

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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TWO FALSE OPTIONS

PORTUGAL is a member of E.F.T.A. — together with Britain, her oldest ally — but the largest share of her foreign trade is with the Common Market countries. Portugal is also simultaneously a colonialist country—her African colonies are the largest old-style colonial empire in today's world—and a country colonized, in her European metropolis and in her colonies, by European countries such as West Germany, Britain and others, and by the United States.

This dual situation and the progress of the struggle of the Portuguese people against fascism in Portugal and of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies against colonialism, has brought about the present pseudo-liberal fascist régime of Caetano, which is trying to save the Portuguese ruling class and the foreign interests in Portugal and colonies from the worst crisis of their existence.

One present aspect of these desperate efforts for survival consists in putting forward to the Portuguese people the idea that Portugal's future rests with one of the two following options: either to integrate in the European Common Market, possibly in a joint unit with Spain, or to develop further the colonial empire and the colonial markets.

THE MARKETEERS

The defenders of the first option are principally amongst the most enthusiastic and 'liberal' supporters of Caetano's pseudo-liberal policies.

Basically, their policy would entail a more intensive colonization of Portugal and her colonies by the European industrial giants. The weak Portuguese economy—which has only vegetated within E.F.T.A. through protectionist measures from her more industrially-advanced partners—would thus have the utmost difficulty to survive or hold its

own with the Common Market countries.

Under the pretext of strengthening the Portuguese economy to meet this challenge, the monopolistic concentration in industry and agriculture in Portugal has proceeded at a faster pace since Caetano came to power. In sections such as electricity, banking and in some industrial sectors this monopolistic trend is stronger than ever before in the 44 years of the régime.

The visit of Caetano to Spain in May is also connected with this option. Lately, Spain has developed economically at a considerably faster rate than Portugal, and the trade and economic influence of Spain in Portugal, which in the past were negligible, have been growing steadily. There is now even a relatively large emigration of Portuguese to Spain, a new phenomenon in over 8 centuries of coexistence on the Iberian Peninsula.

The accelerated foreign investment in the Portuguese colonies was basically imposed by the need for survival of Portuguese colonialism. But it means also that given the economic weakness of Portugal, a neo-colonialist solution under Portugal's influence becomes less and less possible. The dominant economic interests in the Portuguese colonies are gradually falling into the hands of foreign interests and it will be with these interests, and not with Portuguese-dominated ones, that the new nations in the Portuguese colonies will have to deal when they become independent.

The Portuguese 'liberal marketeers' have already put forward to a country, growing more and more tired of the colonial wars, the view that Portugal could survive without the colonies. What they will have in mind will be at least a survival of a 'liberal-fascist' régime in Portugal, with some eventual

'liberal' measures and some left-overs in the neo-colonialist future enterprises of their European masters.

THE OTHER ONE

The defenders of the second option, of keeping the colonies at all costs in Portuguese hands, and creating an enlarged 'all-Portuguese' colonial market, relying more and more on the United States support and on NATO, are to be found mostly among less 'liberal' Caetano supporters and amongst the de-throned Salazar hard-liners. They are also dependent on foreign help and interests for survival, they simply differ on the origin and characteristics of this help.

They represent different economic sections from those defending the first option, and they see their share of the economic role in Portugal and colonies more suitably preserved by an 'older style' of fascism and colonialism.

THE CHOICE

It is quite clear that within a fascist country such as Portugal there is no possibility of a democratic choice by the Portuguese people between these 'options' that the two fascist and foreign groups of interests are forcing upon them.

That is one of the main reasons why these 'options' are false. The other reasons lie in the fact that they are certainly not the only options open to the Portuguese to-day.

Why remain—accepting the first one—a colonized European country, more and more under the dominance of foreign imperialism, even if these are conveniently disguised under 'modern and European' catch-phrases and structures? Why accept to live under fascist rule, even if this is more 'liberal'? Why accept more influence of fascist Spain, with eventual loss of an independence proudly won from the Spanish ruling class?

And to the 'hard-liners' the Portuguese can also ask why accept a detestable régime which has proved its incapacity to rule and give a happy life to the Portuguese? Why continue with the colonies which have not brought any benefits to the majority of the Portuguese people and have caused so many losses in lives, precious money and resources in the colonial wars?

No, these are not true options for

Continued on next page

THEY FIGHT TILL VICTORY

(From our correspondents in Portugal)

THE Portuguese people appears to have decided to make 1970 another year of just and increasing struggle for a better future, against fascism.

All over Portugal, amongst the most varied sections of the population, the mood is of fight and more fight for their rights, against the national and foreign oppressors. After 44 years of fascism in Portugal the Portuguese remain 'untamed and untamable'.

14 DAY STRIKE

The wool textile workers of the 'Pentendor' factory in *Unhais da Serra* (Castelo Branco district) mainly women, won a 14-day strike for better working conditions.

The repressive forces harassed them, 7 women workers were dismissed, but the rest of the workers did not give in, and won. The dismissed workers had to be re-employed.

ANOTHER STRIKE

A one-day strike last February in the Feteira metal files factory in *Vieira de Leiria*, for a wage increase, was also victorious. They won a 16 per cent immediate increase and further discussions over

from previous page

the Portuguese people.

The Portuguese people have learnt through 44 years of struggle against fascism that the only option open to them to win a better life is to get rid of fascism, either of the 'hard-liners' or of Caetano and his 'liberals'. They have learnt that the foreign interests in Portugal, either European or American, have only brought them more exploitation and misery. They have learnt that to be free they must not keep other peoples in subjection, that the African colonies are a burden and the colonial wars a lost cause.

The only option that can give the Portuguese a better and happy life is a democratic Portugal, free of fascism, that is truly independent of the economic and imperialist foreign interests, that is without colonies, that is developing her quite reasonable natural resources for the good of the majority of her people, that is without the burden of NATO and military expenses, that is trading in friendship with all countries all over our globe.

their wages.

STOPPAGES

Successful stoppages for better wages and conditions recently took place in the Abelleira paper factory (*Tojal*), in the Aeronautics factory (*Alverca*), in the Utic factory (*Lisbon*), and in the Sapeç fertilizer factory (*Setúbal*), amongst others.

LISBON TRANSPORT WORKERS

The employees of the British-owned 'Lisbon Electric Tramways' (the 'Carris Company', which has the monopoly of public transport in Lisbon), decided last May to ban overtime. The Carris workers are well-known for their fighting spirit, shown in a victorious strike last year. As usual, the government deployed against them the repressive forces of the Security police (P.S.P.) and of the secret police (D.G.S.).

OTHER STRUGGLES

Other industrial struggles took place amongst the women workers in the Itapa factory (*Setúbal*), the steel workers of the Siderurgia Nacional (*Setúbal*), in the explosives (*Moscavide*) and war material (*Brasão de Prata*) factories, in the Utic factory (*Lisbon*), in the Sonac factory (*Sacavém*), amongst the South of Lisbon cork workers, etc., etc.

The street market sellers in *Vizem* went on strike for 2 days, against higher rents. The municipal clerical workers have been fighting for a salary increase.

IN THE 'SINDICATOS'

The state-controlled trade-unions ('sindicatos') are being more and more used by the workers to put forward their demands. The workers have successfully elected, to many of the 'sindicatos', leaderships they can trust, instead of the lackeys of the factory owners or of the government, which were forced upon them. The 'sindicatos' have also been obliged on many occasions to implement juster collective contracts between employees and employers.

Amongst dozens and dozens of recent struggles we can quote that of the 17,000 Bank employees for a new collective contract. In Lisbon 8,000 employees held a meeting on April 18th and in Oporto 1,500 also met that same day.

At the railwaymen 'Sindicato' there was a meeting where 1,500 employees expressed their distrust

of their leadership and asked for better conditions in their collective contract. One of the speakers was Firmino Martins, a railwayman who was an opposition candidate banned by the government in the November 'elections', and threatened repeatedly with dismissal since then.

The glass-workers of the *Marinha Grande* region have been protesting against a new unfavourable collective contract. There were protests and stoppages in the Evma, Santos Barosa and Manuel Pereira glass factories.

THE STUDENTS STRIKE

There were strikes amongst the Lisbon Letters and Arts students (January 26th, Faculty closed by the authorities), Law students (17th -18th February), Medicine (March 5th, solidarity with the struggle of the doctors), Industrial Institute (January 21st), Agronomics and Veterinary (March 6th). The Economics students held meetings with over 50 students, and their Institute (I.S.C.E.F.) was closed by the authorities on April 19th.

The Oporto students also held large meetings in their faculties.

The Coimbra students, whose Union had been disbanded by the government last year, continued to fight for their Union. In February there were meetings attended by 3,000 and 4,500 students. Penalties imposed in 1969 by the authorities, against the students, have been quashed by an 'Amnesty' dated April 14th. But on the night of May 9th there were in Coimbra violent clashes and one student, Fernando Seica, was seriously wounded.

On May 13th the Education Minister took the unprecedented step of an earlier closure of all University teaching activities from May 15th.

DOCTORS STRIKES

The Portuguese doctors, especially in Lisbon, have been protesting against their working conditions notably in the hospitals. They have held a series of large meetings at their state-controlled Union ('Ordem dos Médicos'). The Lisbon General Hospitals doctors went on strike for 3 days (18th-20th February). The Lisbon Santa Maria teaching hospital doctors went on strike for another 3 days (4th-6th March).

Further meetings at the 'Ordem dos Médicos' took place in March and April in Lisbon, despite government opposition and pressure, to discuss their situation and their

rights. In *Oporto* they met on April 8th, with the same purpose.

NURSES WORK TO RULE

The *Lisbon* nurses decided to work to rule from February 2nd to 14th, for better salaries. On February 2nd a delegation they sent to the Health Ministry was charged by the armed police, with dogs. The *Oporto* nurses followed in support of their colleagues.

THE OPPOSITION

Despite all prohibitions, the political anti-fascist opposition continues to insist on their legal right to exist, following the November 'elections'.

The newly-formed Movement of Democratic Opposition (M.O.D.) has held several meetings in Leiria and Lisbon, and issued a number of pamphlets on the struggle for democracy.

The recently deceased democratic writers *Alves Redol* and *Mário Sacramento* were honored at meetings in Alpiarça and Aveiro, on February 24th and March 29th respectively.

On March 8th many women celebrated International Women's Day, at meetings in different parts of Portugal.

AGAINST COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

On February 4th there were in *Lisbon* student meetings of protest against the colonial wars. And on February 21st there were street demonstrations against those wars and the American intervention in Vietnam.

The number of deserters from the Army is increasing.

AGAINST REPRESSION

On January 20th a total of 48 leading Portuguese personalities including writers (such as Oscar Lopes, Sofia Andresen, Ilse Losa and Rui Feijó), artists (such as Rogério Paulo, Lopes Graça, and Maria Kell), University Professor Lindley Cintra, doctors, Catholic priests and friars, lawyers, etc., announced in a publicly-signed document, (which included a copy of a letter sent to Caetano), that they had constituted themselves into a *National Committee for Help to Political Prisoners*.

They are asking for an Amnesty and immediate release of all political prisoners, the end of the 'security measures' and other repressive measures and legislation.

The *Lisbon* engineering students organized on March 6th a meeting

FREEDOM FOR THE PRISONERS

This is the time of the year when tourists flock into Portugal. They are looking for the sunshine, for the beautiful sea and the beaches of the Portuguese coast.

But on that beautiful coast there is a place which is a dark spot for all who care for justice and human dignity. The name of that place is Peniche.

There is in Peniche an old grim fortress, built on the rocks of the Atlantic coast, continuously beaten by the huge waves. The fortress is a special secret police prison, where dozens of heroic Portuguese anti-fascists are held under an inhuman régime, aimed at breaking them down and destroying them as human beings.

Hundreds and hundreds of Portuguese anti-fascists have passed through the jails of Peniche.

SAVE THE LIFE OF PIRES JORGE!

In Peniche are men such as **PIRES JORGE**, the workers' leader, now 61, imprisoned there over 8 years, after 5 years in other fascist jails.

PIRES JORGE is a man who started to fight fascism one year after it came to power in Portugal; and that was 43 years ago. He has never stopped fighting, since then; he led the clandestine anti-fascist struggle inside Portugal for 19 years.

Now, because of the terrible conditions in Peniche his health is

to demand the liberation of engineer graduate **BLANQUI TEIXEIRA**, a long-term political prisoner. Earlier, on February 26th a meeting of the Lisbon branch of the Graduate Engineers state-controlled Union ('Ordem dos Engenheiros'), attended by 200 people, also demanded the release from jail of Blanqui Teixeira.

WRITERS ASSOCIATION

The organization of Portuguese writers known as the Portuguese Society of Writers, which was disbanded on the 21st May 1965 by order of the Salazar government, because of its progressive policies, continued to fight for reinstatement.

The writers on March 17th succeeded at last in founding a new Portuguese Association of Writers.

deteriorating and his life is in danger. He had recently to be admitted to hospital.

If we want to save the life of this brave and honest man we must free him from jail.

OTHERS IN PENICHE

Other prisoners with long terms of imprisonment are kept in Peniche, such as **DIAS LOURENÇO**, **BLANQUI TEIXEIRA**, **OCTAVIO PATO**, **JOSE MAGRO**, **JOSE CARLOS**, **GUILHERME CARVALHO**, **MARIO ARAUJO**, **ROGERIO CARVALHO**, **DOMINGOS ABRANTES**, **ILDIO ESTEVES**, **DINIZ MIRANDA**, **VEIGA DE OLIVEIRA**, etc., etc., many of them are also in bad health.

Remembering their birthdays can help to maintain their morale. Write to them to Cadeia do Forte de Peniche, Peniche, Portugal. Mário Araújo will be 34 on August 28th and Jorge Araújo will be 34 on September 26th.

JOAO HONRADO

JOAO HONRADO, a 41-year-old shop assistant, has spent nearly 12 years in jail because of his opposition to fascism. He is now in an extremely serious condition, and he is kept in isolation in the Lisbon Penitentiary jail.

AN AMNESTY IS URGENT

The Portuguese political prisoners, whose only crime is to have fought for human dignity and for a better life for their people, must be given back to their families and to the people who love them.

At present the only way to achieve this is to press for an Amnesty from Caetano and the Portuguese rulers. The 'liberal' Caetano should at least be capable of this.

Ask for an Amnesty for all Portuguese political prisoners, writing to Professor Marcelo Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal.

Save the lives of innocent men and women in sunny Portugal!

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

NEWS OF REPRESSION

(from our correspondents in Portugal)

A CRUMBLING FACADE

THE 'liberal' façade of the Cae-tano government is vanishing rapidly.

The only answer of the fascists to the rising tide of the struggle of the Portuguese people for a better life and for civic rights continues to be increasing police repression.

The change of name of the secret police from P.I.D.E. to D.G.S. has not made the slightest difference to the methods used by that body. The Portuguese people call the agents of the D.G.S. the 'pides of the D.G.S.'. And the D.G.S. continues to arrest, persecute and ill-treat the opponents of the régime.

WAVE OF ARRESTS

The Portuguese National Committee for Help to Political Prisoners issued on May 15th in Portugal a document exposing the police repression and giving the names of nearly 100 people arrested or detained for questioning since last October.

In April the D.G.S. proudly announced in the press the arrest of 11 people, mainly students, because of 'subversive activities'.

SEMINAR FORBIDDEN

A seminar organized by the Oporto University Catholic Youth on the theme 'Analysis and Perspectives for Portugal', to be conducted in that city on March 17th by Dr. Pereira de Moura, a Lisbon University Economics teacher and well-known Catholic opponent of the régime, was banned by the authorities.

When the audience to the course tried to stage a protest against this decision near the home of the Bishop of Oporto (well-known for his opposition to Salazar) they found the Bishop's palace surrounded by a massive concentration of repressive forces and secret police.

COURSE ALLOWED

A week-long course on 'subversive war' organized by the fascist militia 'Portuguese Legion' ended with manoeuvres on guerrilla and counter-guerrilla tactics, in the Val de Lobos region, near Lisbon, on April 12th. The participants were fascist legionnaires coming from all

HERE are the minimized losses reported in the Portuguese war communiqués and press from January 28 to April 25:

	Armed Forces Militia KILLED	Armed Forces Militia WOUNDED
Guinea	38	44
Angola	71	131 78
Mozambique	59	70
TOTAL	168	140 78

Numbers for the wounded are not always available. The sum total for twelve weeks is 308 killed and 209 wounded. There were 16 members of the militia reported missing in Guinea and 189 in Angola, making up a total of 205.

GUINEA

ANOTHER PROPAGANDA STUNT

The serious military situation in this colony has caused the Portuguese authorities to mobilize all propaganda resources in order to persuade a sceptical world of the alleged control of the territory by the Lisbon Government.

And yet it is crystal clear from the much-exaggerated reports published in the Portuguese Press that apart from Bissau on the coast in an area 20 miles deep, a few scattered entrenched camps in the interior (which can only be supplied and visited by aeroplane), and a strip of land close to the Senegalese border, the colonialist authorities have no control of large areas inside this colony. Accordingly the Portuguese Overseas Minister, Professor Silva Cunha, visited Guinea-Bissau (and for a few hours the island of Comó) from the 12th to the 20th March, and had the usual well-staged reception in the town.

districts of the country.

THE TRIALS

On May 12th the Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced Francisco Rodrigues to 20 years in jail, Rui d'Espiney to 19 years, and Dr. Palido Valente to 15 years; all because of 'subversive and terroristic activities'.

On May 16th the same court sentenced Joaquim Duarte to 14 months in jail because of 'activities against the state security'.

STOP OPERATIONS

Repressive police operations on the roads took place between February 24th and May 4th in Oporto, Vila Real, Evora, Lisbon and the Algarve.

A total of 23,000 vehicles were inspected.

THE WAR GOES ON

The colonialist forces have lost all initiative in the war. This is clear from the war communiqués published in the Portuguese Press from January 30th to April 24th. (P.J.)

The colonialists are now very weak on the defensive for they record frequent attacks by the Guinean forces on Ingoré, Suzana, Ojossato, Infandré, Bissum, Buba, Taibatá, Bedanda, Cajambari.

The Portuguese communiqués, refer also to engagements with the enemy in the southern region at Cubiseco, and at Fiara, Fquissir, Sanbyadiim and Jumbembem.

From 22nd to 29th March, the Amendalaj post was overrun by the freedom-fighters and 117 houses destroyed.

HEAVY LOSSES

The colonialists admit severe, though unspecified losses, at Buruntuma near the Senegalese border (February 27th to 28th), which was heavily shelled by the patriots. (P.J. 4 and 8.3.70.)

NAPALM ON CIVILIANS

On the other hand, the Guineans, who already control over two-thirds of the territory (PAIGC, Actualités, no. 10/10.69) give a detailed account of the atrocities committed by the Portuguese air force in the liberated areas. Civilian populations and schools have been bombed with napalm.

This appears to be the strategy of despair. For the Portuguese have failed to upset the good relations between the Guineans and their neighbours.

PORTUGUESE BASE FALLS

The patriots have taken the Portuguese base of Moricane in the Xitoli area, in the East, which is a key point in the defensive system on the left bank of the Geba river. One aircraft was brought down, 8 vessels sunk, 25 vehicles

destroyed and 120 Portuguese troops killed. (PAIGC War comm. 17.2 to 3.4.1970.)

CAPE VERDE

ASKING NATO INTERVENTION

The Portuguese fascists, in order to get even bigger aid from NATO, are doing all they can to include the archipelago under the geographic limits of NATO control. Cape Verde is located 400 miles below the southern limit covered by the NATO agreements.

Yet this is no obstacle to the Portuguese Overseas Minister, (a well-known fascist diehard) who emphasized this particular point at the time of the appointment of Brigadier Lopes dos Santos as Governor of Cape Verde. (P.J. 6.3.70.)

W. GERMAN INVESTMENT

A W. German firm is going to build a £40,600,000 super touristic complex with 8 first class hotels and bungalows on the Boavista island. The airport will be completed within one year and ordinary water will be obtained, through desalination, from sea-water.

ANGOLA

VIOLENCE AND CORRUPTION

The liberation war inside this colony continues with its usual intensity, while violence is now spreading among the civilian population in a way that has shocked a Caetano 'deputy' for Angola in the 'National Assembly'. 'Robbery and murder', she said, 'are quite rampant in Luanda... And luxury living, frequently at the expense of the Government'. (Diário das Sessões, 30.1.70.)

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

The Angolans have been stepping up the fight bravely on all fronts. Portuguese war communiques (P.J. 5.2. to 18.4.70) report frequent engagements to the North-East of the colony. In the Moxico region the patriots have been very active over a vast area, at Chuime, Nunda, Sete and along the banks of the rivers Cuando and Capui. A train on the Benguela railway line was also attacked by the nationalists. (Feb. 8th to 14th.)

The freedom fighters have been harassing the Portuguese forces at Buçaco, Caiandam, Moie Longa, M'Pupa, Cumeia, Tampue, in the Zala region. Quitexe, Bula Atumba,

Sandando and along the banks of the river Chicolui.

SEVERE BLOW ON THE PORTUGUESE

Portuguese war communiques are normally very reticent about losses suffered by the colonialist Army. But a special communiqué, issued to the Press on March 26th, reported a heavy assault by MPLA forces on the Caripande base, to the South of Cazombo, and admitted 'many casualties'. (P.J. 26.3.70.)

NEW ARMY COMMANDER

A few days before the assault, the Lisbon Government appointed General Oliveira e Sousa as new military commander of the colony. (P.J. 25.3.70.)

KRUPP LEADS THE BAND

The iron-ore Cassinga mines, where prospecting began in 1955 are considered to be the first mineral wealth of the colony. It is nominally explored by the 'Lobito Portuguese Mining Company', which obtained a 175m. dollar loan from a consortium headed by the West German giant, Krupp's associates are the Belgian-American 'Grega-Europe', the Italian 'Pirelli and Venice Shipyards', the Danish 'Hojkaard and Schulz'—and a small number of minor Portuguese firms. (V.M., 6.2.70.)

In 1969 Cassinga had an annual output of 3,400,000 tons of iron-ore. (P.J. 18.2.70.)

FOREIGN CAPITAL

The Portuguese branch of the British concern BABCOCK & WILCOX has set up two new companies both in Angola and Mozambique to deal with the assembling, import and export of boilers, metal structures and plant installations.

An initial £130,500 capital in the Angola company will soon be raised to £174,000 (P.J. 5.4.70.)

ASSEMBLING MOTOR CARS

A £290,000 motor car-assembling line (SACMA) has been set up at Viana, in the suburbs of Luanda (P.J. 1.2.70.)

U.S.A. DOING WELL

In 1969, the U.S.A.-owned Cabinda Gulf Oil, which has invested £58,910,000 in the area, had an output of 11½m. drums of crude oil (P.J. 27.1.70.)

THE SWISS MOVE IN

A contract has been signed between the 'Angola Copper Society' and the Swiss 'Société Anonyme du Chrome', which will subscribe 70 per cent of the assets

of the new society for the prospecting of copper in Northern Angola (V.M. 30.1.70.)

PRECIOUS STONES

A new company, DIAMUL, has been formed for the prospecting and exploration of precious stones in an unspecified area in Angola. (V.M. 30.1.70.)

RISE IN THE MINING INDUSTRIES

The output of all the extractive industries in Angola increased substantially, between January and September of the years shown in the table below (P.J. 31.3.70):

1968	
DIAMONDS ...	999,934 (carats)
IRON ORE ...	2,331,211 (tons)
CRUDE OIL ...	360,724 (tons)
1969	
DIAMONDS ...	1,227,898 (carats)
IRON ORE ...	4,728,000 (tons)
CRUDE OIL ...	1,579,967 (tons)

BANK OF ANGOLA

The Bank of Angola, with £11,124,134 of assets, had £1,307,140 net profits in 1969 (D.L. 20.4.70.) The shareholders have decided to increase the bank's assets by £362,500 (D.L. 18.4.70.)

ENGLISH TRADE MISSION

An English mission, headed by Mr. David Alcken, has been on a visit to Luanda, Benguela, Lobito and Sá da Bandeira to study problems related to the fishing industries. (P.J. 11.3.70.)

MOZAMBIQUE

ON THE ATTACK

PORTUGUESE war communiques reveal considerable military activity in Cape Delgado, Niassa, Zambesia and the Tete district.

Heavy attacks by Frelimo columns at Mamecala, Quinhamingua and Nhica of Rovuma, in Cape Delgado, were also recorded. Frequent ambushes by the patriots and a shelling of the Portuguese army garrisons at Mitoda, Diaga and Naingade, as well as the engagements at Ucincha and Pripri (Tete) leave no doubt to the colonialists that times are becoming tougher. (P.J. 18.2. to 19.4.70.)

DUTCH JOURNALISTS AND FRELIMO

In the one-fifth of the country that has already been liberated, three Dutch journalists had the opportunity of seeing and recording the fighting spirit and the new life that Frelimo has brought to those areas (Rob de Uries letter, 24.3.70) in *Mozambique Revolution*, no 42-1 to 3,1970).

Continued on page 521

In our last issue (vol. 10, No. 1, April 1970, pp. 506-507 and 512) we examined in some detail the development of nationalism in Portugal until 1890, showing also the way in which genuine national feeling had been used, abused or totally ignored by the ruling class. We may mark the beginning of the development of nationalism within the framework of the Monarchy were the alliance of the people with the merchant class and a small fraction of the aristocracy in the late 14th century, then the surrender in 1580 to the Spanish Hapsburgs by the descendants of that merchant class that had been promoted and merged with the aristocracy; later the break through of the bourgeoisie in the 1820's until it finally toppled the Monarchy with strong popular backing in 1910.

One of the irreconcilable attractions to the ruling class in Portugal (both the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie) has been cosmopolitanism, which began to assert itself after the war of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). This tendency coincides with the growing economic and political weakness of Portugal. But in the late 1830's the liberal bourgeoisie began to share in the government of the country, and though it had to face new problems, it tackled them with great confidence in a world that was already well divided into spheres of political influence. The liberals, however, came to power in circumstances which were going to shape their further action in the Government.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE COSMOPOLITAN ATTRACTION

The nationalism adopted by the Portuguese ruling class in the nineteenth century had to contend with the imperial nationalism of the great powers, whose relations with dependent foreign states came to be known as the gun-boat policy. For the big powers then considered it necessary to control politically the governments of those countries in which they had established economic interests.

It is in this context that the nationalism of the Portuguese bourgeoisie has to be understood. Deprived of power, it did not hesitate to urge direct foreign intervention against an arch conservative government in its own country. Nor did it hesitate to advocate the extreme

solution of a class alliance with a neighbouring country under a federation scheme.

This plan would inevitably have hurt the national sentiment of the people, but for the bourgeoisie, as we have already seen, that would be a secondary importance, because the bourgeoisie believed itself to be the nation.

As soon as the Portuguese bourgeoisie came to power, it began to implement a programme aimed to create inside the country the conditions for free trade. The first phase of that programme included the construction of a road and rail network to allow an adequate exchange of goods. This was done with foreign capital, mainly British in the beginning, for it was amongst the bankers of the City that the liberals had raised the necessary funds to equip the expeditionary force, made up of exiles and mercenaries, who landed near Oporto. The vicissitudes of the civil war that followed increased the debts of the liberal party.

The republican liberals partially explain the economic policy pursued by the liberal government. Under the banner of 'progress', the Portuguese ruling class opened up the country to foreign investments.

By the 1840's Portuguese entrepreneurs and their foreign associates joined together in the 'transport' policy and in moderate industrialization, which soon produced good dividends for all partners concerned.

The economic situation and the advantages it gave the ruling class will lead in time to a different theory of nationalism. It has promoted internally a wider interest in the cultural traditions of the country and, by breaking the feudal barriers and regionalist interests, it enforces a new sense of community. Portugal is in a way being rediscovered and its literature of the period, with its strong local flavour, reflects the new mood.

But, on the other hand, the prosperous status of the bourgeoisie and its more frequent contacts with its foreign counterpart, draws the Portuguese ruling class into a sphere of cosmopolitan seduction. This attachment to cultural values associated with technologies more advanced than those found at home accompanies the alienation of the natural wealth of the territory. And since this is a surrender to the interests of foreign capital by a class that looks first and foremost to its own interests, the people of the country

ANATOMY OF COSMOPOLITAN NATIONALISM (2)

by A. Leal

as a whole continue to lose their independence. The effects are seen in the lowering or stagnation of their standard of living, despite the process of industrialization and increasing output. The fact remains that the goods manufactured by the labouring people are diverted to the markets controlled by the big powers, bringing little or nothing in return for the depletion of the country's natural resources.

A NEW BRAND OF NATIONALISM

Thus the Portuguese nationalism of the 1890's differs from its predecessors just as these differed from those that came before them. In the historical evolution of Portugal, the people are the first to reach a clear awareness of their national identity. But their national sentiment has been either used to preserve that identity or thoroughly dismissed according to the conveniences of the ruling class. So nationalisms may change in their content, yet their class nature remains. And when the volume of foreign investments began to increase, the idea of political federation was superseded (over a century later) by the cosmopolitan solution of a great national integration into the great areas of absolute capitalist domination.

Under the monopolist dictatorship, first of Salazar and now of Caetano, Portugal and its colonies are amalgamated into a vast heterogeneous unity which has been named the 'Portuguese Space' or the 'Portuguese Common Market'.

Inevitably these changes demand an adaptation of the Portuguese fascist ideology to the needs of the new economic situation. And the ideologues of the régime have sought to graft the old thesis of nationalism on to the incongruous body of their theory of Western 'transnationalism'. National sentiment is going to be utilised once again to continue the colonial adventures of the Lisbon Government and their foreign supporters.

Originally Salazar and his ideologues, whose political theory had been largely drawn from the

doctrines of the arch-reactionary Charles Maurras, as well as from Mussolini and Hitler, maintained the myth of the uniqueness of Portugal, a transcendental nation that had walled itself together under the banner of Christianity. Being essentially an agrarian country, Portugal was supposed to have developed a system of humane patriarchal relations between the rulers and the ruled. Such a system, by some contorted metaphysical argument, had been the product of an inherent quality in the Portuguese 'character and soul'. Thus Portugal could stand as an example of unequalled dignity in a world torn by strife and confusion.

The economic relations between Portugal and her colonies were clearly those between a classical and old-fashioned colonial power and its overseas possessions. In the 'Colonial Act' (1930) promulgated by Salazar, the colonies were expected to provide all the 'raw materials that the mother-country would then process and manufacture. When later, in 1951, Salazar's Government became aware of the gap between their colonial legislation and the current line of political propaganda, they renamed the colonies Overseas Provinces.

Later the 'Organic Law for the Portuguese Overseas Territories' (27.6.1953), partly altered by the law of June 24th, 1963, modified certain aspects of colonial Administration, but the substance of the existing colonial regime remained unchanged. Economic relations continued to be the same and even now, under the much advertised 'enlightened dictatorship' of Caetano, industrial development in the colonies is severely restricted and under the control of the Lisbon Government.¹

DEPRIVED OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY

While this situation is still maintained, wages in the Portugal are also kept on the subsistence level. This is clearly shown in the Gross National Product of the country, where only 45 per cent appears as

the remuneration of labour, whereas the normal average in Western European countries is 60 to 70 per cent.²

Under these circumstances the big monopolies, who supported the Fascist State and received, in return, their services, embarked on the industrialization of the country. And while the repressive forces ensured the policy of low wages the Government provided the necessary legislation, and guaranteed the regular supply of colonial raw materials at the lowest prices.

But the development of the industrial sector was achieved at the expense of stagnation in agriculture. The various agrarian projects put forward by the Government in 1958 and 1964 were never implemented. And though these projects were far from aiming at any change in the poor peasant's lot, they were nevertheless frantically opposed by the big landowners. These own among themselves more than 39 per cent of the arable land, which is exploited in a small number of large estates (less than 1 per cent of the total), whereas 33 per cent of the land is cultivated under hard conditions in a large number of small holdings (92 per cent of the total).³

A NATION INSIDE THE NATION

All this shows clearly that a few groups and families control the wealth, the resources and the labour of the nation, as well as those of the Portuguese colonies. Their nationalism has a clear cash value. And they are a nation inside the nation.

On the other hand, the Portuguese Government and their supporters, lacking a national basis at home, have sought the assistance of foreign finance in order to stay in power and gain the approval of the Western Democracies. Under the leadership of Salazar, huge foreign investments were made both in Portugal and in the African colonies. Even before 1961, it was estimated that two-thirds of the capital invested in Portugal was linked with the international monopolies.

This policy entailed the surrender of national wealth and labour, which engross the invisibles of the developed countries, whose economies depend heavily on them. Gradually financial circles in the

colonies began to seek a certain amount of autonomy and Portuguese industries at home then felt the pinch in terms of supply of raw materials. By 1960, the existence of the Common Market came to affect the development of certain industrial sectors. Yet the wage gap between the average Portuguese and the West European worker of the developed countries continued to widen substantially. This, together with the African wars have, since 1961, led to large emigration, which deprived Portugal of her manpower.

The Fascists under the leadership of Caetano realize the need for a new model in the Portuguese economy. But both the men of the Caetano school and the more conservative Salazarists sink all their differences, when it comes to the preservation of maximum capitalist profit. Their internal squabbles about the next step in the development of Portuguese economy are the façade they intend to keep as an example of a so-called 'Portuguese democracy'. Indeed the 'heated arguments' which Dr. M. Caetano sponsors has to be held inside the 'National Assembly', where the Government Party is the only one represented, aim only at making the present authoritarian régime more efficient.⁴

AN IDEOLOGY OF NATIONAL BETRAYAL

It is, therefore, in order to keep up a vast business empire that Caetano, like his predecessor Salazar, has to distort history. In his speech of December 17, 1969, Caetano claimed that Portuguese rule in Africa has lasted for centuries and that, 'far from taking land from anyone, the Portuguese provided a country and a nation for primitive peoples, whose life was torn by permanent tribal wars'. (D.M. 18.12.69.)

It has also put forward an 'ethical' argument on the legitimacy of the Portuguese presence in Africa. He has claimed that the colonies must be defended, for if they were lost an evil far worse than Portuguese rule would fall mercilessly upon those territories. (Speech of 19.6.69; 'S.N.' 3.7.0.)

On the other hand, he maintains that as Portugal has never known capitalism in a modern sense, it

Continued overleaf

situation of the Portuguese worker has always benefited from the social climate generated on the basis of an agrarian and patriarchal society inspired by Christian ethics (21.2 in D.M. 22.2.70).

By resorting to these trumped-up arguments and distortions, Caetano tries to conceal the non-existence of adequate conditions that would enable the Portuguese and African peoples to earn a decent living in their respective homelands. By presenting a fictitious picture of idyllic working conditions in the past and in the present inside Portugal, he propounds a 'nationalist economism' aimed at containing the movement for just wage demands. And by selecting Portugal as a model of labour relations, he seeks to show the advantages of an alleged 'national solution' that ought to be imitated by other countries.

Another factor on which he plays is the false appearance of the political sovereignty of Portugal. Although the Portuguese Government enjoys freedom of action in its diplomatic relations with other states, this is entirely conditioned by the economic and political situation of the country.

At present vast tracts of Portuguese and colonial territories are being explored by powerful foreign concerns. Since Caetano replaced Salazar, the rate of foreign investments at home and in the colonies has been accelerated at an unprecedented step. And naturally the great inducement for these trusts has been the continued prohibition of strikes by the Caetano Government and the low wage level of the Portuguese worker. (The Times, 2.2.70).

A NEW FORM OF FOREIGN OCCUPATION

Thus the tyranny of Capital, that knows no boundaries nor national communities, has a loyal servant in the Caetano régime. To keep itself in power, the dictatorship has sought the protection of the Armed Forces of the USA and the Western powers. Under NATO agreements, foreign military bases have been set up all over the country and are located in areas where popular agitation may endanger the Government's authority and the implementation of foreign investment schemes. The stationing of W. German soldiers near Beja, inside Portugal, is a good case to bear in

mind, for the West Germans are committed to a large irrigation scheme in the Alentejo.

Being left in a subordinate and colonized position to the Western powers, the Portuguese bourgeoisie, owing chiefly to its financial ties, displays a cosmopolitanism that is sometimes hard to reconcile with its theories on nationalism. Both Salazar and Caetano have tried to solve the problem by identifying the traditional values of Portuguese civilization, in spite of Portugal's much vaunted individuality, with the so-called 'Christian Western values', which, in their opinion, can only be preserved under a capitalist system of intensive exploitation.

NATO has proved, therefore, a most welcome alliance, for without NATO Portugal could not sustain a prolonged war against the movements of national liberation by the peoples of her colonies.

COSMOPOLITAN NATIONALISM

In a most informative study, 'Portugal and NATO', S. J. Bosgra and C. van Krimpen, have shown that, by contravening the agreements, Portugal is using in Africa the forces she should hold available at home for 'the defence of the Iberian Peninsula'. The Fascists contend that they are already defending the West in the Colonies and they balk at nothing—they even finance military expenditures with foreign loans.

On the other hand the U.S.A., whose more intense military co-operation with the régime dates from 1951, know quite well that the Armed forces of Portugal are unable to match in efficiency and equipment the modern Army of a small European country of her size and population. Her disparate supplies of equipment would make her very vulnerable in the NATO complex, if she had to face a modern war in Europe, but these can be put to good use when it comes to fighting guerrillas in Africa, who face tremendous difficulties. The Americans also train the Portuguese Army and there is no doubt that the régime enjoys the protection of NATO.⁴

This is in practice the real significance of the cosmopolitan nationalism of the Caetano régime. The peoples of Portugal and of her Overseas possessions have neither sovereignty, nor independence. They are deprived of civic and human

rights. They are not allowed to reap any advantages from the wealth they produce. And they have been robbed of the natural resources of their own land, because they are occupied by an oligarchy that retains power by brute force. Only a hypocrite can pretend to the illusion that Portugal is an independent nation.

And yet in 8 centuries of struggle the people of Portugal have tried to own and preserve the independence of their country. Yet never, since 1580, has Portugal been so enslaved to a minority as she is today under Fascism. For this very reason the whole struggle of the Portuguese people is directed now at a true and sovereign independence.

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SEEKING AFRICAN ALLIES

The Portuguese colonialists are seeking allies among the African States. Intense diplomatic activity with the Malgash Republic is expected to lead to a renewal of diplomatic relations (P.J. 13.2.70.)

LOAN TO MALAWI

Malawi students are now coming to the University in Lourenço Marques (P.J. 23.2.70). And now the Lisbon Government has made a 25m. dollar loan to Malawi for the construction of an autoroute from Blantyre to the South-western Portuguese border (D.L. 23.3.70).

A WHITE DREAM

In the Cabora Bassa area, where the fascists want to build a "white country" of 1m. people, the small town of Songo is now under construction (P.J. 3.3.70).

Besides Cabora Bassa, three more dams are to be built on the Zambezi river (P.J. 17.2.70).

OIL AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The following companies are prospecting for oil on the Mozambican continental shelf: SUNRAY (USA) with its associates 'Mozambique Gulf oil', linked to 'Pan American Oil'; 'Hunt International' and 'Texaco Co.'. And the consortium formed by GELSENBERG (W. German), Aquitaine (French), Anglo-American (S. African) (P.J. 7.1.70).

AUSTRIAN INTERESTS

Dr. Gleissner from the Austrian Ministry of Economy paid a visit to the colony to increase economic relations between the two countries. (P.J. 26.3.70).

NEW PROSPECTIONS

In the areas of Chico and Lupala (Tete) iron ore and manganese are being prospected. (P.J. 6.4.70).

A S. African Company will soon start prospecting for bauxite and gold in the Manica and Sofala districts. (P.J. 14.4.70).

COTTON HARVEST UP

The last cotton harvest reached 122,000 tons—a 42.9 per cent increase on 1965. (P.J. 27.1.70).

KEY TO REFERENCES

"P.J."—"Primeiro de Janeiro",
"D.L."—"Diário de Lisboa".

Two of the leading daily, economic, Portuguese newspapers.

INSIDE PORTUGAL

SIGNIFICANT FIGURES

The increase in Public Expenditure from 1960 to 1969, in terms of a percentage of the Gross National Product, is shown in the following table:

Year	Budget Estimate as % of GNP	Actual Expd. as % of GNP
1960	15.9	17.2
1962	16.3	19.3
1964	16.6	19.2
1966	16.1	18.2
1968	17.1	19.2
1969	17.8	—

The disparity between the Estimates and the amounts actually spent would seem to be a permanent feature of the Budget. The reason is a deliberate underestimate of military expenditure on the Colonial wars, and of the sums spent on police repression at home. Such expenditures represented 44.3% of the total Budget for '68. In the same period the Public Debt, as a percentage of the total Budget, followed this pattern—

1960	1968	1969	1970†
7%	9.6%	9.7%	9.2%

†Budget estimate.

Investments on the other hand, fell from 34.5% in 1960, to 24.1% in 1968. The estimated figures for 1969 and 1970 are around 25%. Inflation increased by 8% in 1969, and the total money in circulation rose by 10% between 1968 to 1969 ('Vida Mundial', Lisbon, 27.3.70).

AND FAT PROFITS

This state of things is, however, highly profitable for financial and industrial concerns, as can be seen from the following Table which shows how profits rose between 1964-68.

Concerns	Total Profits in £m.				
	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Banks	6.5	7.1	7.7	8.1	8.9
Colonial Companies	4.5	4.8	6.6	7.6	8.5
Electricity	7.0	7.3	7.9	9.3	10.0
Insurance	0.60	0.70	0.80	1.0	1.2
Shipping	0.40	0.45	0.50	0.70	0.90
Tobacco	0.35	0.30	0.65	0.90	0.95

These profits have been shared among a small number of companies, as follows:

Co.	Banks	Ins.	Elec.	Tob.	Shpg.
'24	12	18	11	3	2

Taking the year 1964 as the starting point, the percentage increase in profits is:

1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
%	17.5	34.3	74.0	91.0

In as short a period as four years profits have almost doubled.

This is how the total profits are divided amongst the different economic sectors:

Electricity	29%
Banks	26%
Colonial	25%
Others	20%

Thus, after nine years of Colonial wars, necessitating an enormous expenditure, only 25% of the profits Portugal receives are earned in the colonies. ('Seara Nova', Lisbon, March 1970).

BANKS AND ELECTRICITY

Profit-making carried on happily in Portugal during 1969, as the Reports of the Banks disclose:

Português do Atlântico	132,000,000
Banco de Portugal	1,15 " "
Esparito Suro & ...	" "
Comercial de Lisboa	1.1 " "
Pinto & Sotto Mayor	1.0 " "
Borges & Imazio	840,000
Ferreira & Irmãos	630,000
Totta-Aliança	510,000
(D.L. and P.J. 5.2.70 to 22.3.70).	

Electricity companies also maintain high yields:

Companhia Portuguesa de Electricidade	£7.1m.
Companhia Eléctrica das Beiras	£300,000
União Eléctrica Portuguesa	£135,000

The 'Companhia Portuguesa de Electricidade' is a giant monopoly concern, which was formed in August 1969 from the merger of several companies. It has a capital of £82m, and supplies most of the electricity in Portugal. (D.L. 25.3.70 to 4.4.70).

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

The latest report issued by OECD is a grim revelation of the plight of the Portuguese people.

—The average individual annual income in Portugal is £219, while for Belgium, with the same population and only half the territory of Portugal, the figure is £900, for Spain £320, and Greece £356.

—32.3% of the Portuguese population are employed in working the land, as against 5.6% in Belgium, 3.1% in Britain, and 50.1% in Greece.

—Private consumption in Portugal is less than in any OECD country: 370 U.S. Dollars per inhabitant per annum, as against 540 in Spain, 600 in Greece, and 1790 in Sweden.

—In diet, the daily intake of

Continued on next page

INSIDE PORTUGAL—continued
calories per individual is 2,780—which is the second lowest of any country in the report, the figure for Japan being 2,460, and for Ireland 3,470.

—The annual consumption of electricity amounts to 590 kw. hours per inhabitant—once again the second lowest figure given (Turkey 183, Spain 1,109, and Norway 13,354).

—Education absorbs a bare 1.44% of the Gross National Product, compared with 3.2% for Turkey, 2.06% for Spain, and 7.4% for Sweden. (D.L. 27.2.70).

SELLING OUT ALGARVE

The scramble for 'sunny villas' in Algarve, the southernmost province of Portugal, goes on unabated, with foreign interests foremost among the land speculators.

The £10m. development at Vale do Lobo, undertaken by Richard Costain and Trust Houses, covers 450 acres. Vilamoura is another development belonging to Lusotur, based in London. Palmer Parker (Overseas) are the agents for two other developments, the Lúz Bay Club and Praia da Monchique Ltd., of Southampton, are developing an 82-acre site. Strutt & Parker are the agents for the Penina Estate, covering 350 acres between Portimão and Lagos ('The Times' 28.2.70).

These are but a few. Taking full advantage of their 'oldest ally' status, British land speculators spring up like mushrooms in the Algarve.

AND THE SELL-OUT GOES ON

Foreign land speculation goes hand in hand with the take-over by foreign capital of Portuguese firms. 'International Standard Electric Corporation', an American firm, successfully bid £5.75m. to take over the machine production concern 'Grupo Oliva'. Fortis Elevadores S.A.R.L., a manufacturer of lifts, was taken over by another American firm, Otis-Lifts Co., for £248,000. SUEDEX, the glove manufacturers, were taken over by the Swedish firm, Rita Establishment Sven Gustav Forsberg, for £27,500. Sociedade Macondo-Confeccoes Ltd. (clothing) has been sold to the Dutch firm Rooderstein. Electrónica Portuguesa (electronics) has been bought by two West German firms, as well as another electronic concern, Electro Mecânica Portuguesa Proll Ltd. 'Obergue', manu-

facturers of metal files, have been taken over by a Swedish firm. (D.L. 26.2.70.)

ENGLISH TRADE MISSION

A SPECIAL mission from the London Chamber of Commerce headed by Mr. F. S. B. Foster, visited Portugal during the last week of April and beginning of May. The aims of the visit, besides an increase in the trade between the two countries, were mainly financial and political.

In his farewell speech, Mr. Foster, seemed to be vying with the regime's propagandists: 'We are all going to remember Portugal and her gentle and civilized people. A people whom we believe will keep, on their advance to a modern industrial position, those values of civilization which are acutely endangered all over the world...' ('Diário da Manhã' (Fascist Daily), Lisbon 1.5.70, p.3.)

U.S.A. WAR EXPERTS IN PORTUGAL

A group of functionaries and officers, headed by Colonel John W. MacIndoe, from the U.S.A. 'National War College', arrived in Lisbon on May 3rd to meet members of the Portuguese Government and the American authorities in Portugal. They were there on a return voyage from a 3-weeks visit to Africa, while other groups had already been on a similar study visit to Latin America, the Middle-East and the Far-East (D.M. 1.5.70).

LACK OF MEN FOR THE WARS

The constant demands of three colonial wars in Africa are worrying the Portuguese Naval authorities, who complain of the lack of trained officer staff (P.J. 17.4.70).

Meanwhile article 47 of the Conscription Law (no 2,135) has been changed in order to allow longer service in the ranks for specialized staff over the 40 age group and a wider integration of civilians of both sexes in the Armed Services (P.J. 20.3.70).

HOSPITALS NEEDED

The lack of hospitals is also becoming rather acute because the authorities on their own admission 'were not prepared for the situation that has developed in the Overseas territories' (P.J. 27.1.70). A new 10-storey military hospital is being built in Lisbon, in the Estrela district, at a cost of £725,000 (V.M. 3.4.70).

ARMY MISSIONS

The creation of a special corps of nurses for the Armed Forces has been suggested by the Minister of Defence (V.M. 3.4.70).

MONEY FOR THE WAR

The Portuguese Army and Air Force have been granted a further £21,750,000 for their re-equipment. (D.L. 19.3.70.)

PLUS CA CHANGE

In a vain attempt to dupe public opinion, Caetano has decided to re-name Salazar's old party ('National Union') as 'National Popular Action' (Acção Nacional Popular). Caetano has been elected president of the ANP. (D.L. 19.3.70).

THE PARTY OF THE GOVERNMENT

The new statutes of the ANP recently approved, differ fundamentally from those of the 'National Union' of 1951 in only one point. Whereas the N.U. claimed to be independent from the Government—when in fact it was always the Government's party—the real situation has now been frankly admitted. (D.L. 27.2.70).

According to M. Caetano the ANP will be a school for future rulers of the regime. (V.M. 20.3.70).

CAETANO CENSORS HIS DEPUTIES

In the new 'National Assembly', where the Government Party is the only one represented, a few deputies have been protesting against the cuts made by the censor in their speeches when they are printed in the Press.

A speech by the deputy Sá Carneiro against press censorship was appropriately censored (P.J. 27.2.70).

Reassurances had been given by the Prime Minister and others in high authority that these cuts would cease. Yet on May 23rd, the deputy Pinto Machado complained in the Assembly that censorship of speeches of deputies continued. (D. das S. 23.4.70.)

CINEMA IN PORTUGAL

The most popular form of entertainment among the Portuguese is the Cinema. In 1967 a total of 845 foreign films were shown in Portugal. The national production totalled 180 short documentaries and publicity films, and only 6 feature films of poor quality (D.L. 2.3.1970).

PROBLEMS OF EMIGRATION

In 1968, the number of legal emigrants reached 80,452, whereas the

number of those who returned home was only 1,385. (D.L. 4.4.70).

The Portuguese emigrant has a hard life. In France, where there are more than 400,000 of them, only 20 per cent receive a family allowance from the French authorities for the dependants and relatives they have left behind in Portugal. (D. das S. 24.4.70).

Amongst people involved in a recently discovered network for illegal emigration was the former American Vice-Consul in Oporto, Mr. William Washburn, alleged to have received £13,058 for granting visas to 50 people who left for the U.S.A. (P.J. 22.4.70).

INFANTILE MORTALITY INCREASES

From 1967 to '68, the rates of infantile and neonatal mortality have increased respectively from 59.2 and 25.2 per 1,000 live born to 61.1 and 25.5. These are nearly the highest in Europe. (D.L. 30.1.70).

THE HABITATION PROBLEM

The alderman Leopoldo Nunes, a founding father of Salazar's 'National Union', estimates that in Lisbon there are 200,000 people who live in overcrowded, squalid rooms. Low monthly wages (on average £20), when the rent of many flats reaches £43 to £50 per month, is the reason for this multi-occupation. (P.J. 17.4.70).

MAY DAY

MAY DAY demonstrations took place in several parts of Portugal, despite the authorities' prohibitions.

The largest demonstrations were in the Barreiro industrial centre, south of Lisbon. 6,000 workers demonstrated there, violent clashes with the repressive forces took place, shots were fired over the crowd, stones hurled. Two days later a number of workers were arrested, provoking another demonstration by 7,000 people and further clashes. On May 4th Barreiro was occupied by the repressive forces with machine guns and on May 5th 2,000 railway workers staged a strike of protest.

Other demonstrations took place in Lisbon, Moscavide, Sacavem and Vila Franca de Xira (with more clashes and arrests).

FOREIGN POWERS HELP FASCISM

WITH the beginning of summer, millions of sun-starved west Europeans begin moving towards the sea-side bakeries of the South. They take with them a desire for enjoyment and the hard cash likely to make this possible.

Their holiday money can make all the difference between a negative or a positive balance of payments for their host country. Indeed, a country like Portugal is more and more keen on tourism as an aid to economic solvency. In the words of the Portuguese Secretary for Information, 'tourism is for Portugal a major industry which occupies a place of key importance in the Government's agenda for economic affairs' (P.J. 7.3.70).

Tourists are therefore a power, an economic force the Portuguese Government cannot afford to alienate. They will be officially welcome wherever they go. But as tourists in Portugal drive towards their chosen sea-side resort they may notice the odd spectacle of some villages inhabited mostly by children and old people; fields being ploughed by women; perhaps a few mutilated young men begging for alms at street corners. Around 100,000 Portuguese citizens emigrate every year, mostly young men. Another 150,000 Portuguese young men are conscripted into the army and sent to fight in the colonial wars.

The question every tourist heading towards 'spoiled Portugal' should ask himself is who is making a profit out of their expensive sunbats. Certainly not the Portuguese people. But undoubtedly the fascist oligarchy and the foreign economic

interests in Portugal and colonies who send the Portuguese to die in a criminal war or force them, through famine and political repression, into exile do well out of these visitors.

The Portuguese fascist oligarchy could not stay in power without foreign help, be it the unashamed military assistance to the colonial wars provided through NATO, the financial support through loans and investments provided by such democratic nations as Great Britain, West Germany and the United States (to cite only some of the major investors in Portuguese genocide), or indeed the 'innocent' but overwhelmingly important financial help provided by every individual tourist for a regime guilty of decimating a population it ought to be protecting. **TOURISTS; YOU ARE NOT WELCOME IN PORTUGAL.**

SATO? AND BRITAIN?

A recurrent theme in Portuguese diplomacy has been the idea that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization should have its territorial zone extended to include the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. This would make the Portuguese colonies of Cape Verde Islands, Guinea, Angola and Mozambique indispensable bases thus transferring the burden of keeping them Portuguese from Portugal herself to the Western powers fighting 'International Communism'.

Predictably, the idea has had in the past whole-hearted support from Portugal's closest partners, Brazil and South Africa, with the occasional American and British voice echoing their arguments. A major diplomatic offensive is now being launched in order to attract more responsible-sounding support to this dubious cause.

Regrettably, the campaign seems to be achieving considerable success in Britain. Mr. John Biggs-Davison, a Conservative M.P. who has often voiced opinions which read conspicuously like the propaganda pamphlets of the Portuguese Information Secretariat, seems to be at the centre of the current British campaign, which aims at officializing NATO's participation in the Portuguese colonial wars through the establishment of an equivalent organization in the South.

Continued overleaf

MINES CLOSE DOWN

The São Pedro da Cova coal-mines, near Oporto, have closed down. This is surprising in a country that has no oil. Yet since March 25th, 800 miners and their families (nearly 4,000 people altogether) have been deprived of the means to earn their living.

GOVERNMENT NEGLECT

The neglect of the miners by the Government can only be matched by the indifference shown in providing the necessary works to protect the population of Ribatejo from the periodical flooding of the Tagus. (D.L. 20.2.70).

Foreign Powers—continued

Mr. Biggs-Davidson's connection with the Portuguese Government's cause is, however, notorious and his views would warrant, on their own, no cause for alarm. But more responsible voices are adding their weight to his far-from-surprising views. When Mr. Biggs-Davidson's booklet 'Mailing a Lie' was recently launched in London, his thesis was familiar enough; that it is a lie that there is internal war in the Portuguese colonies which are nothing but victims of 'communist outside attack'; and that, logically, the creation of a South Atlantic Treaty Organization is indispensable for the defence of the West. All routine stuff repeatedly used by the Portuguese Government's propaganda machine. But—and this is more serious—the booklet was presented at a press conference by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd who, as the Portuguese press was careful to stress, is a leading member of the Conservative Party, and ex-Minister for Defence and for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd is reported to have said that the Soviet Union is a major naval power attempting to control the sea-routes to the East; that it is in the interest of Great Britain to ensure that the sea-route from Europe to Southern Africa and the East is kept open; that in order to do so, Britain must back her NATO allies, the Portuguese, in keeping Guinea and The Cape Verde Islands (P.J. 19.2.70).

Nor is the above item of news the only evidence of the growing support the Portuguese Government is achieving in Britain for its colonial policy. Dr. Franco Nogueira, the ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose policy has been consistently that of trying to place the Portuguese colonial struggle in the context of a West-East international confrontation, was invited to participate in a meeting in London for the discussion of problems related to Southern Africa and the sea-route to the Cape.

Dr. Nogueira, Caetano M.P. and a 'hard-liner' in the Portuguese establishment, came to London at the invitation of the Royal United Services Institution. He was the guest of honour at a luncheon arranged in the House of Commons by Labour M.P. Mr. Benjamin Ford, President of the Anglo-Portuguese Parliamentary Group. Also present, Lord Colyton (from Tanga-

nyika concessions, with powerful interests in Angola, including the Benguela railway), Lord Milverton, Lord Rathcavan (from Lisbon Electric Tramways, which has the monopoly of public transport in Lisbon), Lady Emmet and M.P.'s W. H. Aldritt (Labour), Victor Goodhew (Conservative), Patrick Wall (Conservative), James Dunn (Labour) and Albert Roberts (Labour) (P.J. 27.2.70).

Is it too cynical to suggest that trade and capital may be an incentive towards the fast-growing Portuguese zeal among some British notables?

A mission of the London Chamber of Commerce visited Lisbon in April. The 20 visiting members, who represented mainly the capital goods sector, established contacts at all levels (Government, banks and private finance) in Portugal

(P.J. 3.4.70 & D.L. 14.4.70). After their stay in Lisbon, the mission moved to Oporto, where it was the guest of the Anglo-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce of Oporto (P.J. 16.4.70).

WEST GERMANY'S NUCLEAR POWER

With the headline 'Portuguese Uranium for West German Nuclear Stations': a Portuguese newspaper reports the signing of a contract between the Portuguese Government and the West German firm 'Uranengesellschaft' for uranium prospecting in Angola and Mozambique. (D.L. 4.3.70.)

The first of six warships commissioned by the Portuguese Government from West Germany, the 'João Coutinho', has been delivered in Kiev. (P.J. 7.3.70.)

'NO' TO REACTION

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

THE U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, stated, at a meeting of the U.N. Decolonization Committee, on March 7th, that 'the Portuguese Government refuses obstinately to comply with the U.N. resolutions, and continues to oppress the African populations of her colonies, denying them the right to self-determination.'

A working group of the U.N. Committee on Human Rights, presided by I. Boye, from Senegal and with representatives from Austria, India, Peru, Tanzania and Yugoslavia, published a report on the Portuguese colonies where it is stated that 'human rights are being violated by the Portuguese in their colonies, specially concerning the treatment of their political prisoners.'

On March 22nd the U.N. Decolonization Committee decided to send a mission to Africa to contact the leaders of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and in other parts of Southern Africa.

During April the U.N. Office of Public Information, under instructions of the U.N. Decolonization Committee, issued a publication entitled 'Principle in torment—The United Nations and the Portuguese administered territories', exposing the colonialist policies of the Portuguese government.

IN BRITAIN

The struggle of the Portuguese anti-fascists inside Portugal was documented at an Anti-Fascist Exhibition which took place in Birmingham on May 9th.

More than 100 Labour M.P.s signed a motion sponsored by Mr. Frank Judd, protesting against repression in Portugal and colonies. A similar protest had been made by a number of the same M.P.s at a Council of Europe meeting in Strasbourg, on April 20th, when a report by the Consultative Assembly of that organization exposed the violation of the human rights now taking place in Portugal.

On April 27th there was a Press conference at the House of Commons to launch an International Commission of Enquiry into the facts surrounding the murder of General Delgado, in Spain, in February 1965, by the Portuguese secret police.

HOLLAND

A motion condemning the Portuguese colonialist policy and the supply of arms to Portugal was approved by the Dutch Parliament on February 12th.

A meeting in support of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies, organized by the Angola Comité, took place near Utrecht, from March 28th to 30th.