

# Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin

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## ELECTIONS IN PORTUGAL

Elections for the National Assembly are to take place in Portugal next November. During the 35 years of the fascist Salazar regime no free voting has taken place in Portugal. Never in the seven parliamentary elections which have taken place in that time has the democratic opposition been allowed to contest freely. As a result, not a single opposition candidate has ever been elected to the National Assembly.

In spite of this severe political repression (under a regime where only the fascist Uniao Nacional Party has a legal existence) and the electoral rules which give complete control of the voting to the Government, the Portuguese democratic opposition has again decided to present their candidates. In Lisbon and many other towns of the country the opposition lists are ready.

Nevertheless, the chances of these valiant men and women will be small unless world public opinion firmly supports their cause. Today, as in the past, the Portuguese democratic opposition demands three main conditions for the elections:

1. Free inspection of the electors' lists.
2. Freedom of speech and meetings.
3. Control on both sides of the actual poll.

These requests have never been granted in previous "elections". Only a campaign in the international press denouncing the irregularities committed by the Salazar authorities and demanding that impartial observers be sent to Portugal, can give the Portuguese people a chance of preventing a repetition of these farcical elections.

### THE FEW BENEFIT

Some Portuguese people do not share in the lowest standard of life in Europe. Colonel A. Schultz, ex-minister of the Interior, responsible for so many PIDE crimes, was recently appointed President of the Administrative Council of Companhia Nacional de Electricidade, one of the big monopolies in the country.

Pinto e Sotto Mayor Bank was recently authorised to increase his capital by 100 per cent.

Two Portuguese firms, two Swedish firms (Eriksbergs Mekaniska Verkstads Aktiebolag and Kockums Mekaniska Verkstads Aktiebolag) and two Dutch firms (Nederlandsche Dok en Scheepsbouw Maatschappij V.O.F. and Dok-En Werf-Maatschappij Wilton-Fijencord N.V.) are going to be partners in the building and running of a big shipyard in Lisbon.

### NUCLEAR WEAPONS

News from the Azores reports the existence of nuclear weapons at the American base in these islands. The U.S. House of Representatives recently approved a fund of 911,000 dollars for this base. Its newly-appointed Commander is General Le Bailly, who on August 3 attended a Madrid conference of high commands from the U.S. Air Force in Europe.

The Nato base in Espinho, near Oporto, will be used as a missile launching site, and will also be supplied with nuclear weapons.

## ANGOLA AND THE NEUTRALS

Representatives of the nationalist movements who so valiantly fight in Angola against Portuguese colonialism were invited to attend the Belgrade Conference held in September 1961.

A resolution approved by the Conference reads:

"The participating States call attention to the events in Angola and to the intolerable repressive measures of the Portuguese authorities against the people of Angola and demand an immediate end to the murder of the Angolans. They also demand that all peace-loving countries support their cause to achieve soon their independence and freedom".

### ANGOLA—MORE EXTRACTS

Here is a further extract from a letter received in Lisbon from a serving Portuguese soldier in Angola:

"Yesterday we killed nearly four hundred. We arrested eight, and we treated them with the butts of our rifles in such a way that after marching fifty miles only two were alive. I must say I do not enjoy this and especially after the police (PIDE) arrived and dealt with them".

## "IMPARTIAL" OBSERVERS IN GOA

ON September 7 the Portuguese Government issued a statement that it had written to the President of U.N. Security Council to say that the situation in Goa was "perfectly normal" and would welcome "impartial observers". The Goa League in its comments on the following day said:

"At the end of June the Portuguese authorities in Goa had arrested Dr. Gopal Camotim, Dr. P. Mulgaonkar and hundreds of Goan nationalists. Mr. Eusebio Viegas from Chinchim was tortured to death in the Panjim jail at the end of July. The PIDE (Portuguese Gestapo) have been systematically raiding the homes of Goan nationalists. In one of these raids last month Mr. Dato Chari from Cuncolim was shot dead. We can well understand that this kind of ruthless repression is a 'perfectly normal' situation in the Portuguese empire.

"The Portuguese Government has invited 'impartial observers' to see for themselves the situation in Goa. Let us hope that they are from the United Nations or from the International Commission of Jurists, whom they have previously rejected".

A spokesman from the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India said on September 8: "It is disingenuous for Portugal to declare that her colonial territories in India were open to investigation by visitors when she had for months denied access to Angola to the U.N. sub-committee".

The question of impartial observers to investigate the situation in Goa was first raised by Portugal in August 1954 in a note to the Government of India. When this was accepted the Portuguese Government refused to discuss the appointment of the observers with the Government of India.

### MORE ARRESTS IN PORTUGAL

Leading opposition members continue to be arrested by the Salazar police. This is in preparation for the election campaign. Dr. Adao e Silva and Dr. Santos Silva, well-known liberal lawyers, Dr. Arlindo Vicente (candidate to the Presidency of the Republic in 1948) and A. Abreu (an engineer) are amongst the latest detainees.

### NEW PRISON CAMP

The Portuguese press "Primeiro de Janeiro" (30/8/61) announced the creation of a new concentration camp in Missombo, Angola. According to a decree from the Overseas Ministry it will have a staff of ninety-nine guards. Four Methodist missionaries were arrested by the Portuguese Police in Angola "Times" (9/9/61).

# BACKGROUND OF AN "ELECTION"

by A. RAMOS

"If democracy consists of a levelling of the base and the refusal to admit natural inequalities, if democracy consists of a belief that power has its origins in the masses and that government must be the expression of the masses and not of an elite, then I really think that democracy is a fiction".

(Salazar)

"I do not believe in universal suffrage, because it does not take into consideration human inequalities. I do not believe in equality, I believe in hierarchy. Men, I believe, must be equal in face of the law, but it would be dangerous to give to all of them the same political powers". (Salazar)

**T**HESSE two extracts from speeches by the Portuguese dictator are a valid expression of the political issue that the democratic opposition has to face on November 15 when new deputies to the Parliament, the so-called National Assembly, will be elected.

After 35 years of fascist dictatorship, with no political parties allowed except the Government "Uniao Nacional," what is the meaning of these "elections"?

## Farcical Assembly

In agreement with the 1933 Constitution, the National Assembly is composed of 130 deputies, elected for a period of four years.<sup>1</sup> The Constitution determines the functions of the Assembly, amongst which are to promulgate or approve laws proposed by Salazar himself.<sup>2</sup> The National Assembly and corporate and administrative bodies which are not directly elected, choose the President of the Republic.<sup>3</sup>

The Prime Minister, Salazar, is nominated by the President of the Republic, and is only responsible to him and not to the National Assembly.<sup>4</sup> The possibilities of democratic changes being carried through this Assembly are very limited. The Government is not obliged to appear in the National Assembly, which only meets for three months in a year.

Not eligible to the National Assembly are people who "profess ideas which tend to promote the subversion of the fundamental institutions and principles of the society."<sup>5</sup> The scope for the application of this law is very wide indeed.

## Suffrage for the Few

Suffrage for the National Assembly is restricted.<sup>6</sup> Only adult males who can read and write, or those who are illiterate but have means of property for which they pay tax, can become electors. Only women who have completed a secondary or university education are eligible. Since 40 per cent. of the population are still illiterate and workers' wages average between £1/14/0 and £2/19/0 a week, only a small number qualify.<sup>7</sup> The number of women with secondary or higher education is minimal, and the women electors who qualify are fewer still. Moreover, people who are known opponents of the régime are systematically deleted from the electoral lists.

The African and Asian colonies of Portugal are

allotted 23 deputies to the National Assembly. Considering the degree of illiteracy in the colonies—reaching 99 per cent. in Angola—the elections do not allow any expression of political opinion by their inhabitants. Practically all the electors in the colonies come from the white settlers, who are in turn subjected to the same discrimination as any other continental Portuguese. These 23 deputies are supposed to represent nearly 11 million people from the colonies, but, if that is so, why have 9 million continental Portuguese the right—at least in the written word—to elect 107 deputies? This is not really in keeping with Salazar's pretence that the colonies are an integral part of Portugal, with equal rights all round.

## Elections Under Salazar

In Portugal political parties are forbidden. Strict censorship is in operation and police repression is very severe. It is only during the thirty days preceding the elections that the Government allows some very restricted form of political expression, like public meetings or interviews in the newspapers. But even these are subject to restrictions, as meetings have to be previously authorised and the newspapers continue to be censored. No street demonstrations are permitted.

Until 1945 the electoral regulations were sufficiently in tune with the lack of political consciousness of the Portuguese people to enable Salazar to stage farcical elections for the benefit of world public opinion. But in the last 15 years, as a result of the persistent work of the democratic forces and of the developments in the international situation, every 30 days of conditional liberty before an election, become a painful trial for the fascist régime.

In the four parliamentary "elections" held since 1945 the repressive measures gave the opposition no opportunity of going to the polls. However, in the 1958 Presidential election, the Government attributed 250,000 votes out of a million of carefully selected electors, to the opposition candidate General Delgado. The democratic opposition was justified in declaring that the true result was the other way round. It was immediately after Delgado's victorious campaign that Law 2100 came into force, abolishing the Presidential elections. The political consciousness of the Portuguese had developed sufficiently to oblige Salazar to alter his own law.

During the 1958 campaign the Government practised all sorts of irregularities. Arrests, murder of prisoners, shooting of peaceful demonstrators, intimidation of the voters, confiscation of the electoral lists and the control of the ballot exclusively by Salazar's representatives took place. During the 1949 Presidential election the candidate, Professor Ruy Luis Gomes, was beaten up by the police.

## The 1961 Elections

Bearing in mind its experience in previous electoral campaigns Salazar's government began in time to put into practice adequate measures to deal with the "un-

tamed and untamable" democratic opposition. A considerable number of well-known leading democrats were arrested, principally from among the 61 signatories of a programme of reforms made public in January of this year.<sup>8</sup> The Minister of the Interior has had meetings with the administrative local authorities and with the fascist party officials.<sup>9</sup> The celebrations of the 51st anniversary of the Portuguese Republic on October 5 were banned. By decision of the administrative authorities (as happened in Lagos, Algarve) every person suspected of opposition feelings was erased from the electoral lists.

The opposition have already arranged their lists of candidates all over the country. They comprise people from all sections of political opinion. In this respect Salazar's manoeuvres to divide the opposition over the colonial problem seem to have met with very little success.<sup>10</sup> However, the democratic forces suffer from serious handicaps. They have in the short space of a month to try and set up some form of organisation that will enable them to win the political support of the population, and to compensate for the previous four years of almost completely enforced silence and reduced activity.

The chances of the opposition seem very poor at first glance, but a more careful analysis of the Portuguese situation shows quite a number of unfavourable conditions to the régime, and growth of opposition trends.

### The Political Climate

Thirty-five years of fascism have not broken the spirit of a people who have more than nine hundred years of glorious past. Since 1945 every staged "election" has seen massive action on the part of the entire people against Salazar. Electors are carefully selected but it is a well-known fact that nobody really knows the true feelings of their neighbours in Portugal and that the closest of Salazar's supporters—like Delgado and Galvão—have turned into enemies.

Underground political organisations like the Junta de Accao Patriotica, a united anti-Salazar front, have recently been very active. They are demanding minimum democratic conditions for voting, as mentioned on the first page of this issue, but at the same time they are pressing their claims on a number of burning questions for the régime like the cessation of the war in Angola, increased salaries, the abolition of the censorship and the secret PIDE police, and an amnesty for political prisoners and exiles.

The Government is well aware of this and repressive measures and arrests have been intensified and there have been more political trials like those of Doctors Candida Ventura, Orlando Ramos and Albertina Diogo. There is more ill-treatment towards prisoners, particularly to women political prisoners in Caxias, near Lisbon. Also there has been the nomination of a new commandment to the fascist militia, the "Legiao Portuguesa".<sup>11</sup> Troops in Tomar, Abrantes and Santarem have been ordered to be ready to intervene in nearby rural areas well known for their traditional democratic feelings.

### The Economic Situation

This is also causing grave concern to Salazar. Portugal is one of the under-developed countries. Her economy is seriously handicapped by the reduced prices paid for the raw materials that they produce.

Simultaneously, Portugal's trade deficit continues to increase. The deficit during the first seven months amounted to £68 million, which is more than the total of the exports of the country. The long-awaited steel industry, which Portugal needs so badly, depends on an import of 250,000 tons of coke a year.

The war in Angola has had disastrous effects upon the economy of the country. It is calculated that every day of the war costs Portugal £250,000. To meet this new taxes are imposed which provoke new claims by sections of industry and trade.<sup>12</sup> Further austerity measures have been put into force and the cost of living has increased.<sup>13</sup> For instance fares between Lisbon and nearby places have gone up. All this has created large-scale discontent. Even clerical workers, like insurance and bank employees, have recently raised the question of increased salaries.

In the countryside things do not look much better. The annual report of the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.) considers Portuguese agriculture stagnant due to "the employment of costly methods of cultivation, the low level of investment and structural defects". Crops of wheat and rye will only reach 58 per cent. of the last ten years' average.<sup>15</sup>

The basis of Salazar's financial methods has been the stability of the "escudo". This is artificially maintained by increasing public loans. But the bulk payment of £43 million made abroad by firms fearing the "escudo" devaluation, and the export of capital to the value of £3 million, when the Angola war panic reached its peak, are going to create further serious problems. For the first time in many years a Portuguese newspaper spoke of inflation as a solution.<sup>16</sup>

It is not surprising after all this to hear that new offers of facilities for foreign investments in Portugal, but on ruinous terms, have been made, and that the Chief Inspector of the Development Plan recently visited Bonn, capital of West Germany, to negotiate new loans.

### The Cost of Angola

The increased cost of living since the beginning of the Angolan war, the news of casualties, the feeling of solidarity of an oppressed people for another, and revelations of the atrocities committed by Salazar's thugs, all contribute to the growing unpopularity of the war in Angola.

Courageous actions, including refusals to leave the country for Angola and increased desertions, are becoming more and more frequent. In August a detachment of an Infantry Regiment was reduced to nearly half before it left because 80 soldiers were missing.

The Government has been trying to raise funds for Angola by forcible deductions from the workers' wages. A national day of "solidarity" was fixed for June 10th, but this met with fierce resistance by the workers and the results were simply disastrous for the Government. Two sports festivals organised for the same purpose on August 27 met with a similar lack of response.

### World Must Act

All these facts reveal that the oldest fascist régime in existence shows many signs of deterioration. But despite the resistance of the Portuguese people Sala-

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zar is still in a very strong position. He continues to get support from many Western countries and Portugal is still a member of N.A.T.O.

If the indomitable courage of the Portuguese people in their opposition at the polls on November 12, despite fascist terror, is to be rewarded, the peoples of the world must give their support to their just claim for free elections.

It is high time that the people of Europe silenced the voice of the man who said: "We are anti-parliamentarians, anti-democrats and anti-liberals".<sup>17</sup>

#### REFERENCES

- 1 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Article 95, as modified by Law 2100 of August 29th, 1959.
- 2 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Article 91.
- 3 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Article 72, as modified by Law 2100 of August 29th, 1959.
- 4 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, Article 107.
- 5 Decree Law 24-631, of November 6th, 1934.

6 Decree Law 23-406, of December 27th, 1933.

7 "Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin," 1961, Vol. 1, page 2. Also "Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin," 1961, Vol. 1, No. 7, page 44.

8 "The Times," 5-10-1961.

9 "Primeiro de Janeiro," August 12th, 1961.

10 "Diario de Lisboa," September 16th and 25th, 1961.

11 "Primeiro de Janeiro," August 15th, 1961.

12 "Primeiro de Janeiro," July 13th, 1961; "Diario de Lisboa" September 22nd, 1961.

13 Despatch from the Finance Minister, August 1st, 1961.

14 "Diario de Lisboa" September 11th, 1961.

15 "Boletim do Servico de Estatistica Agricola do Instituto Nacional de Estatistica," Lisbon, September 1961.

16 Count Stucky de Quay, in "Diario de Lisboa" August 30th, 1961.

17 Salazar—Introduction to "Doctrine and Action," Faber, London, 1939, p. 29.

## STRUGGLE IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

We give below the text of resolutions adopted at the First Conference of Nationalist Organisations held at Casablanca April 18-20, 1961. (Continued from No. 7 Bulletin).

### ANGOLA

THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF PORTUGUESE COLONIES, after having studied the latest developments of the situation in Angola,

*CONSIDERING* that the Portuguese Government, by its well-known policy of total suppression of fundamental liberties, has not allowed the people of Angola free expression of its just aspirations of independence.

*CONSIDERING* that the Portuguese Government has refused to consider the proposals contained in the Declaration of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) of 13 June, 1960, for a peaceful solution of the colonial problem in Angola.

*CONSIDERING* that since 1959 high officials of the Portuguese Government have, both in Portugal and in Angola made public declarations of war against the Angola nationalists and that Portuguese colonialism has accompanied these declarations by a strengthening of the military machinery, and by propaganda seeking to increase tension and the hostility of the Portuguese people of Angola with regard to the Angolan peoples, and by a renewed terror against the Angolan people and persecutions, poisonings, sentences and arbitrary deportations of Angolan patriots and certain foreigners sympathising with the cause of the liberation of Angola, and finally massacres of the peaceful disarmed populations.

*SALUTES* the general insurrection begun by the valiant people of Angola, since the events which took place in February last in Luanda.

*CALLS ON* all political parties and movements and also all popular organisations in Angola to show rapid proof of United action in the struggle as they have done against Portuguese colonialism, and in order

that they might at once ensure the unity of the Angolan people in a firm united front policy.

*RECOMMENDS* that the people and all Angolan patriots should ensure great vigilance against neo-colonialist manoeuvres seeking to prevent the people of Angola taking up the struggle for real independence and to create division among the people and dismember the country, or set up puppet governments.

*CALLS ON* all soldiers of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia engaged in the colonialist army to go with their arms to the support of their Angolan brothers, who will give them an unreserved fraternal welcome.

To all the natives of the Portuguese colonies of Africa and Asia, living or working in Angola, to support the just struggle of the people, or at least to maintain a position of neutrality favourable to this struggle.

*CALLS ON* all the organisations and anti-colonialist persons to encourage a movement in the world opinion demanding liberation of all political prisoners in Angola, in particular the leaders of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Dr. Agostinho Neto and Ilidio Machado.

*EXPRESSES* its indignation at the outrages by the Portuguese colonial police against the Angolan Clergy, the arrest of Canon Das Neves, ex-Vicar General of the Archbishopric of Luanda and the deportation without trial to Prince Island of the former Chancellor, Rev. P. Pinto De Andrade.

*GIVES* full support to the resolution on Angola approved at the Third All African Peoples' Conference, held in Cairo from the 25 to 31 March 1961, and confirmed by the fourth session of the Afro-Asian Council held at Bandung from 10-14 April 1961.

*MAKES* an urgent appeal to the peoples of neighbouring countries to give active support to the struggle of the people of Angola, and to render ineffective in time, in their respective countries, all manoeuvres which might be planned with a view to impeding the struggle of the people of Angola.

*SUPPORTS* the steps taken by Members of the United Nations, in particular the interventions of countries in the Afro-Asian group who are demanding that the international organisation should take immediate and effective measures to ensure that Portugal implements in Angola the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial peoples," and ceases immediately the policy of genocide which Portuguese colonialism is carrying out in Angola.

*URGES* the Afro-Asian countries to remain vigilant in the event of intervention by the United Nations in Angola, ensuring that they do not take up positions which would lead to such a situation that would involve the sanctioning of imperialist manoeuvres and endanger the unity of the people and the territorial integrity and the functioning of a democratic régime for which the Angolan people are struggling, within the framework of real independence.

*RECOMMENDS* the executive organs of the organisation to be set up following this Conference to mobilise world opinion in favour of the liberation of Angola and to encourage all peoples throughout the world to join in active solidarity with the Angolan people.

## **MOZAMBIQUE**

*THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF PORTUGUESE Colonies*, meeting at Casablanca from 18-20 April, 1961, after having made a concrete and careful study of the situation in Mozambique, and in agreement with the Uniao Democratica Nacional de Mocambique — UDENAMO (National Democratic Union of Mozambique),

*CONDEMNNS* the colonial oppression under which the African population of Mozambique is living, an oppression which is characterised in particular by:

- systematic practice of forced labour
- shameless exploitation of work done by the Africans
- total absence of political and human rights
- the cultural obscurantism in which the African population is held.

*DENOUNCES* the economic agreements between Portugal and the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which constitute a human and economic loss for Mozambique.

*AFFIRMS* the inalienable right of the Mozambique people to self-determination and to national independence.

*PROTESTS* against the repression of which Mozambique patriots are victims.

—against the barbaric methods of repression used by the Portuguese authorities. The massacre of MUEDA being a recent proof of these.

—against military preparations which the Portuguese Government is at present carrying out with a view to putting down the popular patriotic movement.

—against the manoeuvres undertaken by the Portuguese Government to establish in Mozambique a racial dictatorship similar to that existing in South Africa.

—against the pacts and alliances between Portugal and the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias which commit Mozambique without the free consent of the Mozambique people.

—against the use of Mozambique soldiers in war

against our brothers of other countries under Portuguese colonial domination.

*SUPPORTS THE MOZAMBIQUE PEOPLE* in their fight for emancipation and encourages them to carry on a united fight for the liquidation of colonialism and the conquest of national independence.

*CALLS* on U.N.O. to condemn in strong terms and by concrete measures the colonial policy of the Portuguese Government, in regard to the principle of the rights of peoples to self-determination and the UNO Declaration of December 14, 1960, in order that Mozambique may not become the cause of war and constitute a threat to international peace and security.

## **PORTUGUESE OPPOSITION**

*THE CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES*,

Recognising that the Portuguese people are under the oppression of a Fascist Government;

Recognising that this situation does not allow information on the Portuguese Colonies to circulate freely; Assures the Portuguese people of its entire support in the struggle they are waging to liberate themselves from the fascist régime and to set up a democratic régime in Portugal;

Encourages the Portuguese Democratic Movement to strengthen its unity with a view to the rapid victory of the cause of Democracy;

Declares that the struggle of the people still under Portuguese domination is not directed against the Portuguese people but is aimed at the total liquidation of the colonial system;

Declares that the organisations taking part in the Conference are willing to enter into constructive negotiations and are ready for effective co-operation with the real representatives of the Portuguese Democratic Movement on the basis of a solemn recognition of the right of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies to self determination and national independence.

## **PORTUGUESE GUINEA AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS**

*THE CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES*, after having examined the present situation of the peoples of Portuguese Guinea and of the Cape Verde Islands in the reports submitted by the "Partido Africano da Independencia"

*DENOUNCES* the massacres, assassinations and the tortures in Portuguese Guinea, the death of tens of thousands of persons in Cape Verde who had been condemned to famine.

*DENOUNCES* the secret attempts at present being carried out by the Portuguese Government to establish, in these countries, new forms of colonialism with the aid of a few African traitors.

*DENOUNCES* the imperialist plots against the struggle and the liberty of the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde; the advantageous concessions made by the Portuguese Government to foreign capitalism, as well as the establishment of military bases by NATO in these countries.

*CALLS ON* these people to unite among themselves and with the people of the other Portuguese colonies for the rapid and total liquidation of colonial domination.

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*CALLS ON* all African and Asian independent countries to give concrete and immediate assistance in the struggle for liberation of the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde, for the rapid liquidation, by all possible means, of Portuguese colonialism, and in order that any attempt to establish neo-colonialism in these territories may be prevented.

### **S. TOME AND PRINCIPE**

The CONFERENCE OF NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES, meeting for the first time at CASABLANCA, from 18-20 April, 1961, after having examined the situation in S. Tome and Principe, which is characterised by the continuation of the forced labour system on the agricultural estates, the worsening of the already miserable living conditions of the African population, making their lives increasingly difficult, and the intensification of repression against the patriots of this country.

*DEMANDS* the exclusion of Portugal from the International Labour Organisation.

*DENOUNCES* the manoeuvres tending to create a climate of hostility between nationals and their brothers in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, with the sole object of dividing the forces of the people and preventing unity of action against the common enemy.

*ENCOURAGES* the nationalist struggle of the people of S. Tome and Principe.

*DECLARES* its complete support for the COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION OF S. TOME AND PRINCIPE and for the organisation of active forces in this colony, whose struggle is a concrete contribution to the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

### **UNITED NATIONS**

The CONFERENCE OF NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS OF PORTUGUESE COLONIES,

*NOTING* that the firm refusal of the Portuguese Government to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations on the Portuguese Colonies is damaging to the prestige of this Organisation and has no plausible justification;

*CONVINCED* that this continuing scandal within the United Nations is due to the support given by other countries to Portuguese colonialism, and also

to a continuing lack of concern as to the effect on Portuguese colonialism of the application of U.N. resolutions;

*URGES* the U.N. to take immediate and concrete measures to compel Portugal to put into force the declaration on the grant of independence to the colonial peoples of December 14, 1960.

*EXPRESSES* the deep indignation of the peoples of the Portuguese Colonies at the behaviour of member States of the U.N. who have not yet given effective proof of their desire to implement this declaration immediately in the case of the Portuguese Colonies.

*DEMANDS* that the Sub-Committee proposed by the Afro-Asian countries to enquire into the situation in Angola should be set up and given full powers enabling it to obtain proofs of the barbaric actions perpetrated by the Portuguese colonial administration.

### **GOA**

*CONSIDERING* that the people of Goa, Damao and Diu, by race, culture and tradition form an integral part of the Indian people;

*CONSIDERING* that Goa, Damao and Diu are part of India, separated from India only by artificial political barriers;

*CONSIDERING* that the economy of these territories is dependent on the life and the economic geography of India;

*CONSIDERING* that the people of these territories have always shown complete aversion to Portuguese occupation;

*CONSIDERING* that the "Satyagraha" of 1946 and the active struggle which followed, and in particular the peaceful resistance of 1954 and 1955 which sent to prison thousands of nationalists, are a striking proof that these people wish to unite their political destinies with those of India;

*DEMANDS* that the Portuguese Government should immediately set at liberty all political prisoners;

*AFFIRMS* its solidarity in the struggle of the peoples of Goa, Damao and Diu, to liberate themselves from the Portuguese colonial yoke;

*SUPPORTS* wholeheartedly their aspirations to unite their political destinies with those of India.

## **PORTUGUESE APPEAL AT BELGRADE BY THE PORTUGUESE COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION (Junta de Accao Patriotica)**

**I**N the name of the Portuguese people the JAP, the clandestine movement which unites all democratic opposition to the fascist régime of Salazar, sends its best wishes to the Delegation to the Belgrade Conference and hopes for a successful outcome of the meeting.

Because peace and the elimination of all forms of imperialistic and colonial domination are the paramount aims of the Conference, the war of extermination imposed on the people of Angola by the Salazar régime will rate high among the preoccupations of the Delegates. This horrible war has already cost more than 100,000 lives, in addition to untold suffering and misery, and the tragedy may soon spread to other areas under Salazar's rule. The ending of the

war in Angola is urgent and imperative to the whole of the civilised world, and the recent resolutions of United Nations on Angola reveal the growing concern of the international community on the situation.

The opportunity for Salazar to wage war on Angola derives primarily from the legal fiction consisting in the acceptance of his régime as representative of the Portuguese people. Yet the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese oppose and abhor the Salazar régime, as they oppose and abhor the war it launched on Angola. The régime was imposed by force and survives under the protection of a huge and costly repressive apparatus which international colonialism helps to train and equip.

The constant struggle of the Portuguese for their

freedom has cost many lives and much suffering in the last 35 years, but external complacency, and even outright support of the Salazar régime under the pretence of cold war strategic needs have, so far, frustrated the Portuguese people in their fight. However, the evil consequences of the existence of a fascist régime in Portugal have now reached such glaring proportions that its external supporters are becoming embarrassed

### Election Farce

At this critical juncture Salazar desperately needs to cover, with the mantle of legality, his criminal action in Angola—and soon, also, in other areas where his colonial rule still prevails. He must refute, at all costs, the accusation that he does not represent the Portuguese people but only an insignificant minority of fascist and colonialist warmongers. As on previous occasions, the régime hopes to rely on a faked "majority" at the polls to confuse world public opinion and to continue defying the United Nations condemnation.

Legislative elections are to be held next November in Portugal and the Portuguese democrats are determined to oppose the official nominees with unified

lists. They are also determined to defend by all means their right to cast a vote and to control the results of the election.

Salazar, fearing this danger, is fast reinforcing his repressive measures in order to gag the opposition. Many of the Democratic leaders who signed the "Program for the Democratization of the Republic," presented at a press conference in Lisbon last May, have been imprisoned. Their supporters are being arrested in mass or intimidated and a wave of terror is spreading over the country.

The JAP appeals to the Conference of Balgrade to do everything in its power to denounce the electoral farce being staged in Portugal and the violence which Salazar is determined to crush the rising opposition to his régime, and to help the Portuguese people in its struggle for freedom.

The overthrow of the fascist régime in Portugal means the end of colonial war in Angola and the liberation of all peoples presently enslaved by the Salazar régime. The re-establishment of democratic institutions will pave the way for the pacific co-operation of Portugal with all peoples, based on freedom and the mutual respect of their basic rights. 25 August, 1961.

## AMNESTY APPEAL FROM LATIN AMERICA

**T**HE Latin-American M.P.s meeting at Santiago do Chile on August 18-20, 1961, to assess the situation of Spanish and Portuguese political prisoners and exiles, consider:

1. That being in conflict with humanitarian feelings the persecution of people because of their political ideas, it cannot be accepted that 22 years after the end of the civil war hundreds of people are kept in Spanish jails, because of acts which took place during that war and because of their disagreement with the existing régime.

2. That an identical situation exists in Portugal where for more than a quarter-of-a-century thousands of citizens have been imprisoned and kept out of the life of the country, because of their political activities being contrary to those in power.

3. That the prosecution and trial by special courts, using summary procedure of martial courts, of citizens accused of military rebellion either because of expressing their political views, or for their action in favour of working class claims or by the mere fact of aspiring for the respect of legal right in the Iberian Peninsula, constitutes a violation of the principles of the universal declaration of Human Rights.

4. That it also constitutes a violation of the principles of the United Nations, of which Spain and Portugal are members, the existence of tens of thousands of exiles who cannot go back to their countries because they are either forbidden to do so by their Government or fearing reprisals that could bring danger to their freedom or their lives.

5. That a large amnesty is indispensable to free political prisoners and allow the return of the exiles to their countries so that Spain and Portugal may recover their political and social normality.

As a consequence of the above points the Latin American Inter-Parliamentary Meeting decides:

**FIRST**—To ask all M.P.s to denounce in their respective Parliaments the violation of human rights

in Spain and Portugal and to express to the United Nations and to the Governments of the two countries the need for a prompt and large amnesty.

**SECOND**—Ask all M.P.s to act in order to obtain from their Governments that their representatives at the United Nations General Assembly require from Spain and Portugal the respect of the principles of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

**THIRD**—Appeal to Latin American public opinion, trade unions and all professional, cultural, student, peasant and political organisations, for their warm support in the actions of their M.P.s carrying on their noble undertakings and to fight for an Amnesty for Spanish and Portuguese political prisoners and exiles.

**FOURTH**—To address the present document to the Regional Meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, which takes place at Santiago do Chile October.

Santiago do Chile, 19 August, 1961. Signatures:  
The President—Senator Luis Bossay Leiva (Chile)  
Vice-Presidents—M.P.s

Jose Nurias (Argentina),  
Germinal Feijo (Brazil),  
Luis Hierro Gambardella (Uruguay).

Senators—

Victor Arevalo (Peru),  
Jose Manuel Siso Martinez (Venezuela).

General Secretary—M. P. Aleyandro Rios Valdivia (Chile)

Secretaries— M. P. Eduardo Rosenkrantz (Argentina), Carlos Malpica (Peru), Glauco Segovia (Uruguay).

The organizing committee consists of members of a large number of political parties, from right to left.

Messages were sent by them to the political prisoners in Spain and Portugal, to the Assembly of World Inter-Parliamentary Union (Brussels) and to UNO.

# FOREIGN POWERS AND SALAZAR

Three United States Navy and two French warships went to Lisbon for friendly visits in July and August. The U.S. House of Representatives on August 9 approved the continuation of military aid to Portugal, including the loan of two destroyers to the Portuguese Navy. On July 24 a NATO Mission comprised of the American officers Vice-Admiral Evans, Commanders Madenan and Brown and Lieutenant-Colonel Idiens, had talks in Lisbon with Portuguese military authorities. ("Primeiro de Janeiro" 25/7/61.)

Rear-Admiral Emmet O'Berne was appointed head of the permanent US military commission in Portugal (M.A.A.G.), on August 24. General Fitch, sub-chief of the Information Services of the United States Army, held on September 13 conversations in Lisbon with the Portuguese Chief-of-Staff.

("Primeiro de Janeiro" 14/9/61.) In the British House of Lords, the Marquis of Salisbury defended on July 19 the political position of Portugal, demanding more help for an old ally.

In an article in the French weekly "LA NATION FRANCAISE" July 23) the Archduke Otto of Habsburg defended the Portuguese Government's policy in Angola and criticised the Austrian and German Catholic newspapers which had been recently condemning Salazar's actions.

Mr. William Eastwood, Minister of Transport of the Rhodesian Federation, conferred in Lisbon with the Portuguese Foreign Minister on September 20. On July 21 a Rhodesian military delegation comprised of Lieutenant-Colonel Reid, Major Thompson, and flight captains Wilson and Deall, arrived at Luanda (Angola) to witness the Portuguese military operations against the African nationalists. Major-General R. E. Beaumont Long, military commander of the Rhodesian Federation,

visited Mozambique on August 13.

In an interview with a Luanda newspaper President Tschombe, of Katanga, defended again the Portuguese policy in Angola (25/7/61).

Mennen Williams, American Assistant - Secretary for African Affairs, after a visit to Portuguese colonies (where he faced a somewhat mixed reception) declared that he welcomed the intended "reforms" of the Portuguese Government in Angola. These reforms, published on August 30, concerned only administrative reorganisation.

The Portuguese Government refused permission for a visit to Angola of the United Nations Organisation Angola sub-commission. This commission visited Angola national African leaders in Leopoldville, Congo. (5/8/61).

The Kenya Government refused to authorise activities in Kenya of the "National African Union of Mozambique". M.C. Chowke, member of the Kenya Legislative Council, protested vigorously against this decision.

The Nigerian Minister of Labour, J. M. Johnson, during a visit to Brazil, attacked the Portuguese policy in Angola. The Portuguese Ambassador in Nigeria left the country after protests made against his presence by the Nigerian Press (3/8/61).

The Republic of Senegal has broken diplomatic relations with Portugal (27/7/61). President Sekou Toure of Guinea, declared his sympathy and support for the cause of the Angolan nationalists (16/8/61). Bombay dockers refused to work for companies who trade with Goa (22/8/61).

General Franco conferred Spanish decorations on the last Governors of Angola, Dr. S. Tavares and General Deslandes. He also honoured the Portuguese Ministry of Overseas, Professor Moreira.

coup'etat, inaugurating the present regime.

**June 9:** Britain again abstained at the UN — this time in the Security Council—on a resolution critical of Portugal.

**June 15:** The Government refused to cancel or postpone the visit to Portugal of the 19th Brigade group for a training exercise. (This was later called off in view of the Kuwait crisis.)

**June 16:** Arrival in Lisbon of the six frigates of the 2nd Squadron of the Home Fleet after exercises with the Portuguese Navy and Air Force.

**June 17:** The Government announced the sale to Portugal of two frigates, Mounts Bay and Morecambe Bay.

The second pamphlet is printed in Johannesburg, and it indicts the Vorwoerd Government of the Union of South Africa for its collaboration with the Salazar regime, especially the Joint Defence Pact in relation to Mozambique. But it also expresses the solidarity of all Africans, in the words of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah:

"The evils of Portuguese colonialism are realised by all African States without exception. . . . We should therefore be able to go united to the assistance of the people of Angola. . . . What is happening in the Congo can be repeated in other African territories under colonial rule unless the Africans themselves unite to save Africa from the misery of these tragedies."

The first pamphlet is available from the UDC, 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W.8, and the second from Afrika Publications, P.O. Box 10120, Johannesburg. The first is 6d., and the second 5c.

## CENSUS DATA

In 1960 the total population of Portugal was 9,130,410. Lisbon is the largest town with 818,382 inhabitants—and 1,397,213 with the neighbouring districts. Porto is the second largest with 310,474—reaching a total of 759,506 with neighbouring districts.

## O IMIGRANTE DEMOCRATICO

Under this title Portuguese democratic immigrants in Caracas, Venezuela, have started a new publication. It gives news of the struggle for a better future in their homeland.

**Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin**, 374 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. Subscriptions for 12 issues, including postage: Britain and Europe, 15s.; Overseas (airmail), £1. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin.

Butler & Co., Bulwell, Nottm.

## TWO PAMPHLETS ON ANGOLA

The struggle in Angola has now become an issue for the progressive movement in Europe, as well as in the Union of South Africa. It has become the cause of the liberation movements in all parts of the African continent. They are powerful allies in the fight for freedom in Angola.

An expression of solidarity support in Britain is a recent pamphlet by Basil Davidson, published by the Union of Democratic Control, whose founder E. D. Morel was well known before the first world war for his exposure of the atrocities in the Belgian Congo.

Basil Davidson puts the spotlight on Britain's complicity in Salazar's oppression of the colonial peoples. He gives examples over a period of only four months in 1961:

**March 15:** The British Government helped to prevent the

Security Council from passing a resolution calling for reforms in Portugal's African territories.

**April 20:** The British delegate abstained in the U.N. Assembly vote (concerning Angola).

**May 15:** HMS Leopold sailed into Luanda on a goodwill visit, carrying aboard the Commander of the British Fleet in the South Atlantic.

**May 16:** The British Consul in Sao Paulo, Brazil, on instructions from the Home Office in London, refused a visa to visit Britain to Captain Galvao, one of the leading spokesmen of the opposition in Portugal.

**May 26:** Lord Home, the Foreign Secretary, arrived on an official goodwill mission to Lisbon and was present for the anniversary celebrations of the

P. 23-06