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Taxes to rise in Mozambique

An all-round increase in the taxation of the African population of Mozambique is foreshadowed in that colony's 1961 budget, according to an item in the February 9 issue of the *Diario de Lisboa*.

Angola fighters' challenge

RECENT events in Angola constitute a 'popular rebellion' says a statement issued on March 23 by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The Angola liberation fighters declare:

The statement made in London by the MPLA on December 6, 1960 announcing direct action was based on an objective and clear analysis of the political situation that was developing in Angola.

Repression

In fact Portuguese colonial policy, which blindly ignored the colonial misery of Angola and denied elementary human rights to Angolans, was based on the faith that brutal repression would necessarily succeed.

It was a war policy, against which the Angolans could react only by direct action, by a popular rebellion using all means.

The Portuguese government is now compelled by the events in Angola, by the pressure of world public opinion and the public debates in the United Nations, and by the powerful economic interests of the west, to solve the problems of Angola—the existence of which had been denied in categorical terms.

Reasonable

The Portuguese government may now perhaps become aware of the justice and reasonableness of the proposals submitted to it by the MPLA as long ago as June 1960, demanding the recognition of the right of self-determination for the people of Angola and its immediate implementation by democratic means.

SALAZAR IS MEDDLING IN THE CONGO

From Our Own Correspondent

Leopoldville, March.

THE Portuguese embassy in Leopoldville is very active in securing the support of the Congolese leaders now in power in Leopoldville and Katanga. Many deputies of the Congolese National Assembly are seen fraternizing with officials of the Portuguese embassy, which they visit almost every day.

Newspaper banned

THE Brazilian newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* has been banned in Portugal. The Portuguese authorities had earlier prohibited the circulation in Portugal of two other Brazilian papers, *O Estado de Sao Paulo* and the *Diario de Noticias* (Rio de Janeiro).

A book entitled 'Criticisms of Some Expressions and Words in Current Use', by the well-known Portuguese historian Antonio Jose Saraiva, was seized by the Portuguese police two days after publication.

A Lisbon correspondent writes that it is forbidden in Portugal to refer to the name of the Portuguese writer Adolfo Casais Monteiro, now living in exile in Brazil, or to publish any of his writings.

Eleven members of the Portuguese secret police, the PIDE, have been sent to Brazil with diplomatic passports and put under the command of the Portuguese military attache.

They have been given the job of interfering in the activities of the Portuguese democrats in exile in Brazil.

This is reported in the February issue of *Portugal Democratico*.

The embassy has managed to get Portuguese supporters of Salazar's régime and of his colonial policy put in charge of the Congolese National Radio's Portuguese programme.

This is broadcast to Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa.

Not a single African from Angola participates in the preparation of these programmes, although there are many capable Angolan Africans in Leopoldville.

FRICTIONS

In the last week of January Mr. Nzeza Landic, a leader of President Kasavubu's Abako Party in the Congo, visited Angola.

He told a Press conference in Luanda that 'many frictions which may have taken place in the past between my country and Angola would disappear if the two were better acquainted with each other'.

Referring to his visits to Mocimboa, Benguela and Lobito, Mr. Landic said that what he had seen was 'an authentic miracle'. He had called on the Governor of Angola to thank him for the 'precious aid given to the Congo'.

'You have been our first friends', he added.

He disclosed that the Governor had agreed to his request to have Portuguese military planes fly foodstuffs to Leopoldville.

FOODSTUFFS

Mr. Landic bought foodstuffs worth 20 million escudos (£250,000) in Luanda with credits provided by the Portuguese government. He has now been invited to visit Portugal.

The Belgian puppet in the Katanga province, Mr. Tshombe, has constantly declared his support for Portuguese colonial policy.

African nationalists jailed

TWENTY African nationalists were tried in the Luanda military court at the end of December. They were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three years to ten-and-a-half years.

The sentences totalled 109½ years in prison and loss of political rights for 300 years.

The accused were educated people according to Portuguese

colonial standards. They were civil servants, nurses and skilled workers. One of them was director of the Luanda Evangelical School.

They denounced the court as a foreign entity with no power to judge them.

The few Portuguese lawyers who appeared for the accused Africans were themselves prosecuted.

DEMOCRATS LAUNCH NOVEMBER ELECTION FRONT

From a Lisbon Correspondent

A UNITED Front to contest next November's elections to the Portuguese National Assembly has been launched with the backing of 160 personalities led by Dr Arlindo Vicente, former presidential candidate.

Representing all sections of the anti-Salazar opposition, the United Front is now campaigning for an immediate amnesty and an end to the censorship.

The 160 sponsors have issued a statement welcoming the demand made last month by Professor Mario de Azevedo Gomes, Dr Acacio de Gouveia and Dr Eduardo de Figueiredo during their interview with the President of the Republic.

The United Front's statement declares its support for this demand that the President should immediately provide the nation with a government capable of inspiring confidence within the country, free from responsibility for the present state of affairs, and in whose programme there will be inscribed, as a first vital condition, the restitution to the Portuguese of fundamental freedoms.

The statement demands the immediate promulgation of a 'true amnesty, which will give freedom to all political prisoners and restore citizenship rights to all Portuguese who have been deprived of them on account of their opposition to the present political regime'.

It calls for the immediate ending of the censorship, 'which prevents the Portuguese people from taking full cognizance of the problems which confront the country, and prevents the study of correct solutions which can and must be put forward on the basis of regard for human rights and peace between peoples'.

The signatories declare their conviction that there should be formed 'as of now' a United Front of all Portuguese, without regard to ideological, political or religious beliefs, who agree with these immediate objectives of amnesty and an end to the censorship.

This would pave the way for active intervention on a nation-wide scale in the coming election of deputies to the National Assembly and opposition to the government list of candidates.

The signatories condemn those calls for 'national unity' emanating from government circles. These appeals serve only to bolster up the regime and deprive the overwhelming majority of Portuguese of their fundamental rights.

Such voices threaten to lead the country towards national ruin, the resort to violence and disrespect for constitutional methods.

All those who thus seek to continue to evade realities must bear their responsibility before the Portuguese people and before history, the statement adds.

To our readers

YOU have now been receiving the *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin* for three months. The Editorial Committee wishes to remind all those on our mailing list who have not yet placed a subscription that they have so far received the *Bulletin* free of charge so that they may judge its value over a period. Unfortunately however high postage and printing charges do not allow this service to continue indefinitely. Readers are therefore urged to place subscriptions as soon as possible in order that they may continue to receive the *Bulletin* without interruption.

The subscription rate for twelve issues, including postage, is: Britain and Europe, 15s.; overseas (airmail), £1. Cheques and postal orders, made out to *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, should be addressed to 374 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

Eleven warships, 1,400 men joined in the Santa Maria hunt

BUYING AMERICAN

The Portuguese air force has been authorized to buy American material to the value of £2,300,000.

From 1950 to 1959 more than 50 per cent. of the films shown in Portugal were American. In 1960, 179 out of 374 films were American. Portugal herself produced three films last year. (*Diario de Lisboa*, February 7.)

A NATO mobile cinema unit toured most of Portugal during February, reports *O Primeiro de Janeiro*.

Mr. George Ball, U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, has declared his government's intention of continuing its collaboration with the Portuguese government.

Japanese want Goa's iron ore

A delegation of Japanese industrialists has been visiting Lisbon to discuss the export of iron ore from Goa to Japan, reports *O Primeiro de Janeiro*.

Total exports in 1961 are estimated at five million tons.

The Portuguese government is going to improve the port equipment at Morgumao to expedite this trade.

The Japanese industrialists, who represented 80 per cent. of the country's steel industry, also expressed interest in the minerals of Portugal's African colonies.

BUILDING NEW BARRACKS

New barracks are being built at Tete in the Portuguese east African colony of Mozambique.

ELEVEN Portuguese warships, whose crews totalled 1,400 men, took part in the unsuccessful hunt for the *Santa Maria*, the Portuguese liner seized by Captain Henrique Galvao and his companions.

This is revealed in the Lisbon daily newspaper *Diario de Lisboa*, which also admits that many letters were received from readers protesting against its pro-Salazar attitude during the 'Santa Maria' events.

The newspaper did not publish these letters, however.

And when some of the liner's crew arrived in Lisbon, newspapermen were prevented from interviewing them, and were even threatened with arrest by the police when they tried to do so.

President's promise

The authorities did however permit visits to the ship by the population of Lisbon—in an attempt to win support for the Salazar government's campaign of slander against the rebels.

Thousands of people turned up; but the arrangements were so bad that there were confusion and accidents, and the visits had to be stopped. This was admitted in the *Diario de Lisboa* on February 2.

On February 9 R. Manzini, director of *L'Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, defended Salazar's regime against the criticism of it in other Italian newspapers.

Janio Quadros, Brazil's new President, has declared that the 'Santa Maria' rebels are guests of the Brazilian government, can consider themselves at home in Brazil and can stay there as long as they want to.

Political repression under Salazar

A. RAMOS

We came to the conclusion that the ill-treated prisoners were always, or nearly always, fearful terrorists, who resisted all attempts by the police to make them confess where they had hidden their criminal and deadly weapons. Only after being subjected to those violent methods did they decide to tell the truth. While continuing to repress such abuses, I wonder whether the life of some children and defenceless people is not more than sufficient to justify half-a-dozen timely blows at these sinister characters.¹

THESSE words of Dr. Salazar's rank the Portuguese Prime Minister and dictator as one of the first modern statesmen openly to advocate torture for political prisoners. It is noteworthy, however, that during his more than thirty years' rule practically no opponents of the régime have been found guilty of terrorism. In contrast, during the sixteen years of the Portuguese Republic, which preceded Salazar's régime, terroristic acts were repeatedly committed by people with close political affinities with Salazar.

THE REPRESSIVE FORCES

It was the army that brought the present régime to power in 1926, through a *coup d'Etat*. And the army, which possesses modern weapons of American, British and German origin (jet planes, tanks, artillery, etc.) is today still its main support. During the Spanish civil war many Portuguese army officers fought as 'volunteers' with the Franco forces. During the second world war a military mission accompanied the German troops on the eastern front. Many instances like these have created an *élite* spirit among the officers, separating them from the rest of the people. Political control over high-ranking posts is secured by means of the promotion of generals by decision of the Council of Ministers, presided over by Salazar. Nevertheless there is widespread discontent among junior officers and NCOs.

For the daily maintenance of 'order in the streets and countryside' the government relies on two main forces: the *Policia de Seguranca Publica* (PSP) and the *Guarda Nacional Republicana* (GNR). The first is mainly a repressive force used in urban areas for day-to-day police action and for preliminary clashes with political demonstrators. The PSP is not only armed with truncheons, but also with machine-guns, grenades and armoured cars. It is commanded by army officers.

The GNR has been transformed into one of the pillars of the régime. It is an entirely military organization, but is attached to the Ministry of the Interior, as is the PSP. According to the latest reorganization² it is composed of at least 6,000 men, heavily armed, and includes motorized, armoured and mounted units. It carries out police action mainly in rural areas. When there are political demonstrations it is called out to help and collaborate with the PSP. In Barreiro, near Lisbon, the most important industrial centre of Portugal, a detachment of the GNR is permanently stationed in the premises of the biggest Portuguese industrial enterprise, the *Companhia Uniao Fabril* (CUF) which em-

ployes nearly 10,000 workers. Mounted units are notorious for the ruthlessness of their action against political demonstrators. In the countryside all demands for better living conditions from the hungry peasants are dealt with by the GNR. In 1954 they shot dead two peasant leaders, Alfredo Lima of Alpiarca (Ribatejo) and Catarina Eufemia, a pregnant woman of Baleizao (Alentejo).

Direct political repression is the task of the secret police, the *Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* (PIDE). Its headquarters are in Lisbon, and it has branches in the main towns of Portugal and the colonies. The existence of a widespread network of PIDE informers is common knowledge in Portugal; all communities have in their midst one or more informers. The director of PIDE has always been an army officer (at present it is Lieutenant-Colonel Homero de Matos); one of the earlier directors, Captain Agostinho Lourenco, was president of Interpol. A school (*Escola de Policia da PIDE*) for training the PIDE by scientific methods exists in Cruz da Pedra, Lisbon.

In its repressive political action the PIDE asks for and receives co-operation from the PSP, the GNR, the Customs officers (the *Guarda Fiscal*, who, incidentally, are also armed) and the criminal investigation police, the *Policia Judiciaria*.

THE MECHANISM OF REPRESSION

Civil servants or military personnel who have shown or show a spirit of opposition to the fundamental principles of the Political Constitution, or who do not give guarantees of co-operation with the achievement of the higher aims of the State will be pensioned off or asked to retire if entitled to a pension, or dismissed if they fail to qualify for one.³

The only body authorized to give information that will make this law applicable is the PIDE. This has meant that anyone in opposition to the Salazar administration can be dismissed without leave to appeal. This law also applies to anyone who intends to follow a career within a State organization. Every such applicant is obliged by law to sign a written undertaking renouncing any 'subversive' action against the régime, and must wait, sometimes for months, until the PIDE decide whether he is politically reliable or not.

Anyone accused of belonging to any party except the fascist *Uniao Nacional* can be charged with 'conspiracy' against the régime and sentenced to between two and eight years' imprisonment; anyone accused of being a political leader can be sentenced to between four and twelve years'. Anyone accused of spreading 'false or tendentious' political news can be sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. Strikes are punishable with sentences of up to eight years. Comments considered injurious to the President of the Republic or to Salazar render one liable to imprisonment for up to two years. All such sentences are generally accompanied by loss of political rights for as long as twenty years, which means the victim is prevented from earning his living in any official

position or even in any profession requiring a diploma.

These are considered to be 'crimes' despite the fact that the Constitution that is in force pays lip service to all the democratic rights.⁴ In fact it is the opposition against Salazar which insistently demands that the government respect a Constitution imposed by the régime itself in 1933, but rather too mild today for Salazar's needs in face of the Portuguese people's demands for their rights.⁵

HOW THE P I D E OPERATES

Proceedings against political prisoners are stage-managed by the secret police, who can keep them in jail for six months,⁶ during which time there is no possibility of habeas corpus or the intervention of a magistrate; no contact with a lawyer is allowed—even during the questioning.

Records of political prisoners being tortured and murdered are quite frequent.⁷ Maitre Supervielle, advocate at the Paris Court of Appeal, describes the 'statue,' one of the less harsh methods of torture:

The accused has to stand until he answers the questions put to him. This goes on for days and nights without a break . . . Diniz F. Miranda, 27-year-old peasant from the Alentejo, was badly tortured, with fractured nose and jaw, twisting of sex organs, etc. The youngest of the accused, J. Seabra, 17 years old, whom we saw in a lawyer's home in the presence of a doctor, showed us the marks of floggings on his back, after five days and five nights of the 'statue'.⁷

Francisco Miguel Duarte, aged 52, who has already spent twenty years in political prisons, and was re-arrested by the PIDE in July of last year, has declared:

I was arrested for the first time on January 10, 1938. Taken to police headquarters by Jose Goncalves and another agent, who had arrested me, I was brutally beaten for a whole night by [five] agents . . . The instruments used for the beatings were: a horsewhip, a two-foot-long wooden club, 2½ in. in diameter and two planks. . . I was kept in solitary confinement for seven months. . . After that I was kept in Tarrafal concentration camp for five-and-a-half years, although my sentence was twenty-four months' imprisonment. . . Arrested again in June 1947, I was beaten up on the spot and then subjected to thirty days of the 'statue' in three periods.

Julio Fogaca, aged 54, who has already spent more than ten years in prison and has again been in the hands of the PIDE since last August, has declared:

I was arrested for the first time on November 11, 1953. I was brutally beaten by twelve PIDE agents in their headquarters, under the direction of [two] inspectors, acting under instructions from their superior officer . . . Horsewhips and clubs were used for these beatings.

Jose Martins da Cruz Diniz, a Catholic priest detained on June 29, 1938, wrote to Father Abel Varzim, a deputy to the National Assembly, that he was

barbarously beaten and kicked, leaving [his] face swollen and [his] body covered with bruises. . . Every night the victims left the house bleeding and half dead. . . I saw Sergeant Pereira, from Coimbra, unconscious and bleeding. Even so a group of policemen went on beating the poor man with rubber and wire truncheons.

On October 23, 1957, F. Abranches Ferrao, a Lisbon lawyer, referred to the ill-treatment of twenty-

six prisoners in a document he sent to Judge Antonio Tome.

Women are not spared either. Albertina Diogo, arrested in November 1960, was badly beaten and subjected to five days of the 'statue'. Cesaltina Feliciano, Elvira Nunes Garcia and Elisa Pinto, all arrested last December, were also beaten and subjected to three days of the 'statue'. The physician Dr. Maria Luisa Costa Dias, a Catholic, arrested in 1958, is seriously ill; she underwent a surgical operation in October 1960 under the poorest of hospital conditions and under constant police guard; she was taken back to prison a very sick woman. Her only crime was loyalty to her husband, the political leader Pedro Soares.

Among the many political prisoners who have been murdered by the PIDE are: the metal-worker Alfredo Diniz, murdered on July 4, 1945 on a road near Lisbon by a PIDE agent (whose name is known); Dr Ferreira Soares, from near Espinho, was shot in his surgery on July 4, 1942, by two PIDE agents (whose names are known) who fired a round of fourteen machine-gun bullets at him; Germano Vidigal, trade union leader tortured to death on June 6, 1945, by two PIDE agents (whose names are known); Militao Ribeiro, working-class leader, tortured to death on January 24, 1950; Joaquim Lemos de Oliveira from Fafe, tortured to death on January 15, 1957; Manuel da Silva Junior, a worker from Viana do Castelo, tortured to death in February 1957. There are many others.

Reprisals are directed against the families of the prisoners. In 1948 Manuel J. da Costa, father of the political prisoner Carlos Costa, was arrested by a PIDE squad-leader and his son was told 'that his father would not be released until he decided to talk'; later the father was dismissed from his post as an elementary school teacher and his private school was closed down. An aunt of Carlos Costa was arrested too; two of his brothers and two of his cousins were dismissed or disqualified from civil service posts.

Some of the prisoners are kept in prison for years without trial. A delay of one or two years is quite usual. Rolando Verdial, for example, spent six years in prison without trial (1954-60) and Maria Angela Vidal four years (1953-57).

THE COURTS AND THE TRIALS

In 1945, a year of intensified activity by democrats, a decree-law⁹ abolished the special military courts that had been hearing political trials and created two plenary courts—in Lisbon and Oporto—for that purpose. This decree-law made it impossible to appeal against any except the final decisions of this court. The appeals are judged by a special section of the Supreme Court of Justice, whose judges are nominated and directly chosen by Salazar's Minister of Justice.¹⁰ Trials of persons accused of military rebellion still take place before the military courts.

Whenever there are important political trials the neighbourhood of the courts is guarded by heavily armed GNR men; and the courtrooms are packed with plain-clothes PIDE men, who try to intimidate and provoke any of the public who manage to get seats.

The accused are not allowed to make the statements they wish and can be sent to prison if they insist on doing so. The defence lawyers cannot directly question the prosecution witnesses; their

	<i>Lisbon plenary court</i>	<i>Oporto plenary court</i>	<i>Santa Clara military court</i>	<i>Angola military court</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total no. accused.....	169	57	23	7	256
No. sentenced	152	27	15	7	201
No. acquitted	17	30	8	0	55
Major sentences (in years and months)	221y. 4m.	21y. 7m.	—	14y.	256y. 10m.
Correctional sentences ...	84y. 8m.	15y. 10m.	13y. 4m.	3m.	114y. 2m.
Total prison sentences .	306y.	37y. 5m.	13y. 4m.	14y. 3m.	371y.
Security measures	252y.	24y.	—	18y.	294y.
Suspended sentences	21y.	1y.	3y.	—	25y.
Total prison sentences and security measures	558y.	61y. 5m.	13y. 4m.	32y. 3m.	665y.

statements can be limited by the president of the court to the maximum time of one hour.

In 1957 the Lisbon plenary court tried four political prisoners—Dr Humberto Lopes, Francisco Miguel (in jail since 1947), Vasco Cabral, an African, and Jose Vitoriano, a trade union leader. The accused were charged with trying to overthrow the régime by force—while they were in jail. The object of this farce was to prevent the release of some of the accused who had already served their sentences. All were sentenced again to long periods of imprisonment. One of the defence lawyers, Dr Manuel Palma Carlos, who had protested against the procedure at the trials, was immediately tried by the same court, between midnight and four a.m., and was sentenced to seven months' imprisonment and barred from exercising his profession for one year. One of the accused, Dr Humberto Lopes, was beaten on the spot by GNR guards; his wife, who protested against this, was also immediately tried and was sentenced to three days' imprisonment.

Defence witnesses have also been sent to prison when they tried to speak for the accused. Such was the case of Maria Isabel Aboim Ingles and Professor Ruy Luis Gomes, both university teachers dismissed by Salazar, who were sentenced to three days' jail as common criminals. The painter Nikias Skapinakis, another defence witness, was also arrested when he was leaving the court.

SECURITY MEASURES

In 1949, a year of bitter political struggle by the anti-Salazar forces, the government promulgated security measures which could automatically prolong the sentences of political prisoners.¹¹ The PIDE is responsible for the application of security measures; its functions were extended in 1956 in such a way that a person accused by PIDE of voluntarily or involuntarily engaging in subversive activities can be subjected to security measure and jailed, whether or not he was previously sentenced by a court.¹² These security measures of six months to three years, which can be prolonged by successive periods of three years, can at the dictate of the PIDE transform any sentence to one of life imprisonment. This is, of course, contrary to the generally accepted legal principle that no one should be punished twice for the same offence.

Many political prisoners are now in jail whose sentences have expired and who are subjected to security measures. Among them are Manuel Rodrigues da Silva, who has already spent more than twenty years in prison; and Manuel Guedes, who has been in jail for over thirteen years.

SOME STATISTICS

In 1959 the PIDE initiated 1,557 judicial proceedings.¹³ In that year the ordinary courts sentenced 3,811 people for crimes against religion, State security and public order.¹⁴ The table above gives the figures for strictly political trials from October 1959 to July 1960 (y. signifies years, m. months).¹⁵

THE PRISONS

Many political prisoners have died in the terrible concentration camp of Tarrafal in the Cape Verde islands off the coast of Africa. Among them are :

Abilio Belchior	Jose Ribeiro
Albino Coelho	Jacinto Vilaca
Alfredo Caldeira	Jaime Souza
Antonio Branco	Joaquim Montes
Alves Borges	Manuel da Costa
Bento Goncalves	Martins Pereira
Casimiro Ferreira	Nascimento Gomes
Edmundo Goncalves	Simoes Januario
Fernando Alcobia	Sousa Guerra
Francisco Esteves	Manuel Reis
Francisco Pereira	Mario Castelhana
Francisco Quintas	Paulo Dias
Guedes da Silva	Pedro Filipe
Henrique Domingues	Rafael Tobias

Today conditions in the Aljube (Lisbon), Caxias and Peniche jails are very bad. Letters are censored; visits and gifts are only allowed from near relatives; a relative who was at any time arrested is not allowed to visit the prisoner. Any remark about the conditions in jail, made even to the defending lawyer, is punishable. Food is generally bad. There is constant persecution and punishment—disciplinary cells without mattresses, bread and water diet, food parcels prohibited. In Caxias visits by the family together at Easter, Christmas and the New Year were forbidden last year. Beatings are frequent. At Caxias visiting families were beaten by the GNR last

Christmas. The mother of the political prisoner Rolando Verdial died recently, after being subjected to many humiliations during visits to her son.¹⁶

THE FIGHT AGAINST REPRESSION

A widespread campaign for an amnesty continues in Portugal and abroad. Thousands of signatures have been collected. The Salazar government recently announced a pseudo-amnesty, but no political prisoner was set free.¹⁷ Two South American conferences for an amnesty for Spanish and Portuguese political prisoners (the second was held in Montevideo, Uruguay, last January¹⁸) rallied the support of leading South American personalities. A similar European conference was due to take place in Paris in March 1961.

Political prisoners themselves have been obliged at times to adopt more active forms of resistance. On January 3, 1960, eleven prisoners, among them the well-known political leaders Alvaro Cunhal, Francisco Miguel and Jaime Serras, escaped from Salazar's heavily-guarded prison, the fortress of Peniche. This audacious feat, in which one of the guards joined forces with the prisoners, was made possible by the political organizations fighting Salazar and by the popular support that enabled the prisoners to escape the police and troops that hunted them.

These facts show the true nature of what was once called a 'benevolent dictatorship'. World public opinion should repudiate this survival of a sombre era.

¹ Antonio Ferro, *Salazar, o Homem e a Sua Obra* (Lisbon, 1933).

² Decree-Law, no. 33,905 (Sept. 2, 1944).

³ Decree-Law no. 25,317 (May 13, 1935), art. 1.

⁴ Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, first promulgated in 1933, articles 4, 5, 8, 12, 22, 24, 29, 42, 45.

⁵ Cf. declarations and speeches by the opposition Presidential candidates General Norton de Matos (1949), Admiral Quintao Meireles and Professor Ruy Luis Gomes (1951), Dr Arlindo Vicente and General Humberto Delgado (1958), as reported in the Portuguese newspapers.

⁶ Decree-Law no. 35,042 (Oct. 20, 1945).

⁷ See *Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists* (The Hague), no. 7, Oct. 1957.

⁸ *Bulletin of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers* (Brussels), no. 31, 1957.

⁹ Decree-Law no. 35,044 (Oct. 20, 1945).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* article 16.

¹¹ Decree-Law no. 37,447 (June 13, 1949).

¹² Decree-Law no. 40,550 (Mar. 12, 1956).

¹³ *Anuario Estatístico, 1959* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1960), p. 121.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 138.

¹⁵ Source: Portuguese daily newspapers. Some of the prison sentences were of six or more years. Some of those acquitted had been in prison for over a year.

¹⁶ Some of the facts given in this article were taken from theses presented at the First South American Conference for an Amnesty for Spanish and Portuguese Political Prisoners and Exiles by Jurator, Armando Aragao, Manuel Sertorio and Vitor Ramos.

¹⁷ The relevant decree-law was published in the *Diário do Governo*, Nov. 12, 1960.

¹⁸ See *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, vol. i, no. 2, pp. 9-10, March 1961.

Forced labour in the Portuguese colonies

JOAO CABRAL

IN 1928 the forced labour system in the Portuguese colonies came under strong international criticism. To silence this criticism the Portuguese government enacted the Native Labour Code of December 6, 1928. This stated that 'forced labour for private purposes shall be absolutely prohibited, and persons imposing it on others shall be punished' (art. 294).¹ Similar general principles were reiterated in the Colonial Act of 1930 and in the Portuguese Constitution of 1933.

These principles were convincingly elaborated in the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire of April 19, 1947.² 'The State guarantees', affirmed the Charter, 'the protection and defence of the natives of the colonies in accordance with the principles of humanity . . . and the colonial authorities shall punish all abuses against the person and property of natives' (art. 231). The Charter continued:

It shall be the duty of all colonial administrative authorities to secure for the natives full exercise of their rights, respect for their person and property, and full enjoyment of all exemptions and advantages con-

ferred upon them, protecting them against any forms of extortion, violence or vexation from which they may suffer (art. 232). All authorities and colonists shall have an obligation to protect the natives (art. 233). The State will not impose or permit the imposition upon the natives in its colonies of any form of forced or compulsory labour for private purposes (art. 240).

Nevertheless the provisions of the Native Labour Code, which legalize forced labour, continue in force. In fact, article 3 of the Code says:

The government of the Republic shall neither impose upon the natives of its colonies nor allow others to exact from them any kind of compulsory or forced labour for private purposes, without prejudice to the discharge by the said natives of the normal obligation incumbent upon them to procure the means of subsistence by labour and thereby to promote the general interests of mankind.

The same article re-states the general principle, ensuring the natives 'full liberty to choose the work which suits them best',

provided that the government shall reserve to itself

the right to encourage them to work on their own account to a reasonable extent in order to improve their means of subsistence and conditions of life, and to exercise benevolent supervision and tutelage in respect of their work under contracts of employment.

The authorities can 'encourage' Africans to take work by 'mere advice and other benevolent persuasive methods' (art. 329). They are 'bound to facilitate the operations of all persons wishing to recruit workers' (art. 36). They may 'advise tribal chiefs and natives, either in the presence of the recruiting agents or otherwise, to obtain employment' and punish the people who spread 'rumours and propaganda which in any way instil in the minds of the natives false statements tending to prejudice the honest work of the recruiting agents and employers'. And they must give 'in any emergency all moral and material assistance' (art. 37). It is absolutely prohibited for the authorities to travel with the recruiting agents, but that does not apply to 'cases in which the authorities or their subordinates travel by chance in the company of recruiting agents' (art. 38). For public works 'coercive measures' may be used to recruit natives (art. 299).

The *ad hoc* Committee on Forced Labour set up by the United Nations in 1951 examined these Portuguese laws and concluded:

(a) that forced or compulsory labour is prohibited in principle by Portuguese legislation, but that there are certain restrictions and exceptions in this legislation which permit the exaction of forced or compulsory labour;

(b) that the provisions protecting indigenous workers against unfair methods of recruitment do not, however, exclude a certain amount of compulsion, and it is possible that in practice certain pressure is brought to bear upon workers by responsible officials to induce them to conclude contracts of employment offered by recruiting agents.³

Government circulars are quite specific. In 1942 the governor general of Mozambique issued circular 818/D-7, which said: 'The supply of labour in Africa cannot continue to depend upon the whim of the Negro, who is by temperament and natural circumstances inclined to expend only that minimum of effort which corresponds to his minimum necessities'.⁴ The governor general's other circular, 566/D-7 (May 5, 1947), gives an indication of how the recruitment is carried out in practice. 'The recruiters', it says, 'because of a deficient understanding of their duties . . . have limited themselves to appearing at the administrative centres of the districts where they have contracted workers, idle or not, who have been ordered to appear there by the administrative authorities'. This is a clear admission of the system of forced labour that prevails in the Portuguese African colonies: recruiting agents or employers apply for labourers to the authorities, who in turn order the tribal chiefs to gather the required number of labourers.

John Gunther describes how the system works:

An up-country planter informs the government that he will be needing so many men, and these are provided for him by the local chefe do posto, or district officer. Native recruiters go out into the villages and collect the necessary number of men, who are then turned over to the planter. But the planter, to be sure of getting all the recruits he needs, usually has to pay off the chefe do posto, if this latter gentleman happens to be corrupt. The normal 'pay-off' is ten times the contract labourer's wages for six months.⁵

Captain Henrique Galvao, as Chief Inspector of the Colonial Administration and a member of the Portuguese National Assembly, reported on January 1947:

The position [of compulsory labour] is worse in Angola than in Mozambique because, in the former colony, the government has become quite deliberately the main recruiter and distributor of native labour to a point where settlers call on the Department of Native Affairs with written demands for 'supply of labour' which they hand in without embarrassment. This term 'supply' is used in the same way as if one were buying goods. In Mozambique the same practice is followed. . . . With the continuation and abuse of this practice, settlers have got used to the idea that the government has an obligation to supply them with labour. In the government there prevails, so to speak, a tacit acknowledgment of this obligation since the government indeed 'supplies', and practices in the process of 'supplying', acts of violence which have led to the imprisonment of a recruiter and to other abuses which in no way conform to the precepts of the law.⁶

This habit, the report continues, is condemned by law, but recommended in circular and other official orders of a confidential nature. Professor James Duffy and other writers have described in similar terms the system of forced labour in force under Portuguese administration.⁷

WHO IS RECRUITED?

According to the Native Labour Code, all males between the ages of fourteen and sixty who are not sick or disabled, or who do not fall within a certain category, may be recruited to forced labour for 'public purposes' (art. 301). But circular 566/D-7 (May 5, 1947) of the governor general of Mozambique narrows these limits: only males between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five can be recruited. This discrepancy between the law and the circular is of little significance for people with no records of their age. And in fact any African who appears to be strong enough for work is recruited.

Work on roads, railways, ports, sanitation brigades and docks is for 'public purposes'. But it is almost irrelevant whether the work is for 'public' or private purposes: natives who offer any resistance to work for private purposes can always be recruited for public purposes. 'Natives who fail to look for employment', said a British official report, 'can be made to labour on public works under strict control and conditions established by statute and regulations, and this is the main sanction by which the authorities exercise their paternal discipline'.⁸

Women may also be compelled to work provided the work is inside 'the area where they reside', says article 301 of the Native Labour Code. They can be seen working on roads. Children too are recruited. After visiting Angola in 1955, Basil Davidson wrote:

Since many men are absent on forced labour elsewhere the local chief or headman in whose hands responsibility for the road is left will frequently call up women and quite small children. That is why one sees women with babies on their backs, and pregnant women, and quite small girls, scraping at roads with primitive hoes and carrying cupfuls of earth in little bark containers on their heads, while their headman or his 'responsible' sits nearby, moodily hugging his knees. Quite small boys are rarely seen, because they are generally reckoned as 'contractable' labour outside their tribal areas.⁹

According to a special correspondent of *The Times*: 'When male labourers are scarce, women and children

...nes compelled to take their place, although officially exempt from forced labour. Your correspondent, travelling about the country, twice saw gangs of small children and once a gang of young women engaged on heavy road work'.¹⁰ As Captain Galvao put it in his report, 'only the dead are really exempt from compulsory labour'.¹¹

The scarcity of labour is such that the authorities can hardly permit the supply of labour to 'depend upon the whim of the Negro', as the governor general of Mozambique wrote.¹² In any case, under a legal system that gives such wide discretionary powers to the authorities and deprives the native of any legal remedy against injustice which may be inflicted upon him, who is there to implement the high purposes of humanity embodied in the general principles of the law? That the Portuguese government continues to maintain forced labour despite the constant and embarrassing international criticism against it shows that this is the exploitation of forced labour for the economy both of the colonies and of Portugal. And in a matter of such importance what counts to a fascist government is its economic and political needs. The law counts for nothing.

A note on Diamang

DIAMANG (*Companhia de Diamantes de Angola*) is the name of the company which mines diamonds in Angola. It is the Portuguese branch of the powerful Diamond Corporation Ltd, which was founded by the late Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, and which has tentacles in South Africa, the Congo and other parts of Africa where diamond mines are to be found.

Some details of the profits made by Diamang's Portuguese administrators are given in *Coisas do Tempo Presente* (1957) by Cunha Leal, a former Minister, himself one of the directors.

In 1958 Diamang made a net profit of 75,454,337 *escudos* (£2,193,179). The chairman of the board of directors received in salary and profits 2,105,090 *escudos* (£26,313)—three-and-a-half times the salary of the President of Portugal. Five directors with special functions each received 836,000 *escudos* (£10,450). Ten directors with no special function—'sleeping directors', so to say—each received 127,533 *escudos* (£1,594).

The average wage of an Angolan worker is £53 15s. a year.

A subsidiary of Diamang, the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Lapidacao de Diamantes*, was formed in January 1958 for the cutting of Angolan diamonds in Lisbon instead of in London or Amsterdam. Sir Ernest Oppenheimer's heir is a member of the board of directors; the Diamond Corporation Ltd, as an individual entity, holds shares worth 20,000 *contos* (£250,000) and is one of the five biggest shareholders, Diamang itself holding only 4,600 *contos* (£57,500) more.

- 1 International Labour Organization, *Legislation* 1928, Por. 3.
- 2 ILO, *Legislative Series*, 1947, Por. 2.
- 3 *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour* (Geneva: ILO, 1953), p. 64.
- 4 Marvin Harris, *Portugal's African 'Wards'* (New York, 1958), p. 22.
- 5 John Gunther, *Inside Africa* (1955), p. 574.
- 6 *Observer*, January 29, 1961.
- 7 James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1959), p. 323; Alexander Campbell, *The Heart of Africa* (1954), p. 376.
- 8 Overseas Economic Surveys, *Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique)* (HMSO, 1952), p. 43.
- 9 Basil Davidson, *The African Awakening* (1956), p. 209.
- 10 *The Times*, June 21, 1960.
- 11 *Observer*, January 29, 1961.
- 12 Harris, *op. cit.* p. 22.

According to *A Voz de Angola* Diamang in 1958 employed 510 white personnel, of whom 99.5 per cent. were Portuguese; 23,549 workers were 'natives'. Of the latter, 8,086 were 'contracted' workers (i.e., forced labourers). The number of 'assimilated' Africans employed was 118.¹

Diamang, set up with Portuguese, British, Belgian and American capital, was granted a concession in 1921 to prospect for and extract diamonds in an area of over one million square kilometres, or five-sixths of the total area of Angola. The government holds a five per cent. share in the company's capital, and it has been estimated that up to the end of 1954 the Angolan government had received from Diamang more than £12 million in dividends, shares in profits, bonuses, loans and credits. In exchange, the company has a complete monopoly in diamond mining and prospecting, and is exempt from all taxes and fiscal charges on the machinery and materials it needs for its work. Moreover it is laid down that only industrial concerns operating in the district of Lunda—the chief diamond region—are allowed to recruit labour there. This means that in this region Diamang has a monopoly in the use of forced labour.²

1 *A Voz de Angola* (Luanda), No. 196, July 1958.

2 Cf. F. Clement C. Egerton, *Angola in Perspective: Endeavour and Achievement in Portuguese West Africa* (1957).