German manufacture were seized by the guerilla fighters. (Mozambique Revolution, No. 38, p.

NUCLEAR COMMANDER

General Kaulza de Arriaga, the head of the Portuguese Nuclear Energy Commission, has been appointed new military commander of Mozambique. (P.J. 23.6.69.)

Mozambique is very rich in radioactive minerals mainly in the hands of foreign interests.

S. AFRICA BENEFITS

New installations will be built soon for the production of cement by the 'Companhia de Cimentos de Moçambique' at Matola and Beira. Of the £2,410,000 to be invested in the project, 85 per cent will be spent on equipment in South Africa. (Diário Popular, 18.6.69.)

The construction of the railway link between Malawi and the Mozambican border (financed by a South African loan of £400,000, is expected to be finished by June 1970 (P.J. 30.5.69).

KEY TO REFERENCES

"P.J."—"Primeiro de Janeiro".
"D.L."—"Diário de Lisboa".
Two of the leading daily, censored, Portuguese newspapers.

THE PEOPLE'S FIGHT

(From our correspondents in Portugal)

CAETANO has not been capable of solving at all the problems of Portuguese fascism. And the major problem fascism has to face is the opposition of the great majority of the Portuguese people to its policies.

CAMPAIGN FIGHT

Despite all kinds of obstacles, irregularities and pressures from the authorities, the undaunted Portuguese anti-fascists are using all the possibilities offered by the October 'election' campaign to expose and fight the fascist regime and the pseudo-liberalism of Caetano and his followers.

Election committees of democrats and anti-fascists have sprung up openly all over Portugal. The mass of the people have clearly shown their support for these committees and their hatred of fascism. The censored press is full of news about the opposition campaign.

108 anti-fascist and democratic candidates have been put forward in the electoral districts of Portugal which choose 94 out of 98 deputies to the 'National Assembly'. The Government has already decided arbitrarily to reject 5 of those opposition candidates, because their ideas are 'contrary to the established order'.

The Portuguese Ministry of the Interior has also announced that all street meetings and demonstrations are forbidden. A 48 hours' notice of public meetings must be given to the authorities; meetings may not continue after midnight and may be stopped if considered 'subversive'. Posters must be stamped by the authorities. Loudspeakers can not be used out of doors. Radio and television can not be used by the opposition.

Nobody has any illusions about the fraud that Caetano and his followers prepare. But the Portuguese people and the anti-fascists are determined to fight to the bitter end. The mask of 'liberal' Caetano and his followers must be torn off.

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AMNESTY FOR THE PRISONERS

In Portugal, in the Peniche and Caxias fortress jails, in the PIDE prisons, dozens and dozens of political prisoners are held because they oppose fascism, because they fought for a better life and for freedom for their people.

FREEDOM FOR COLELIA AND FERNANDA

COLELIA FERNANDES, is a 39-year-old woman industrial worker. Because of her opposition to fascism she was first arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 2 years in jail, but she was only released from jail in 1954. She joined the anti-fascist struggle immediately and was arrested again on August 14th, 1962, in Figueira da Foz, near Coimbra. She was badly tortured and sentenced in February 1963 to 5 years and 1 month in jail, plus 'security measures', which can keep any prisoner indefinitely in jail, at PIDE'S discretion. She has now spent a total of 11 years in jail.

FERNANDA TOMAZ, a 39-year-old Arts graduate, was first arrested on November 11th 1949, because she dared to express her wishes towards world peace by depositing a wreath on the Lisbon monument to the Portuguese soldiers killed in the 1st World War. She joined the anti-fascist movement and was arrested in February 1961. PIDE tortured her savagely, depriving her of sleep continuously for over 3 days and nights and a few days later for 4 consecutive days and nights. She was sentenced to 8 years in jail and to 'security measures'.

Both Colelia and Fernanda are held in the Caxias jail in a precarious state of health.

FREEDOM FOR PIRES JORGE

PIRES JORGE, is a 61-year-old workers' leader. When he was 20 years old he took part in the 7th February 1927 armed revolt against the fascist government. He was arrested, after the defeat of the revolt, and deported to Angola. He was later released, rejoined the political struggle and also the Republican forces fighting Franco. He was arrested by the Francoists in 1936 and handed by them to Salazar's PIDE in 1937. He was jailed in the Angra fortress, in the Azores until 1940.

After his release he immediately re-joined the anti-fascist resistance, but was arrested again in 1942. The following year he succeeded in escaping from PIDE'S hands. Pires Jorge remained free for 18 years becoming one of the main leaders of the clandestine anti-fascist movement until his arrest on December 15th 1961. He was brutally tortured and sentenced to 10½ years in jail and 'security measures'. He never betrayed his companions in the struggle.

Pires Jorge has spent a total of 12 years in jail, and 19 years in the underground resistance. He is kept in the Peniche fortress, and is in precarious health.

FREEDOM FOR JOSE CARLOS

JOSE CARLOS, is a 47-year-old cork worker. Because he fought for the rights of his fellow-workers he was first arrested in 1957, subjected for 2 years to PIDE'S tortures and sentenced in 1959 to 7 years in jail and 'security measures'. One year later, in January 1960, he escaped from the Peniche fortress with 9 other prisoners, to re-join the struggle immediately. But in May 1963 Jose Carlos was re-arrested by PIDE and tortured for 1 year even more brutally than at the time of his first arrest. In 1964 he was sentenced to 10 years in jail and 'security measures'. He never betrayed his companions.

Kept in the Peniche fortress, he is very ill and has already had to be admitted to the Caxias prison hospital, where no proper treatment for his condition is possible. PIDE and the Caetano government refuse to free him, thus putting his life in serious danger.

MANY OTHERS TO FREE

In the deadly Peniche fortress, 50 miles north of Lisbon, on the Atlantic coast, dozens of other political prisoners suffer under a terrible regime of humiliation and terror. They include **DIAS LOURENCO, BLANQUI TEIXEIRA, OCTAVIO PATO, JOSE MAGRO, AMERICO DE SOUSA, MANUEL SERRA, GUILHERME CARVALHO, MARIO ARAUJO, ROGERIO CARVALHO, JORGE ARAUJO, DOMINGUES ABRANTES, ILIDIO ESTEVES, DINIZ**

MIRANDA, JULIO MARTINS, etc., etc.

There will never be freedom in Portugal while these men are kept in jail.

You can help to liberate them by writing to Professor Marcelo Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal, demanding from him an Amnesty for all the political prisoners and the release of the urgent cases we mentioned. Your help can be crucial!

EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES

In the 1969 Portuguese budget the ordinary expenses will amount to £218 million and extraordinary expenses to £143 million.

Forty-five per cent of the ordinary expenses (£159 million) were used for repression and the Army in 1968.

From the extraordinary expenses for 1969 a total of £91 million or 63 per cent of the total will be used in the colonial wars, in repression and in agreement with Portugal's NATO membership. Spending is as follow:

	£
To comply with international agreements ...	3,100,000
Military forces in the colonies ...	57,100,000
Extra for re-equipment of the Army and Air Force ...	14,300,000
Buying 3 escort vessels and 4 submarines (Partial payment) ...	7,400,000
Buying 6 corvettes (Partial payment) ...	1,300,000
Navy installations ...	1,700,000
NATO installations ...	1,600,000
Building of 6 escort vessels ...	400,000
West German Beja air base ...	1,300,000
Enlargement of the Air Force factory ...	1,400,000
To comply with agreement with France ...	400,000
Evora Communications Centre ...	300,000
Public Security ...	100,000

All this in a country which has the lowest standards of living and health in Europe.

THE COLONIES

PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

THE minimized losses in the colonial wars admitted by the Portuguese and reported in the War Communiqués and press from April 29th to June 28th, 1969, were as follows:

	KILLED		WOUNDED	
	Armed Forces	Militia	Armed Forces	Militia
Guinea	31	30	—	—
Angola	51	16	83	63
Mozambique	139	—	—	—
TOTAL	221	46	83	63

Numbers of wounded are given only for Angola. The sum total for 9 weeks and 4 days is 267 killed and 146 wounded.

GUINEA

MORE GUINEAN VICTORIES

The liberation war in this colony continues with remarkable success for the brave nationalists of the PAIGC.

Entrenched in their fortified camps, the Portuguese Forces are masters only of their own isolation; quite often their supplies must be parachuted to them.

For this reason, the offensive of the Guinean freedom fighters is particularly directed at these camps. A great many of them, as reported previously, have fallen into the hand of the patriots.

On February 10th, the Portuguese camp of Medjo, on the Bedanda route, was the 18th camp occupied by the Guinean forces. (*PAIGC Actualités*, No. 3—3.1969.)

The Portuguese war communiqués show quite clearly that the military initiative belongs entirely to the patriots. The Portuguese report frequent attacks on their fortified camps at Dara Tassiliman, Pachor, Piche, Caussará, Saltinho, Guidaje, Nhala, Catió, Cufar, Guileje, Nova Sintra, Cameconde, Capjabarim, Cabuca, Cabajam, Bentem and Piche, among many others. (*P.J.* 1.5 to 24.6.69.)

NAPALM ON GUINEAN PEASANTS

In their impotent rage, the Portuguese colonialists keep bombing with napalm the liberated villages, such as those of Bircama (Northern Guinea), Catungo, Darsalame, Indjassane (in the South) and Gan-Codia, Fifiol, Manhae and Corubal, in the East. (*PAIGC, Actualités*, No. 3, March, 1969.)

This is made possible by the FIAT 91 and Sabre bombers that Portugal obtains from Western countries under the NATO agreements.

W. GERMANY MISSILES

Now in the West German shipyards of 'Blohm & Voss' at Hamburg, three frigates, which will be equipped with guided missiles, are under construction for the Portuguese Government. These vessels can operate in low waters, which makes them ideal for river navigation. They can in that way be used against the Guinean patriots. (*PAIGC, Comm.* 26.4.69.)

NO DEVELOPMENT

The problems that the Caetano Government faces are quite severe. The Governor-General of Guinea, Brigadier Spinola, came to Lisbon for consultations that lasted from April 30th to May 30th, and on May 15th the Lisbon authorities admitted that there were many difficulties on the way of the economic 'development' of Guinea. (*P.J.* 15.5.69.)

THE PEOPLE'S FIGHT from p.485

THE WORKERS

The great workers' struggles which started in January and have continued have so far involved nearly 100,000 people.

In the Setúbal region there were strikes in the Moyalto and Volkswagen firms and struggles in the Fiat (motor cars) SECIL (cement), SAPEC (fertilizers), INAFA, SOFEL, IMA firms. Also in the Setúbal paper factory and others. Most of their actions ended in victory.

After May Day another wave of struggle took place on the highly industrialized Tagus South Bank.

Other industrial actions took place in the Robbialac (paints, British-owned), Tudor (batteries), Cimentos Tejo (cement) Mague (metal) and Olaio (furniture) enterprises, of the industrial zone in the Lisbon district.

The 30,000 railway workers and the 7,000 Lisbon transport workers (the latter employed by the British-owned Lisbon Electric Tramways) continued their struggle for better wages and conditions. So do the Lisbon dockers.

The Oporto metal workers have continued their fight to have the leadership they elected for their state-controlled union (Sindicato) accepted by the authorities; also active have been the Oporto municipal workers.

The Northern textile workers, who have been feeling the effects of the crisis in their industry—the largest in Portugal—are fighting against their present conditions.

THE STUDENTS

The brave Coimbra students have continued their splendid fight. After the closure of the University by the authorities on May 6th, because of their strike, there was a large meeting on May 9th, when a period of academic mourning was decided. On May 28th—the 43rd anniversary of the fascist coup d'état—there was an impressive meeting attended by 5,000 students, who asked for the cessation of the suspensions, of students, the re-admission of evicted students and professors and the boycott of the examinations.

This boycott was highly successful, as there were 96.5 per cent abstentions (with percentages running from 93.2 per cent for the letters students to 98.4 per cent for the medical students).

On June 22nd the Coimbra students Union soccer team (Associação Académica) played the final of the Portuguese Football Cup in Lisbon. Tens of thousands of students attended, with posters and slogans of protests against police repression and for their Union rights; speeches were made during the game. A number of students were arrested.

Continued overleaf.

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ANGOLA

THE WAR GOES ON

The intensity of the liberation war in this colony is no longer concealed in the Portuguese War Communiqués from April 19th to June 7th.

The Angolan patriots have been very active in all the war areas. In the Cuanza (North), the colonialist forces were frequently engaged by the Africans. In the Quiage region the Portuguese report an attack on an Angolan base.

In the Eastern area, the patriots were very active, particularly in the Moxico district. The brave guerrilla fighters have often ambushed the Portuguese troops and have frequently sabotaged the Benguela railway, particularly at the itineraries between Luso and Luena, Luena and Chicala, and Luculo-Camtongo. Other guerrillas have struck at Teixeira de Sousa. The Benguela railway was paralysed during the month of May. (P.J. 30.5.69.)

HANDSOME PROFIT

In 1968 the Benguela Railway Company, which is the property of the British-owned 'Tanganyika Concessions', had a net profit of £4,046,072. (P.J. 24.6.69.)

COLONIALISTS TROOPS AMBUSHED

The freedom-fighters have also been very active in the Luanda district, in Uíge, at Tempué, where the colonialist troops were ambushed, and also at Bié. (D.L. 2.5 to P.J. 14.6.69.)

SOLDIERS ARRESTED

On June 16th, two Portuguese soldiers were arrested by Zambian guards, because they were found armed in Zambian territory. (P.J. 21.6.69.)

NO RAIL LINK

In February, 1969, Lord Colyton, chairman of 'Tanganyika Concessions', and the Portuguese businessman Pinto Basto, were in Lusaka, seeking the support of the Zambian Government for a new railway that would link Zambia to the Benguela railway. (The Times, 27.5.69.)

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

WHEAT TO BE IMPORTED

Angola will soon have to import 11,000 tons of wheat (P.J. 12.5.69.)

PROBLEMS OF COFFEE PRODUCERS

The coffee planters of Angola are facing new problems. Angola, with an average annual production of over 205,000 tons of coffee, comes fourth in the world market.

At present there is a quarrel between the United States and Brazil over the production of instant coffee. If the U.S.A., the main buyer of Angolan coffee, accept the importation of Brazilian instant coffee, Angola exports will be seriously affected. (D.L. 29.4.1969.)

On the other hand, the drop in the price of coffee in international markets is worrying the Angolan producers, who sent a delegation to Geneva on May 15th to discuss this problem (P.J. 14.5.69). In order to cut eventual losses, the Portuguese authorities are limiting the number of coffee plantations. (P.J. 25.6.69.)

NEW INVESTMENT IN FISHERIES

A Portuguese-born businessman from Equador will be investing £725,000 in the shrimp fishing industry, which has a large market in the U.S.A. (P.J. 8.6.69.)

IRON ORE EXPORTS

Between January and February 1969, the W. German-owned Cassinga mines have exported 500,000 tons of iron ore to W. Germany, France, Great Britain and Japan. (D.L. 19.5.69.)

IRON ORE FOR JAPAN

In the next 8 years, the Cassinga mines will export 14 million tons of iron ore, worth £43.5m. to the Japanese steel industries (Yawata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.; Fuji Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.; Nippon Kohan Kabushiki Kaisha; Kawasaki Steel Corporation; Sumitomo Metal Industries Ltd.; Kobe Steel Ltd.). The contract was signed in Tokyo on May 20th. (D.L. 21.5.69.)

U.S.A. DIAMOND CONCESSION

A new area for diamond exploration covering 14,000 sq. miles has been opened in the colony. This announcement was made after the first visit to Angola of Marcelo Caetano.

On his return to Lisbon on June 21st, he signed a decree allowing

the concession to be granted to a Portuguese mineral water producer, Senhor J. A. Veiga and his American partners, Diamond Distributors of New York. These will put up 73 per cent of the capital, Senhor Veiga 13 per cent and government agencies 10 per cent.

The new company, which was granted a 60-year concession, will spend in the first 6 years at least £1,370,000.

OLD DIAMONDS DOING WELL

In 1968, the 'Companhia de Diamantes de Angola', Diamang, which has held a concession in Angola since 1920, has reached a diamond production record of 1,667,000 carats, worth about £24.5m. before cutting. (The Times 27.5.69 and D.L. 2, 21 and 22.5.69.)

MOZAMBIQUE

PORTUGUESE PROPAGANDA

The Portuguese press is trying to make capital out of the murder of the Frelimo leader, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane. The treason of Kavan-dame, which we reported in our last issue (Vol. 9, No. 2, July 19th, 1969; p. 467), is also being used by the colonialist authorities to hoodwink public opinion into the belief that the liberation movement has collapsed. (P.J. 24.6.69.)

This is absolutely untrue, as the Portuguese war communiqués demonstrate.

FRELIMO MEETING

On the other hand, the Central Committee of the Frelimo met from 11th to 21st April, to examine the new situation created by the loss of Dr. Mondlane. The outcome of this meeting was a decision to correct previous mistakes, which allowed the dishonest activities of Kavandame at Cape Delgado, and to strengthen revolutionary vigilance to prevent the infiltration into their ranks of Portuguese agents, such as Mateus Gwnjere. An intensification of the liberation war was also decided.

The Presidency of Frelimo, was taken over by a Council formed by Uria T. Simango, S. Moisés Machel and Marcelino dos Santos. Uria Simango will be the coordinator of the Council. (Frelimo Comm. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, 25.4.69, in Mozambique Revolution, No. 38, March-April 1969.)

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