

# PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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## FORGING AHEAD!

**T**HE struggle of the Portuguese people against Fascism and for a better life has achieved considerable successes this year. These successes have been won in three main fronts of the struggle.

### THE WORKING PEOPLE

Since January 1969 over 70,000 Portuguese workers have been involved in strikes, wage claims and an all-over fight for better conditions and against the rising cost of living.

Within the Portuguese Corporative State, with its repressive legislation against strikes (which are forbidden) and trade-union rights (there are only state-controlled unions), 'collaboration' between employers and employees is advocated as an ideal solution for the problems of modern societies. Class 'collaboration' instead of class struggle and increased productivity through this 'collaboration', would bring a better life and more profits for everybody, say the defenders of the Fascist régime. And in case the workers do not comply, there are always the sinister PIDE and the other repressive forces.

For this reason the working people's struggles in Portugal immediately acquire a deep political meaning, and constitute a considerable threat to the régime. That they refuse to accept the low wages and the huge profits of the employers proves that 43 years of Fascism have been impotent to break the Portuguese people's minds, their love of justice and of their rights, their fighting spirit, their deep trust in a better and happier life for them and for all the rest of mankind.

And the Fascists and other remnants of the past, in Portugal, as anywhere in the world, know, or should know, that they can only

delay this march to a better and happier life, but that they can never, never, stop or reverse it.

Portuguese industrial workers, employees, fishermen and agricultural workers—as reported in this issue—have lately given a magnificent display of their courage, their fighting spirit, their determination to forge ahead for victory.

### UNITED AGAINST FASCISM

On the purely political front important successes have also been won.

The second Republican congress, which took place in Aveiro, from May 15th to 17th brought together 1,200 anti-fascists of all shades of opinion, from Communists to Catholics. They attended in their individual capacity—as no political parties are allowed in Portugal except the fascist Uniao Nacional—but they were united in a platform of fight against the common enemy, the fascist Government.

Committees of anti-fascist and democratic citizens in several parts of Portugal have also been putting up a tenacious fight in relation to the announced 'elections' for the 'National Assembly', Caetano's Parliament, in November. There has not been a free election in Portugal for the last 43 years and the present Government will try everything to prevent the November ballot being a democratic one. It has done this in the past by deleting from the electoral roll all those opposed to the regime, by denying all freedom of meetings and speech before the ballot, by a campaign of terror, police repression and intimidation against all opponents, by finally denying any control of the poll and

counting of the votes to those opponents.

But the Portuguese anti-fascists are now determined to fight against all the illegalities of the régime and to expose the pseudo-liberalism of Caetano and his followers.

The student movement has also obtained recent splendid victories in the struggle for their rights.

### AGAINST REPRESSION

The demand for an Amnesty for all Portuguese political prisoners is a leading demand of all anti-fascists and democrats in Portugal. They know that while people are kept in prison—as they are now—because of their political opinions, the threat of more repression hangs all over the Portuguese people.

Considerable successes have also been obtained in this front of the struggle, with the recent release from jail of a number of political prisoners, after their sentences had expired, but, for some, before the full term of their notorious 'security measures' as also reported in this issue.

### THE REASONS

What are the reasons for these successes of the anti-fascist struggle in Portugal?

The defenders of Caetano's 'liberalism' will certainly say that they only took place because the new rule is less harsh than Salazar's. But the fact remains that the present Government has only been forced to accept these victories, that it is as opposed as ever to democratic rights for the Portuguese, because these rights could endanger the huge profits of the land and factory owners and foreign interests which are the main support and origin of the régime.

These victories were not given to the Portuguese, they were won by them through a hard, difficult struggle, led by the heroic anti-fascist fighters in the underground, inside Portugal. They were won because they refused to be led into the traps of opportunistic collaboration with the régime or of irresponsible adventures of insignificant exile groups, much cherished by the foreign interests in Portugal.

These victories are the final result of many years of steady and persistent struggle. They are paving the way for the still very difficult task of eradicating fascism from Portugal for ever.

# THE COLONIES

## ANGOLA

### PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

THE admitted minimized losses reported in the Portuguese War communiqués and press from January 31st to April 28th, 1969, were as follows:

	KILLED		WOUNDED	
	Armed Forces	Militia	Armed Forces	Militia
Guinea ... ..	109	—	—	—
Angola ... ..	76	50	116	50
Mozambique ... ..	57	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>50</b>

Numbers for the wounded are given only in Angola. The sum total for 12 weeks is 292 killed and 166 wounded.

### CAETANO VISITS THE COLONIES

In order to boost the morale of the colonialists and get a good name for the régime in the foreign Press, Caetano, in mid-April, indulged in an exercise of public relations by touring the colonies. He congratulated himself at the end of the visit, for the 'spontaneity' of the peoples demonstrations in all the overseas provinces' (*Noticias de Portugal*, 26.4.69.)

## GUINEA

### GUINEAN ADVANCES

War rages in this colony. The offensive systematically directed by the forces of the PAIGC against the armed camps of the Portuguese troops is gradually pushing the colonialist army out of the interior in a slow movement of retreat towards the coast.

On February 5th, after the fall of the Portuguese camps of Balama and Gandembel (South), the freedom-fighters occupied the fortified camp of Madina-Boé, in south-eastern Guinea. (*PAIGC, War Comm.*, 9.2.69.)

This victory leaves the Boé region, with an area of 3,500 sq. kms., entirely under the control of the Guineans. On February 10th the Medjo camp was also occupied. The Guinean offensive has already expelled the colonialist troops from 18 entrenched camps. (*PAIGC, War Comm.*, 7.3.69.)

### NAPALM ON CIVILIAN POPULATIONS

The defeat of the Portuguese colonialists is taking place, despite

all the horrors they have been unloading on the population in the liberated areas. Napalm has been used frequently and now there is the threat of defoliants. The Special Committee to the United Nations has condemned all these actions of the Portuguese Colonialists and has alerted public opinion against further brutalities. 23.9.68, Session No. 637 (*PAIGC Actualités* No. 1, January, 1969).

### PORTUGUESE BASES UNDER FIRE

The Portuguese War Communiqués from January 27th to April 24th, report intense attacks by the Guinean Forces against their bases at Iusse, Tite, Flaque Indequete, Cambanju, Blafechuro (Encheaia), Cutiá and Dandomandinga (Farim).

They also list the entrenched camps that are systematically under fire from the Guinean troops, such as Empada, Cameconde, Guileje, Binar, Ingoré, Infandre, Biambe, Buba, Bedanla, Nhala, Bedande, Ganturé, among many others. (*P.J.* 6.2 to 24.4.69.)

### WESTERN MILITARY ATTACHES

As they lose ground, the Portuguese fascists are seeking even further means of destruction; these they can obtain only from their Western allies. To this end a visit was organized to Bissau of the military attachés of West Germany, U.S.A., Britain, South Africa, Italy and Spain. (*P.J.* 23.2.69.) The military attachés stayed there for a week. In March, the U.S.A. ambassador also visited Bissau. (*P.J.* 16.3.69.)

## HYPOCRITICAL INDIGNATION

*The Sunday Telegraph*, a staunch defender of British investments in Portugal and her colonies, has been running a series of articles on the liberation movements in Africa. On May 11th, 1969, the 'close-up team' responsible for the alleged information, spluttered its indignation against the 'black liberators made in Moscow', and equipped with Chinese and Russian arms.

The team showed no anger, however, over the NATO weapons, which the Portuguese Colonialist Army (total strength 150,000: *The Times*, 10.4.69), is using against the Angolans, even though these include napalm and defoliants.

The Angolan patriots possess no such chemical armoury, nor do they have any aircraft. Yet, even when the Portuguese unloaded their napalm on African villages, the team made no protest. Apparently, hostility to colonialism is such a crime in the eyes of these observers that it justifies any atrocity on the part of the colonial power.

### MPLA STEPS UP THE WAR

The MPLA is now fighting in five regions. This is revealed by Portuguese War communiqués from Jan. 19th to April 12th. The colonialist forces have been frequently engaged at Uíge; in the district of Luanda, to the south-east of Nambuanguongo; in the Moxico and Luataxe areas, in the Cuando-Cubango districts, in the Cuanza North, to the South of Quibaxe, and in Cabinda. In the Zaire district, to the south-east of Noqui and in the Muié region the patriots have been permanently harassing the Portuguese troops. (*D.L., P.J.* 31.1 to 19.4.69.)

### TRAIN DERAILED

On April 19th, the freedom-fighters derailed trains and disrupted rail traffic on the line of the Benguela Railway near the Congolese frontier. After the Portuguese had repaired the line, on May 2nd, a culvert was blown up and all traffic on the line was again halted. (*P.J.* 22.4 and *Times*, 8.5.69.) Sixteen coaches were derailed and 6 soldiers killed. (*P.J.* 24.4.69.)

### JAPANESE AND BRITISH INTERESTS

A £14,700,000 contract has been

signed between the 'Companhia Mineira do Lobito' and a Japanese group of steel industries for the supply of iron ore from the Cassinga mines. (D.L. 21.3.69.)

A U.S. 120-million-dollar credit will be granted to the 'Companhia Mineira do Lobito' by a consortium of Banks led by Bankers Trust Co. of London (P.J. 31.1.69.)

In the Lobito, at the workshops of the 'Benguela Railway Company', 397 locomotives and coaches made in Japan are being assembled for the Congo (Kinshasa). (P.J. 25.3.69.)

### STRIKING GOLD

Gold has been found in the district of Malange and the prospectors say that this deposit may be as rich as some of the South African mines. (P.J. 21.3.69.)

### NEW CONCESSION

The Portuguese Government has granted an exclusive concession to the American owned 'Tenneco-Angola Inc.' from Texas, for the exploration of sulphur in an undisclosed area of Angola. (P.J. 5.4.69.)

### THE LITTLE TEXAS OF NORTHERN ANGOLA

Cabinda, the 'little Texas of Northern Angola', will reach an oil output of 5m. tons by the end of the current year. The target for 1970 is 7½m. tons. The Gulf Oil of Cabinda, a branch of the Gulf Oil of Pennsylvania, U.S.A., has invested 76m. dollars in 1968 in this concession and has already 30 wells under exploration. It will be exempted from tax on the goods needed for these operations (D.L. 25.2.69.)

The high output of the Cabinda oil will undoubtedly benefit South Africa and Rhodesia, says a reporter who has visited Cabinda (P.J. 14.4.69.)

### EUROPEAN MEAT MARKET

Dr. Philippe Laumour, a French economist in the service of the United Nations, declared recently in Luanda that Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and Malawi can become great producers of meat, being quite capable of supplying Europe's needs. (P.J. 11.2.69.)

### S. AFRICA FINANCES MILITARY BASE

South Africa has promised to help finance and man a base in Angola, partly to protect the £90 million dam project on the Cunene (the river frontier with South-West Africa)

which is intended to attract 500,000 white immigrants. (The Economist, 10.5.69.)

### BRAZILIAN AIR FORCE

A delegation of the Brazilian Air Force has been in Luanda for two days (P.J. 8.2.69.)

## MOZAMBIQUE

### ABUSIVE SPECULATIONS

The Portuguese fascists have been showing great jubilation over the surrender to the Portuguese authorities of a so-called leader of the Makonde tribe, Lázaro Kavandame. The 62-old-Makonde administrator was interviewed for three hours at Port Amelia, where there were many journalists from South Africa. (P.J. 13.4.69.) The propagandists began immediately to claim that the war would be over quite soon and that this defection indicated the end of Frelimo, the movement which fights for the independence of Mozambique. Frelimo recently suffered the assassination of Dr. Mondlane and there has been a further plot to kill more of its leaders with parcel bombs. (P.J. 25.3.69.) The South African journalists were less optimistic than the Portuguese that these events herald the collapse of the Mozambican Freedom Movement. (P.J. 14.4.69.) It should be noted that the defector, Kavandame, was not a military leader, but an administrator in one of the liberated areas, the Cabo Delgado Province, who had been using his post to serve his own personal interests. He had been deprived of his position on January 3rd, 1969, and was on the run after 16 of his collaborators were arrested. These are waiting trial in Dar-as-Salam. (Frelimo Press statement, 4.4.1969.)

### THE WAR GOES ON

Meanwhile the war continues relentlessly against the colonialists. This is admitted by the Portuguese Governor-General, who, although trying to minimize Frelimo's achievements, stated that in the Rovuma Valley, Cape Delgado and Niassa the Portuguese could not 'circulate freely'. (P.J. 6.2.69.) Portuguese War communiqués report military action in the Gessi mountains, and along the Luatize river (Niassa district), and in Cabo Delgado (along the Messalo and Muera rivers). (P.J. 13.2. to 6.4.69.)

The Frelimo report attacks by their forces on the Muêda airfield and on routes from Muídambe to Nangololo, on Namanjilo, Ntandola, Macoti (Cabo Delgado), along the railway line Catur to Nova Guarda and on the strategic camp in Mandalawe (Niassa).

In the Tete region, the Portuguese were engaged at Shimutanda, Malute,

Chaca and Bene. (Mozambique Revolution, No. 37, Jan.-Feb., 1969.)

### U.S.A. NAVY

Five U.S.A. frigates have been on a recent visit to Lourenço Marques. (P.J. 11.2 to 4.4.69.)

### U.S.A. PROSPECTS FOR OIL

The U.S.A. Gulf Oil Company is prospecting for oil on the sea-bed off Nova Sofala. The first well will cost £264,600. Gulf Oil has been operating in Mozambique for 19 years. (P.J. 5.4.69.)

### MORE INVESTMENTS

Up to the end of 1969 the Portuguese authorities, with the help of foreign capital, will invest £45,598,600 in Mozambique.

Sonarep, a dependent of the Portuguese Sacor Trust and of the international oil monopolies, is investing £6m. to increase the capacity of its Lourenço Marques refinery by three-and-a-half times. The declared aim is to export petrol to South Africa, Malawi and Portugal (P.J. 1.2.69). Rhodesia—not mentioned—will certainly be included, using the direct rail link from Mozambique.

### INTERESTING AND INTERESTED VISITORS

A team of Austrian economists has been on a visit to Mozambique. (P.J. 25.3.69.)

Former British Foreign Minister, Selwyn Lloyd, has been on a visit to the industrial centre and harbour of Nampula. (P.J. 25.3.69.)

### SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISTS

Tourism is becoming a new industry in Mozambique. More than 30,000 tourists, mainly from South Africa, spent Easter in Lourenço Marques. (P.J. 8.4.69.)

## TIMOR

### DRILLING OIL

In this island of the Indonesian Archipelago, whose eastern half is a Portuguese colony, the directors of Timor Oil announce that Cabo Tafara No. 1 stratigraphic well is drilling ahead at 5,000 ft. in sandstone and shale. The well is being drilled to penetrate the lower miocene strata in the area, which is believed to be the reservoir from which the abundant seepages some eight miles inland on Timor Island derive their oil. (Times, 3.4.69.)

# AMNESTY THE PRISONERS

## GREGORIO IS FREE

**AFONSO GREGORIO**, the 50-year-old glass-worker and workers' leader, seriously ill after 9½ years in jail, was recently released from prison. This is a great victory for the campaign in Portugal and abroad for his liberation, to which our Bulletin gave its full support.

## OTHERS ALSO FREE

Eighteen other political prisoners were also recently released from jail. They include 6 women prisoners Aurora Capela, Custódia Dias, Amélia Estevão, Olívia Sobral, Domingas Borges and Maria Lindim. And 12 male prisoners including the student leader José Bernardino, Manuel Rodrigues, João Camilo, José Rijo, Armando Ferreira, Ernesto Gomes, Duarte Pinto, Camilo Baradas, Francelino Valente, António Abalada, Manuel Baridó and José Drago.

## WIN FREEDOM FOR COLELIA AND FERNANDA

Women prisoners in the Caxias fortress, whose release is urgent,

include **COLELIA FERNANDES**, who has spent over 10 years in jail, and **FERNANDA TOMAZ**, who has been there for over 7 years.

## FREEDOM FOR PIRES JORGE

**PIRES JORGE**, is a 61-year-old workers' leader with 12 years in jail after 19 years in the underground anti-fascist struggle in Portugal. His health is very poor, but he is kept in the unhealthy Peniche fortress, where the food for the prisoners has recently deteriorated considerably.

## FREEDOM FOR JOSE CARLOS

**JOSE CARLOS**, is a 47-year-old cork worker, who has spent over 8 years in jail. He is very ill and had to be admitted to the Caxias prison hospital. Despite this the authorities refuse to release him to have proper treatment for his serious condition.

## FREEDOM FOR ALL PRISONERS

In spite of all the victories there are still in the Portuguese jails dozens and dozens of political

prisoners, whose only crime is to have fought against fascism and for a better life for their people. Many are ill, after many years of difficult life, hard political struggle and long prison sentences.

Amongst them are **DIAS LOURENCO**, **BLANQUI TEIXEIRA**, **OCTAVIO PATO**, **JOSE MAGRO**, **CARLOS COSTA**, **AMERICO DE SOUSA**, **GUILHERME CARVALHO**, **MARIO ARAUJO**, **ROGERIO CARVALHO**, **JORGE ARAUJO**, **DOMINGUES ABRANTES**, **ILIDIO ESTEVES**, **DINIZ MIRANDA**, **MANUEL SERRA**, **JULIA MARTINS**, etc., etc.

**YOUR** action or that of the organizations you belong to, can be of great help to free all these prisoners. You can write to Professor Marcelo Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal, asking him to grant an Amnesty to all the political prisoners. Insist on the urgent cases whose names we give. The present moment can bring more and more successes to our campaign and to the prisoners.

**-ACT NOW!**

## NEWS OF REPRESSION

*From our correspondents in Portugal*

**T**HE Portuguese regime continues to rely heavily on repression for its survival. Its main weapons are still the Army, the secret police (PIDE) the armed police forces (G.N.R. and P.S.P.) and the fascist militia ('Portuguese Legion').

**PIDE arrested many opponents of the régime in May and June.**

### THE TRIALS

**O**N March 6th the Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced José Pulquério to 3 years in jail and his wife Ursula Pulquério to 2 years; and both to 'security measures', which can keep them in jail indefinitely at PIDE'S orders after their sentences have been completed.

On March 22nd the same court sentenced Francisco Rocha to 5 years in jail, with 'security measures', Rosalina Labaredas, a woman, to 2 years and Nuno da Silva, to 23 months. Two other women were given suspended sentences.

The first four people in these two trials, accused with the others of 'subversive activities', had been arrested in August last year and savagely tortured since then.

On April 25th the 1st Lisbon Military Territorial Court sentenced sub-Lieutenant Mário da Costa to 9 years in jail, for his political activities within the army and against the colonial wars.

On May 8th the Oporto Plenary Court sentenced Herminio Inácio (in his absence, because he had escaped from jail that same day) to 15½ years in jail, Filipe Aleixo to 19 years, Carlos Pereira, and Manuel Correia both to 10 years, Fernando Branco to 5 years, Joaquim Ramos and José Guerreiro both to 3 years and Fernando Marques to 2½ years. All were given 'security measures'. They were accused of 'terroristic' activities.

### MORE REPRESSION

Another barracks was allocated to PIDE in the Caxias jail, near Lisbon

on March 10. This jail was specially visited 10 days later by the Ministers of the Interior and of Justice and by the PIDE director. The first of those ministers and the Defence Minister inspected the headquarters of the Fascist militia (Legião Portuguesa) on March 27th.

On March 21st in Oporto, 7,756 vehicles were the object of a 'stop' operation.

### TOURISTS IN PORTUGAL

In 1968 a total of 2,510,700 tourists visited Portugal. Their main countries of origin were as follows:

Spain	1,344,800
Britain	289,400
United States	236,900
France	140,000
W. Germany	88,600

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

# INSIDE PORTUGAL

## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

THE 'Report on the Portuguese Economy in 1968', published by the West German Chamber of Commerce in Portugal, confirms the crisis which has been developing in the Portuguese economy since 1966. In the course of the first year of the 3rd Development Plan (plano de Fomento) the growth rate of Por-

tugal's Gross National Product has declined from 7.3% in 1967 to 5.7% at the end of 1968. The growth of capital accumulation declined from £313m. to £279m.—a reduction of 10.9%. This situation goes hand in hand with persistent inflationary trends, as can be seen from these indices of Retail Prices in Portugal's three main towns:

Year	Lisbon		Oporto		Coimbra	
	Index	Increase	Index	Increase	Index	Increase
1964	123.1	+3.4	119.9	+3.4	117.1	+2.3
1965	127.3	+3.4	125.1	+4.4	120.8	+3.2
1966	133.8	+5.1	134.1	+7.2	127.9	+5.9
1967	141.1	+5.5	140.0	+4.4	131.0	+2.4
1968	149.7	+6.1	148.8	+6.3	137.4	+4.9

The Banco Commercial de Angola has declared a net profit of £400,000 (P.J. 15.2.69). The Anglo-Portuguese Bank of London, whose net profit of £279,000 compares favourably with the £251,960 it made in 1967, is a subsidiary in Britain of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (Portuguese Overseas Bank) which profits greatly from the colonial exploitation of Portugal's African possessions. (P.J. 18.4.69), and one of whose chairmen, until September 1968, was the present Portuguese ruler, Marcelo Caetano.

## ELECTRICITY

Although nearly a quarter of the rural councils in Portugal (867 out

of 3,401), have no electricity supply, handsome profits come the way of some of the electricity supply companies.

Companhia Nacional de Electricidade ... ..	£730,000
Empresa Termoeléctrica Portuguesa ... ..	£720,000
União Eléctrica Portuguesa ... ..	£675,000

## PORTUGAL AND EUROPE

Aspects of the life and economies of twenty-one European countries are analysed in *L'observateur de l'O.C.D.E.*, No. 38, February, 1969. We excerpt some statistics relating to Portugal and three other European countries:

	Sweden	Spain	Greece	Portugal
Consumption of Calories per head/per day	3,005	3,005	2,950	2,580
Educational Expenditure as % of G.N.P.	6.06	2.02	1.19	1.44
Housing Construction per 1,000 inhabitants	12.4	6.5	—	4.2
Electricity Consumption KWH per head/per year	5,550	976	590	530
Telephones per 1,000 inhabitants	498	99	65	62
G.N.P./at market prices in Dollars per head	3,040	830	820	490

## TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER

The present policy of the open door to foreign capital will not solve Portugal's economic problems. This foreign investment only seeks the

enhanced profits made possible by the exploitation of the cheap labour available in Portugal, and is not concerned to develop the country's

resources in accordance with its real economic priorities.

But the auction goes on, and the country's assets are knocked down to the highest bidder. There are at present 600 firms in Portugal which are nominally Portuguese but have foreign capital invested in them. (D.L. 6.3.69.) Fifty of these enterprises are Belgian, which explains the recent visit to Portugal of a large Belgian trade mission composed of diplomats, industrialists, 12 Bankers, 16 representatives of the Stock Exchange, and 4 economic and financial Press experts (D.L. 4.3.69). A Dutch mission followed on its heels (P.J. 25.4.69). The Dutch have interests in the huge Lisbon 'Lisnave' shipbuilding and ship repair enterprise, and in the clothing industry.

Senior members of the staff of the American 'General Electric Co.' came to Portugal to inspect their subsidiary 'Portuguese' Bull General Electric (D.L. 20.4.69)—so did the Vice-President of the British Wellcome Foundation, who met Portuguese authorities (P.J. 8.2.69).

A new West German investment of £14.3m. on a chemical plant to produce nylon and polyester, near Aveiro, has been announced (P.J. 22.4.69).

## MORE MONEY FOR WAR AND REPRESSION

A further £14 million credit has been allocated to the Army and the Air Force (*Diário do Governo*, 7.3.69).

The volume of notes in circulation increased by £28m. during 1968 (D.L. 20.3.69).

Thus the Portuguese economy appears to be an exception to the general rule in capitalist society that inflation follows an increase in the economic growth rate. The reason for this peculiarity is well established. It is the result of the huge, wholly unproductive, Defence Budget (approaching some 50% of the entire Budget), to meet the expenses of the colonial wars in Africa, and military and police repression at home.

Foreign currency sent home by emigrant workers and brought into the country by tourists adds to the inflationary spree, in spite of contributing decisively to the surplus on the Balance of Payments. For all its boasted 'strength', the Escudo seems

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'ALL we have to do is to start a revolution in Lisbon and then, by wiring the good news throughout the country, we will get its immediate support for the Republic'.

This is how a well-known Republican politician, João Chagas, had often described the imminent fall of the Portuguese Monarchy. His prediction did really come true on October 5, 1910, when, after the insurrection of the majority of the Lisbon regiments, supported by the Navy, the nearly 800-year-old Portuguese Monarchy was overthrown in little more than 30 hours.

The mood that prevailed in the country in the last days of the reign of Manuel II reflected a deep awareness of the inadequacy of the old institutions to the needs of the time. Everyone felt the régime could not survive. Many royalist officers, when the shooting started, surrendered without resistance, thus making things easier for the rebels. The King, surrounded by a handful of loyal supporters, fled from the Royal Palace in Lisbon to his castle at Sintra and thence to Ericeira, a small fishing village, where he boarded the royal yacht, seeking exile in Britain.

### THE CONSTITUTION OF 1911

The curtain had fallen on this act of Portuguese political life and a great whirlwind of change seemed to have swept the whole country. The new régime had nurtured great hopes of social advance, particularly among the poorer classes, whose imagination had been captured by the promises of the Republican leaders. The peasants, however, remained apathetic and unable to grasp the significance of what had happened. The total neglect in which they had been left for ages, under the influence of the parish priest, made them somehow rather diffident and slow in accepting Republican propaganda. From the central government, they had got used to expecting only increases in taxation, and their first attitude was one of wait-and-see.

On August 21st, 1911, the National Assembly met especially to promulgate the New Constitution of the Portuguese Republic which adopted many of the liberal principles of the Portuguese constitutions of 1822 and 1838. The 1911 Constitution divided the legislative power between two Chambers, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Parliament had the right to elect the President of the Republic, whose term of office was for 4 years, and to supervise the government.

### THE WORKERS AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

For the majority of the Portuguese people, who were sick and tired of the authoritarian rule they had experienced

under the Monarchy, this was an opening which they hoped would enable them to some extent to shape their own lives.

The workers had been attracted to the Republican ideal by the intensive political propaganda of the Republican Party. The Monarchy had been depicted by the Republicans as the begetter of all social and political evils. And the subtle issues embraced by socio-economic conditions tended to be blurred in the immediate struggle against the oppressing régime.

There were other parties at the time which competed for the political allegiance of the labouring people. The Portuguese Socialist Party, founded in 1850, had maintained a campaign of political education, which was directed at three main themes: republicanism, socialism, and the possibility of an Iberian federation of workers' republics. The aims proposed in this tripartite thesis resulted from a theoretical vision of the objectives of socialism and were not the product of a critical study of the conditions of Portuguese society.

But since 1887 Anarchist groups had begun to attract the more literate segments of the working class in Lisbon and Oporto. The Anarchists upheld the view that the people should not vote in the elections, but ought to desert from the Army and use as its weapons illegal propaganda and violent strikes.

These two political currents, believing that the main political option was not between a Monarchy and a Republic, since they considered both régimes irrelevant to the aims they pursued, chose to support the issues in the political struggle that appeared to serve the immediate interests of their respective causes.

Thus they sided, according to the conveniences of the moment, either with the monarchists or the republicans. But frequent disagreements within the socialist party caused its fragmentation into minor groups, which immediately weakened its influence. By 1898-1899, many Portuguese workers were attracted by the Republican Party.<sup>1</sup>

The anarchists were in a no better position. Ideologically they were also opposed to the existing régime and to the Republican Party, but tended more often to collaborate with the latter. They supported workers' strikes, but these were strictly forbidden by law under the Monarchy. Both Portuguese Penal Codes of 1852 and 1856 enabled the authorities, under article 277, to impose all sorts of punitive measures on strikers, including arrest and imprisonment for as long as a six month period. On February 13, 1896, a new law was issued by the Government, which made liable to prosecution anyone who publicized or supported anarchist ideas, or ideas which might be conducive to subversion.<sup>2</sup>

The legislation had been conceived with the sole purpose of suppressing any attempt made by the working people to improve their desperate economic situation. Until 1909, the diminutive Socialist Party might still aspire to a leading role in the labour movement, because the anarchists seemed to be far more interested in propagating their own philosophy than participating in the struggle inside the syndicates, or trade unions. But the anarchists realized the importance of these organizations and their presence there began to be noted, particularly in the early days of the new Republican régime.

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However, in 1910 neither the Socialists nor the anarchists could claim a major role of leadership for the working class.

### THE REPUBLIC AND THE WORKERS' PROBLEMS

No workers' leaders were involved in the conspiracy of October 5. Yet, as soon as the insurrections started, the people took a predominant role, fighting alongside the soldiers and taking on military duties. Republicans, socialists, anarchists, or mere democrats, they were all united in the common struggle, and they became the best defenders, as events were later to prove, of the new Government and Republican institutions. The prompt participation of the people had contributed to the success of the Revolution in those uncertain hours, when one of its leaders, Admiral Cândido dos Reis, quite convinced of its failure, shot himself dead.

The social and economic problems faced by the new régime were tremendous. The harsh conditions in which the working class and the peasantry were living demanded urgent social reform, but the Republic was not prepared for it. Yet the ordinary people expected to see some social changes, which would improve their lot, and hoped to make their voice heard in Parliament under the provisions of the Constitution of 1911.

The Provisional Government of the Republic sought to give some satisfaction to the legitimate aspirations of the people. Thus on December 6th, 1910, a decree was issued by the minister, Brito Camacho, which gave the workers the right to strike, but under conditions which did not meet their demands.

Economic problems remained unsolved, and the working people had most grievances. Under the circumstances their struggle for a just wage was intensified between 1911 and 1912. In January 1912, the peasants of the Évora district in the Alentejo province had to strike to force the landowners to abide by

# PORTUGUESE

tentative years  
1919 (I) by A. Leal

the agreement they had made with them. The Lisbon workers, backed the peasants' strike, by stopping work altogether in the city. Their example was followed throughout the country. And the general strike intimidated the estate owners who granted the farm labourers their demands.

These struggles shook the Republican leaders who had come to power supported also by the professional classes, the middle classes, the bourgeoisie and even by some sections of the aristocracy.

## THE MONARCHISTS VERSUS THE REPUBLIC

The differences in the administrative measures that were to be taken by the new governments, and the order of priorities in any programme of action, soon divided the Republican camp into three parties. 'The Democratic Party', headed by Afonso Costa, had the largest following in the country. Then came the 'Evolutionary Party', whose leader was António José de Almeida, and the 'Unionist Party', founded by Brito Camacho.

On the other hand the enemies of the Republic were watching events closely. And the royalists tried to stage a comeback. Paiva Couceiro, a monarchist officer, exiled in Galicia, armed and trained there a military column with the protection of the Spanish authorities. This force entered the northern part of the country on October 5th, 1911. The invaders were promptly defeated at the village of Vinhais. But Couceiro did not give up. One year later, on July 6th, 1912, with a much better organized column, he marched on the northern town of Chaves, where he was once again defeated on the 8th of the same month.

After these defeats, the royalists changed their tactics. They decided to proceed by infiltration.

## COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

This could be done through the existing institutions and by organizing centres of political propaganda, which would congregate the most reactionary elements of Portuguese society.

At Coimbra, the 'Academic Centre of Christian Democracy' (C.A.D.C.), founded in 1901 (where Salazar was to become a prominent member), went through a phase of renewed activity. The University of Coimbra had always had a hard core of traditionalists, who maintained a close contact with the monarchist emigrés of the aborted march of July 1912. The group,

in which the most influential personalities were L. de Almeida Braga and Rolao Preto, had settled in Paris. There they came under the influence of Charles Maurras and his diehards of the 'Action Française'. Their brand of Monarchism, named since 1912 as 'Lusitanian Integralism' ('Integralismo Lusitano'), spurned parliamentary rule and created a rift in the royalists ranks. In 1919, two representatives of the group, Pequito Rebelo and A. Braga went to see the deposed Manuel II in exile. They tried to persuade the King to give his support to their ideas. But Manuel II remained unconvinced. He held to the view, together with other monarchists, that the monarchy should return with the parliamentary system it had before October 1910. The disappointed integralists then chose as their pretender, Dom Duarte Nuno—from another branch of the Portuguese Royal Family who was then under age and lived in Austria. After Manuel's death in 1932, Duarte Nuno, was later allowed by Salazar to live in Portugal, where he is now, and to become the officially accepted claimant to the Crown.

By April 8th, 1914, the integralist group had started its propaganda inside Portugal, with the publication of the first issue of the magazine 'Nação Portuguesa' ('Portuguese Nation'), edited by Alberto Monsaraz. This coincided with an administrative success of the Republican Government headed by Afonso Costa (9.1.1913 to 9.2.1914). The Government had presented the first budget with a surplus, after many years of a chronic deficit. This situation was, however, to be affected later by the participation of Portugal (28.2.1916) in the First World War as imposed by her alliance with Britain.

## THE PRESIDENTIALIST DICTATORSHIPS

The War in Europe, by aggravating the living conditions of the people, favoured unrest inside Portugal. One year before Portugal entered the war, in 1915, General Pimenta de Castro (1846-1918) set up a political dictatorship, which cancelled republican liberties and encouraged the ultras. A reactionary group of naval officers then formed the 'Liga Naval' (The Naval League), where the propagandists of 'Integralismo' found an audience receptive to their theories.

After the fall of Pimenta de Castro, the Republic went through a stormy period. The monarchists tried to exploit the situation. In Parliament they encouraged differences of opinion among the Republican parties and the labour movement was infiltrated by 'agents provocateurs'.

In spite of the alliance in 1914 of the two major Republican parties (the 'Democrats' and the 'Evolutionists'), constant quarrels continued to divide the Republican camp.

Then, on December 5th, 1917, an army revolt led by Sidónio Pais (1872-1918), a member of the 'Unionist Party', succeeded on the 8th in crushing the Government forces.

Sidónio Pais then enjoyed absolute powers and was deserted by his own party, which aligned itself with the other two Republican parties and the 'União Operária Nacional' (the Portuguese Confederation of Labour), against him. Sidónio Pais relied even more heavily on the mon-

archists and the ultras and decreed elections for a new Parliament, which took place in spite of the abstention of the Republican parties and the Labour organizations (28.4.1918).

Only the 'Sidonistas', or Sidónio supporters, Catholics and Monarchists were represented in the new House. The 'Integralists' took immediate advantage of this situation to launch an intensive propaganda campaign in collaboration with the 'Naval League'.

Some groups inside the Army were already emerging as strong supporters the ideology and political ambitions of the ultras, which used the monarchist umbrella to prepare conditions for rule by an oligarchy composed of old aristocrats and the propertied classes. Therefore, under Sidónio's government, monarchist officers had set up military juntas aimed at armed intervention.

When the dictator was assassinated on December 14th, 1918, the Oporto Military Junta immediately issued a proclamation threatening to use force, if necessary, to save the country from 'demagogy'. Under the political bombast, could be discerned clear opposition to the future presence of the three Republican parties in Parliament, as well as repudiation of the organized labour movement.

## THE LISBON AND OPORTO COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Sidónio was dead, but the military juntas remained a threat to Republican institutions. The new Government, headed by Admiral Canto e Castro vacillated over suppressing them.

The Military Junta in Oporto began feverish arrangements to prevent the re-establishment of legal opposition inside Parliament. Thus on January 19th, 1919, the Oporto regiments under the leadership of the Junta, restored the Monarchy in the north and proclaimed their obedience to Manuel II.

The population of Lisbon was deeply disturbed by these events. The workers had gone through a period of great agitation in 1918, in view of the high cost of living and a rising inflation that made their wages pitifully inadequate. At times they had occupied factories, as they did at the big industrial concern of CUF, at the Barreiro village, on the left bank of the Tagus. The possible return of an authoritarian régime made them fear the worst and the Republican and working-class organisations exerted strong pressure

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propped on rather shaky foundations (D.L. 20.3.69, 11.4.69, 28.3.69).

### THE BANKERS PROSPER

Murderous colonial wars, and the selling-out of national resources, yield advantages to some people. The Portuguese Press reports these figures for the net profits of Portugal's leading Banks in 1968:

	£
Bank of Portugal ... ..	1,020,000
Banco Nacional Ultramarino	1,457,000
Banco Português do Atlântico	1,200,000
Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial ... ..	985,000
Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor	980,000
Banco Borges & Irmão ...	795,000
Banco Totta-Alliança ...	480,000
Banco Fonecas & Bufay ...	465,000
Banco de Lisboa & Açores	296,000
Anglo-Portuguese Bank, Ltd.	279,000
Banco da Agricultura ...	225,000

### CALL-UP THREAT

In February, the Portuguese Defence Minister, after a tour of Angola and Mozambique was interviewed at Lisbon

## THE RISE OF PORTUGUESE FASCISM

Continued from previous page.

on the Government to take the necessary measures to counteract the monarchist offensive.

Gradually the Government came to realize the danger. It appealed to the population to take up arms to defend the Republic. The appeal met an overwhelming response, and on January 22nd, thousands of volunteers took part in an impressive demonstration that lasted several hours. The Lisbon monarchists felt rather apprehensive. The leaders of the plot decided to waste no time. On the night of 22nd, they moved with a large part of the Lisbon garrison to the Monsanto hill, which overlooks the city. On the morning of 23rd their guns began to bombard Lisbon, while a message was dispatched to the Government demanding that it resign.

The volunteers who had joined the Government forces aided by demobbed soldiers, formed their own battalions and joined the fight. The encircled monarchists surrendered on 24th, at 5 p.m. Military operations spread north and by February 13th, the Monarchist insurrection had been quashed.

### EARLY WEAKNESSES OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

The Republic had been saved once again with the support of the people.

But at the close of this period of nine stormy years, the pattern of Counter-Revolution was already fairly well-defined. The 'Lusitanian Integralists', who had been responsible for the Restoration attempts of 1919, provided the ideological wedge that operated inside the Army and tried to organize the support of the extreme conservatives into mili-

tant action to defend the interests of the big landowners and factory owners. They were not going to give up their struggle against the democratic institutions and the labouring people, whom they hated. In August 1919, their newspaper 'Monarchy' ('Monarquia') resumed publication.

On the other hand, the Republican Governments were far too vacillating, underestimating the power and the strategy of their opponent. They did little to solve the legitimate grievances of the working people, and were mainly concerned with administrative reforms, they shrank from tackling the economic problems which were the root cause of the social and political crisis in Portugal.

It was their inability to cope with this crisis, which brought the labour movement in its frustration under the influence of the anarchist groups. These showed, in their turn, their ideological weakness and incapacity to lead the struggle against a well-organised and disciplined enemy, in spite of the courageous resistance they put up against the forces of reaction. But this will be the subject of our next article.

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Airport. His statements were rather guarded on the situation of the war there. 'In Mozambique', he said, 'the situation is quite favourable to us, and in Angola it has not worsened. We are confident of a final victory'.

And then he threatened to anticipate the call-up for those young men who have been protesting at home against the colonial wars. (D.L. 16.2.69.)

### MORE TROOPS FOR AFRICA

More military contingents left for the colonies on February 6th and 24th and April 13th and 24th (P.J. 6.2 to 24.4). Meanwhile, to boost morale, twenty-six soldiers were awarded medals. (P.J. 4.2 to 7.3.69.)

### A BLESSING FOR THE COLONIAL WARS

On March 23rd, Cardinal Cerejeira officiated in the Lisbon cathedral at a mass attended by hundreds of Portuguese officers and men, due to leave for the African wars. (P.J. 23.3.69.)

### DICTATORSHIP INSIDE THE CHURCH

A few days before, the Cardinal had been attending a Bishops Council, in which he admitted that inside the Portuguese Church there was strife between bishops and priests, who reflect the tensions of Portuguese society.

Yet, in spite of these statements, the Cardinal emphasized later that 'the monarchical authority of the bishop comes from Christ and not from the Community'. A 'progressive' attitude inside the Church was a mundane temptation that led Christians from the right path of tradition. Tradition is immutable and should remain so. The Cardinal exhorted the priests to avoid controversial ideas and to maintain 'a faithful and close union with their bishops'. (D.L. 5 and 7.3.69.)

### THE DIALOGUE IS IMPOSSIBLE

At the 'National Assembly' (Caetano's mock Parliament), Mr. A. Cândido tried to resuscitate fears of the past by claiming the impossibility of a dialogue between Christians and Communists (*Diário das Sessões*, 23.3.69).

### NAZI MEMORIES

On April 27th, Father Häring lectured in Lisbon to the 'Catholic Association of Nurses' on the controversial encyclic 'Humanae Vitae'. Although his conclusions were rather trite, his war record was impressive. Between 1941 and 1945, Father Häring served on the Russian Front in the Health Auxiliary Services of the Nazi Army. (D.L. 27.4.69.)

### GAMBLING ALL THE YEAR ROUND

To attract tourists the Government is going to authorize permanent centres of gambling at Estoril, Funchal (Madeira),

Continued on next page.



# PORTUGUESE TRADE 1968

## MAIN IMPORTS

	(£m.)
Machinery ... ..	78.5
Chemicals, Rubber & Synthetic Fibres ... ..	62.0
Agricultural Products & Foodstuffs	52.6
Motor Vehicles & Aeroplanes ...	35.1
Iron and Steel ... ..	23.2
Cotton ... ..	21.8
Oil & Petrol ... ..	21.7
Diamonds ... ..	16.5
<b>TOTAL IMPORTS</b>	<b>426.8</b>

## COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

	£m.	%
Foreign countries ... ..	360.9	84.6
W. Germany ... ..	68.1	
U.K. ... ..	57.0	
France ... ..	30.4	
U.S. ... ..	27.4	
Italy ... ..	26.2	
Spain ... ..	18.2	
Portuguese colonies ... ..	65.9	15.4

These 1968 figures continue to demonstrate that Portugal is merely a convenient intermediary for the exploitation of her colonies by other countries.

Portugal bought from foreign countries nearly 6 times as much as she bought from her colonies. West Germany alone exported to Portugal more goods than all the Portuguese colonies put together. Portugal exported to foreign countries nearly 3 times as much as she exported to her own colonies.

The 1968 huge trade deficit was

## MAIN EXPORTS

	(£m.)
Textiles ... ..	85.1
Wood, Wood Pulp & Resins ...	24.8
Wines ... ..	23.6
Cork ... ..	22.2
Tinned Fish ... ..	17.0
Machinery ... ..	15.3
Tomato Concentrates ... ..	12.9
Diamonds ... ..	11.7
<b>TOTAL EXPORTS</b>	<b>315.0</b>

**TOTAL DEFICIT £111.8m.**

## COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION

	£m.	%
Foreign countries ... ..	223.3	74.2
U.K. ... ..	60.3	
U.S. ... ..	32.3	
W. Germany ... ..	17.6	
Sweden ... ..	16.0	
France ... ..	13.6	
Denmark ... ..	7.6	
Portuguese colonies ... ..	76.3	25.8

only slightly lower than in 1967. The highest trade deficit (£50.5 million) was with West Germany, and this deficit was over 4 times higher than the whole positive balance of Portugal's trade with her colonies. This means simply that the profits reaped by Portugal from trade with her colonies go to the western countries as trade payments.

Portugal, an EFTA member, has a huge trade deficit with the European Market countries (£95.6 million) and a positive trade balance with the EFTA countries, except

Switzerland and Austria. Portugal even succeeded in 1968 in having a positive trade balance with Britain (£3.4m.) a rare event in the history of their trade. It seems that through Portugal, Britain and other EFTA countries are also subsidizing very handsomely the European Market countries.

All the Scandinavian countries also provide Portugal with positive trade balances. Sweden again increased her imports from Portugal, by 18.3% in relation to 1967, giving to Portugal her highest positive trade balance (£5.2m.), which is higher than the Portuguese positive trade balance with Angola (£3.5m.) or with Mozambique (£2.5m.).

The Americans 'generously' provided Portugal with her second highest positive trade balance (£4.9m.).

(Source: 'Boletim Mensal de Estatística', I.N.E., Lisbon, December 1968.)

## NEW BOOKS

PENGUIN African Library has published two important paperbacks on the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies. In 'The Struggle for Mozambique' (Penguin Books, 8/-) Eduardo Mondlane, the African intellectual who became the President of FRELIMO and was murdered early this year by agents of the Caetano régime, exposes the true character of Portuguese rule in Africa, analyses the economic exploitation of Mozambique by Portuguese and foreign capital, and describes how, in the course of the war, a new Mozambique is being built in the one-fifth of the country that FRELIMO has liberated.

Basil Davidson in 'The Liberation of Guinea' (Penguin Books 6/-) combines an eye-witness account of conditions in the liberated territories and a description of the development of the guerrilla warfare, which has forced the Portuguese colonialists onto the defensive, with an acutely understanding analysis of the political methods and aims of the PAIGC. The book is made the more valuable by the inclusion of quotations from the records of PAIGC and from the speeches of Amílcar Cabral who contributes a very interesting foreword.

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and now Algarve, the newly-discovered paradise for millionaires (D.L. 7.3.69).

## DROP IN PORTUGUESE FILM PRODUCTION

The number of feature films and commercials produced in Portugal in 1968 dropped by 33 and 27 per cent respectively, in relation to 1967. (D.L. 17.4.69.)

## A NEW FATIMA MIRACLE?

The former dictator Salazar has left hospital for his residence at the Sao Bento Palace. He has recovered partially from the severe stroke he suffered last September, but he will never recover completely.

On his 80th birthday he gave a brief broadcast to thank the people who had shown an interest in his health.

Now the fascists are organizing collective prayers at Fátima in the hope that a new miracle will give them back the old dictator. (Times, 14 and 29.4.69 and P.J. 13.4.69.)

## THE HEAD OF PIDE IN AFRICA

The director of the sinister PIDE (Portuguese Gestapo), Major Silva Pais, has been on a visit to the local branches of PIDE in Angola and Mozambique (P.J. 5 and 20.12.68). More PIDE agents are now stationed in the African colonies by order of Marcello Caetano's Minister of the Interior (Diario Da Manhã, 1.1.69).

## BOOSTING UP THE MORALE OF THE ARMY

Prizes have been awarded to the cadets of the 132-year-old Military Academy in Lisbon (P.J. 12.1.69). On January 12, 1969, Decorations were awarded to 10 men of the Air Force, for actions in the colonies (P.J. 12.1.69).

# Foreign Powers Help Fascism

## NATO SUPPORTS FASCISM

THE Portuguese Government is making a massive diplomatic effort to secure an even more direct participation by Portugal's allies in the colonial wars. This, which would be tantamount to direct intervention, is clearly evident from the reports in the Portuguese press.

It is by now a well-known fact that the Portuguese Government is using NATO arms and ammunition for the wars in Africa. Thus, under the blanket of anti-Communism, the member nations of the Alliance are sponsoring the organized murder of the African populations of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique.

Portugal participated in the Joint naval manoeuvres of a NATO Fleet (P.J. 3.2.69). The Deputy Secretary-General of NATO visited several training centres and technological institutes of the Portuguese Armed Forces (P.J. 21.2.69).

The military attachés of W. Germany, U.S.A., France, Great Britain and Venezuela made a call to the Portuguese Defence Minister on February 27 (P.J. 27.2.69).

A few days earlier, a French fleet, with a total strength of ten ships, carrying 4,000 men, had anchored off Lisbon (P.J. 25.2.69).

A NATO fleet, described as the 'largest multi-national force ever assembled during peace-time' remained in Lisbon harbour for a five-day visit (D.L. 12.3.69).

In the third week of April, there were combined naval manoeuvres between Lisbon and Cadiz (Spain) of the Portuguese, Spanish and U.S.A. fleets involving a total of 20 ships. (P.J. 14.4.69).

In a speech made to celebrate NATO's 20th anniversary, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Franco Nogueira, called for an enlargement of the geographical area of NATO's direct action in what was regarded as an appeal for armed intervention in Portugal's colonial wars. 'The Western World', he is reported to have said, 'is not a geographical area; one must consider as western all those regions where the common principles of the free world are being defended and

which, therefore, have a strategic value for common defence' (P.J. 8.4.69). The following day, Dr. Nogueira went to Washington in order to participate in the Organization's 20th anniversary meeting (P.J. 10.4.69).

Helping to whip up war hysteria Dr. Nogueira stated on April 12, that the NATO countries had already entered the phase of 'a real confrontation with the Soviet Union in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa and Latin America. (P.J. 13.4.69.)

This theory of the 'Soviet threat' is particularly attractive to Caetano's Government. The Portuguese hope that in due course NATO forces will be used to crush liberation movements and believe the first involvement ought to be in their own African colonies. Caetano's Government is not satisfied with getting arms and napalm from NATO, it wants armed intervention as well.

## U.S.A. PROTECTION

In the light of Dr. Nogueira's speech, the increasingly frequent visits of American military leaders and of American warships to the Portuguese colonies gain special significance.

Last February, the American Ambassador in Lisbon held talks with the Portuguese Minister for the Colonies (P.J. 11.2.69). In March, two American warships visited Angola (P.J. 22.3.69).

On his visit to Washington to attend General Eisenhower's funeral, Marcelo Caetano held talks on 'undisclosed subjects' with President Nixon and Secretary of State William Rogers (P.J. 2.4.69). On his return to Portugal, a journalist asked Dr. Caetano what had been the purpose of his visit, beyond paying homage to the ex-President. Dr. Caetano replied: 'I went to a funeral . . . I cannot reveal the contents of my conversation with President Nixon' (P.J. 3.4.69). Two further meetings seem to point to the growing pressure on the part of the Portuguese government for direct American participation in Portugal's colonial war; the Portuguese Foreign Minister's meeting with Mr. Rogers (P.J. 19.4.69) and

with President Nixon (P.J. 20.4.69). The purpose of both meetings was not disclosed beyond a statement to the press indicating that problems related to the 'relationship between the two countries had been discussed'.

General Kaulza de Arriaga, the head of the Portuguese Nuclear Commission, has been to the U.S.A., at the invitation of the American Government, to discuss with Prof. Seaborg, the Director of the U.S.A. Commission for Atomic Energy, problems related to a collaboration between the two countries in the nuclear field (P.J. 21.4.69.)

One of the New York papers, the 'Long Island Press' is trying to project the image of the 'liberal' dictator Marcelo Caetano, by claiming that he has 'liberalized' the Press, and adopted a flexible attitude with the students. (D.L. 12.4.69.)

This makes somewhat surprising news, when everyone knows that both the Censor and the Secret Police are busy at work, and Coimbra University has been closed following a period of student agitation.

However, the author of the article gives the game away, when he praises Caetano for attracting foreign capital to the country in an effort to 'raise' the level of national economy. (D.L. 12.4.69-)

## WEST GERMANY COMMANDS

The new West German Ambassador in Lisbon, Dr. Hans Schmidt-Horix, is an old friend of the Portuguese régime: he was the Secretary at the Nazi Legation in Lisbon in 1939. Dr. Schmidt-Horix declared, at a dinner where the other guests were the Brazilian and South African Ambassadors to Bonn, that he had always had a special feeling towards Portugal since his previous mission in Lisbon (D.L. 22.3.69).

Almost simultaneously with the new Ambassador's nomination, (which reminded the Portuguese people of the very special relationship between Portugal and Germany during World War II) was the appointment of General Helmut Biefer to head the Central Liaison Services between West Germany and Portugal, the permanent West German military mission stationed in Portugal. General Biefer was previously Chief of the Department for the Organization of the Armed Forces in Bonn's Defence Ministry (P.J. 26.3.69).

Five high-ranking Portuguese

officers were recently decorated by the West German Government (*P.J.* 28.3.69).

West Germany has been given a concession for the 'development' of Boavista, a Cape Verde Island in the Atlantic, off the west coast of Africa. The estimated initial investment is in the region of US 4.5 million dollars (*D.L.* 26.3.69). This virtual sale of a Portuguese colony to West Germany is regarded in some Portuguese circles as being the price for that country's more direct participation in Portugal's colonial wars (*Ed.*). West Germany is building three new frigates for the Portuguese Navy. The first of these was completed in April (*P.J.* 30.4.69).

On April 11th, forty Portuguese finalists from the Technical Institute of the University of Lisbon (Course of Aeronautics) visited West Germany at the invitation of the Federal Ministry of Defence (*D.L.* 11.4.69).

### BRITAIN OBLIGES

An ex-Salazar Minister, Leite Pinto, has been made a Knight of the British Empire by the Wilson Government in recognition of his services towards the development of good relations between fascist Portugal and Great Britain (*P.J.* 14.2.69). Two British warships visited Oporto (*P.J.* 8.2.69). British investment in this area of Portugal includes, among other sectors, port wine (*Ed.*).

### WITH THE RACISTS

While official Portuguese propaganda continues to insist on the government's non-racial policy in Africa (an underlying theme during Marcelo Caetano's recent visit to Guinea, Angola and Mozambique) the ties between 'non-racist' Portugal and racist South Africa become steadily stronger.

The Portuguese Defence Minister included South Africa in his 'routine visit' to Angola and Mozambique, last February. He was received by Dr. Vorster (*D.L.* 8.2.69) and held extensive talks with his South African counterpart, Mr. P. W. Botha. Mr. Botha's summing up of the talks stressed, once more, the real nature of Portugal's self-styled

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'non-racist, civilizing mission' in Africa. 'Our two countries', the Minister is reported to have said, 'have relations of friendship that nothing can shake. We share a common mission which we are fulfilling in the interest of the free world'. In his reply, the Portuguese Minister agreed that the enemy of Portugal and South Africa is a common one (*P.J.* 12.2.69).

A direct telephone link between Portugal and South Africa by a submarine cable costing £25m. and financed by British and South African capital was inaugurated with a conversation between Dr. Vorster and Dr. Caetano. Both leaders stressed the important contribution this event would make towards the common aims of the two governments. (*Vida Mundial*, Lisbon 28.2.69.)

The Portuguese Defence Minister's visit to South Africa was reciprocated the following month. Mr. Botha, after holding talks with Dr. Caetano and his Portuguese colleague on undisclosed 'matters of mutual interest', visited the ammunition and armaments factory at Moscovide near Lisbon (*P.J.* 22.3.69). This factory is run with West German technical assistance (*Ed.*). The South African Minister was awarded the Great Cross of the Order of Henry the Navigator. In the speech prepared for the occasion, the Portuguese Minister complained that many countries do not understand the purpose of Portugal's struggle in Africa and thanked South Africa for being on the Portuguese side (*P.J.* 25.3.69.)

The South African Secretary of the 'Mozambique Fighting Soldiers Comfort Fund' went to Angola in order to deliver this organization's latest contribution to the Portuguese armed forces (*D.L.* 24.3.69). The following month, it was Mozambique's turn to receive a further contribution (*P.J.* 11.4.69).

### THE BRAZILIAN PARTNER

Brazil is growing unashamedly sympathetic towards the Portuguese fascists. A Brazilian fleet has visited Luanda (*P.J.* 11.2.69) and a new 'exchange service' between the Portuguese and Brazilian Air Forces was recently announced. The Portuguese contribution, however, is to be merely nominal, since all Portuguese aeroplanes are needed for the colonial wars (*D.L.* 6.4.69).

# 'NO' TO REACTION

### IN BRITAIN

Peter Weiss's play 'The Song of the Lusitanian Bogey', which is a magnificent indictment of Portuguese colonialism and fascism, was performed for 9 days in May at the Aldwych Theatre, in London, during the World Theatre Season. On the first night posters exposing the repression in Portugal and colonies were paraded outside the theatre.

In March, 'Liberal News Commentary' published two excellent articles by Douglas Marchant on Caetano's 'liberalism' and on the anti-colonial struggle in Guinea-Bissau.

### HOLLAND

The Angola Comité has published a report by members of the Catholic party Katholieke Volkspartij on the situation in Portugal and colonies.

Two members of the Angola Comité, S. Bosgra and A. Dijk have published a book on the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies entitled 'De Strijd Tegen Het Portugese Kolonialisme, Angola, Mozambique, Guinee'.

### SUDAN

In January an International Conference in Support of the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa took place in Khartoum.

### SOUTH AFRICA DIGS IN ANGOLA

By a £253 million agreement made with South Africa, Portugal will build a hydroelectric dam in the Cunene River and will develop an irrigation scheme in a vast area, which will benefit mainly South Africa (*P.J.* 21 & 29.1.69).

Diamonds worth £17m. have been exported from Angola during 1967. This represents an increase of £1.8m. in two years (*P.J.* 11.12.68). Angolan diamonds are exploited by De Beers, the well-known South-African and international trust, through its subsidiary 'Diamang' of Angola.

# A GREAT FIGHT!

From our correspondents  
in Portugal

## WORKERS VICTORIES

FROM January to mid-February this year a total of over 70,000 Portuguese industrial workers and employees were engaged in strikes and other forms of industrial action for better wages and conditions. This wave of struggle is perhaps the most important amongst the Portuguese workers since 1947.

These actions took place mainly in the Lisbon and surrounding industrial zone. The large majority of these struggles ended in victory for the workers.

Amongst many others there were strikes in the Covina (glass works), in the huge Lisnave shipbuilding and repair enterprise (which employs 4,600 workers), in the General Motors and in the Ford car assembly factory (8-day strike), in the Sorefame and A. Alves metal works (4-day strike), in the Torres Novas textile factory, in the Bis rubber factory, in the Tabaqueira tobacco factory, etc.

Other actions took place in the following enterprises:—Sacor, Sapeç, Cel-Cat, Sociedade Reis, Loças de Sacavem, Manuel Diniz, Ecril, Copan, Tudor, Wander Laboratories, Malhas Barros, Trefilaria, Previdente, Robialac, Parry & Son, Cuf, etc., etc. The industries involved included the metal, chemical, oil, paints, textiles, glass, ceramics and others.

The 30,000 railway workers continue their struggle for wage increases. On April 30th there was a meeting of 1,000 workers outside their state-controlled union, in Barreiro. Police armed with machine guns and rifles were incapable of dispersing the meeting. The 1,000 TAI aeroplane maintenance workers have been working to rule.

The printers of the Lisbon evening paper 'Diário Popular', stopped work. The Lisbon transport workers (Carris) have been holding large meetings to put forward their claims.

The Oporto metal workers are fighting for a properly-elected leadership for their state-controlled union (Sindicato).

## THE STUDENTS

The struggle for their unions has continued and been intensified. There were strikes and closures in Lisbon last December and February. In Oporto the police occupied the Faculty of Sciences, where a meeting of 1,000 students was taking place. 2,500 students held protest meetings, followed by demonstrations and strikes in several other faculties.

On 17th April, 1,000 Coimbra students demonstrated during a visit of the 'President of the Republic', Tomaz, to their University. As a result of this the President of their Union was arrested by PIDE. Two meetings of protest against the arrest were attended by 4,000 and 3,000 students. 1,500 students demonstrated outside the hospital to where another demonstrator, savagely beaten by the police, had been admitted.

The authorities then ordered the suspension of 8 students' union leaders. A meeting of 3,000 students and 24 University teachers decided on a strike that was widely supported. More students were suspended and on May 6th the authorities, unable to end the strike, ordered the closure of Coimbra University, the second largest in the country (over 7,000 students). The students decided not to hold their annual festivity ('Queima das Fitas'), which is the main attraction for visitors to the town, and to boycott examinations. Several students were arrested.

Support for the Coimbra students has come from students all over the country.

## FISHERMEN

3,000 cod fishermen, from North to South of the country, went on strike in April. The Setúbal (near Lisbon) fishermen also went on strike and the Algarve fishermen have been putting forward their claims.

## MAY DAY

All the celebrations were strictly forbidden by the authorities. Army units and police armoured cars patrolled Lisbon. Despite this there were small demonstrations in Oporto

and Lisbon. The Barreiro industrial centre was occupied by police forces with machine guns to prevent demonstrations.

There were many arrests that day in the industrial zone on the south bank of the Tagus.

## FARM WORKERS

The Alpiarça farm workers staged a successful 3-day strike. The Almeirim farm workers supported this action and won a wage increase.

## REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

The 2nd Portuguese Republican Congress took place in Aveiro from May 15th to 17th, attended by 1,200 people, from all the anti-fascist opposition sectors in the country.

The following 14 points for action were unanimously approved by the congress: Freedom of expression and thought, and a general amnesty for all political prisoners; Readmission for all citizens who lost employment for political reasons; Freedom of assembly and association; An electoral law allowing the nation to choose its representation freely; The promotion of education; Abolition of privileges and monopolies; The democratization of education and access to culture; Respect for the opinion of youth; A study of the causes of emigration from Portugal; Promotion of the social status of women; Freedom of organization and action for unions; A full study of the problems of housing, agriculture, and small industry; A free debate on the anti-guerrilla wars in Portugal's African colonies; The political organization of democrats for national representation.

One of the organizers of the Congress, Dr. Mário Sacramento, a physician and literary critic, died in March. His funeral on March 28th was another demonstration of anti-fascist unity.

## AGAINST REPRESSION

The campaign for an Amnesty and the release of political prisoners continues to develop, encouraged by the latest releases from jail. The Bishop of Oporto, has been allowed to return to Portugal, after 10 years exile under Salazar's orders.

## KEY TO REFERENCES

"P.J."—"Primeiro de Janeiro".

"D.L."—"Diário de Lisboa".

Two of the leading daily, censored, Portuguese newspapers.