

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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THEIR CRIME

THE Portuguese fascist régime has been oppressing the Portuguese people—9 million in 1966—for over 41 years. The Portuguese régime keeps another 14 million people under colonial yoke, mainly in Africa.

During those 41 years, the Fascist régime in Portugal, has ruthlessly exploited the Portuguese, giving them one of the lowest standards of living in Europe. Thousands and thousands of people in Portugal have been through the political prisons, many thousands have been tortured, hundreds have been murdered in the prisons, in the concentration camps, and in the streets. During those 41 years over 1 million Portuguese—or more than 1 in each 10 of the population—left the country, emigrating to escape from misery and terror. The action of the Salazar régime constitutes a crime against its own people.

In the colonies, the régime has maintained and aggravated centuries of oppression, helping foreign and national investors to extract huge profits from the savage exploitation of the colonial peoples. And in the last six years the régime has waged three ruthless colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, who simply seek their rightful independence. Tens of thousands of Africans have been massacred, arrested and tortured. The action of the Salazar régime constitutes a crime against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

The Portuguese monopolies have reaped rich profits from the exploitation of the peoples of Portugal and her colonies. But the lion's share of the profits has gone to the foreign monopolies, for which the régime acts as a convenient, police force. In 1966 the trade deficit of metropolitan Portugal reached a

total of £138 million, foreign investments a total of £27 million, foreign loans a total of £16 million. It is only thanks to foreign financial and military support that the Salazar régime is kept going.

This state of affairs, this support of the Salazar régime by the western countries has come under stern attack at the United Nations. Motion, after motion has been approved there demanding the end of the military aid to Portugal, and a stop to the financial aid which takes the form of growing foreign investments in Portugal and colonies.

BRITISH POSITION

At the United Nations Britain has consistently opposed any move to condemn the Portuguese régime. It has sided in this with a régime such as that of South Africa. At the UNESCO European Conference for University Education (Vienna, November 1967) the British delegate protested against an earlier decision to keep Portugal out because of her policies. The President of the Portuguese Science Council was invited by the British Government to come to London in November to study British scientific efforts.

Britain is Portugal's best customer. British investments in Portugal have been growing. A recent big British loan worth £50 million was granted to the Portuguese steel industry and for iron mining, which are vital for Salazar's colonial wars. Britain is a partner of Portugal in NATO, and NATO has provided plenty of military equipment and know-how for the Portuguese army, without which the Fascist régime could not last at home or in the colonies.

When Salazar criticizes western policies, as in his recent speech of November 30, it is because he wants even more support for his reaction-

ary policies. He often reminds the West that 'he had told them' and that the only way out for the West's present difficulties is Fascism, or at least his brand of 'Corporative state'.

THE AGGRESSORS

As Salazar's policies continue to receive support from the Western powers, the Portuguese régime grows more insolent and aggressive. This is particularly noticeable regarding the African states neighbouring the Portuguese colonies.

The brazen use of Angola as a base for an invasion of Katanga (Congo), by white mercenaries last November, the attempts to intervene in the Nigerian conflict on the side of Biafra, provocations and attacks against Senegal and the Republic of Guinea, are clear examples of this aggressive attitude.

By virtue of this policy of aggression and colonialism the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, are being used as the first line of defence for reactionary South Africa against the rest of the African continent and the African peoples. These Portuguese colonies are, with Rhodesia, the outer bastion of a southern Africa under the iron rule of white colonialism.

In Portugal itself the cold war is sharpened by the presence of foreign military bases. In Portugal, West Germany has obtained her only military base abroad.

STOP THIS

Britain must stop giving economic support to the Salazar régime by her investments which profit from cheap Portuguese or African labour. Britain must stop her support of Portuguese policies at the United Nations. Britain must refuse to have Portugal as her partner in NATO.

The British people can democratically force their Government to take this course of action.

Stop the shameless support of the American, West German and British Governments for the Portuguese Fascist and colonialist régime!

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More foreign help for Salazar

SECRET BONN-LISBON AGREEMENT

WEST GERMANY and Portugal have agreed to complete the Luftwaffe base at Beja, Portugal, a Defence Ministry spokesman said in Bonn on 22nd November 1967.

Construction is already well advanced and the base is due to be completed by the end of 1968. The cost is about £25 million, according to unconfirmed reports.

The project was planned as a training base for Starfighter pilots. Later, it was decided to train them in the United States.

The project is surrounded by secrecy and the Defence Ministry refuses to say how many planes or men will be stationed there.

A brief communiqué issued after the meeting in Bonn between Dr. Schröder, West German Defence Minister, and Gen. Manuel Gomes de Araujo, Portuguese Defence Minister on 21st November 1967, did not mention Beja by name.

It stated only that the Ministers had discussed 'military installations' being built in Portugal within the scope of previous agreements.

Officially, the base is known in Portugal as 'Portuguese Airbase No. 11' and it is to be commanded by a Portuguese officer.

In fact, it is to be a predominantly West German base and Bonn is reliably reported to be putting up more than 75 per cent. of the capital cost.

Beja is still to be used for certain training exercises, but it will also serve as a staging-post for transatlantic flights. Runways are being built to take the heaviest transports.

In wartime the base, which is the Luftwaffe's only one abroad, could be used as a fall-back position in the likely event that airfields in West Germany became unusable.

The Beja base runways, ramps and hangars are said to compare favourably in size with the installations of a normal American Strategic Air Command station.

Portugal has agreed to let West Germany use the base, located in the flatlands of the Alentejo province of South East Portugal, during the term of the North Atlantic treaty.

The agreement to build the base is covered by the NATO treaty provision allowing bilateral defence pacts between members.

Almost no mention of Beja ever appears in either the West German or the Portuguese Press. (*Daily Telegraph*), 23.11.67.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

DR. FRANCO NOGUEIRA'S visits to Malawi and South Africa were seen by 'The Times' (26.7.67) as clear indications that the formation of a Southern African economic community is beginning to take practical shape. In Blantyre, after having had talks with Dr. Banda (the subject of which was not disclosed), the Portuguese Foreign Minister stressed once more that Malawi's economy depends vitally on Mozambique's ports (*D.L.* 1.8.67).

Malawi's dependence on Mozambique is, of course, Dr. Banda's ready-made excuse for the betrayal of his professed loyalty to the cause of anti-colonialism. This Dr. Nogueira called 'great qualities of statesmanship' in his farewell speech (*P.J.* 2.8.67).

According to 'The Daily Telegraph' (1.8.67) 'the three factors which undoubtedly have dominated the Nogueira-Banda talks are the proposed link-up of Malawi to the new railway from Nova Freixo to the Indian Ocean port of Nacala; a plan for Malawi to use power from the proposed Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme on the lower Zambezi River; and, most important but not publicised, control of the Mozambique Liberation Fighters, who infiltrate down Lake Malawi and have made Mozambique's northern Nyassa Province a restricted military area'.

Some time after Dr. Nogueira's visit to Malawi, Dr. Alcke Banda, Malawi's Minister for Planning and Information, visited Lisbon, conferred with Dr. Salazar (*P.J.* 12.10.67), met Portuguese financiers (*P.J.* 11.10.67) and visited Portuguese industrial plants (*D.L.* 11.10.67). The benefits Dr. Banda expects to gain from his friendship with Salazar must be considerable, since he seems eager to please:

everyone who presents himself as a Mozambique Liberation Fighter is to be arrested and handed over to Malawi's police. Dr. Banda announced this himself in Parliament (*P.J.* 5.10.67).

The second trip in Dr. Nogueira's African expedition was to South Africa. No details were published on the meeting between Dr. Nogueira and Mr. Vorster. An official communiqué mentions in very broad terms 'co-operation in several fields'. Dr. Nogueira stressed once more that Portugal and South Africa 'share and fight for the same principles' (*P.J.* 27.7.67). This had been the theme of the South African Minister of Information during his visit to Lisbon, a few days before, when he said: 'We are fighting together for a common cause' (*P.J.* 18.7.67).

Everything points towards the creation of a Southern African white common market, with perhaps Dr. Banda providing the local colour. This is starting to worry the British who have been the traditional friends of Dr. Salazar but are now threatened by more active competitors. Indeed, Dr. Salazar makes sure that whoever helps him to stay in power will get some reward. What happens to Portugal in the process seems not to concern him much. As long as he stays in power, it is free for all—except for the Portuguese, since the potential wealth of the colonies and, indeed, of Portugal itself, is being mortgaged to foreign colonisers.

This (that there is money in Portugal if you play it well) is the essence of the article published by Mr. Evelyn King, M.P., in the 'Daily Telegraph' in October and widely advertised by the Portuguese press. And, as quoted by a Portuguese newspaper (*D.L.* 28.10.67), an article in 'The Financial Times' strikes the same note.

NATO AND NAVAL VISITS

The military situation in the Portuguese colonies was the object of a lecture by Portuguese Commander Correia de Barros to members of NATO's Defence College meeting in Lisbon. (*D.L.* 23.9.67.)

A West German Fleet visited Portugal (*P.J.* 4.8.67). The American

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THE PEOPLE FIGHT

(From our correspondent in Portugal)

THE opposition of the Portuguese people to the Salazar régime is "untamed and untameable". A people with hundreds of years of glorious history, a nation which was in the 15th and 16th centuries one of the leading in Europe is not going to be curbed by the small bunch of corrupt Fascists who have held power for the last 41 years.

The struggle of the Portuguese will, sooner or later, end the Fascist régime. Their fight is now against the foreign and national monopolies which own the country and the State apparatus, their fight is against the terrorist policies of the régime, their fight will bring about their liberation.

AGAINST REPRESSION

The families of the political prisoners sent, from Oporto, last September, a letter to the Minister of Justice, protesting against the 'security measures' and the threats of summary execution against the

Continued from previous page.

missile-launching cruiser 'Springfield' called once more at Lisbon on a 'technical visit' (D.L. 17.10.67). A French fleet has also gone to Portugal; this visit was described as 'routine' (P.J. 9.9.67).

PORTUGUESE BRAZILIAN ALLIANCE

The Portuguese Government denied that in the Luso-Brazilian Pact there is any military clause, providing for Brazil's assistance for the Portuguese colonial wars, as was revealed by the Brazilian leading newspaper 'Correio da Manhã' (P.J. 15.10.67).

However, Luso-Brazilian ties are getting closer all the time. Further economic exchanges are to encompass oil and uranium (P.J. 11.10.67). And a Brazilian free port is to be created in the Portuguese colonies (D.L. 18.9.67).

Obviously, the Brazilian Government of the day would be willing to endorse, at least as wishful thinking, Rhodesia's Minister of Education's words: 'the Portuguese will stay in Africa forever' (P.J. 30.7.67). This is obviously to their advantage, even if not to Africa's or to Portugal's.

Peniche prisoners. The 'security measures' can keep a prisoner indefinitely in jail, at PIDE's discretion, after the expiry of a prison sentence.

In November, 235 leading Portuguese intellectuals demanded to the 'National Assembly' an end to the censorship of the press and other means of communication.

Appeals for the liberation of the student leader José Bernardino have been signed by 835 students and 261 other people. His wife Manuela Bernardino was arrested while visiting him at the Peniche jail on November 1. 129 students sent a telegram to the Minister of the Interior protesting against this arrest.

Manuela Bernardino was tortured for five days and then released from jail on November 7.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Thousands of courageous industrial workers continue their fight for better wages and conditions, defying the repressive apparatus of the régime which fiercely opposes any industrial action as being against the 'national interest' (i.e. the interest of the foreign and national monopolies and of the Salazar clique).

Recent victorious struggles took place at the Metal Industries Previdente, Aeronautics Plant and Vaz Guedes factories, all in Alverca, near Lisbon, in the Trefilaria cables factory, in Sacavém, in the Nitratos chemical factory in Santa Iria, also near Lisbon. Another struggle took place in the Vale da Lama cork factory near Silves, in the southern province of Algarve.

TRANSPORT WORKERS

The British-owned Lisbon Electric Tramways Ltd. (C.C.F.L.) has the monopoly of public transport in Lisbon. Last April and May there were widespread actions for better wages, by the C.C.F.L. employees, following an increase in fares. Some meetings were attended by more than 4,000 workers, who refused to be intimidated by the administration and by the repressive forces called to the scene.

The struggle has continued with go-slow action. Some employees have been dismissed as a result of this.

The Company has capital and re-

serves worth 7.9 million. The weekly salary of a tram conductor is £7 3s.

BANK EMPLOYEES

The 18,000 bank employees are demanding better salaries from their employers. Portuguese banks have shown a steady growth in profits.

The struggle is most active in Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra. In Lisbon, several employees of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank) were arrested.

FISHERMEN

Last October and November the Matozinhos fishermen struggled to keep a percentage of the catch. Some trawlers refused to unload there and demanded other ports. Fishermen have been threatened. Some have been arrested and beaten by the police.

Matozinhos is the most important port for sardine fishing, which supplies the canned fish industry, one of the main exports of the country.

Fishermen's strikes have often taken place in the past in Matozinhos and in the Algarve province.

FARM WORKERS

In Benavila women farm workers obtained a wage increase after a stoppage.

DOCTORS

Large meetings of doctors took place on November 4 and 19 in Lisbon, at their State-controlled Association (Ordem dos Médicos).

The doctors demanded that their voices should be heard in the planned reorganization of hospitals and careers which has been under discussion with the Ministry of Health. They rejected a draft proposal for new Statutory rules, while recognizing the need for a change in the existing rules.

5th OCTOBER

The anniversary of the 1910 Republican revolution was celebrated in the country, despite prohibitions and intimidations by the authorities.

In Lisbon there were small meetings in Republican Education Centres and a gathering in the Alto de S. João cemetery, where Republican leaders are buried.

A planned celebration dinner was forbidden in Braga, in the Northern province of Minho. But smaller celebration dinners were held in Braga and in the neighbouring towns of Fafe and Guimarães.

INSIDE PORTUGAL

LISBON OIL MEETING

THE director of the big American company, *Gulf Oil Corporation*, met in Lisbon recently. *Gulf Oil* works in Angola and Mozambique through its subsidiaries, *Cabinda Gulf Oil* and *Mozambique Gulf Oil*.

The Chairman, Mr. E. D. Brockett, met Salazar and the 'President' of the Republic. The Overseas and Finance Ministers were also at the meeting, with some other members of the Portuguese Government. (D.L. 5 and 7.8.67). These personal contacts between the Gulf Oil Chairman and key figures of the Portuguese Dictatorship, indicate the importance attached by Gulf Oil to the oil resources of the two major Portuguese colonies.

Because of growing instability in the Middle East, the oil consortiums are looking for other sources of supply, and Governments, like Salazar's, which are docile to their interests, and will enable them to gain control of these new oil fields.

Without giving details, Mr. Brockett made the point at his Press Conference that good results had been attained in Angola and Mozambique. (D.L. 7.8.67.)

The Review 'Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens' believes that Cabinda (Angola) resources are of the same order as Nigeria's. (*Vida Mundial*, Lisbon, 18.8.67.)

Gulf Oil Corporation had a total net profit of nearly 300 million U.S. dollars for the first six months of 1967. (D.L. 5.8.67.)

Prices of petrol and fuel oil have recently been raised in Portugal, because, it is said, of the closure of the Suez Canal. (P.J. 4.8.67.)

EMIGRATION

89,065 emigrants left Portugal legally in 1965 (*Bulletin*, Oct. '66-Jan. '67). This figure rose to 120,239 in 1966. Figures for illegal emigration are difficult to compute, but it is believed to have been as high as 4,000 or 5,000 in some years (*Times* 7.8.68). The total number of Portuguese abroad is about two million. They send home invisible assets of some £27m. in foreign exchange.

On top of this drain of man-power through emigration, the Portuguese Dictatorship keeps 150,000 men de-

ployed in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea, to meet the requirements of the ever-growing colonial wars.

Portugal's balance of trade has suffered from a permanent and increasing deficit, which reached a new ceiling of £137.5m. in 1966 (D.L. 15.9.67). With the remittances from abroad to Portugal by the emigrants, the profits of the tourist trade, which had an elevenfold increase in ten years to reach £93.5m. in 1966 (D.L. 13.8.67) and incoming foreign capital—£59m. in 1966 (*Jornal do Comércio*, 22 and 23.4.67), the Dictatorship keeps a favourable balance of payments at the price of depleting the country of its most valuable asset—its labour force—and of leaving the gate open for ruthless foreign and national oligarchies to control and exploit the resources of Portugal and its people.

This Table, compiled from comparative figures given by OCED, shows Portugal's position in Europe very clearly (P.J. 7.10.67).

Country	Gross National Product	Annual Increase of G.N. Product	Electricity Consumption (KW.h.)	Meat Consumption (Kilos per head per year)
Greece ...	590	9	445	35
Spain ...	570	9.2	799	28
Yugoslavia	500	8.6	679	40
Turkey ...	250	4.3	463	—
Portugal	420	6.4	121	22

TRANSISTORS FOR JAPAN

The West German Firm *Grundig* is now exporting radio-transistors to Japan from its branch in Braga, in the North of Portugal (P.J. 13.7.68). Since labour costs are notoriously cheap in Japan, one can guess how low the wages are that Grundig is paying to Portuguese workers to enable it to compete with the excellent Japanese products in their home markets.

TEXTILES FOR BRITAIN

British markets are also threatened by cheap Portuguese hosiery. Imports from Portugal have risen from £464,000 in the first half of 1966 to £1,789,000 for the same period in 1967, and they are expected to reach £3,500,000 by the end of the year. Portuguese imports, especially nylon shirts, retail at under half the price listed on equivalent British goods. It is thought that American, German,

and Swedish capital is making full use of Portuguese cheap labour to produce these goods and export them to EFTA's most concentrated market.

British cotton textile sales in their home market have already been affected by similar imports of cheap Portuguese textiles.

SWEDISH AND BRITISH CAPITAL

A new Swedish factory APARITE, manufacturing cork products, is now operating near Coimbra. The present production is 30,000 tons per year, but a second production-line will raise the capacity of the plant to 70,000 tons. Most of the production is for export (D.L. 14.9.67).

A £19.3m. loan is to be granted to the South Atlantic Cable Co. (PTY) of South Africa by a consortium of British Banks—Midland, Barclays, Lloyds, and others. The loan partially finances a new submarine cable linking Cape Town to Lisbon as from 1969. The majority of S.A. Cable Co. shares belong to the *Industrial Development Corporation* of South Africa.

WOLFRAM

Beralt Tin and Wolfram, the largest producer of wolfram in Portugal, now a member of the Charter Consolidated group, whose Chairman is the South African magnate Oppenheimer, expects that profits before tax for the whole of 1967 will be approximately £900,000 (*Times* 15.9.67).

WHITE HEROES

SALAZAR'S Government can no longer conceal the fact that Portugal is waging three vicious colonial wars in Africa. The struggle is increasing in violence and brutality.

To prop up the régime and get support for these most unpopular wars, the authorities have been awarding medals for military valour to soldiers in the field. Photographs of these men are printed in the daily press.

From August 3 to October 27, 62 men were distinguished. Among all those men there is only one African.

It is clear from this that the Portuguese troops are an occupying force in the colonial territories. The slogan of a multi-racial society is exposed, when the nature of the colonial war

comes into the open (*P.J.* 3-8 to 27.10.67).

COLONIALIST MENTALITY

The foreign observer may ask how Salazar finds men to fight this unjust war, even though many refuse to serve.

The fact is that Portugal has been a colonial power for more than four centuries. The teaching of history in the Portuguese schools has always emphasized the unity of Portugal with the colonies. And the suppression of all political parties, with the sole exception of Salazar's *União Nacional*, makes the clarification of political issues extremely difficult.

And yet Salazar's men feel they are losing ground.

Now, Portuguese headmasters (who are appointed by the Ministry of Education) have started a campaign to set up associations of former students. The aim is to get to know the boys who are fighting overseas. And their example will be put before the younger generation, as an incentive (*D. da Manhã* 2.11.67).

NO QUESTIONS

The News, a journal published in Portugal in English by the Portuguese Government, has a leader (no. 42, 25.10.67) significantly entitled: 'Comradeship: no questions asked'. The colonial wars must be boosted up at all costs. Soldiers must die or fight without asking questions.

SALAZAR HONOURS THE PIDE

Knowing that the régime can only survive by the absolute powers of the Secret Police (PIDE), the Portuguese authorities have sent these hated agents to the colonies. It appears that the Government does not trust their own army. Recently two more PIDE agents were honoured for their good services (*P.J.* 6-8; 3.9.67).

'FACILITIES' FOR THE NATIONAL CONSCRIPTS

The support given to the army shows how far the Government is prepared to go to keep in power. A new decree has been issued by the Ministry of Defence allowing soldiers, who are waiting trial, or have been imprisoned pending trial, to be immediately released, provided they have been assigned for duty overseas. They will be tried only after the ending of their military service (*P.J.* 3-9; *D.L.* 2.9.67).

Meanwhile, a new regulation from

the Ministry of Education enables men who have been called up to sit their school examinations at the time of their own convenience (*P.J.* 10.8.67).

MORE TROOPS FOR AFRICA

In 1967, troops left for the colonies on July 5 and 22, August 3 and 5, September 27 and October 12 and 14. On October 28 a special company of Police set out for Africa (*P.J.* 6 and 23-7; 4 and 6-8; 28.9.67; *D.L.* 28.10.67).

There was a new recruiting drive for women nurses who are to serve with the paratroops during August (*D.L.* 28.7.67).

WEST GERMAN ARMY SETTLES IN

West Germany is putting down deep roots in Portugal. The Armed Forces of the Federal Republic have now a basis in Beja.

The Portuguese staff employed there and in the offices in Lisbon of the West German Armed Forces, will now be covered by Portuguese Social Insurance.

By an agreement signed between West Germany and the Portuguese authorities, West Germany will contribute to the social services as the employer (*P.J.* 20.7.67).

On August 3, a West German fleet of 5 vessels under Commander Curt Jobst visited Leixoes harbour (*D.L.* 3.8.67).

WAR IN THE AIR REQUIRES EFFICIENCY

A £437,500 allocation has been made by the Portuguese authorities to acquire radar equipment for Lisbon Airport. (*D.L.* 27.9.67.)

A £13,605 allocation has been granted to the airports of Oporto and Sal to acquire accessories from the Zickermman firm.

From the *Bergoni* firm (Milan), the Santa Maria airport will acquire material to the value of £16,238 (*P.J.* 28.7.67).

MORE AIRFIELDS

Work on a new airfield at the Flores Island (Azores), where there is already a French base, was started last Summer. (*D.L.* 27.7.67; *P.J.* 16.9.67.)

A good system of communications is needed for the quick repression of any rising inside Portugal and for rapid movements of troops overseas. For this reason there is now in Portugal a close network of small and large airports.

There are more than 30 small airfields, three large international airports (Lisbon, Oporto, Faro) and an undisclosed number of air military bases (*D.L.* 3.8.67).

WEST GERMAN CONTROL

The Armaments Factory at Braço de Prata is producing small weapons for the West German Army and for the Portuguese Forces. The West Germans subsidize the Portuguese factory.

There is a Portuguese-German Mixed Commission to supervise the work in the factory. Lieut. Col. B. Weilandt is the permanent German supervisor there.

Now a testing laboratory has been inaugurated. Brigadier General Peter von Lillienkjold and Lieut. Col. Franc Ulrich Lauger, officers of the West German Liaison Committee (The West German Permanent Military Mission in Portugal), inspected the factory on October 26, 1967. (*D.L.* 26.10.67.)

STRENGTHENING THE NAVY

The Navy School advertised 30 vacancies on August 7, 1967 (*P.J.* 7.9.67).

The Institute for Higher Naval Studies, a School of the Portuguese Naval Forces, has changed and modernized its courses (*P.J.* 6.8.67).

A £48,775 allocation was granted for the construction of a Centre of Mining Instruction at Alfeite (near Lisbon) (*P.J.* 19.7.67).

The first of 4 submarines under construction in France was launched at Lorient, on September 30, 1967.

The new 869 tons submarine, named *Albacora*, has a crew of fifty. (*P.J.* 1.10.67).

The frigate 'João Belo', a vessel of the *Commandant Rivière* class, built also in France, is undergoing tests. (*D.L.* 30.8.67.)

The 11th Company of Naval Fusiliers has been set up. The Navy has been strengthened by 5 LDP launches and 2 coastal launches. There are still 17 launches under construction (*P.J.* 12.9.67).

On September 13, 1967 the Navy received officially 285 new cadets. (*D.L.* 13.9.67.)

The Lisnave shipyards (Lisbon) have under study the construction of 4 sloops at a cost of £5m. for the Portuguese Navy. (*P.J.* 21.10.67.)

In Madeira island, a perimeter has

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IN England and France liberals were often rather shocked at the intolerance that their Spanish and Portuguese counterparts showed to the Roman Catholic Church.

But to understand this sharp reaction it is important to know that for nearly eight centuries the Roman Catholic Church has dominated the minds of the Portuguese. And although it is true that in such a long period Catholicism has not remained the same, it still remains that the present position of the Church hierarchy inside Portugal is deeply disturbing for the sincere believers.

ANTICLERICALISM AND FANATICISM

The diffidence and even the anticlericalism professed by the Portuguese liberals was in many ways, and is still, a bad hangover from the Republican Jacobinism of 1910 and the twenties.

Stemming from anger at the close association of the Church with the tottering monarchy of the Braganças, Republican anticlericalism took too much time pointing out the faults of the Church. By diverting popular wrath against Church and religion, the Republicans had delayed the analysis of the crucial economic and social problems which beset the country.

Only a few intellectuals of the democratic élite saw the path that the Government ought to take and strove to stall the wave of fanaticism that anticlerical propaganda was whipping up in depressed rural areas.

TROUBLED ATMOSPHERE

For centuries poor and ignorant peasants had had the local priest and the Church as their sole mentors.

The local vicar was seen quite often first as a friend and then as a man of God, although a deep-rooted suspicion of the privileged clergy held the peasant back in his acceptance of the priest, until he could judge him by his own deeds.

These close-knit communities had no other spiritual contact with the outside world. The Revolution of 1910 had been essentially an urban movement. And when the inexperienced Governments of the day, constantly shaken by reactionary plots,

failed to solve basic social problems, popular discontent was canalized for some time into the anarchist movement.

Organized in the towns and in the industrial areas, the anarchists had the failings of their own ideology and the limitations of an industrial development, which was then still based on the small factory unity. Between the anarchist workers and the peasants there was a deep gap that no one attempted to bridge.

The crude political propaganda and the radicalism of the bourgeois ruling class had shaped to a certain extent the anarchist philosophy. This propounded a drastic programme of action to remove the causes of social evil.

In those days the cult of gratuitous violence had become part of the European revolutionary mystique. Portugal, gripped by deep social contradictions, was no exception. And the alliance between Church and the reactionary monarchist State had left a festering wound.

The slow and often painful process of critical analysis, which the circumstances required, found no suitable climate in Portugal. To the desperate and starving revolutionary worker of the 1910s, radical individualistic action seemed to be the only panacea for his misery.

CHURCH AND PEASANTRY

At the same time a terrible state of confusion prevailed in the countryside. The peasantry, vaguely hopeful of some sort of a change, which could only come by an agrarian reform, did not see any improvement in their situation. By 1917, the Great European War, which Portugal had joined on the side of the Allies, had worsened the conditions of the labouring classes.

The peasants continued poorer than ever and had no idea of the calamities that had befallen their world.

The Church and the priest, their old-century teachers, told them to cling to religion with more fervour at that hour when God was scourging mankind for their sins. For those responsible for the misery—they were told—were the men who had exiled the King and sat in the Government at Lisbon.

The Church could not forget its separation from the State and the loss of its privileges.

Catholics, and the Dicta

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

On May 1917, the reported apparitions to three little shepherds of Our Lady at Fátima were noticed in the press. This was soon going to be seized by reactionary politicians of poor ideological calibre and used for propaganda purposes.

In the early twenties, the first Chapel of Apparitions at Fátima was partially destroyed by an explosion. The incident provoked popular indignation and added new fuel to political and ecclesiastical controversy.

It is, therefore, in an atmosphere of deep ideological confusion that the ultras, who hated the Republic, began to prepare the ground for the Fascist coup of 1926.

The privileged classes, in view of their position and of their sense of hierarchy, were not only royalist in inclination, but traditionalist Catholics, who wanted to maintain the old alliance of Church with State.

As early as 1901, a group of Catholic students formed in Coimbra the 'Centro Académico da Democracia Cristã', where Oliveira Salazar gained his first political experience. In 1923, the Centre began to issue a political and cultural magazine *ESTUDOS*. Both the Centre, better known by the initials CADC, and its political review still exist.

Moreover the extremely reactionary *Integralismo Lusitano* movement, through its magazine *Nação Portuguesa*, founded in 1914 and finally extinguished in 1938, provided Salazar not only with an adequate political indoctrination, but also with many of his close collaborators.

FATIMA AND NEW STATE

The ideology and political programme of the ultras, in whose midst Dr. Salazar was going to become a prominent figure, was largely based on the texts of the *Rerum Novarum* and the *Quadragesimo Anno*, the encyclical letters of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. The conservative ap-

The Church, Dictatorship by A. Leal

proach to politics of Leo XIII, who considered Communism 'the deadly ulcer that gnaws at the brain of human society', supplied Salazar with his best propaganda weapon to fight democracy.

Having condemned Socialism harshly in 1925, when he came to power with his 'New State', Salazar proclaimed publicly a violent hatred of Communism, which became a loose and easy slogan to cover the brutal suppression of the most elementary human rights. Gradually the alleged revelations of Fátima began to be used by Salazar's ideologues to stamp a divine seal on the régime.

It is now officially agreed that the reported message of Fátima conveyed first and foremost the need for penance.

Yet the message has been coloured by other undertones, which gave to understand the urgency of prayer for the end of World War I, and later for the conversion of the U.S.S.R.

By 1937, at the time of the Spanish Civil War, the message of Fátima was deeply loaded with anti-Spanish Republican feeling. And the hierarchy of the Portuguese Church and the vast majority of the clergy never had any doubts in spreading that the final return of Russia to the Christian fold was one of the aims implicit in the Apparitions.

At present the cult of Fátima is still closely associated with the ideas and emotions of extreme right-wing politics. *The International Organization for the Persecuted Church*, whose activities are directed against the Socialist countries, has set up its own branch in Portugal on September 13, 1967. On that date, the leader of the organization, the Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal J. Beran, who now lives in Rome, went to pray for peace at Fátima. (P.J. 13.9.67).

Likewise, in the same year, some members of the *Blue Army*, headed by author Haffer John, flew to Portugal to pray for peace at Fátima, on October 13. The *Blue Army*,

originated in the U.S.A. Under the inspiration of Fátima it has committed itself to a permanent crusade against Socialism and the liberation movements. (D.L. 12.10.67.) Thus from Fátima the group led by Dom João Venâncio, the bishop of Leiria, in Portugal, left for Saigon (South Vietnam), where they arrived on November 2. The group offered an image of Our Lady to Saigon Cathedral. (D.L. 2.11.67.)

CATHOLICS SUPPORT SALAZAR

The spiritual power that Salazar derived from the Fátima cult for his political propaganda has been incalculable. Rarely has such a close unity been established between the sphere of the divine and that of earthly power, a situation which would be the envy of any theocracy.

Thus initially the crushing majority of the Portuguese Catholics backed the Salazar régime. And later, as a leading liberal Catholic frankly admits, Catholics were given power and responsible posts inside the dictatorship.

But at the same time the Government's attacks against the movements of Catholic workers began to grow in intensity. The Secret Police harrassed members of JOC (Young Catholic Workers Movement), suppressed their journal *O Trabalhador* (The Worker) and persecuted the 'League of Catholic Men', among many other Catholic organisations.

VATICAN CHANGES

By 1958 changes were taking place inside the Roman Catholic Church itself. Pope John XXIII started and promoted a revision of Catholic thinking.

In his encyclical letters *Mater et Magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in Terris* (1963) he defined clearly his policy of *aggiornamento*, or the integration of the Church in modern times, which was to inspire Vatican Council II (1962-65).

This new outlook has strengthened Catholic liberals on the righteousness of their stand against the Salazar dictatorship. For the Roman Church, Communism now is no longer an evil, but rather an error of orientation in the universal social construction in which it takes part.

In accordance with this doctrine, Portuguese liberal Catholics, who sided with the democratic opposition in the 1958 Presidential Cam-

paign for General H. Delgado, exploded the terrifying myth. To them Portuguese Communists, and those who lean towards Communism, express in fact an aspiration for justice. This would explain, in their opinion, the appeal it has for Portuguese youth.

PROGRESSIVE CATHOLICS

Thus suddenly one of the greatest weapons of Salazar ideological armory became obsolete. And for liberal Catholics the distinction between politics and religion assumed the urgency of a moral imperative.

In Coimbra a Catholic student magazine *Encontro* (founded in 1955) embarked on a serious analysis of Pope John's teaching in 1961. A new literary and cultural magazine of marked liberal opinion *O Tempo e o Modo*, bearing significantly the motto 'thought and action', began publication in Lisbon, in January 1963.

All these periodicals appear pervaded with the same spirit that has inspired in Great Britain the *Slant Manifesto* (1966) and the 'Cambridge New Left'. Like the Cambridge new protester, influenced himself by the *aggiornamento* policy, the Portuguese liberal Catholic feels committed to a work of social and political reform within his own community. This makes him an enemy of the Salazar dictatorship and an ally of the democratic Opposition, who has been fighting the régime relentlessly since it came to power.

Under these circumstances, there is now in Portugal a deep split among Catholics and inside the Church.

The reactionary Catholics count on the support of the Church hierarchy and endorse the repressive measures of the ageing dictator. On the other hand, the liberal Catholics, rightly concerned with the poverty and misery of the largest strata of the population, rely on the underpaid clergy, who have a daily contact with the sufferings of ordinary people.

This situation can also be judged by the attitude that reactionary and progressive Catholics adopt respectively to the colonial and social problems.

THE CHURCH AND THE COLONIAL WAR

Let us look first at the position of the Church. Its Head, Dr. G.

Continued overleaf.

Continued from previous page.

Cerejeira, the Cardinal of Lisbon, has been a long standing friend of Dr. Salazar. In their youth both studied in the same Catholic Seminary.

Yet, in spite of the vagaries of ecclesiastical and political life, the friendly association of the Cardinal with the dictator has stood through thick and thin.

Indubitably such close ties are one of the factors behind the Cardinal's total silence on the existence of political prisoners, on the use of torture and the assassinations committed by PIDE, who are only responsible for their actions to Salazar.

And such silence is even more disturbing, since Dr. Cerejeira has often been pressed to act.

Likewise, the horrors of the colonial wars waged in Africa by the Salazar Government, leave the Cardinal cool and on the side of Caesar. On December 22, 1966, the Cardinal was congratulated by an official delegation for his appointment as bishop of the Portuguese Armed Forces.

The honour adds a crowning touch to the teaching of the bishops, who have repeatedly explained that it is high time for the Church to make a distinction between 'party and national politics'.

That attitude inhibits the protest against the colonial slaughter in the name of national interest. And ridden by their fateful class obsession, the bishops condemn the liberation of the African peoples as a 'subversion of the hierarchy of values'.

In 1962 the loss of Goa, which took place in 1961, was also denounced as a crime against the fatherland and the result of the spreading evils of Communism.

However, although since 1960 John XXIII opposed clearly such retrograde views, the Portuguese Episcopate has neither recanted, nor modified their interpretation of events. And when that Pope's views are mentioned, the bishops tend to cling more to the form than to the substance of the text.

There are other examples of the power of religious hierarchy in Portugal, such as the fate of the Angolan priest, Father Manuel das Neves. Arrested in Luanda, in 1961, for supporting the Angolan Independence movement MPLA, he was moved to the Aljube prison in Lisbon. Confined later to a Jesuit

seminary, he died in 1967 at Soutelo, a little village 5 miles from Braga.

For a similar reason at the time of Pope Paul's visit to Portugal, on May 13, 1967, 7 priests (the Revs. A. D. Gaspar; D. A. Gaspar; F. da Costa; M. Samba; J. P. de Andrade; L. Guimarães; A. Nascimento) had been confined by the Church to religious institutions.

The close association between Catholic reactionaries and Salazar takes various forms.

Recently a new organization has been set up, the *AFRIS*. It operates with the approval of the Church inside Angola. The main aim of *AFRIS* is to recruit nurses, teachers, doctors and social workers to carry on their duties in the colonies on a voluntary basis.

The conditions are tough. But if the volunteers are civil servants, the State helps by keeping their public appointments and granting them all the advantages they would expect, had they stayed in their jobs at home.

IDEOLOGICAL MONOPOLY

A direct consequence of the growing collusion between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the reactionary State is to leave the former in a position to gain even more concessions from Salazar. To the dictator this support is most welcome. Because he fears the discontent and the agitation both of the vast majority of Catholics and of their progressive intellectuals.

The efforts of the Church are directed at establishing a total domination in the educational field.

In Portugal, the Church has enjoyed in the last 41 years an ideological monopoly, which is coercively enforced by Salazar's dictatorship and by the PIDE.

State University lecturers and school teachers have to keep to the narrow path of intellectual Catholic conformity. Teachers of well-known liberal views have no chance of a State appointment, if the PIDE does not grant them the necessary recommendation.

But the Church is not quite satisfied yet. To the high ecclesiastical authorities, after Pope Paul's visit to Fátima, this seems the right psychological moment to press with their demands for a massive ideological control of education.

The last remnants of the Republican reform, which separated lay

and religious teaching, are likely to be abolished soon.

At a meeting, which was significantly held in Fátima, on June 15, 1964, the bishops issued a pastoral letter in which they asked the Government to grant Catholic schools an equal status with State Schools.

That right would allow them to have degrees and diplomas without Government supervision. It would also entitle religious schools to State subsidies.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

In the field of higher Education an old ambition of the Church is already on the way to materializing. For years the Church has claimed that the University must be fully committed ideologically—an idea which is acceptable to many Catholics, provided no coercion is exerted upon staff and students.

But the ecclesiastical hierarchy wanted an institution under its full control. Finally, on June 30, 1967, the first stone of the Catholic University was laid in Lisbon by Cardinal Cerejeira. It is expected that it will be built in one year at a cost of £250,000. At the ceremony, the Cardinal said that the new University would be no more than a complementary addition to the existing State University.

His Eminence's words betray the admission that the Catholic ideology prevails already in Salazar's Universities.

CATHOLICS FIGHT THE DICTATORSHIP

It is against such a powerful alliance, in the midst of great intellectual confusion and vicious political propaganda, that the progressive Catholics are fighting the régime. In a previous issue of this journal, some aspects of that courageous standing against Salazar have already been analysed. It is now necessary to outline further developments in the last five years.

At the time of the mock National Assembly 'election' of 1965, one hundred distinguished Catholics issued a manifesto (October 25) in which they expressed their agreement with the manifesto of the Democratic Opposition (October 15), which the Fascists had reviled. In this remarkable document, and

despite the bishop's objections to the Democratic Manifesto, these Catholics accuse Salazar of using the name of Christ to cloak its totalitarian policies.

'This—it says—is a scandal for which the Portuguese Catholics will have to answer one day'.

Developing the doctrine expounded by Pope John XXIII the progressives expose the brutalities and tortures of PIDE, the colonial wars, Salazar's contempt for the United Nations, the lack of freedom and political censorship both inside Portugal and the colonies".

They had some harsh things to say on the censorship. Pope John's texts have been expurgated in their Portuguese version. Commentaries on the Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* had been banned in the press. Paul VI's visit to the United Nations in New York, which had been televised to the whole of Western Europe, was not shown on Portuguese screens, making the country a solitary exception.

The censor had also cut and distorted the text of the 1964 Christmas message by Paul VI. Not even the Catholic newspaper *NOVIDADES* (Lisbon) was allowed to print it in its correct form.

Recently that list could be expanded by the addition of the censored Portuguese version of Paul VI's encyclical letter *Progressio Populorum* (26.3.67), whose criticism of the excesses of capitalism would be most unpalatable to Salazar and his financiers".

But although progressive Catholics are imprisoned and have been tortured for their opposition to the régime, they have not been cowed into submission. On November 8, 1966, a group of Catholics addressed a public letter to President A. Tomás, expressing their disapproval of a régime of 'personal dictatorship' and condemning the assassination of General Delgado.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

On the other hand, Catholics of high academic standing have met in Lisbon in symposia, or *Encontros*, in 1961 and '63, to study the social and economic problems which Portugal is facing under Salazar.

Moved by the example of 'enlightened capitalism' the investigation conducted by members of the symposium has borne out that while industries are growing in Portugal

under the control of national and foreign monopolies, agriculture is declining into total chaos. Portugal, an essentially agricultural country, is importing foodstuffs on a large scale. And never has the peasantry been so poor and emigration so high."

Such interest in social problems is so disturbing to the authorities that the members of a Catholic cultural association, PRAGMA, founded in April 1964, were arrested by PIDE, and their office closed down on April 6, 1967 (*Times*, 10.4.67).

PERTURBED MINDS

The struggle against Salazar will continue to grow in intensity. The dictator's supporters feel already the rising tide of Catholic opposition. In view of this, Salazar's men did not miss the opportunity of emphasizing on the 39th anniversary of Salazar's tenure of office, that to him the Church owes all the liberties it enjoys".

In the troubled waters of the present, Cardinal Cerejeira tried to pour the oil of obedience by resorting to the charismatic powers of Fátima. 'Fátima'—he claims—'is no ecclesiastic exploration of superstitious ignorance'.

Riding the wave of religious fervour, the Cardinal seeks to reassert the authority of the Church hierarchy. 'Fátima',—Dr. Cerejeira emphasized—'has lasted 50 years and never has the Marian cult been so universal'".

FAILURE OF OLD SLOGAN

This may be so. But the liberal Catholic cannot forget that Portugal has been a dictatorship for 41 years. And for 50, as many as the Soviet Socialist Republic has existed, he has seen torture and persecution of honest men and women being made in the name of anti-communism.

All this can only be deeply distressing to a man of integrity. As no less disturbing is to read Dr. Cerejeira's advice to Catholic authors, whom he encouraged to write the truth, nothing but the truth (Feb. 1962)".

No one can fail to agree with such a declaration.

But would it not be much easier, if the Cardinal himself, as the Head of the Portuguese Church, urged the

Government openly to terminate all forms of censorship, thus ensuring that the teachings of the Holy Fathers and any honest man's opinions are not distorted or suppressed in the Portuguese press?

On the other hand, the visit of Pope Paul VI to Fátima on May 13, 1967, has disturbed many Catholics, some of whom voice their apprehensions. They knew the Pope had been clearly informed about the brutal nature of the Salazar régime. They knew that a letter, signed by the families of many democrats imprisoned by Salazar, had been addressed to His Holiness at the time of his visit.

How can they accept, or explain, the decision of Pope Paul in awarding the Great Cross of St. Silvester to Commander Silva Pais, the Head of PIDE, the Portuguese Gestapo, on June 29, 1967? (*P.J.* 1.7.67).

NEW UNITY

Such are the problems which Catholic consciousness has to probe. But the struggle for the role of the Roman Church in Portugal, now and in future, has already started.

And in their fight against Salazar's dictatorship the progressive Catholics are allied to democrats of all shades of opinion.

This collaboration is the right way to overthrow the régime. And it has been forged in the true spirit of Pope John's teachings. Indeed His Holiness has encouraged such a joint work between Catholics and non-Catholics, who are men 'endowed with the light of reason and with a natural and operative honesty'".

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9. See *Message to the Faithful*

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under military control at the
Cela Battery (Palheiro Ferreiro)
L. 14.8.67).

CHAPLAINS FOR SALAZAR'S ARMY

The Church in Portugal keeps strengthening its already close association with the Salazar régime. On September 22, 1967, fifty-eight new military chaplains qualified at the Military Academy of Lisbon. (D.L. 22.9.67.)

LISBON-SALISBURY

A new Air Service between Lisbon and Salisbury (Rhodesia) via Luanda (Angola) has been started by the Portuguese T.A.P. (P.J. 20.10.67.)

SALAZAR AND ISRAEL

It has been officially announced that Portugal will be against any move to condemn Israel as an aggressor of the Arab countries.

Portugal will abstain from the

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of Africa, 5.6.1960, and the Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963). Also: *A Posição de alguns católicos em face das eleições* (D.L. 4.11.65).

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20. *Notícias de Portugal* (Lisbon), 25.2.67; p. 13.

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vote at the U.N. on the withdrawal of the Israelis from the Suez Canal Zone. (D.L. 4.7.67.)

THE PLIGHT OF EDUCATION

The sad old story. While money is being lavished on the Armed Forces, Education starves for lack of means.

The Faculty of Medicine in Lisbon, with an intake of 1,000 new students in October 1967, is in desperate need of laboratories, equipment, new buildings and teachers, said the new Dean, Professor Virgílio de Moraes. (P.J. 11.8.67.)

In the 1967-68 academic year, the 3 Portuguese Universities will have to teach 35,000 undergraduates. (D.L. 15.10.67.)

The primary schools are expected to cater for 1,187,000 scholars by 1975. By that time Portugal will need 44,000 qualified teachers. This means that 30,000 new teachers have to be found. But they receive such poor pay and are so ill-trained that that target is quite unrealistic. (D.L. 7.10.67.)

SALAZAR REBUKES THE UNITED NATIONS

In an interview with the *Evening Standard* (Washington), which was reissued in 140 American newspapers, Salazar condemned the U.N. Salazar stated that if the U.N. Organization does not change radically, it would be better to scrap it. ('*Diário da Manhã*', Lisbon 31.10.67.)

THE LISBON HARBOUR

In 1965, Portugal has exported altogether 262,000 tons of goods from Lisbon to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. From abroad it imported 262,000 tons of wheat. From the colonies Portugal imported nearly 411,565 tons of goods.

The figures apply to the port of Lisbon, where a total of 8m. tons was handled in 1965 (D.L. 14.8.67).

WE NEED YOUR HELP

Increased printing and postal charges are making life very hard for the "Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin."

For nearly seven years we have worked to expose the nature of the Salazar regime and have campaigned with success for the liberation of many Portuguese political prisoners.

The Portuguese people need our help more than ever.

Help us and help the Portuguese in their struggle for freedom. Send us donations and subscriptions. We need your help!

SABOGA IS FREE!

ANOTHER great victory for our campaign for the liberation of Portuguese political prisoners!

AGOSTINHO SABOGA the 57-year-old glass worker, who has spent over 12 years of his life in Salazar's jails, was released from prison last November. The campaign for his release gained momentum all through 1967.

AGOSTINHO SABOGA now joins the proud ranks of those like MANUEL RODRIGUES DA SILVA, MANUEL GUEDES and JOSE VITORIANO, for whose release from jail we and the international campaign against repression and for an amnesty in Portugal, have fought successfully.

HELENA NOALES, whose arrest we reported in our latest issue, was also released from jail on November 17.

BUT THESE ARE NOT FREE

Let us not forget, however, that many dozens of Portuguese political prisoners are in urgent need of support from the pressure of international public opinion to achieve their release from jail.

Amongst the women prisoners, who are kept in the Caxias fortress jail (address: Cadeia do Forte de Caxias, Caxias, Portugal) the most serious case is that of SOFIA FERREIRA.

SOFIA FERREIRA, is a 47-year-old worker, who has spent over 11 years of her life in Salazar's jails, and another 9 years in the underground anti-Fascist struggle in Portugal. Her sentence expired in October 1965, but she has been kept in prison since then under the notorious 'security measures'. Her health is very poor.

Other long-term women prisoners in Caxias include ALDA NOGUEIRA, FERNANDA TOMAZ, COELIA FERNANDES, ALBINA FERNANDES, NATALIA DAVID, LIGIA CALAPEZ, ALICE CAPELA, GLORIA SIMOES etc.

KEY TO REFERENCES

"P.J."—"*Primeiro de Janeiro*".

"D.L."—"*Diário de Lisboa*".

Two of the leading daily, censored, Portuguese newspapers.

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'NO' TO SALAZAR

IN BRITAIN

THE British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty (Mrs. P. Steadman, Flat 2, 57 West Side, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.18) has issued a new appeal for the liberation of **SOFIA FERREIRA**. It had also continued to appeal for the liberation of **AGOSTINHO SABOGA** until his recent release.

The B.C.P.A. also appealed for greetings and gifts to be sent to the Portuguese political prisoners and their families.

Bertrand Russell protested in October against the imprisonment of **JOSE BERNARDINO**.

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The U.N. General Assembly approved on November 18th a motion demanding immediate independence for the Portuguese colonies. The motion condemned the Portuguese aggressive actions from these colonies against neighbouring African countries and the military and economic support to Portugal by NATO and Western countries.

The motion was approved by 80 votes to 8. Votes against included those of Britain, the United States and South Africa.

Complaints to the U.N. Security Council against Portuguese aggressive policies and the use of Angola as an invasion base for mercenaries were made by the Congo in July, August and November. Senegal complained of raids on her territory by the Portuguese troops on August 5th, and the Republic of Guinea accused the Portuguese air force of bombing villages in her territory on October 4th.

The U.N. Trusteeship Committee discussed the situation in the Portuguese colonies in October and November. On November 10th an Afro-Asian motion demanding economic and trading sanctions against Portugal was approved by 70 votes to 13. Votes against included those of Britain, the United States and South Africa.

The U.N. Secretary General U Thant, last September refused an invitation by the Salazar Government to visit the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, because of the refusal by that Government to accept the right to independence of its colonies.

IN SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Movement for Amnesty in Portugal has been actively campaigning for the release of Portuguese political prisoners. It has recently published a well-documented Bulletin on the problem and is organizing a symposium in Lausanne on January 15, supported by many Swiss personalities.

The Swiss journal 'Tribune de Genève', published in October an article on the work of the Swiss Movement for Amnesty in Portugal.

IN DENMARK

The Danish Government protested against the refusal of the Portuguese Government to allow a team of Danish Television to film in Portugal in November. Danish Television recently interviewed the leader of the anti-colonial struggle in Mozambique, Dr. Mondlane, and is preparing a programme on the political situation in Portugal.

IN AFRICA

At the meeting of the Organization for African Unity in Kinshasa

(Congo), last September, attended by 37 African countries, a decision was taken to increase support for the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.

A meeting on 'apartheid' which took place in Kitwe (Zambia) last July, condemned Portuguese colonialist policies.

IN FRANCE

The French Committee for Amnesty in Portugal has continued to campaign.

A recent film by the French director Christian de Chalonge 'The Jump' ('O Salto'), deals with the drama of Portuguese emigrants who illegally go to France to escape misery in their country, or the colonial wars in Africa. In Venice, the film received an award by the Catholic International Cinema Office which considered it 'a courageous work, exposing the importance of the problem of foreigners who are not accepted by contemporary social structures'.

IN ITALY

The Milan Mazzini Association, which has the support of the Italian Republican Party, sent a telegram to the 'President' of the Portuguese Republic demanding the liberation of Portuguese political prisoners.

NEWS OF REPRESSION

(From our correspondent in Portugal)
POLICE repression continues to be the main weapon of the corrupt Fascist régime to try to silence the Portuguese people. But although repression has succeeded in keeping the régime in power for over 41 years, it has not succeeded in crushing or silencing the Portuguese.

PIDE TORTURES

Intimidation, arrests and tortures are the favourite procedures of Salazar's secret police (PIDE).

DINIZ MIRANDA, arrested last July, was tortured for 15 days, but did not betray any of his comrades. He is now in Peniche, in a bad state of health. He had escaped from Oporto jail in 1950 and immediately resumed his post in the underground anti-Fascist struggle.

A woman, **AIDA PAULA**, arrested at the same time, is very ill

and is receiving neurological treatment. She is now 58 years old and was first arrested in 1939. She was arrested again in 1958 and sentenced in 1960 to 2½ years in jail, plus 'security measures'. Thanks to an international campaign for her liberation she was released from prison 7 years later in 1965. She has been in the underground political struggle for over 16 years. She is married to the political leader **BLANQUETEIXEIRA**, who has been in jail since 1963.

PIDE proudly announced in the press on November 24th the arrest of two women, **AURA DA SILVA** and **JOAQUINA GALANTE**, and five men, **MANUEL GONCALVES**, **ANTONIO FALCAO**, **CUSTODIO FRAGOSO**, **MARCAL FLORENCIO** and **ARTUR DAS NEVES**. They are all to be brought to trial accused of the 'crime' of political opposition to the Fascist régime.

Continued overleaf.

REPRESSION continued.

LAWYERS ARRESTED

The well known Braga (Northern Portugal) lawyer and democrat Dr. Humberto Soeiro was arrested by PIDE on November 15. The also well-known Lisbon lawyer and Democrat Dr. Mário Soares was arrested by PIDE on December 13.

STRENGTHENING REPRESSION

Last September the G.N.R.—one of the armed police forces—started a new drive for fresh recruits.

In November another armed police force (P.S.P.) enlisted a further 458 men.

TRIAL

The Sintra Court, near Lisbon, sentenced FRANCISCO RODRIGUES and RUI D'ESPINEY to 15 years and to 14 years and 9 months in jail, for the killing of a PIDE informer. This man had denounced the political activities of DR. PULIDO VALENTE, who was sentenced to 2 years in jail by the same court.

STOP OPERATIONS

From July to November a total of 71,516 vehicles were subjected to police stoppages on the roads of Evora, Leiria, Lisbon, Oporto and north of the Vouga regions. 15 people were arrested, because of minor offences during these operations, which also aim at finding and intimidating political opponents of the régime.

BOOK SEIZED

PIDE seized recently the book of poems 'Raiz da serenidade' ('Roots of serenity') by the poet Vicente Campinas.

PRISONERS IN DANGER

The condition of many men political prisoners also causes great anxiety.

PIRES JORGE, the 60-year-old worker's leader, after 20 years of underground political struggle, and 11 years in jail, is in a very precarious state of health. On October 10th last he was admitted in an emergency to the Caxias jail hospital, after an urinary haemorrhage in the Peniche fortress jail.

Other men prisoners kept either in the Peniche jail or in the Caxias prison hospital, whose release is urgent, are DIAS LOURENCO, BLANQUI TEIXEIRA, AFONSO GREGORIO, OCTAVIO PATO, CARLOS COSTA, AMERICO DE SOUSA, JOSE CARLOS, GUIL-

THE COLONIES

PORTUGUESE CASUALTIES

These are the minimized losses reported in the Portuguese War Communiqués and Press from July 7 to October 28, 1967:

	KILLED		WOUNDED	
	Armed Forces	Militia	Armed Forces	Militia
Angola	101	58	168	78
Mozambique	49	2	—	—
Guinea	66	9	—	—
Total.	216	69	168	78

Numbers of wounded are not always available. Portuguese war communiqués are now occasionally reporting the number missing.

	Armed Forces	Militia
Angola	1	37
Guinea	4	1
	5	38

The sum total for 16 weeks is 285 killed, 246 wounded and 43 missing.

GUINEA LOSING GROUND

The tide is turning definitely against Salazar in this Colony. The Guinea nationalists are consolidating their power in the areas they have liberated and are preparing to ven-

HERME CARVALHO, JOSE MAGRO, ROGERIO DE CARVALHO, JOSE BERNARDINO, army Captain VARELA GOMES, Catholic leader MANUEL SERRA, DOMINGUES ABRANTES, JULIO MARTINS, JOAO HONRADO, JORGE ARAUJO, etc.

All these prisoners will be freed, the sooner you act to bring pressure on their jailers. If organizations such as trade-unions, co-operatives, political parties, students' unions, and others to which you may belong are made to realize through you the justice of this campaign, and join it, their action can be decisive. And your individual protests also count.

Send protests and demands for release of the prisoners and an Amnesty, to the Portuguese embassies abroad (in London, 11 Belgrave Square, S.W.1.) and to the President of the Portuguese Republic, Lisbon, or to the Portuguese Ministers of the Interior and Justice (Ministro do Interior or Ministro da Justiça Lisbon, Portugal).

ture further afield. The Portuguese troops keep to themselves in the entrenched camps at night. During the day they move nervously along the roads, where they are harrassed by the guerrillas.

In 1967, the British journalist Basil Davidson spent the month of October with the nationalists in Guinea. According to him 'the Portuguese no longer have any hold on four fifths of their land frontiers' (*The Times* 10.11.67) This explains the desperate measures to which the Portuguese authorities have been resorting, either by training mercenaries, who later invaded the Congo, or by supplying the Biafran recessionist movement with arms, thus meddling in African affairs. (*The Times* 3-11 and 31.10.67).

The Portuguese war communiqués show intense guerrilla activity. The Guineans were reported to be very active at Ieriol, Bissá, Saremadrina and Bará (near Oio), Suná, Cassolol, and Indíame. They have also attacked Bigene barracks. (*P.J.* 6-7 to 4.10.67).

The PAIGC (Partido Africano Para a Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the Guinean Liberation Front) war communiqués (8-6 to 4.10.1967), add new places, where the patriots have been operating, such as Guidage, São Domingos, Binta and Xitole. The Portuguese camp of NAGA was shelled by the guerrillas with recoilless guns.

On the other hand, Salazar's men have been raiding the area of Oio in the North, where they met with stiff resistance. They have also been active along the Cacheu river. But it appears, even from Portuguese war communiqués, that the Portuguese have lost the initiative (*P.J.* 6-7 to 4.10.67).

HIGHER CASUALTIES

This is shown in the number of dead suffered by the Portuguese. Despite minimized losses, 75 men were reported killed in action in the Portuguese war communiqués. The Guinean nationalists raise that toll to 160 (*PAIGC War Communiqués*).

Foreign military experts are now constantly invited to visit the colony and give their opinion on the situation. The French and Spanish military attachés were in Guinéa on August 13, 1967. (*P.J.* 13.8.67.)