

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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THE BOGEYMEN

A PLAY by Peter Weiss entitled the "Song of the Lusitanian Bogeyman" has recently been presented in Stockholm. It exposes successfully many actions of the Salazar regime, mainly in the colonies.

The word 'bogeyman' describes very accurately the present rulers of Portugal.

They are in fact small-minded men, with outdated ideas, carrying on the policies of powerful economic interests in the country and more and more, by virtue of the irrevocable course of their actions, the policies of much more powerful foreign economic and military interests.

After the collapse of the Portuguese golden age at the end of the 16th century, Portugal seemed to have a choice of two main paths: the first would be a more democratic form of rule, with better use of the national resources at home; the second would be absorption by Spain.

The first course was difficult to follow in those times, due to the economic weakness of the masses of the people. Also a number of powerful interests in the Europe of the time were not prepared to allow a country, small though it might be, to set a dangerous example.

The second course was followed for sixty years, uniting the most reactionary strata of the Portuguese ruling class to their counter-parts in Spain. But then contradictions arose between sections of those ruling classes, and popular national feeling added to them. Foreign interests were also at play and all these factors again made Portugal a nominally independent country.

From the middle of the 17th century Portugal has been ruled in fact by an alliance of slowly evolving national rulers and of foreign powers interested in Portugal, in her colonies and in the European

balance of political forces. The strong national feeling of the Portuguese also presented a major obstacle to the wiping out of the country from the map of the world.

Up to the beginning of the 20th century, the foreign power leading in this policy was Britain, with occasional participation of France and of the Holy Alliance in the 19th century (see also main article of this issue).

With the advent of Salazar and his clique, and the changes in the world balance of forces, the interested foreign powers also changed. And their role in the destinies of the country and its rulers increased considerably.

To-day, in Portugal or in the colonies, the Salazar government represents less and less the interests of the Portuguese ruling class because this class has become more and more dependent on American, West German, British and other interests like NATO.

Salazar and his men are in fact more and more mere intermediaries and hirelings of these foreign interests for the savage exploitation of the peoples of Portugal and of the Portuguese colonies. They are mere thugs hired by the governments and interests of countries which proclaim democratic beliefs. Salazar and his men terrorise and murder mainly for the profit of those interests, which pretend their hands are clean, but which certainly know very well what is going on in Portugal and colonies, where their money is profitably invested.

When an African is murdered in a Portuguese colony, when any Portuguese patriot is tortured by PIDE, the hards of the Western democracies and of NATO, are soiled. Because without them Salazar and his men would be nothing, because Salazar and his men are *their* men.

Even in relation to their future, the Portuguese people need be aware of future 'bogeymen'. Foreign interests in Portugal, who fear the downfall of the Salazar regime, have also for some time been looking for future hired rulers amongst the ranks of the anti-Salazar opposition.

There have been recent disclosures in the British press about the role of the American CIA in student organisations (COSEC) in contact with Portuguese students, and (together with the British Secret Services) in 'Amnesty International', which includes people genuinely interested in the fate of Portuguese political prisoners. These disclosures emphasize the need by the Portuguese people and their democratic forces to oppose and expose the rise of the future 'bogeyman'.

Inevitably Portuguese political exiles provide tempting material for these organisations and people in opposition in Portugal are also not ignored.

The struggle against the Fascist regime is indissolubly linked with the struggle against the foreign interests which exploit the Portuguese people. As these interests are becoming more and more prominent, the intensity of the struggle against them needs also to be greatly increased.

This struggle against the foreign interests now ruling in Portugal and her colonies is one of the main tasks for the Portuguese democratic forces.

'Song of the Lusitanian Bogeyman' was presented at the Scala Theatre, in Stockholm, on January 26th.

The play was a great success and the London 'Times' of 2-2-67 refers to its 'fascination'.

The large circulation daily newspaper 'Aftonbladet' of January 26th carried an article by Kajsa Pehrsson on the Salazar regime and Swedish military supplies.

On March 1st there were public demonstrations in Stockholm against Portugal's membership of Efta.

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MORE VICTORIES!

Severiano Falcao, a 44-year-old joiner, from Alhandra, near Lisbon, who was in bad health, was recently freed from prison. **Severiano Falcao** was last arrested in August 1958 and has spent a total of 14½ years in Salazar jails.

Other political prisoners recently liberated include **Armando Norte**, **António Lino** and **Sena Lopes**.

Armando Norte, a 34-year-old glass worker, from Marinha Grande, was arrested in 1959 and sentenced to 3 years in jail plus 'security measures'. He has been a total of 8½ years in Salazar's jails.

BUT WE MUST FREE SOFIA FERREIRA AND OTHERS

SOFIA FERREIRA, the heroic 45-year-old anti-Fascist fighter, symbol of the untameable resistance of Portuguese women against the Salazar regime, continues to be held in the grim Caxias fortress.

Her sentence expired in 1965 but she continues to be held under the notorious 'security measures'. After having spent over 10 years of her life in jail and after 9 years in the underground struggle, her health is extremely poor. She is suffering from liver and intestinal complaints, but PIDE continues to oppose her release.

With **Sofia Ferreira** in Caxias, are other women prisoners to whom she has always been a source of courage as well as a companion. Amongst these are **Alda Nogueira** and **Fernanda Tomaz**, both sentenced to 8 years in jail, and having already been kept in jail for 7½ and 6 years respectively. Also **Colélia Fernandes**, sentenced in 1962 to 5 years in jail, and who has now spent a total of 9 years in prison.

AGOSTINHO SABOGA, the 56-year-old glass worker, who has spent 11 years in jail, continues to be held in Caxias in a very serious state of health. He was arrested for the second time in December 1958, badly tortured and sentenced in October 1959 to 5½ years in jail. His sentence has already expired, but he is under 'security measures'.

Two prisoners whose health gives cause for alarm are **Afonso Gregório** and **Aboím Inglês**.

Afonso Gregório, a 49-year-old sentenced in 1960 to 9½ years in jail. His health never recovered from the

(From our correspondent in Portugal)

António Lino, another Marinha Grande glass worker, aged 33, was arrested in May 1961 and sentenced to 2 years in jail plus 'security measures'. He has spent a total of 6½ years in jail.

Sena Lopes, a 37-year-old bank clerk, was arrested in January 1961 and sentenced to 4 years plus 'security measures'. He has spent a total of 6½ years in jail.

tortures he suffered and he needs urgent neurological care, which has been denied to him.

Aboím Inglês, now aged 37, is a student arrested in June 1959 and sentenced to 8 years in jail. He suffers from spinal, lung, heart and intestinal complaints. He had recently to be admitted in emergency to hospital, but PIDE still refuses to release him.

Other men prisoners whose liberation is widely demanded in Portugal and abroad include **Carlos Costa** (a student who has now spent 14 years in jail and whose health is also poor), **Pires Jorge**, **Dias Lourenço**, **Blanqui Teixeira**, **Octávio Pato**, Army Captain **Varela Gomes**, **Américo de Sousa**, Catholic leader **Manuel Serra**, **Guilherme Carvalho**, **José Magro**. These, and many others are held in the notorious Peniche fortress.

Already quite a number of Portuguese political prisoners have been freed with the help of pressure from international public opinion. You can help now, or the organizations you belong to can help by writing about these cases, by protesting, by demanding an *Amnesty for all Portuguese political prisoners*, addressing messages to the President of the Portuguese Republic, Lisbon, to the Portuguese Ministers of the Interior and Justice (Ministro do Interior, Ministro da Justiça, both in Lisbon, Portugal) or to the Portuguese Embassies abroad (in London, 11 Belgrave Square, S.W.1.).

A world where there are prisoners in Fascist jails is not a free world.

Fascist Repression

CULTURE ATTACKED

(From our correspondent in Portugal)

On 7.12.66 the Lisbon publishing house **Minotauro**, was closed for good by order of the authorities. PIDE agents raided the premises of the publishing house, destroying all the furniture and files and flooding it with water.

The publishing house, one of the directors of which is the well-known writer and opponent to the regime, **Urbano Rodrigues**, had published earlier in the year the play 'Estátua' ('Statue') by **Luis Sttau Monteiro**.

Sttau Monteiro was arrested by PIDE on November 25th, accused of writing this play, in which the Army high commands and Salazar are satirized. He will be brought to trial.

STRICTER MEASURES

On 8.10.66 the public security police (P.S.P.) announced that it was going to spend £10,000 on television for control of street happenings.

New enrolments in another armed repressive force (G.N.R.) were made from 6.11.66 to 31.12.66.

The Lisbon authorities issued on February 9th an order for all hotels and guest houses to inform the police about all persons staying at their premises.

NO NARCOANALYSIS?

It was publicly announced on January 7th that evidence obtained by the Portuguese police through the use of drugs forcibly injected into the accused would not be considered in a trial.

It is well known that PIDE, the political police has made repeated use of these methods. It remains to be seen if they will stop doing so from now on.

THE THUGS

Groups of Fascist thugs who intimidate and provoke the opponents of the regime have always been active during the 40 years of Salazar's rule.

Last December, in **Praça de Londres**, Lisbon, a group of six

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'NO' TO SALAZAR

UNITED NATIONS

At the end of last November and at the beginning of December the Portuguese colonial policy was severely condemned at the U.N. Trusteeship Committee. On December 3rd the legality of the loans of the World Bank to Salazar also came under fire.

On November 15th the Decolonization Committee of the U.N. General Assembly made public that once again the Portuguese Government had refused to give information about the situation in the Portuguese colonies to that Committee. On February 10th and 16th, new exposures of Portuguese colonialism were made at the Committee sessions.

On December 1st a protest against the violation of her frontiers by the Portuguese colonial Army from Mozambique was made by Tanzania to the U.N. Secretary-General and the Security Council.

The examination of a request to the Council by the Portuguese delegate for a £10 million compensation for losses incurred in virtue of the Rhodesian blockade was deferred.

Finally a General Assembly motion condemning armed intervention against independent nations and demanding support for all peoples under colonial domination was approved on December 1st by 98 votes against 2 (Britain and Portugal).

AT UNESCO

At the 14th Conference of this organization in Paris, on November 25th and 27th, a demand was presented by the Portuguese delegate for an appeal to the Hague International Court against a previous decision excluding Portugal from participating in conferences organized by UNESCO. This appeal was vehemently opposed by the majority of the delegates present except by those of Britain, France and the Philippines.

IN BRITAIN

The British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty (Flat 2, 57 West Side, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.18) made a protest in February against the prison conditions imposed on *Agostinho*

Saboga and made an appeal for more protests in Britain against repression in Portugal.

The weekly 'Tribune' of February 3rd published an article by Dave Shipper on Portugal's military policy, quoting our Bulletin.

IN ITALY

The Secretary of the General Confederation of Italian Workers (CGIL), the largest Italian Trade-Union organization, demanded the liberation of *Agostinho Saboga*.

10,000 Genova dockers and their organizations, the Genova Trades Council, and the Milan youth organizations also made protests.

IN FRANCE

The Bishop of Nantes refused to give his benediction when a Portuguese warship built in his town was launched recently.

Celebrations of the Portuguese Republican Revolution of January 31st 1891 took place in Paris, Nanterre, St. Denis and Champigny.

IN BRAZIL

The ambassadors to Brazil of Egypt, Algeria, Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal made a protest on 7th January to the Brazilian Government against the visit to Angola of a Brazilian fleet and also to increasing Brazilian co-operation with the Portuguese colonies.

IN SWITZERLAND

In Geneva, the Direction of the Swiss Socialist Party demanded, last December, the liberation of *Agostinho Saboga*.

IN THE U.S.S.R.

At a meeting in a Moscow school last January 3,500 pupils expressed their solidarity with the Portuguese anti-fascist fighters.

The Committee of Soviet Women made a protest against the repression in Portugal.

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Solidarity with the Portuguese political prisoners and protests against the repression in Portugal were made by the Union of Czech Jurists, the International Union of Textile, Clothing and Leather Workers and the workers of the *Jitka* textile enterprise.

Who are the Terrorists?

Salazar's propaganda always refers to as 'terrorists' those African nationalists who fight in the Portuguese colonies.

We print below some excerpts of circular No. 3, distributed amongst Portuguese colonial army officers in Guinea (Bissau), intended for discussion with the soldiers.

'The terrorist has to be officially interrogated. Not all of them will be capable of answering the questions we shall put to them about their organizations. But all of them, without exception, must give information as to who is their commander, who their comrades are, their subordinates and where they have been acting. If we act like that we shall find their headquarters and destroy them.

If we fail to get this information from a terrorist, we are inefficient and not very responsible.

We must give him the chance of talking voluntarily. If he does not we must adopt more efficient methods to persuade him to col-

laborate with us, or even shoot him as military rules command in relation to non-uniformed combatants.

This is not a problem of torture, it is a problem of efficiency'.

This circular is a clear admission that the terrorists are really Salazar and his men.

FASCIST PUBLIC RELATIONS

The British-owned Marconi Company, whose 45-year-old monopoly of telecommunications from Portugal was extended for a further 25 years in June 1966, had a full page advertisement published in 'Diário da Manhã'.

'Diário da Manhã' is an openly Fascist newspaper and the mouth-piece of the Fascist party in Portugal, the 'União Nacional'. During the 2nd World War it was a rabid supporter of Hitler and Mussolini. It advocates currently the worst type of repression in Portugal and colonies.

THE FIGHT AGAINST REPRESSION

(From our correspondent in Portugal)

SEVENTY writers, artists, actors and other intellectuals, with the leading Portuguese novelist, Ferreira de Castro, at their head, have signed a letter to 'President' Tomaz demanding the release from prison of the playwright Sttau Monteiro (see also this issue).

The families of the political prisoners signed a protest to the 'National Assembly' against the threat of deportation for the prisoners. Appeals for the same purpose and also protesting against the medical conditions in the Peniche fortress were sent to 'President' Tomaz and to the Doctors and Lawyers Guilds (Ordem dos Médicos and Ordem dos Advogados).

The fight for an Amnesty and the release of the political prisoners continues. A broadsheet, the 'Grito' ('Call') dedicated exclusively to the struggle against repression, has begun publication and is distributed, despite the police repression.

THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES

The *Lisbon dockworkers*, whose victorious strike last year is still present in people's minds, continue their struggle for better conditions. A large number of them are not allowed into the state-controlled trade-union (Sindicato) because of discriminatory clauses regulating their admission. Despite this they have money deducted from their pay, just as if they belonged to the 'Sindicato'. They have been fighting against these restrictions and deductions, and for a juster collective contract, which was promised after last year's successful struggle.

Last February the *State office cleaners* obtained a small wage increase.

The 19,000 *Bank Employees* are demanding a new collective contract.

WOMEN WORKERS STRIKE

The 280 women and the 17 men employed at the tinned fish factory of Feu & Hermanos, in Portimao (Algarve), went on strike last November, against the unjust dismissal of one of their comrades.

PIDE tried their usual terrorist moves, but the workers stood firm. At the end of 7 days their fellow-

worker was reinstated. Their victory was total.

THE STUDENTS

A gathering organized by the *Lisbon Students Association* on January 20th at the Engineering Students Association building, to celebrate the conquest of some students rights, was attended by over 900 students.

In Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra the students have been signing a demand for the liberation of the student leader *José Bernardino*.

THE FARMERS

The wine-growers have been protesting against the taxation on wine production. Last December they won a victory: the taxation was halved.

AGAINST THE COLONIAL WARS

Last year a number of soldiers

on board the s/s 'India', heading for Mozambique, mutinied against the conditions under which they had to travel. Many of them were arrested, and their whereabouts is at present unknown.

In January an underground leaflet was distributed amongst the people, attacking the racist film 'Goodbye Africa' which was shown in Portugal.

UNDERGROUND STRUGGLE

The valiant Portuguese anti-Fascist fighters continue their ceaseless struggle against the Salazar regime, despite all the terror and repression. They continue leading the struggle for political unity, for a better life. They harass the Government in their exploitation, and warlike policies.

The underground press continues to publish many papers. And the indomitable Portuguese people read and distribute them as enthusiastically as ever.

Portuguese Commercial Banks 1966

It is possible to assess that from 1965 to 1966 the capital and reserves of these eight most important Portuguese commercial banks increased by 30 per cent. and the net profits by 6 per cent. Quite a large portion of the gross profits went for new capital increases and this explains the lower rate of increase for the net profits.

The *Fonsecas, Santos e Viana Bank* and the *Burnay Bank* are going to merge, their combined assets amounting to £150 million.

The *Totta-Alliança Bank*, belonging to the CUF group, opened in 1966 in collaboration with the *Standard Bank of South Africa* (American and British Capital); two *Totta Standard Banks*, one in Angola and the other in Mozambique. It also associated with *International Factors*—an international Banking trust comprising 30 other different banks—and with *Hill Samuel & Co.*

from London, to form two new credit enterprises. In April 1965 two British investment trusts, *New European* and *General Investment Trust Ltd.* and *Trans-Europe Investment Ltd.* were authorized by the *Bank of England* to buy shares from the *Totta Aliança Bank*.

The *Pinto & Sotto Mayor Bank* opened in 1966 a total of 15 new agencies in Portugal and 7 new agencies in Mozambique.

The *Lisboa e Açores Bank*, absorbed in 1966 the *Madeira Bank*.

The largest Portuguese non-commercial Bank is the *National Overseas Bank* (*Banco Nacional Ultramarino*), which is the bank of issue for all Portuguese colonies except Angola. It had in 1965 a net profit of £1.2 million.

The Portuguese banks are one of the strongest supports of the Salazar regime.

	Capital and Reserves		Net Profits	
	1965	1966	1965	1966
	£	£	£	£
Portugues do Atlantico	4.6m	8.1m	660,000	746,000
Espirito Santo	7.7m	8.0m	699,000	719,000
Pinto and Sotto Mayor	4.3m	7.5m	654,000	702,000
Borges and Irmao	3.0m	3.4m	557,000	584,000
Fonsecas, Santos e Viana	8.8m	9.0m	312,000	325,000
Lisboa e Açores	3.2m	4.1m	306,000	318,000
Totta-Alliança	2.9m	4.8m	338,000	351,000
Burnay	1.1m	1.4m	205,000	204,000
Totals	35.6m	46.3m	3.7m	3.9m

THE COLONIES

PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

Three Colonial wars in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique are taking a severe toll of human life. Minimized Portuguese losses reported in the Portuguese Press between December 12th, 1966 and February 14th, 1967, as follows:

	KILLED		WOUNDED	
	Armed Forces	Militia	Armed Forces	Militia
Guinea	37	9	—	—
Angola	59	21	83	17
Mozambique	26	—	—	2
Total	122	30	83	19

This brings the sum total to 152 men killed in action and 102 wounded.

GUINEA

Salazar's fascist rule in this colony is coming nearer its end every day, owing to the heroic and well-organized struggle of the freedom-loving Guineans.

The best officers of the Fascist élite have been learning here that they will never crush the patriots.

Constant visits to the colony by ministers have been of no avail. The Minister of Defence was in Bissau on January 15th. From the 1st to the 15th December, 1966, the Minister for the Navy was also in Guinea. (D.L. 14-1 and 18.12.66).

A symptom of the difficult position of Salazar's army is the dwindling interest shown by foreign investors in the natural resources of the colony. Only the Americans, with 'Esso', seem to be intent on helping Salazar to the bitter end, through recent agreements for oil exploitation by that concern.

Trying to improve this matter of investments is the objective of a newly formed company, the *SIGUE* (D.L. 7.12.66).

The Portuguese war communiqués, published in the daily Press (P.J. Jan.-Feb. 12th) report long lists of frequent Guinean attacks. The tone is gloomy, despite attempts to minimize losses.

The Guineans have engaged the Portuguese at Sinchasutu, Brais, Uanquelim, Béli, Madina do Boé, Empada, Cajola, Quitafine, Ribeirinha (in West Guinea), Oio, Ponta do Inglês, Biambem, Cachil, Gampará (South) and Jol.

One of the most remarkable features of the war, now admitted by the Portuguese, is the Guinean attacks on the Portuguese armed camps of Cameconde, Cabedu, Barro, Béli, Cheche and Balala.

Ships, helicopters and aircraft are also reported to have been hit in South Guinea. (P.J. 29-1).

ANGOLA

THE ATTACK ON TEIXEIRA DE SOUSA

The war of liberation is being stepped up by the Angolan patriots. The Portuguese Fascists have had to admit this fact in many public statements and even in their own censored press.

The attack by the freedom fighters on Christmas Eve (24-12-66) against Vila Teixeira de Sousa, a town on the Angola-Congo border, has shaken Salazar's supporters badly.

Six Portuguese civilians and the head of the local PIDE force (Portuguese Gestapo) were reported killed. The Portuguese authorities have given no figures for the losses of their military, although they have given an exaggerated number of dead (495) amongst the attackers. (D.L. 5.1.67 and P.J. 28.12.66).

PORTUGUESE PROVOCATIONS ON ZAMBIA

The new Governor-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Rebocho Vaz, and the military commander visited Teixeira de Sousa immediately after the attack (P.J. 28.12.66), whilst the Portuguese representative at the United Nations lodged a complaint against the Congo, alleging that the patriots had crossed the border from Dilolo. (P.J. 31.12.66).

Rumours that a large force of freedom-fighters had retreated into Zambia were also spread by the Fascist Press Agency, *A.N.I.* (D.L. 30.12.66). Zambia was then forced to send troops to her border with Angola, in order to prevent the incursions of Portuguese troops into her own territory. Zambia informed the United Nations of the measures she had taken. (D.L. 7.1.67).

WAR IN MOXICO

In view of the new second front now opened by the brave Angolans, the war has moved into the heart of the district of Moxico, a long distance away from the Zambian border. On 6th November, 1966, the fascist administrator of Chiume was ambushed and killed. His companion was wounded (D.L. 9.11.66).

On December 30th, the village of Binja, on the road from Luacano to Cazombo, was also attacked by the guerrillas. (P.J. 31.1.66).

Now the area of Cazombo (Moxico district) has been frequently added to other regions in the Portuguese war communiqués.

THE WAR GOES ON IN THE NORTH

The fight against colonialist occupation of Angola has also increased in intensity in other regions of the colony. Portuguese troops have often been engaged by the patriots in Muingue-Lutete, and in Nambinga and Quimbinda mountains.

In the North, at Noqui, Maquela and especially at Canga-Lucossa, Portuguese troops were pinned down for a long time by the Angolans. In the Uíge mountains the Portuguese have also been involved in fighting.

Zambeze, Ninda Sete, Mata Micala and the Cabinda district have also been the theatre of large scale operations. (*Portuguese War communiqués*—January and February, P.J. 20.1.67.)

MONEY FOR WAR

The budgetary allocations for 1967 to the Naval and Air Forces stationed in Angola amount to £4,112,500. The Navy gets £862,500 and the Air Force £3,250,000 (D.L. 20.1.67).

A Squadron of Mounted Police has been recently created at Huíla (P.J. 24.1.67).

Portuguese peasants and workers are dying in Angola for the huge profits and investments of Portuguese and foreign business men.

So the prospection of Angolan natural resources and their exploitation run together.

In the region of Mavoio (Northern Angolan) the *Empresa do Cobre* (a satellite of the CUF monopoly) has been mining copper. Now it envisages an association with a Japanese group, for the same purpose.

In the Alto Zambeze, the *Sociedade de Explorações Mineiras Africanas*, an off-shoot of the *Anglo-American* concern, is prospecting the same mineral (P.J. 5.1.67).

HOW SALAZAR PAYS FOR HIS WAR

The American concern *Cabinda Gulf Oil Company* (Cabgoc), that

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CAN WE LEARN ANYTHING FROM HISTORY?

Historical analogies are probably not a safe guide for any particular theory of history. But the method has its uses despite the lack of sufficiently detailed knowledge of the particular period chosen.

And are not the critics of the method guilty of excessive intellectual restraint? Are not some imposing historical systems, which enjoy wide popularity, no more than an elaborate, though fascinating arrangement of known facts? Toynbee's system of civilizations, for example, appears to another historian, Pieter Gell, to be at times a well-organised collection of truisms.¹

It seems therefore that the refusal to make any sense out of history is just as ill-conceived as the desire to impose an absolute ideological pattern on the history of mankind.

It may not be inopportune to emphasize that our aim is not to propound in the columns of this *Bulletin* any philosophy of history, but to pursue historical research for the single purpose of learning from the past the best ways to strengthen the Portuguese democratic movement in the present struggle against Fascist dictatorship.

A DIVIDED OPPOSITION

1822 to 1828 were the years of Portuguese opposition to *Dom Miguel* (the reactionary son of King John VI). But this opposition was disunited both as to origins and aims. The wrangle between the two brothers, Dom Pedro, who had granted independence to Brazil in 1822, where he remained, and Dom Miguel, who tried to succeed his father, the old and weak-headed John VI in Portugal, was much more than a family struggle for power. The two brothers represented and were backed by two opposite segments of Portuguese society.²

D. Pedro had the sympathies and the support of the Portuguese bourgeoisie. Kept in check by the reactionary aristocracy since 1778, after winning some fundamental advantages, the bourgeoisie had succeeded in 1820 in shaking off the yoke of British domination. The programme of the peaceful revolutionaries of 1820 was of liberal inspiration.

It preserved the traditional monarchy and Roman Catholic religion. It was in fact a rather mild and

conservative programme, when compared, for instance, with the political programmes that shaped contemporary England. But to the established oligarchy it meant a challenge. It threatened to encroach on their feudal privileges, since it was aimed at speeding Portuguese industrialization.

THE OLIGARCHY VERSUS THE NATION

The oligarchy had chosen as their candidate, the devout Dom Miguel, on whom the scheming Carlota Joaquina, his mother, pinned all her hopes. Her hatred of King John, and her dislike for his fluctuating policies had found in D. Miguel a natural supporter. It was through her son that this old Spanish aristocrat hoped to reinstate autocratic tyranny. Many political observers and historians of the period make great capital out of the personal foibles of the main characters of the political drama. Those aspects are, nevertheless, quite secondary to the development of events. An objective analysis of Portuguese society and of the two warring factions will explain much better the contradictory attitudes of the political leaders of the day.

Portuguese Liberals had come to power by a military coup, without any bloodshed. The idea of the military coup had been envisaged as early as 1817. But the conspiracy had been discovered and promptly suppressed. Then in 1820 they had been victorious. Yet the liberals were a small enlightened group inside the nation. Merchants, industrialists, University students, intellectuals, young army officers and a few progressive aristocrats formed the hard core of Liberal opinion.

Behind them remained an illiterate, oppressed and extremely poor peasantry, who comprised 80 per cent of the population. This mass had to be wooed and won over to the new cause. The people had only a vague idea of what was going on. Dominated by country squires, herded and indoctrinated by illiberal priests, they remained a source of enormous potential strength.

A REVOLUTION FROM 'ABOVE'

However, the majority of Liberal opinion intended to make history without the people. For both the Liberals and the oligarchy had one

Contradictions Liberalism

The first of two a

thing in common; they both regarded the people as a malleable crowd, which they would be able to swing in any direction that most suited their private interests. Everything in the political situation inside Portugal shows that the Liberal revolutionaries had decided to carry out their struggle from *above*. They were striving to defeat their enemy at home by relying on a group of Liberal army officers. It remains to be seen whether the state of Europe in 1822 was propitious to such plans. To keep the traditionalists in power, the European oligarchy organised a system of 'collective security', which had been known since 1815 as the Holy Alliance. Under the banner of Christian orthodoxy, autocratic monarchies were backed by Prussia, Austria, and Russia with the compliance of Great Britain, who would seek later to disengage herself from the policy of intervention.

National interests played an important role inside the Holy Alliance and Great-Britain began to resent more and more, as a member of the Quadruple Alliance, the pre-dominance of France in European Affairs.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE AGAINST DEMOCRACY

In 1822 the member States of the Holy Alliance, in one of their meetings at Verona, had endorsed armed intervention inside sovereign States. One year before that Congress, Austrian troops had invaded Naples and Piedmont to suppress a rebellion organised by the Liberals. Now grave apprehension hung over the Liberal régime in Spain.

In 1822, when Dom Pedro proclaimed the independence of Brazil, this was immediately regarded with suspicion by the three European autocracies of the Holy Alliance. In Portugal, John VI vacillated in promoting conditions for the establishment of democratic institutions and he tried to reach a compromise between the two factions. But on October 1st, the King finally took

of Portuguese 1822-1828

icles by A. LEAL

his oath of allegiance to the Liberal Constitution of 1822.

In the following year, the clock was put back in Spain. Carlota Joaquina, who had refused to take the oath to the Constitution, plotted the counter-revolution with her son and the Portuguese and Spanish traditionalists. On May 27th, 1823, Prince Miguel joined a *pronunciamento*, which was intended to quash the liberties of the Constitution. His father then recanted his oath to the Constitution. The hopes of the Liberals were dashed. Persecutions began and many emigrated to France and England. John VI then tacitly endorsed the period of terror inaugurated by his son.

BRITISH MANOEUVRES FOR MODERATE LIBERALISM IN PORTUGAL

In the meantime, John VI's ministers, and among them the Marquis of Pamela, a moderate Liberal, tried to persuade the King to grant the country a Constitutional Charter. The Charter would put a royal seal, under the guise of Liberal concessions, to the work already done by the counter-revolution.

The British Foreign Minister, Lord Canning (1770-1827) supported wholeheartedly this project. But even that was too much for the conservative Portuguese oligarchy, who saw in Prince Miguel a better representative of their ideas. A new plot was set afoot. And on April 30th, 1824, Dom Miguel put his own father under arrest in the royal palace.

But the Liberals fought back. They gained the support of the French and British ambassadors in Lisbon, Hyde de Neuville (1776-1857) and Sir Edward Thornton (1756-1852). The two diplomats succeed in saving the King by advising him to go aboard a British frigate lying in the Tagus. Prince Miguel was then summoned aboard by his father and ordered to leave the country immediately.

Shaken by these events, King John turned to his elder son, D. Pedro, and moved towards a more liberal policy, recognising the independence of Brazil in 1825. Yet when the King died in 1826, the precarious compromise he had maintained was wearing thin. In accordance with his last wishes, the Regency of his daughter Isabel Maria recognised D. Pedro as the legitimate successor to the throne. Meanwhile, willing to reach a reconciliation with the Absolutists, D. Pedro abdicated in favour of his daughter, Maria da Glória, and announced her betrothal to her uncle D. Miguel.

On February 22nd, 1828, Dom Miguel returned to Portugal from his exile in Vienna. In Brazil, D. Pedro had granted the country a Constitutional Charter (1826). The Lisbon Government, divided in their loyalties to political factions, hesitate. But Lord Canning, through the future Lord Stuart of Rothesay (then British envoy in Rio) urged the Portuguese oligarchy to accept the Charter. Britain was then going through a period of economic difficulties at home. It needed to reassert its prestige abroad. And to reimpose its hegemony in Europe, Canning believed that the Ultras would have to be kept in check.

GENTLE FOREIGN PERSUASION

In 1828 Portugal entered a critical period of its history. The events that took place in that year had been developing since 1826. The oligarchy had resorted to its usual methods. It had started once again to conspire against the Constitutional Government and had found allies, not only in the Ultras inside and outside Portugal, but also in the members of the Government itself.

Slyly, the Government had embarked on a purge of the Civil Service and of the Army men, who had taken a predominant position in public affairs from 1820 to 1823. The British Ambassador in Lisbon since 1824, Sir William A'Court, defended this policy.³ He also advocated among the Liberals that the more radical Constitution of 1822 had to be dropped in favour of the moderate Charter of '26. In the meantime the Ultras backed rebellion among a few regiments in the North. The rebellion was crushed by loyal troops and the Ultras moved into Spain, whence they

would come later, properly armed.

At this moment the Lisbon Government heeded the advice of our ambassador in London, the Duke of Palmela, who had been lending an attentive ear to Canning's suggestions, and asked for British military aid.⁴

Meantime, the Portuguese Parliament, after the elections in '26, had resumed its functions. During the election for both Houses, all candidates who had been associated with the Revolution of 1820 had been eliminated and replaced by men of moderate views. Sir William A'Court and his agent in Oporto, Mr. Noble, had been very busy aiding the Portuguese authorities in the political purge.⁵ Many candidates had been disqualified for their radical ideas.

EUROPE HELPS TO STERILISE LIBERALISM IN PORTUGAL

In view of this, the slowness and hesitancy of the two houses in the legislature of '27 should not surprise anyone. Parliamentarism had changed into demagogy to stalk the progress of democracy. Throughout that whole year only two trivial pieces of legislation were approved. Confusion intentionally created by the deputies, had paralysed Parliament. On the other hand the Government relied so blandly on the British regiments stationed in Portugal that the organisation of the Portuguese Army and national defence was completely neglected. As soon as the raids by the Ultras on the other side of the border began, the Government was shown to be helpless.

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1. Pieter Gell, *Debates with Historians* (The Fontana Library, London, 1962), p. 120.
2. For the social and economic background to the rise of Liberalism, see A. Leal, 'Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Portugal', *Port. and Colonial Bulletin* (vol. 6, No. 4, August/September, 1966, p. 340-341).
3. José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, *Ensaio Político sobre as causas que prepararam a Usurpação do Infante D. Miguel no Ano de 1828* (Lisboa, 1840), p. 52.
4. *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
5. *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 52.

(to be continued)

An economic policy Portugal cannot afford

WITH a military budget amounting to 7.4% of the gross national product—a proportion exceeded only by the United States amongst NATO countries—the Salazar dictatorship shows no sign of changing its criminal policy of waging colonial wars.

Defence and Security are the biggest items in the State Budget for 1967. 'Ordinary Expenses' show an increase of £20m. for 1967, of which £3m. is allocated to the Army, Navy, and Air Force (D.L. 29.12.66), but

to international capital, amongst them Prof. D. V. Barbosa, a former Minister for Economic Affairs, who, to-day, is the Chairman of several commercial companies, as well as being Governor of the 'BANCO DE FOMENTO NACIONAL' (National Development Bank). At a recent meeting (D.L. 11.11.66) he spoke of the abnormally high rate of interest paid for foreign loans, both by private concerns and by the State itself. 'A consequence', he said, 'is that much of our National Savings

items of consumption. And this has tragic implications for a country which has the lowest per capita food consumption of any European nation. If we take the consumption of milk as an example, Portugal has a per capita consumption of 26.3 kilos per annum, while the figures for Switzerland are 178.6, for Great Britain 147.4, and for Turkey 40.0 (D.L. 3.2.67). The Portuguese people suffer. . . .

BUT FOREIGN BUSINESS DOES WELL

Erling Volds Konfeksjons Fabrik, A/S, a Norwegian firm from Hamar, is to transfer its entire production of shirts, amounting to 60,000 units p.a., to Portugal, in order that it may steal a march on its competitors by exploiting cheap Portuguese labour (P.J. 28.1.67).

The Chairman of the American *Firestone International Company* announced that their Portuguese branch is to start production of 'radial tyres' (P.J. 6.12.66).

Standard Triumph, a British Firm, will soon open in its works near Oporto a new assembly line for an estimated initial production of 500 'Standard Triumphs' p.a. This British concern is also proceeding with the assembly of two other models, the '1300' and the 'Spitfire', envisaging a production of 800 units p.a. (D.L. 10.2.67).

An investment of £437,000 has been made in the pharmaceutical laboratories which the American *Pfizer Sarl* is building to the south of Lisbon (D.L. 24.12.66).

The British company which enjoys the monopoly of Lisbon public transport, *Lisbon Electric Tramways, Ltd.*, is not content with the higher fares which were approved by the Lisbon City Council, and demands that even bigger increases be agreed upon (P.J. 1.2.67).

A new submarine cable costing £4,250,000 is to be laid between the Lizard in Cornwall and Lisbon. This project is a joint venture of the British General Post Office and of the British-owned 'Portuguese' *Marcconi Co.* which has a capital of £937,500 and showed net profits of £297,500 in 1964. This Company has the monopoly of radio and telephone communications between Portugal and her colonies as well as some foreign countries (P.J. 17.11.66).

Date	Extraordinary Expenses	Of which: Military Expenses
1966	£80,000,000	£50,000,000
1967	£90,000,000	£67,000,000

it is from the figures for 'Extraordinary Expenses' that we can get a true picture of the extent to which state expenditure for military purposes has built up since 1961, the year from which the growth of Portuguese colonial armies dates. From 1961 onwards 'Extraordinary Expenses' account for more than one-third of the State Budget.

Now, in 1967, military expenditure has reached an all-time high, and 'Extraordinary Expenses' exceed those of 1966 by no less than 19.0%, as is shown by these figures (D.L. 29.12.66).

In an attempt to balance the Budget, Salazar's Government has given additional facilities for the penetration of foreign capital, emphasising a trend which this Bulletin has frequently documented in the past. Even supporters of the Salazar regime are troubled by this sell-out of the country's resources

go out of our country, creating a problem which it would be easy to characterise. . . . So easy, indeed, that our cautious Professor Barbosa preferred to pass it over in silence.

Professor Barbosa added: 'It is ever more important to bear in mind that private ownership and private profit can only be legitimate and acceptable if the benefits are shared by our people as a whole'. However, 'as a whole', our people bear the burden of greatly increased taxation. From a total of £98,000,000 in 1960, taxes have risen in 1967 to £187,000,000—an increase of almost 100% (D.L. 13.1.67). And while economic expansion slowed down in 1966, inflation became more acute. Witness this table for the cost of living in Portugal's three chief urban centres (D.L. 3.2.67):

This Table shows that inflationary pressures affect the prices of food-stuffs *more drastically* than other

Index Year	Town		July 1964/5	July 1965/6	1st. Qtr. 1966	Compared with 1964
1948 = 100	LISBON	Cost of living	125.1	130.7	133.4	+ 8.3
		Food alone	127.6	136.3	141.3	+ 13.7
1950 = 100	PORTO	Cost of living	121.8	130.8	134.3	+ 12.2
		Food alone	124.8	137.2	142.7	+ 17.9
1953 = 100	COIMBRA	Cost of living	118.4	125.5	128.3	+ 9.9
		Food alone	124.0	134.6	138.9	+ 14.9

THE COLONIES

(continued from page 361)

operates also in Mozambique, has been granted new concessions at Cabinda.

Oil will be extracted from the seabed. After spending £4,375,000 on oil prospection, the *Cabgoc* will invest annually £937,000 and will pay a lump sum of £250,000 to the Portuguese authorities for the new concessions (*P.J.* 4.12.66).

The *Lobito Mining Company* has been given a guarantee by the Portuguese Government to enable it to contract foreign loans up to £34m. (*Times*, 20.12.66).

SWEDISH EXPORTS

A Swedish industrialist, Carl Johan Lewenhagen, has visited Angola and stated that Angola is the most important market for Sweden in Africa. Angola buys 60 per cent of all Swedish exports to that continent (*P.J.* 22.11.66).

ROAD TO SOUTH AFRICA

A new road Luanda-Capetown, over 2,000 miles long, is under construction (*D.L.* 11.12.66).

MOZAMBIQUE

MOZAMBIQUE NEW COMMANDER

A new military commander, General Paiva Brandao, has been appointed by the Fascist Government in Lisbon to conduct the war in this colony (*P.J.* 5.1). Soon he will find out that there is no military solution against determined patriotism.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The Portuguese war communiqués from January 18th, to February 20th report 'intense' military activity in a wide area. (January 15th-31st) and frequent engagements with the freedom-fighters.

The Portuguese report military operations in the Nyassa and Cape Delgado districts, in the North. They allege to have attacked the bases known to the freedom-fighters as Detchia and Decatur. Salazar's men were also harassed at Maniamba, Cantina Dias and Muembe (North Mozambique) (*P.J.* 17.1 and 2.2.67).

A new battalion of paratroop hunters was formed for action in Mozambique (*D.L.* 9.11.66).

WHO BENEFITS FROM MOZAMBIQUE?

THE UNITED STATES

To the South of Inhassoro, on the coast, the American-owned *Mozambique Gulf Oil* will start boring a new oil well (*D.L.* 16.1.67).

At the Inhambane district (Southern Mozambique) the same company has started prospecting at Rio das Pedras (a few miles away only from Massinga) (*P.J.* 29.12.66).

The American-owned *Firestone 'Portuguese'* will invest £1,875,000 in a new tyre factory to be built soon at Beira. The director, Mr. A. Conrad Derr was recently in Beira (*Diário da Manhã*, 18.1.67).

BRITAIN

At Inhambane, the British firm *Gill & Duffus*, in a joint venture with Peirce Leslie & Co., opened a plant for de-husking cashew nuts on December 10th, 1966.

The new factory will have an initial capacity of 6,000 tons of raw seeds a year. (*The Times*, 10.12.66).

The British-owned firm *Sena Sugar Estates Ltd.*, produced 113,868 tons of sugar (or 70 per cent) of the 163,669 tons of Mozambique output for 1965-66 (*P.J.* 14.12.66).

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss concern *NESTLE* is going to open a plant at Lourenço Marques and use the local milk for an initial production of 7,500 tons per annum. An initial investment of £500,000 is being contemplated (*Diário da Manhã*, 18.1.67).

JAPAN

Mining investments by the Japanese firms 'Lux Ore and Chemical Limited' and 'Mitsui Ming and Shenting Company' are being projected ('Industr. Port.' Lisbon, No. 763, page 597, September 1966).

SOUTH AFRICA

The American *Gulf Oil Company*, in a joint venture with South African companies, is going to build a 359 kms. pipe-line to direct natural gas from Moamba (Southern Mozambique) to the industrial complex of Witwatersrand (*P.J.* 24.1.67). This, it is claimed, will make South Africa a serious competitor with Western industrialized countries. A daily transport of 200 million cubic feet of gas, at prices 4 times lower than in South Africa, is envisaged

('Industr. Port.', No. 464, page 650, October, 1966). A South African Agricultural Society 'Nylrivier Boerdery (EDMS) BPK' started work in the Chimóio Region, with South African personnel and equipment ('Industr. Port.', No. 464, page 650, October, 1966).

After all this, it is not surprising to read in the *Guardian* (3.12.66), quoted in the Portuguese Press, that Mozambique is on the verge of an 'economic miracle'. It is just a pity that the 6 million Mozambicans are not going to take any part in the 'miracle'.

The great 'promoters' of this miracle, according to the importance of their investments, reports the 'Guardian', are Japan, West Germany, United States, France, and Britain.

MACAO

This colony on the coast of China has been in the news. After public disturbances at the island of Taipa, which took place on November 15th and in which several people were killed, negotiations were started with the Chinese republic.

In Macao Salazar has to accept the presence of Communist citizens. He had been helping Formosa. Now as a result of these negotiations, spies of Formosa have been expelled. This move has angered Taipei, who recalled its envoy in Lisbon (*Times*, 13.1; *D.L.* 23.1; 2.2.67).

In 1966 more than £375,000 were invested in 21 different business concerns in the colony (*D. da Manhã*, 17.1.67).

TIMOR

Slight disturbances between soldiers and the Indonesian population of Portuguese-held Timor occurred in December 1966 (*P.J.* 21.12.66).

YOU MAY QUOTE US

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KEY TO REFERENCES

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

INSIDE PORTUGAL

THE WAR IS NO LONGER CONCEALED

In his New Year message to the Armed Forces, the Portuguese Defence Minister, emphasized that 'the hour we are living in needs great sacrifices' (P.J. 31.12.66).

Now not even Salazar can any longer try to conceal the shattering reality of three severe colonial wars and mounting tension in the lonely outposts of the Empire, Macao and Timor. No longer is it possible to maintain that life is quiet in the 'Overseas Provinces'. The grim reality has to be admitted. Things are going badly for the dictator and the Fascist clique.

The character of Salazar's rule is now clear to public foreign opinion,

as has been shown once again by A. Carthew's article 'In the land where clocks stopped in the 1820', published in the *Daily Mail*, 12.12.66.

A WAR BUDGET

The Portuguese Budget for 1967 reveals that the Government will spend 25 per cent more on war than last year. Of a total Budget of £252m., nearly £98m. is earmarked for war, though this figure includes Portugal's NATO payments. The operations in Africa, where Salazar keeps 120,000 men, will cost £43,750,000. This is a sharp rise, compared with £31m. in 1966. (*Evening Standard*, 25.1.67).

This £98 million for the Army is

nearly 3 times the combined amount (£34m.) allocated to Health and Education for 1967 (P.J. 29.12.66). This, in a country which has the highest rates for infant and tuberculosis mortalities and illiteracy in Europe.

Extra allocations to the tune of £378,125 have already been made under the Budget to the Forces Stationed Overseas (D.L. 5.1).

NEW ARMY LEGISLATION

At the same time new legislation on Military Service has been submitted to Salazar's 'yes-men' in the 'National Assembly'.

Compulsory military service will be now extended to 3 years, and possibly to 4.

The age for the call-up will be 18.

Men between the age of 18 and 22 will not be allowed to emigrate or leave the country until they have done their military service.

Until the age of 45, men will be subjected to periodical medical inspection to choose the fittest.

Those unfit for active service at the front will be enlisted in some capacity suited to their capabilities, under the supervision of the Fascist Militia, the 'Portuguese Legion'.

A novel feature of the new legislation will be the admission for the first time of women into the forces in other capacities than as nurses. They will be used in the Auxiliary Services (*Times*, and P.J. 23.12.66; *Evening Standard*, 27.1.67).

WAR FACTORIES BRING MONEY TO SALAZAR

The factory of War Material and ammunition at Braço de Prata covers an area of 63,500 sq. yards and employs 2,500 workers. Automatic weapons, mortars, small vehicles, tin hats and tools are manufactured there. Not only does this factory supply the Portuguese troops in Africa, but it also exports to foreign countries (P.J. 26.1.67), mainly West Germany.

At Moscavide, where is located another factory of Ammunition and Light Weapons, the authorities have established a security zone around the compound (D.L. 4.10.67).

A DISEASED AND CRIPPLED YOUTH

Under Fascist Salazar, Portugal is not only becoming a military camp tightly sealed off from the world by PIDE, but also a gigantic

REPRESSION

(continued from page 358)

young people attacked two opponents of the regime, engineer Manuel Viana and Army captain Carlos de Vilhena, a 72-year-old man. They beat the two aged men, but when they fought back assisted by two other people who ran to help, the thugs fled.

THE POLITICAL TRIALS

On 23.12.66 the Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced Dr. Saúl Nunes, a lawyer, to 4 years in jail, Joaquim Raimundo, a teacher, to 2½ years, José dos Santos, a bank clerk, to 2 years, and all to 'security measures', which can keep any political prisoner in jail, indefinitely.

On January 27th the Lisbon Auxiliary Plenary Court sentenced Gaspar Ferreira, a student, to 3½ years in jail, plus 'security measures'. After his arrest Gaspar Ferreira, was deprived of sleep for 20 days and brutally beaten. After one of the beatings he fainted. When he recovered he heard the PIDE doctor say to the PIDE agents, 'You can continue, he should be able to stand it for a few more hours'.

On February 10th the same court sentenced Sebastiao dos Santos to 3 years and 8 months in jail, plus 'security measures'.

All these people were accused of 'subversive activities', a term which

covers any kind of political activity against the Salazar regime.

PIDE ALSO WORKS ABROAD

Spanish lawyers who have been investigating, under the supervision of a magistrate, the murder of general Humberto Delgado, in Villanueva del Fresno (Spain) near the Portuguese border, on February 1965, claimed last December that the available evidence points strongly to a plot organized by PIDE, which brought the general to the frontier area, under false pretences, and murdered him.

Criminal proceedings were instituted last October, in Italy, against two Rome residents, Mário de Carvalho, a Portuguese exile, and Dr. Ernesto Bisogno, an Italian, accused of complicity in the murder.

STOP OPERATIONS

Operations of control of the traffic by the police, which also aim at capturing opponents of the regime, continue in Portugal.

In a period of 6 months—(July 1966 to January 1967), they took place, repeatedly, in Lisbon, Oporto, Leiria, Faro, Vila Real and Bragança. Hundreds of policemen inspected over 120,000 vehicles.

On February 24th the largest ever 'stop operation' in Portugal took place in Lisbon, where nearly 20,000 vehicles were inspected. Three days later, another operation covered 10,000 vehicles, also in Lisbon.

hospital of men crippled and blind in the prime of their youth, as a result of colonial wars.

The blue-print of a new military hospital, with a capacity for 1,500 patients, has been approved by the local authorities to be built in Lisbon (D.L. 16.1.67).

Meanwhile, the great individual contribution to the war by both the Portuguese President and the society ladies (wives of the Fascist monopolists), is to pay regular calls to the military hospital at Parede (10 miles from Lisbon), and to the Navy hospitals in Lisbon, to see the victims of their policy (D.L. 23.12.66; P.J. 25.1).

And as the number of casualties rises sharply, a new Centre for Physical Rehabilitation is to be built in Lisbon, at Lumiar. The Gulbenkian Foundation has granted £100,000 for the Centre. (*Voz da Liberdade*, broadcast 10.12.66).

To boost the morale of these young men, fated to die or be maimed in Salazar's imperialist wars, 20 more priests have been employed by the Army to assist Portuguese regiments at home and Overseas (D.L. 1.2.67).

Meanwhile, forces were sent to the African slaughter on December 10th, and February 1st and 5th, whilst 425 airmen took their military oath at Ota, on December 22nd (D.L. 10 and 22.12; P.J. 5.2 and 1.2.67).

STRENGTHENING THE NAVY

The Navy is also being strengthened with new units. In the shipyards of Nantes (France) where 8 new vessels are being built for Portugal, it is becoming necessary to keep the skeleton crews who will man the new ships. The 30-year-old frigate, *Bartolomeu Dias*, is to sail to Nantes, where it will be the floating accommodation of the Naval Officers, in order to save the Portuguese Government hotel bills for these men (D.L. 5.1.67).

Another launch, LDP-211, has been added to the Navy (D.L. 13.1).

By a contract with *Chantiers de l'Atlantique* (Nantes) this French firm will supply 6 of the new frigates under construction with the necessary engines (D.L. 28.12.66).

In a lecture to Naval officers at the Lisbon Army and Navy Club, Commodore P. Crespo admitted that the war in Africa would be a long war of attrition. Under the

circumstances, the Navy ought to be prepared for a 'struggle of many years', he said (D.L. 2.12.66).

THE POWER OF THE NAVY

For this reason, the Navy has increased the number of its vessels from 37, in 1945, with a total of 30,070 tons and 4,500 men, to 144 units in 1966, with a total tonnage of 75,379 and 15,000 men. In 1967 7 frigates, 4 submarines and 4 corvettes were under construction.

It has also been remarked that the majority of men who finish their National Service do not remain in the Navy, but seek other professions in civil life (D.L. 2.12.66).

LIBERTY IS THE SCARECROW

The cadets of the Military Academy are trained to fight not the war waged by an outside enemy, but by their own people, whom they should be the first to protect. Thus the future officer caste must be prepared to despise people turned soldiers in order to fight for their freedom. These cadets are psychologically conditioned to hate the idea of Liberty.

This is the reason why the village that 100 cadet officers attacked in recent exercises at Penha Longa (near touristic Sintra) was nicknamed *Aldeia da Liberdade* (Village of Freedom) (D.L. 31.1 and 1.2.67).

PAYING FOR WEST GERMANY

At the air base of Beja, entirely for the use of the West German troops and built partly at the expenses of the Portuguese Government, a contract to the tune of £25,110 has been made for the construction of barracks (D.L. 26.11.66).

'POVERTY HAUNTS EDUCATION'

By contrast with Government expenditure on the armed forces, education is being badly neglected by the Fascists.

In a public lecture organised to commemorate Salazar's 40-year rule. Professor Leite Pinto, a former minister of Education in one of Salazar's cabinets, has stated that 'Portugal has been moving very slowly in that field and is always haunted by the ghost of poverty' (*Século*, 6.12.66).

In fact, in 1962-63 26,924 students matriculated in our Universities,

which is 0.24 per cent of the total population, the second lowest figures in Europe. Even Franco's Spain, with 0.25, is slightly ahead of Portugal.

To raise Portugal to the European level, in the next 10 years Salazar would have to increase five-fold the allocations to education, which is completely outside present trends.

PORTUGUESE BUSINESS ALSO DOES WELL

The big hydro-electric concerns in Portugal are reaping profits. Total production increased in 1966 by 12.7% over the previous year (P.J. 31.1.67). The largest of these firms, *Hidroeléctrica do Douro*, is to increase its capital by £2.5 million to a total of £20 million (P.J. 21.12.67).

TAP, the Portuguese air-transport monopoly, with net profits of £538,000 for 1965, almost doubled the figures for 1964 (*The Times*, 30.12.66).

TAP, which operates mainly with American 'Boeing' and French 'Caravelle' jets, is going to increase its capital from £1.5 million to £3.1 million (D.L. 17.2.67).

The petro-chemical concern, *Sociedade Portuguesa de Petroquímica*, a branch of the SACOR monopoly, increased its capital from £2.5 million to £3.8 million (D.L. 7.1.67).

FAP, the only Portuguese manufacturers of cars and commercial vehicles, is to increase its capital from £625,000 to £1,100,000. There will be a State investment of £250,000 in this private venture (P.J. 31.12.66).

Portuguese textile exports to England are increasing and Lancashire producers are worried by this sudden influx (*The Guardian*, 29.11.66).

(continued from page 368)

An Italian Economic Mission visited Portugal, with a view to boosting economic relations between the two countries (P.J. 7.12.66).

In his farewell speech, Senator Alessandro Morino, the head of the Italian Mission, said that a special mission had been sent to the Portuguese territories in Africa, where good results were likely to be achieved (D.L. 14.12.66).

Foreign help for Salazar

THE GERMAN INVASION

The West German bases in Beja, Southern Portugal, are now established and being used. German military men and their families have moved in. Nearby land has been declared to be of 'public utility' and expropriated (*D.L.* 16.11.66). There is a growing feeling amongst the Portuguese against this. The reasons for the people's antagonism to the 'German Invasion', as it has been termed, have as much to do with a deep suspicion of the 'invaders' motives as with an equally suspicious attitude towards those of the Portuguese Government.

It is interesting to recall that the Spanish Government, which can hardly be described as left-wing, refused, when first approached by the Germans, to allow them in. The Portuguese Government, however, was ready for the deal. Of course Salazar depends quite considerably on West German help, and this means that his bargaining power must be somewhat limited. But he still appears to have some pull with Spain and sought to persuade his Spanish friends to allow the German jets to fly over Spain on their way to Beja. This he achieved.

Let us not, however, imagine that Salazar was forced to comply, against his better judgement, with the sell-out of a large portion of Portugal. Salazar is not the loser, even though Portugal is. For the region of Beja is, and always has been, notoriously anti-Salazar. It is, in fact, one of the strongholds of the Portuguese 'Resistance' to the dictatorship. This was clearly taken into account when the site for the West German bases was chosen. The Portuguese are well aware of the fact, which could not have surprised them too much considering that Salazar has been a close friend of the Germans for over thirty years.

AND—THE SUPPLY OF MANPOWER

Portuguese emigration is one of the most glaring proofs of the disgraceful living conditions of workers in Portugal. Only people in despair will leave their homeland and their families, knowing too well that the conditions they will find abroad are bound to be very tough indeed. The

'bidon-villes' scattered around Paris are one of the many examples of the fate awaiting poverty-stricken Portuguese immigrants. And yet they leave homes in thousands, many of them as clandestine emigrants. In the latter years, West Germany has been one of the European countries which has absorbed large Portuguese emigrant populations. Now we learn from an item in the Portuguese press (*P.J.* 8.1.67) that the Portuguese Minister for Corporations (who supervises labour control departments in Portugal) has been invited to inspect West German industrial centres employing Portuguese workers. Does this mean that Portuguese workers, even when abroad, will continue to be 'controlled' by the régime they have fled?

NATO, NATO

Lieutenant-Colonel Sousa Meneses, a deputy in the Portuguese 'National Assembly', recently made a speech pointing out the advantages to Portugal of Nato membership. He was commenting on criticisms, made in some official quarters, of Nato's attitude towards Portugal. Colonel Sousa Meneses emphasized that Nato had already built or was in the process of building three important (military) installations in Portugal, totalling more than £2,125,000 in value (*The Times*, 12.12.66). One of these is the headquarters of IBERLANT, the recently-formed Nato Ibero-Atlantic area, dependent of SACLANT, the Nato Atlantic Supreme Command. These headquarters in Mem Martins, near Lisbon, were inaugurated on February 23rd. A Nato mixed fleet, with American, British and Dutch warships, went to Lisbon to celebrate the inauguration. The warships were the American destroyers 'Zellars' and 'Maclay', the British frigate 'Berwick' and the Dutch destroyer 'Limburg', with a total of 962 men on board. Flags from all the Nato countries were paraded by the visiting sailors and by detachments of Portuguese sailors. The ceremonies were attended by three high ranking American officers, General Lemnitzer (supreme Nato commander in Europe), Admiral Moorer (Nato Atlantic Commander in Chief) and Admiral Miller, Commander of

Iberlant. This new area will cover 410,000 sq. miles of the Atlantic Ocean, North of the Tropic of Cancer (*P.J.* 17.2 and 23.2.67).

Many of the Portuguese fighting troops in Africa have been Nato trained, and all the heavy armament they are using has been supplied to Portugal by Nato. (ED.)

THE U.S. AND ITS COMMITMENTS

A new warship, the frigate 'Pereira da Silva', was delivered to Portugal as part of the effort to renew the Portuguese fleet. In his speech at the take-over ceremony, the Portuguese Minister for the Navy recalled that the U.S. had paid 50% of the cost of this and two other frigates under construction. Later, however, he regretted that Portugal's allies, namely Nato, should not have participated more actively in the Portuguese colonial wars (*D.L.* 20.12.66). The contradictory nature of these two statements calls for no comment. (ED.)

A U.S. commercial mission visited Portugal with a view to establishing more commercial contacts between the two countries. Mr. E. Fogg, a member of the Mission, while enumerating the advantageous conditions Portugal offers the U.S. businessman, stressed that Portuguese manpower is one of the cheapest in Europe (*P.J.* 14.1.67).

The president of the New York Commercial Bank and the vice-president of the Illinois Bank of Chicago visited Angola to observe 'in loco' the new mining project of Cassinga. (D da Manha, 17.1.67)

VISITORS AND SUPPORTERS

The French Chief of Staff, General Charles Ailleret, paid an official visit to Portugal, where he inspected several military establishments. He was decorated with the 'Great Cross' of the Order of Avis (*P.J.* 15.1.66).

A small French fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral La Haye, visited Lisbon. In a public statement, Admiral La Haye accentuated the close co-operation between the French and Portuguese Navies (*D.L.* 26.1.67). A group of professors of the Institute of Higher Studies in French National Defence visited a number of the most important Portuguese Military installations in November 1966 (*D.L.* 24.11.66).

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