

Portuguese and Colonial

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REPRESSION IN PORTUGAL

NEWS about police terror in Portugal have recently reached London. Political prisoners at the Fortress of Caxias prison near Lisbon succeeded in smuggling out an appeal about their increasingly serious conditions. Most appalling is the situation of the women political prisoners. Sixty-year old Aida Paulo, her daughter Luisa, Dr. Candida Ventura, Alda Nogueira, Soňa Ferreira, the Catholic physician Dr. Maria Luisa Dias Soares, Maria da Piedade Gomes dos Santos, Irene Lourenco, Maria Angela Vidal and Aida Magro (these last two with their sentences expired but still kept in prison) and others, are in a very poor condition of health due to ill-treatment.

Prisoners like Francisco Miguel and Manuel Rodrigues da Silva have already spent more than 20 years in prison; Manuel Guedes has spent 14 years in prison. His sentence is expired, but he is always under arrest.

Recently Antonio Gervasio was brutally beaten by the PIDE just after his trial at the Plenary Court. Stains of blood were clearly visible in his cell at the Court. The sinister Plenary Court of Lisbon continues to function without interruption. There on June 1, Julio Fogaca was sentenced to eight years in prison, and to undergo "security measures" (in practice a life sentence) and loss of political rights. On June 10, 18, and 25, twenty-two peasants from Coruche were sentenced to a total of 39 years and 8 months in prison, loss of political rights, and "security measures" also imposed upon them.

BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR

PIDE has been very active all over the country. In the district of Leiria 49 people were recently arrested. Great indignation was aroused in Lisbon by the action of the Brazilian Ambassador, Negrao de Lima, defender of Salazar and of colonialism in Angola, who handed to the police eight miners from Aljustrel who were awaiting trial because they had taken strike action. The miners had sought refuge at the Brazilian Embassy in Lisbon.

What fate awaits the political prisoners can be judged from the declarations of other prisoners. Let us hear now Rogerio de Carvalho "Arrested in March 1953 I was brutally beaten for seven hours. I was tortured with the statue" (standing without interruption against a wall for 70 hours) and repeatedly beaten. In 1958 I witnessed the murder of Raul Alves in the prison".

On the last week of July, well-known painter Nikias Skapinakis and nine other democrats who signed a document demanding democratic reforms in Portugal, were arrested in Lisbon.

AMNESTY FOR SALAZAR VICTIMS

Active support is being received for a West European Conference to be held before the end of 1961 probably in Paris and organised by Portuguese emigrants all over the world. More than 40 delegates at a previous conference on an Amnesty for Spanish Political Prisoners and Exiles held in Paris in March this year signed an appeal in favour of this proposed conference on Portugal. Thirty-five delegates to a European Conference which took place in Oslo in June also signed an appeal for support. These signatures comprise people from all the countries of Europe, and represent all sections of public and political opinion.

AFRICAN STUDENTS ESCAPE

The Portuguese Ministry of Interior reports that 41 African Students from the Portuguese colonies, who were studying in Portugal, fled from the country. ("Diário de Lisboa." 15-7-61). The students were justifiably afraid of the terrible police repression in Portugal. The Colonial Students' Association had previously been closed by the Government.

PERSECUTION OF EXILES

The criminal Salazar police not only acts in Portugal, but also has its secret PIDE agents in the centres of Portuguese emigration in Brazil, France and Britain. They appeared at a London meeting on Angola to spy on Portuguese emigrants. (Observer" 9-7-61). The Portuguese Consulate in London is also refusing to issue passports to Portuguese democrats, acting under instructions of PIDE. It is essential that these criminal activities are condemned by the governments of Brazil, France and Britain.

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

At a conference organised by the "Council for Freedom in Portugal and Colonies", held in London in July, a resolution was adopted, calling upon the British Government to condemn publicly the Portuguese Government for its policy and actions in Angola; and in particular to vote against Portugal in the United Nations, to stop supplies of arms and military equipment to Portugal, and to call on other members of NATO to do the same.

ANOTHER FASCIST CRIME

Off the coast of Mozambique the Portuguese ship "Save" was destroyed by an explosion. There were 259 people missing, mainly African labourers who were being brought under the usual conditions of forced labour to work for the big monopolies. The explosion was due to the conflagration of war munitions which the ship was carrying. This combination of fascism at home with the slave traffic abroad and with war policy is unique in modern times.

"TRIBUNA LIVRE" A FREE PRESS

The recently-formed underground Joint Committee for Patriotic Action (JUNTA DE ACCAO PATRIOTICA) which comprises representatives of all the parties opposing Salazar (from monarchists and Catholics to left-wing parties) is publishing a regular paper in spite of police repression. The first two issues deal extensively with the Fascist terror in Portugal and the colonies.

Our last issue for June-July was given as Nos. 4 & 5. This should have been Nos. 5 & 6, and the present one is No. 7.

FASCIST "THEORETICIANS"

On 1st July, 1961 Dr. Salazar declared, "The votations at the United Nations are more the result of a competitive process there established than the expression of a valid appreciation of international or overseas problems."

The minister of Corporation in a speech on July 14th stressed the firmness of the Portuguese position in those matters in contrast to other Western countries and attacked both liberalism and socialism, supporting the Portuguese Corporative solution, inspired in the Middle-Age Corporations.

32,000 PORTUGUESE EMIGRANTS

With only nine million inhabitants Portugal has a very high rate of emigration, due to low living standards. Last year 32,318 left the country. Of this number 38½% went to Brazil, 17½% to the United States, 15% to Canada, 12½% to Venezuela, and over 11% to France.

The majority of emigrants were aged between 15 and 19 years (From "ANUARIO DEMOGRAFICO DE 1960", INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTATISTICA, LISBON, 1961). The country is being deprived of its young and active people. Clandestine emigration is also reckoned to be very high.

LABOUR AND CAPITAL IN PORTUGAL

In 1959 there were 21,400 small commercial and industrial enterprises with a total capital of £50 million. In the same year 660 bigger enterprises held a capital of £162 million. The 700,000 employed by these enterprises received an average wage of £2-19-0 a week. (From "ESTATISTICA DAS SOCIEDADES 1959" INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTATISTICA, LISBON, 1961).

PORTUGUESE RESIST COLONIAL WAR

Among wide sections of the people of Portugal the conviction is gaining ground that Salazar's war against the Angolan people is contrary to their interests, and can only bring them more disaster and suffering.

Last May the soldiers that were to leave the town of Evora (Alentejo) refused for two days to leave their barracks. They were brought by train to Lisbon after clashes with the police (PSP). The people gathered in the town and opposed the departure of the train, which left only after new clashes with the police.

In the town of Setubal also there were demonstrations of protest against the sending of troops to Angola.

In Lisbon, cadet Guerra from Lanciers 2, who was to leave for Angola, told his commander that he refused to leave, and that he supported the fight of the Angolan people. He was brutally beaten and arrested.

During the second week of July 1961 there were wide-spread protests in the course of embarkation from Lisbon of troops to Angola, to which reference was made in the British press (London "Times" 19-7-61.)

INSIDE PORTUGAL

The economic situation of Portugal, having to face simultaneously the war in Angola, a policy of war and police repression, foreign capital domination and monopoly concentration, is becoming more serious.

From January to April this year the trade deficit increased by £11½ million. The biggest deficit is with Western Germany, reaching a total of £7½ million.

The Minister of Economy (in a speech on May 30) considered Portuguese industrial production as being still too small.

Successive embarkation of troops to Angola have been taking place in Lisbon. There was also an increase in the Navy estimates (July 5) and a new credit of £5½ million for airports. Since July 1 increased taxation has been imposed.

It is reported that the supply of pasteurized milk to Lisbon will be more expensive, and beggars are increasing; *Diário de Lisboa*, 21-6-61 states that they offer a "deplorable spectacle to foreign visitors who have the naivety to believe a cer-

tain kind of propaganda abroad (and that costs the Portuguese a lot of money) about the happy conditions in which we live".

On July 17 Lisbon had not a single theatre open. The rising cost of living and low wages and salaries do not enable the people even to pay for their bare maintenance.

PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATS FIRST PROTEST

Below is a copy of the telegram sent on October 5, 1960 to the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"The Group of Portuguese Democrats in Britain, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Republican and Democratic regime in Portugal on October 5, 1910:

1. Denounce the fascist regime that is ruling Portugal since the coup d'état of 1926 by oppressing Portuguese people with its anti-democratic, inhuman and terrorist methods and by maintaining Portugal as an underdeveloped country;
2. Decide to continue to render their support to the people in Portugal in their struggle for democracy and freedom;
3. Express their solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in their anti-colonial struggle and support for their independence;
4. Hope that all governments, realising that the united action of all sections of Portuguese people, together with the unfailing struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, is bringing to an end fascism in Portugal, will withdraw their support to the present government in Portugal."

LIFE AND HEALTH IN PORTUGAL

The Fascist Government tries to present Salazar's rule as a strict defender of morality. However, an analysis of some official figures concerning prostitution in Portugal does not seem to substantiate this claim. In 1925, one year before the military coup d'état that eventually brought Salazar to power, there were in Portugal 2,293 registered prostitutes; in 1950 after 24 years of fascist rule the number had more than doubled (5,079).

A registered prostitute is issued with a special card, for which she has to pay tax. It must be remarked that the number of non-registered prostitutes is supposed to be much higher, and on the increase. In 1950 there were 106 administrative councils where non-registered prostitutes existed against only 65 for the registered.

Registered brothels numbered 213 in 1960, and they have to pay taxation to the authorities.

(All these figures are from a speech by Salazar's party deputy, Nunes Barata, at the so-called National Assembly, reproduced in "Diário Das Sessões Da Assemblia

Nacional" of 31-3-60, and from a report of the Corporative Chamber of 2-7-61.)

Nutritional deficiencies in the country are also widespread. In a recent study of a sample of 1,725 adolescents, Dr. N. Botelho De Medeiros observed high percentages of under-nutrition, as reported to the Portuguese Society of Nutrition on 22-6-61.

PORTUGAL'S COLONIAL TRADE

Three big Portuguese colonial companies held their general meetings recently and declared increased profits. *Companhia de Cabinda* in Angola made profit from timber to the value of £500,000. *Companhia de Assucar de Angola* recorded a production of 28,700 tons of sugar in 1960. And *Companhia Buzi* in Mozambique made a net profit of £185,000 in 1960.

The new tyre industry in Angola, with a basic Portuguese and American capital of £750,000 will have a compulsory preference in the production of war materials. (*Diário de Lisboa*, 5-6-61). The islands of St. Thomas and Prince, another Portuguese colony, is one of the biggest producers of cocoa in the world. Last year 25.79% of its production went to Holland, 20.97% to the United Kingdom, 14.10% to the United States, and only 12.11% to Portugal. (*Primeiro ed Janeiro*, 2-6-61).

In 1960 Portugal received only 5.6% of her total imports from Angola and sent to Angola only 14.6% of her exports. Last year also 52% of Angola coffee (one of the main products of the colony) were exported to the United States, 21% to Holland, and only 13% to Portugal. (*Diário de Lisboa*, 16 & 23-7-61).

These figures clearly show that, in relation to foreign interests, Portuguese interests in the colonies are always a minority. In June 25,000 tons of manganese (the biggest single export of this mineral ever registered in Angola) were sent to Tokyo in Japan. The mineral comes from the mines of Saia-Tumbi, owned by the *Companhia do Manganês de Angola*. (*Primeiro de Janeiro*, 21-6-61).

As a final example, the recently retired Portuguese Minister for Overseas, Rear-Admiral Lopes Alves, was appointed administrator of *Diamang* (*Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola*). This has the monopoly of diamond production in Angola. (*Diário de Lisboa*, 9-9-61) It is the usual practice for Portuguese high officials to get these very highly-paid jobs after leaving their appointments, sometimes of very short duration.

"NATIONAL" ENTERPRISES IN ANGOLA

For the hydro-electric power station of CAMBAMBE the Portuguese industrialists have been allowed a quote of 35% but this was later reduced to 17%, the rest being supplied by foreign firms. For the ALTO CATUMBELA station the reduction is of the same order. (Statement by the Portuguese Minister of Economy. 30-5-61).

COUNCIL OF CHURCHES PROTEST

The World Council of Churches, meeting at Geneva, has called upon the Portuguese Government to "refrain from deliberate action involving the death and maiming of thousands of Africans" including women and children in Angola (London "Times". 23-6-61). Miss Winifred Cuff, a Baptist missionary and a state registered nurse (who had been in charge of the hospital at Quibocolo, and has served in Angola since 1935, now expelled from the colony) describing the atrocities in Angola, which included the burning and bombing of villages. (London "Times". 24-6-61).

Dr. Mervyn Stockwood, Bishop of Southwark, also condemned Portuguese policy in Angola at a conference organised by the Council for Freedom in Portugal and the Colonies. (London "Times". 10-7-61). The Baptist Missionary Society also denounces the Salazar atrocities in Angola. (London "Times", 15-7-61).

The fascist Portuguese authorities try to confuse the issue by describing these as "Protestant" protests in an attempt to rouse the Catholic feelings of the majority of the population. However, more and more Catholics, including the Bishop of Oporto (second biggest town in Portugal) have come out openly against Salazar.

On the other hand, Protestants are being persecuted in Portugal. Recently one Protestant Evangelical Church near Lisbon was closed by the authorities. (Primerio de Janeiro. 5-6-61). However, the National Commission of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance expressed support for the regime and its colonial war. ("Dia'rio de Lisboa". 6-7-61).

HORRORS OF COLONIAL WAR

The following letter from a Portuguese army officer serving in Angola was recently posted in Lisbon barracks. It read as follows:

"After repelling the first attackers we entered their village and we cleaned it totally. Maybe there was some hurry on the part of our soldiers, for there was no discrimination of sex or age, and nobody was left alive. After this, and as a prophylactic measure against epidemics, we burned the lot. Maybe there was again some hurry. Once during the fire we could hear shouts from the Africans, as there had not been time to evacuate them to the hospitals.

"After a three-day journey we arrived near an important village. Some shots were fired from it. We went past, stopped the cars, and went back to set it ablaze.

"Half an hour after our arrival we heard a big noise; the niggers arrived. They attacked, having at their centre a nigger dancing and handling a machete. They advanced towards our camp, where we didn't even have sentries. However, the lads, having already had the experience of four preceding attacks, enjoyed the adventure instead of being

afraid, and started to hunt the niggers as if they were hunting partridges. We verified that the gang was comprised of several hundreds of niggers and that the ammunition was scarce, so we used the bazooka, handled by one of our valiant little soldiers. Three grenades were fired right in the middle of the group. There were legs and heads of niggers thrown about . . . and we finished with the enemy.

"When on the following day we passed the scene of the fighting we still needed to finish with our bayonets quite a number of niggers who stubbornly refused to die. After this I was wounded and had to go to hospital. As soon as I recover I will go back to the field as this is exciting and this is Portuguese."

This shows the extent of the fascist crimes in Angola. Salazar is bringing shame and dishonour upon the people of Portugal by allowing a free hand to fascist thugs and criminals, acting in the name of the Portuguese people. (From a Lisbon correspondent, June 1961).

The Portuguese Navy was authorised to recruit natives from the colonies to its ranks. Five planes for the war in Angola were offered by ten big banks and industrial firms. ("Dia'rio de Lisboa". 8-6-61). New credits for the war in Angola were granted on June 13, amounting to £6,250,000, and on June 21 another £160,000 for air communications.

The new Governor of Angola, General Deslandes, declared when taking office that "the Church can never be contrary to the State . . . without the serious danger of being involved in the restrictions that the law establishes for whoever does not respect it". ("Primerio de Janeiro." 18-6-61). In Chao Bom (Angola) a new concentration camp was created ("Primeiro de Janeiro". 21-6-61). All over the territory of Angola new posts of the secret police (PIDE) were created. ("Diario de Lisboa". 13-7-61).

FOREIGN POWERS AND SALAZAR

In recent months voices continue to be raised for and against the Salazar regime. On May 30 Franco's Foreign Minister, at a Banquet given to Lord Home, British Foreign Secretary, declared that "Portugal deserves . . . Western solidarity to enable her to continue . . . the noble, inspired and Christian mission that destiny has entrusted to her". (Dia'rio de Lisboa." 30-5-61).

Early in June, Professor Pinto Coelo, a Portuguese official, visited the Sahara oilfields at the invitation of the French Government. ("Primeiro de Janeiro". 4-6-61). Sir Malcolm Barrow, Minister of Education in the Rhodesian Federation, speaking in Beira (Mozambique) stressed the need for closer relations between the two territories as "they had common aims to defend in the African continent on behalf of Western civilisation". The Rhodesian Minister for Agriculture, I. Grhylin, declared that "in any circumstances the Federation

will side with Portugal". (Dia'rio de Lisboa. 5-6-61).

General C. D. Palmer, adjutant to General Norstad, the supreme commander of NATO, visited Lisbon in June, and held talks with the chief of the permanent American military mission in Portugal (MAAG), Admiral Wallis F. Peterson, the American Ambassador, and the Portuguese Chief of Staff, General Araujo. ("Dia'rio de Lisboa." 8-6-61)

NATO steps in

During the visit to Lisbon of Dr. Dirk Stikker, General Secretary of NATO, the Portuguese Foreign Minister stressed that NATO could not work only within determined geographical areas. In reply Dr. Stikker stated that "Within NATO there are no votes or action by majorities . . . Within NATO Portugal has a relevant role; no other country has a bigger experience of overseas problems; no other country can more usefully participate in our discussions about delicate problems in many parts of the world". (Dia'rio de Lisboa", 9-6-61).

General Frank Howley, with long experience as American military commander in Berlin, and Vice-President of the University of New York, visited Angola, and commented to the journalists on "the unjust international campaign waged against Portugal". ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 13-6-61).

West German shipbuilding firms "H. C. Stuelckan" from Hamburg and

"Rhein Stahl - Industrie - plannung" proposed to the Portuguese Ministry of Economy the construction of a modern shipyard in Lisbon. ("Primeiro de Janeiro". 14-6-61). Six Royal Navy frigates, under Commander E. W. Briggs, held joint exercises with Portuguese and French air and navy forces off the Portuguese coast, and went to Lisbon for a visit. Commander Briggs had talks with the Portuguese Navy High Command.

Julio Lobo, Cuban "sugar king", who escaped from his country, visited Lisbon and had talks with Salazar and his Ministers with the intentions of seeking investments for his fortune of between 50 and 200 million dollars, either in Portugal itself or in Angola and Mozambique. ("Primeiro de Janeiro". 18-6-61).

Two African States have recently strengthened their ties with Portugal. One of them is South Africa, whose Minister of Defence, Fouché, visited Lisbon and had discussions with Salazar and the Portuguese military command. He visited air bases — one of them at Montijo, used as a supporting base by the British forces — and declared "Our problems are the same . . . I believe our two countries will go very far in the near future". (Dia'rio de Lisboa". 4-7-61).

The other African country is Katanga, whose authorities are very interested in close relations with Mozambique and Angola. Katanga radio has a Portuguese programme, and is interested in contacts with the Mozambique radio for a "joint plan of action". (Primerio de Janeiro. 1-7-61) President Tshombe declared in Elizabethville that the Benguela railway in Angola is now essential to bring the minerals from Katanga to

the sea, via the Angola port of Lobito: "Katanga defends her freedom at all costs, exactly like Portugal does in Angola". (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*" 10-7-61). When Tshombe was recently detained for some time in the Congo, Katanga officials appealed to the Portuguese authorities to take action for his liberation. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*" 8-6-61).

British delegates to the Council of the Industrial Federation of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) had talks in Lisbon with Portuguese industrialists. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*, 4-7-61). The American Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Foy Kohler, declared to the Foreign Affairs Commission of the American Senate that: "So far there are no indications that the divergences between Portugal and the United States on Portuguese overseas policy could disturb their mutual collaboration on defence problems". (*Primeiro de Janeiro*". 7-7-61)

It is reported that three American warships under the command of Captain F. V. Helmer visited Lisbon. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*." 8-7-61). General Humberto di Martino, new commander of NATO Defence College, visited Salazar and the Portuguese high commands in Lisbon. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*." 12-7-61). A South Korean diplomatic mission visited Lisbon, and

was received by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*. 17-7-61).

Critics of Salazar

In opposition to all these examples (which demonstrate that the Salazar regime can only survive due to foreign support) there are more numerous examples of world-wide opposition to the criminal policy of that regime. In the British House of Commons strong attacks by Labour members opposed the crimes of the fascists in Angola, their use of napalm bombs the selling of British arms to Portugal, visits of British warships, and the refusal of the Portuguese Government to give full details of the situation in Angola. (London "*Times*", 6-7-61). Even a Conservative M.P., Sir Cyril Black, did not support the British Government policy on Portugal. As a result of similar protests the projected manoeuvres of British military forces in Portugal were cancelled. Mr. Gaitskill, in a speech at Leyton, also condemned the British Government policy in relation to Salazar. (*Observer*". 25-6-61).

The Ghana newspaper "*Evening News*" (30-5-61) also attacked in strong terms the British Government support for Salazar. Oke Orsagba, Dahomey Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that his country will help

the Angolan nationalists. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*". 9-7-61).

In Djakarta the Vice-President of the Supreme Consultative Council of President Sukarno (Rusland Abdugani) declared in a meeting sponsored by the committee for the Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples that "the eyes and hearts of the Indonesians are turned to Portuguese Timor in Indonesia, and to Goa, still in the hands of colonialism". At the same meeting the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Subandrio, declared support for the cause of the Angolan people. The meeting approved a demand for the severance of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia. The Indonesian Ambassador has already been recalled from Lisbon. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*". 13-7-61). Earlier news revealed that the military command in Timor is in the hands of the Governor of the colony. (*Dia'rio de Lisboa*". 8-6-61).

In face of this serious diplomatic situation the Salazar Government has appointed two of its best diplomats to key positions in Washington and London. To the first was appointed Dr. Teotonio Pereira, Vice Prime Minister, and considered as Salazar's successor. And to the second Dr. Rocheta, who has had long experience as ambassador in Brazil.

PORTUGAL, FASCISM AND THE COLONIAL WAR

By G. A. Raujo

PORTUGAL is passing through one of the most difficult periods of its history. The coming to power of the Fascists by the putsch of 1926 had the most tragic consequences for the future of the country, and is entirely responsible for the present evils. Salazar and his henchmen held back all the social and economic reforms that were urgently needed and established a rigid system of labour exploitation in Portugal and its colonies. By the brutal suppression at home of all the democratic rights in the trade unions, which reached its peak of violence in 1934, he created the ideal conditions for a drastic freezing of wages and salaries, which would enable the small clique of monopolists who supported him to extort the highest profit from the working people. These immediate measures, coupled with a vicious political repression, with Press censorship and the banning of all parties (save his own, the Fascist *União Nacional*) gave him a free hand to rule without any serious opposition. Anyone who protested was left to the care of the odious PIDE (Portuguese-Gestapo.)¹

Salazar's policy, by its own essence, aggravated the inner contradictions of a century-old economic structure, which had thriven parasitically on colonial exploitation. The period of the "Discoveries", of which the Portuguese people are rightly proud, was soon followed by colonial oppression. This turned out to be most profitable both for the Portuguese Crown

and for the foreign bankers who later financed the expeditions. In the seventeenth century, Portugal, after its liberation from 60 years of Spanish rule, began to accept foreign investments, which increased during the nineteenth century, and have reached alarming proportions at present under Salazar's dictatorship.

Portugal as a Colony

In these circumstances Portugal finds itself in the rather odd position of being a colonial power that is also a colony. The lack of basic industries clearly reflected in the small number of Portugal's slow growing towns, among the smallest in Europe,² contributes in part to enforce this dependency. It is also due to its industrial weakness that Portugal will be unable to play any significant role either in the EFTA (European Free Trade Association) or eventually in the Common Market, in relation to which the country may be courting economic disaster.³

All these facts are well known by the Portuguese monopolists who exploit ruthlessly the colonial peoples, and at home squeeze huge profits out of the labour of peasants, workers and the impoverished middle-class. Running the risk of depleting its mineral resources, they concentrate on extensive mining, which they operate through big corporations and foreign-owned concerns, where they have a minor but still highly profitable share of capital. In this

manner the Urgeirica uranium, Panasqueira tungsten and São Domingos pyrites mines are entirely controlled by British interests, Borralha tungsten by French, Moncorvo iron ore by German and the Aljustrel pyrites mines by Belgian capital.

This is only but a small example. Yet if the Portuguese people are deprived of the natural wealth of their own country, they have already lost any control over the means of processing it one day. Other foreign interests run virtually the power industry and the electrical equipment industry. This sphere of economic influence extends also to telephone and telegraph services, trade, insurance and even hotels.

Portugal is economically a colony with shaken finances and a constant deficit. Salazar avoids total collapse by the inflow of more foreign capital and especially by concealed investments, and the trade between Portugal and its colonies.⁴

Colonial Exploitation

The profits reaped by the monopolists and Salazar in the colonies are obtained by cheap forced labour and by a system of discrimination in trade between Portugal and her possessions. Portugal sells to the colonies at prices above the world market levels and pays less for its imports from them. A good example is Angola's market for cotton, which is entirely restricted to Portuguese manufacturers at home.⁵ It is by imposing such a treatment of favour that Salazar eases off partly the chronic deficit in his so-called sound budgets. The Fascist exploiters and profiteers operate in the colonies through the big banks. The *Banco Atlântico* dominates large spheres of production in Angola and the *Espirito Santo* has the same privilege in Mozambique and Angola, where the recent discovery of oil has attracted new international capital (Gulf Oil and Petrofina). Huge Portuguese concerns own vast empires within the empire itself, as is the case of CUF (Companhia União Fabril), which controls the entire economy of Portuguese Guinea as well as the copper mines of Angola. The extension of these private empires can be seen in the total area of the concessions granted to the *Companhia Mineira do Lobito*, with 223,000 sq. kms, which is three times the surface of Portugal.

Foreign Interests

Portuguese monopolists are not, however, the only ones to profit from the colonies. Just in the same way as they have sold out their country to international finance, they have handed out to foreign interests and concerns the lion's share of the colonial booty. In Mozambique the industries of coal mining (Moatize) and the production of cotton and tea are controlled by a British company. Krupp owns the coal of Angola (Moxico) and the British South African concern explores the uranium of Tete. The Diamang in Angola is in the hands of De Beers and Oppenheimer's Anglo-American company. Oil belongs already to Standard Oil (Portuguese Guinea), to Gulf Oil (Mozambique) and to the Australian Oil Drilling concern in Timor.⁶

From these facts it is clear that Salazar's patriotism is a sham. They may also enable us to understand the pressure that can be put upon individuals and institutions so that they might show acquiescence to Salazar's fascist regime and his colonial policy. At the same time they reveal that its from its own economic weakness that Portuguese colonialism has to rely periodically so heavily on slave labour.⁷

The African labourer is severely exploited by the monopolists and the big owners of sugar, coffee sisal and other plantations. The African workers are kept on starvation wages and under close surveillance all the time. Physical violence is frequently used by the employers and the authorities. In 1958 an African farm labourer in Angola received 15s. a month, while wages at the rich diamond mining company, *DIAMANG*, averaged £53 10s. od. a year.⁸ At the same time a Portuguese industrial worker at home was not much better off with £1 14s. od. a week to meet a high cost of living.⁹

These simple facts prove that the Portuguese people and the peoples of the Colonies are victims of a similar system of oppression, and that the monopolists who back Salazar are the only ones who will have anything to lose from the liberation of the peoples of the Portuguese Colonies.

War Propaganda

It is against such a gilt-edged background that Salazar and the members of his government have the cynical impudence of urging the Portuguese people to fight what they call a patriotic war. They launched throughout the whole country, in schools and in army barracks, on radio, Television and in the Press, an intensive campaign of chauvinistic propaganda that borders on hysteria.

The Fascists have always distorted truth in their history books for the schools and a strongly biased nationalist education has for many years formed the Portuguese on the idea that the colonies are an integral part of Portugal. Where the school does not reach there is the paternal arm of the Church hierarchy that is trying to rouse a new crusading spirit. Cardinal Cerejeira has written a special "soldier's prayer" for the Portuguese troops. In army barracks officers are given short courses on "anti-Marxism" to give them the impression that the Angolan war of liberation is fostered from outside. Naturally there are many sincere Catholics who oppose the colonial war and support Angolan people, like Father Pinto de Andrade, who is imprisoned in Lisbon.

In a country where there is no freedom of the Press it is extremely difficult to enlighten the Portuguese people on the real causes of the war. Anyone who denounces the Salazar regime or tries to express disagreement with the dictator over the present crisis is quickly imprisoned and branded as a traitor, as it happened with Dr. Veiga Pires, arrested on June 6th. It is in such adverse circumstances that the opposition has to fight Salazar. Only the banned Portuguese Communist Party succeeds in printing regularly and distributing clandestinely his own newspaper (*Avante!*). Since the early 50s this newspaper has been exposing the nature of Salazar's colonial policy. It has also stated unequivocally the right of the Portuguese Colonies to independence and self-determination.

Angola—a National War

The consequences of Portuguese domination in Angola have been twofold. The first have already been analysed and cover the disastrous effects of colonial rule. The second are of a rather different character and lead up to the idea of nationhood, which has now been attained by the people of Angola.

As it often happens in history this development takes place against the will of the colonialists, who, while asserting their rule, are also sowing the grain

of their own negation, which bears in turn the solution of the future. Intent of a wide scale exploitation of the colony, particularly after the colonial expansion known as effective occupation (1885-1915), the Portuguese opened road communications and railways for the pursuance of their aims. But by doing so and by the forced migration of labourers they brought together peoples from remote parts of the territory that they had politically carved out and which is the Angola of today. These peoples, goaded by brutal economic exploitation, came to realize the character of the oppression that enslaved them all without any distinction. The break-up of their feudal states made them forget their internal quarrels as soon as they had to face total Portuguese domination. And gradually tribalism was superseded by solidarity and finally by national unity.

Following the pattern set by new emerging African states, the Angolan leaders proposed on June 13 of last year to open negotiations with Salazar's government. Squashed in their attempts they had no other course left but war. The war flared up on a large front and shows signs of spreading down to southern Angola.

It is clear that the character of this war is quite different from previous risings in the colony, such as the Bailundu war (1902), the Buta 'Rebellion' (1913-1915), and the risings of Porto Aboim (1924) and Ambriz (1925). However heroic they might have been, they were local and remained ill-defined in their aims. But now Portugal is facing a national war of independence, headed by the united parties and the leaders of the Angolan peoples and this is a fact that must be recognised by everyone.¹⁰

The Opposition and the Colonial War

Owing to the prevailing circumstances inside Portugal, the colonial war in Angola seems to have disturbed and confused the Republican Opposition. The programme of the Republicans¹¹, circularised in stencilled copies, contains a condemnation of the colonial war and does not go beyond a declaration of democratic rights to be established in the colonies.

Some distinguished representatives of the liberal opposition have also made known their opinion on the present crisis. Senhor Cunha Leal, a former Governor of the Bank of Angola, while supporting Salazar's military policy, calls at this stage for a federation of Portugal with her colonies under a parliamentary government that would meet alternately in Lisbon, Luanda and Lourenco Marques.¹² Only if Britain supported Salazar's policy now would he suggest the granting of self determination to Angola after a maximum period that might last 30 years.

He backs this plan with a threat to British interests in Portugal and colonies and extends his warning to the United States regarding the lease of American bases in the Azores.

High Portuguese business circles also like to toy with this idea, but knowing how dangerous it would be for them to set on such a course, they tend to play one against the other the financial interests of the Western world. So they try to blackmail the government of Britain and the USA, by insinuating that they might withdraw from NATO and enter into a new military alliance with the Rhodesias and South Africa. This South Africa Treaty Organisation (SATO) initially suggested by General Von Mellenthin (in the *AFRIKA POST*, Pretoria), a German himself, seems to be particularly attractive to Portu-

guese and German monopolists. Understandably the monopolists of the recently founded Portuguese steel industry, which is in German hands, fear to lose in Africa a prospective market and cheap natural resources.

A more interesting move has been made in Mozambique in a memorandum recently addressed to the President of the Republic by a group of democrats. They denounce colonialism and call for the abolition of contract (forced) labour. They also demand the establishment of democratic rights in Mozambique. But while seeking economic autonomy they ask for more troops to be sent to the colony. Two of the signatories of this memorandum, Francisco Saraiva Barreto and Rafael Nunes de Carvalho, both from Beira, were immediately arrested.

On the other hand the Commercial Associations of Mozambique have also submitted a memorandum to Salazar. They urge the dictator to end forced labour and racial discrimination. They propose that Africans should own a patch of land and be given financial assistance from the authorities for its cultivation. They demand a heavy immigration of Europeans and ask for more troops to be sent to the colony as well as for larger investments of foreign capital.

To countermand the stir of these democratic forces Salazar has met, in a sly sort of way, some of these demands. More troops are to be sent to Mozambique and more substantial shares will be offered to foreign interests, particularly to Western German capital¹⁶, in the wealth of the colony. The only hope given by the Government to their own people is the promise that this is no short-term crisis.

The Only Way—

Understanding that the present situation in Angola demands a clear stand from the Opposition, two groups of Portuguese democrats in emigration have already stated their position on Salazar's colonial policy. It is quite plain to them that Portugal is fighting a whole nation united in the struggle for independence and that Salazar will never win. Angola is at present in the same predicament as Portugal found herself in the seventeenth century when she had to fight against Spanish occupation.

So in a statement to the Press the Group of Portuguese Democrats in Britain has condemned Salazar's colonial policy and supported without reservations the claim of the peoples of Portuguese Colonies for independence and self-determination¹⁸.

This statement was shortly followed by a somewhat similar declaration, dated from April 17 and addressed to the United Nations, by other groups of Portuguese democrats who have emigrated to South America because of disagreement with the Salazar regime. This is consistent with democratic principles and with the true feelings and interests of the Portuguese people, who have already shown their hatred for the colonial war. In Evora and Setubal the conscripts with the support of the local population, have refused to leave the barracks. In Lisbon cadet Guerra (Lancers 2) was arrested because he bravely told his commanding officer his sympathies for the Angolan people's struggle and his refusal to obey orders — to leave for Angola.

Salazar's fascist regime, internationally condemned¹⁹, must be liquidated and his Nazi barbarism in Angola²⁰, must come to a stop. Salazar is not even defending a Portuguese cultural tradition, since his

work in education has been far from meeting the needs of Angola. To continue the war he will go on imposing more and more severe burdens on the Portuguese people, as his new taxation measures have already shown²¹. Only by overthrowing Salazar and his Fascist government can the national catastrophe of tremendous consequences be avoided.

- 1 See A. Ramos: 'Political repression under Salazar,' *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, vol 1, no. 3, pp. 19-22, April, 1961.
- 2 Admitted by a right-wing publication, *Jornal Portugues de Economia e Financas*, no. 89, p. 9, 15-XII-1960
- 3 Clearly stated in the *Jornal Portugues de Economia e Financas*, no 77, pp. 13-14, 15-XII-1960.
- 4 See Joao da Maia, 'Notes on Portuguese Economy' *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, vol 1, no. 4, pp. 28-30, May 1961. See also Alvaro Cunhal, 'Portugal at the Crossroads', *World Marxist Review*, vol. 4, no 6, pp. 28-33, June 1961.
- 5 See F. Clement C. Egerton, *Angola in Perspective* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1957), p. 113. F. C. C. Egerton is a defender of Portuguese policy.
- 6 A full and detailed picture of the network of Portuguese and international finance is given by Alvaro Cunhal in 'Portugal at the Crossroads', *op.cit.*
- 7 See B.F: 'Une Voix de l' Afrique Portugaise, *Democratie Nouvelle*, no. 6, pp. 35-37, June, 1958. See also Homer A. Jack, *Angola, Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa*, *American Committee on Africa*, pp. 10-12, New York, 1960. This situation is reflected in the fears of the employers regarding any change in labour conditions, which was voiced at the time of the meeting of the *International Organisation of Labour* held in Luanda, December 1959. See *Jornal Portugues de Economia e Financas*, no. 77; pp. 67-68, 15-XII-1959.
- 8 Data taken from a survey of the *International Labour*

Office (1958). See Patricia McGowan, 'Portugal's Mission in Angola,' *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin* vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5-8, February, 1961. See also Sven Oste, "Degradation of Angola Forced Labour" *The Guardian*, 3-VII-1961.

- 9 A. Ramos, 'Some Problems facing the Salazar Government', *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, vol. 1, no.1, pp. 2-3, February 1961.
- 10 A brief account of the nationalist movements inside Angola is given by Mario de Andrade, 'Et les colonies de Salazar?' *Democratie Nouvelle*, no. 9, pp. 34-37, September, 1960. The new character of the war in Angola is indirectly recognised by some Fascist writers even if they derive distorted conclusions from the nature of the war. See Jose Redinha, 'O Caso de Angola', *Tempo Presente*, no. 22, pp. 6-15, 1961.
- 11 *Programa para a Democratizacao da Republica*, (31-1-1961).
- 12 Cunha Leal, *O Colonialismo dos Anticolonialistas*, author's edition, pp. 150-153, Lisbon 1961.
- 13 *Jornal Portugues de Economia e Financas*, no. 93, p. 17 15-IV-1961.
- 14 *Jornal Portugues de Economia e Financas*, no 93, p. 11 15-IV-1961.
- 15 From a speech by Mr. Champalimaud, director of the 'Siderurgia Nacional' printed in *Jornal Portugues de Economia e Financas*, no. 93, pp. 87-90, 15-IV-1961.
- 16 See *The Times* (Overseas Finance) 26-VI-1961.
- 17 In the speech of the Minister of the Colonies (or for Overseas Territories in Salazar's own version) reported in *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, (1-VI-1961.)
- 18 5th October, 1960. See also *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 9, March, 1961.
- 19 See *Parliamentary Debates*, (Hansard) - *House of Commons*, Wed. pp. 1457-1528, 5-VII-1961.
- 20 See Sven Oste, 'Atrocities by Portuguese Troops', *The Guardian*, 5-VII-1961. See also *Daily Mail*, 30-VI-1961.
- 21 See *The Times*, 3-VII-1961 and 10-VII-1961.

First Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies, Casablanca, April 18th-20th, 1961.

GENERAL DECLARATION OF UNITY SOLIDARITY AND CO - OPERATION

UNITY

THE Conference of the Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies meeting at Casablanca from 18-20th April 1961, having brought together representatives of the national liberation movements in Cape Verde Islands, Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and Goa, has proceeded to a careful examination of the situation existing in the countries still under the colonial domination of Portugal.

The Conference noted the identity of the forms of political economic, social and cultural oppression existing in these countries.

CONSIDERING that the policy of the Portuguese Government is characterised by the suppression of the fundamental freedoms in the colonies.

CONSIDERING that the Portuguese Government refuses to recognise the principle of the paramount importance of the interests of the inhabitants of these countries and, contrary to the right of peoples to self-determination, persists in maintaining the myth of "overseas provinces".

CONSIDERING that the Portuguese Government instead of seeking a specific solution to the dispute between the peoples of these countries and the Colonial Administration intensifies fascist methods of repression against the nationalists by sending military forces by the practice of genocide, and by setting up

centres of war.

CONSIDERING that this out-of-date attitude to the progress of history and to good-sense has forced the population to look for effective means for active self-defence.

CONSIDERING that the peoples of the Portuguese Colonies are fervently anxious to achieve self-determination and independence.

SALUTES all the patriots who are fighting for the triumph of the cause of independence, justice and liberty in Cape Verde Islands, Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and Goa, and in all other territories under Portuguese colonial domination.

CONVINCED of the urgent necessity of the people under Colonial regimes being freed from Portugal.

PROCLAIMS THE UNITY OF ACTION BY NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS IN THE STRUGGLE BY ALL POSSIBLE MEANS FOR THE IMMEDIATE LIQUIDATION OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND FOR FREEDOM FROM EVERY FORM OF OPPRESSION.

URGES all the patriots in the Portuguese colonies to activate their national organisations and to speed up the process of liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

INVITES the various nationalist movements to

unite their forces in the *United Fighting Fronts*, having as their immediate objective the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

The Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies.

NOTING that national independence alone can favour strengthening of peace and international co-operation between peoples.

NOTING that the survival of Portuguese colonialism is a new source of conflict.

DECLARES its support for the universal declaration of the rights of man and for the principles of coexistence proclaimed by the Bandung Conference.

CONFIRMS the declarations and resolutions adopted by the Conferences of African Peoples and of Afro-Asian Solidarity.

DECLARES its active solidarity with all anti-colonialist forces throughout the world.

CALLS on all independent states of Africa and Asia and on all countries believing in peace and freedom to ban Portuguese ships and aircraft from their ports and aerodromes, and to reconsider their diplomatic and economic relations with Portugal.

CALLS on all peoples throughout the world to boycott Portuguese goods.

CALLS on all workers in Africa, Asia and throughout the world to refuse to unload ships going to or coming from Portugal.

NOTES the declaration of 14th December 1960 adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations and INVITES all countries and all men believing in peace and freedom to uphold the just cause of the peoples still under Portuguese Colonial domination and to take effective measures against the carrying out of fascist repression in these countries.

THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES has noted with satisfaction the declarations by the Conference of the African heads of State held at Casablanca from the 4th to the 7th January 1961 which affirmed in its charter "the will to liberate African territories still under foreign domination, and to give them help and assistance in liquidating all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism; not to encourage the stationing of troops and setting up of foreign bases which endanger the liberation of Africa and to undertake also to free the African Continent from political intervention and economic pressure".

SOLIDARITY

THE CONFERENCE

NOTING that the struggle against colonialism is today entering in its final and decisive phase, that the colonial powers have in a last effort set up a real front with a view to maintaining the essential element of their economic and military power in Africa and Asia.

NOTE that these same powers often resort to such dastardly measures as the assassination of leaders as in the case of PATRICE LUMUMBA, the African hero.

THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF PORTUGUESE COLONIES reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples engaged in the struggle against all forms of colonialism and imperialism.

EXPRESSES, as far as Africa is concerned, its entire approval of the Resolution on the liberation

of all dependent peoples drawn up at the 3rd Conference of the African people held in Cairo from 25th to 31st March, 1961.

SALUTES the heroic struggle of the Algerian people for national freedom.

RECOGNISES the legitimate rights of Morocco on IFNI, CEUTA and MELLILA.

APPROVES the resolution on Mauritius adopted by the African Conference at Casablanca.

CONDEMNS the colonial occupation of the African Sahara.

CONDEMNS the imperialist movements in the Congo.

CONDEMNS the policy of the apartheid in South Africa.

DEMANDS the grant of Independence to the territories of Central Africa, Nyasaland, N. Rhodesia and S. Rhodesia.

CO-OPERATION

THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES, having examined the present necessities of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and being firmly determined to coordinate effectively the activities of the nationalist movements of the Portuguese colonies, adopts the following measures, to be carried out immediately:

1. The collection of funds from organisations in sympathy with the cause of the peoples of Portuguese colonies, by means of public appeals;
2. Mutual aid to the nationalist organisations in the Portuguese colonies with a view to the rapid development of their methods of work and means of action;
3. Consolidation of the unity of the Nationalist organisations in each colony.
4. Appeal to the nationalist organisations of the Portuguese colonies which have not taken part in this Conference to adhere immediately to the principles laid down by the Conference.
5. To obtain means of self-defence, for the maintenance of resistance of the peoples of Portuguese colonies.
6. To obtain medical assistance and other help necessary for the victims of Portuguese colonial aggression.
7. Action with a view to enlightening the Portuguese people regarding the justness of the struggle of the colonial peoples.
8. Concrete support to the Portuguese democratic movement and the establishing of useful contacts with the Portuguese democratic organisations.
9. Permanent publicity by all possible means with a view of winning world public opinion to the cause of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.
10. Cooperation with the anti-colonialist and democratic movements in all countries.
11. Demarches in all countries with a view to organising campaigns and public meetings of protest against the violation of human rights and against the atrocities carried out by the Portuguese colonial administration, and in favour of immediate liberation of political prisoners.
12. Implementation of all measures regarding economic and diplomatic boycott of Portugal on an international scale.

(to be continued)

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