

# Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin

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## JAILED AT 82

Narciso Lanca, aged 82, has been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for 'incitement to strike'. The sentence was passed on January 16 by the Lisbon plenary court, a special tribunal set up to try political cases.

Strikes in Portugal are illegal, and trade unions do not exist.

## STRUGGLE 'BY EVERY MEANS' FOR ANGOLA'S FREEDOM

**L**EADERS of the national liberation movement in the latest African storm centre of Angola have called on four million Angolans to struggle 'by every means' for the end of Portuguese colonial domination.

In its newly-published programme, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola presents a detailed two-pronged plan:

**First**, for getting rid of the colonialists and achieving the 'immediate and complete independence of the Angolan homeland';

**Second**, for establishing a democratic republic, with universal suffrage and a coalition government that will carry out planned economic reconstruction and an agrarian reform.

'Immediate abolition of the forced labour system' is one of the key planks in the programme. Another is the abolition of all privileges which the colonial regime gives to Portuguese and other foreigners.

### SOCIAL JUSTICE

And a third is the establishment of peace in Angola on the basis of social justice.

The **SHORT-TERM PROGRAMME** declares that 'at the present time the concrete and immediate enemy of the Angolan people are the Portuguese colonialists and their agents'.

The colonialists stop at nothing to preserve Portuguese sovereignty in Angola and the oppression and exploitation of the Angolan people. They engage in 'violence, murder, Machiavellianism and tricks; armed force; political and economic power and cultural obscurantism'.

### PEASANTS AND WORKERS

To end Portuguese rule and achieve independence the programme urges the formation of an Angolan liberation front which would include all political parties, people's organizations, armed forces, eminent personalities, religious organizations, nationalities and ethnic groups, as well as all African social classes and Angolans resident abroad regardless of political belief, wealth, sex or age.

Such a front would put the interests of the peasants and workers of Angola first and foremost as the two most important sections of the population. Together they make up almost the whole of the population.

(Cont. on back page)

## World campaign to free Spanish and Portuguese political prisoners

**A** CAMPAIGN for a world conference in favour of an amnesty for the thousands of political prisoners in Spain and Portugal was launched at the second Latin American Pro-Amnesty Conference, held in Montevideo, Uruguay, on January 27-29.

### Fascist 'partner'

The British government's support for the Salazar regime is not confined to sending its armed might—a frigate—in pursuit of the 'Santa Maria'.

When the British aircraft carrier Ark Royal arrived at Lisbon on January 19 her officers exchanged friendly visits and banquets with the Portuguese Naval Minister and his officials.

The new British ambassador in Lisbon, Sir Archibald David Ross, has declared that Britain and Portugal are 'partners' and 'allies'.

The conference decided to set up an Ibero-American Pro-Amnesty Council to defend human rights in the Iberian peninsula. And it discussed ways of winning United Nations support for a world-wide campaign.

The permanent executive committee of the conference reported on achievements since the first Latin American Pro-Amnesty Conference held a year before.

Many of the most distinguished Latin American intellectuals were among the supporters of the conference. They included Alvaro Lins,

(Cont. overleaf, col. 2)

## Portuguese support Africans

**I**N a statement on the recent murder of Africans in Angola, the Group of Portuguese Democrats in Britain denounced the Portuguese government's 'insane policy and methods' and repudiated 'brutalities which denigrate the honour and reputation of our country'.

The Group expressed solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in their anti-colonial struggle and supported without reservations their claim

for independence, 'firmly believing that this common struggle will strengthen the bonds of friendship between the peoples of Portugal and her colonies'.

Declaring that they strongly repudiated any compromise with Salazar's regime or with colonialism, the Group added: 'Our struggle will come to an end only when both the Portuguese and colonial peoples have attained full independence in a truly democratic regime'.

### Solitary confinement, torture, for three PIDE victims

Arrested in Guimaraes on January 18 were Mario Sena Lopes, Antonio Lopes da Silva Ribeiro and Jose Filipe Monteiro da Silva, writes an Oporto correspondent.

The prisoners are being held incommunicado and are being tortured by the PIDE in Oporto. Sena Lopes is a sick man, and his friends now fear for his life.

## ARMS SPENDING UP AND UP

Portugal's 1961 budget shows an increase from £38 million to £50 million in military and 'security' expenditure.

This increase is 28 times higher than the increase in health expenditure.

## Treachery—or truth?

THE saga of the 'Santa Maria' is over. For more than ten days Captain Henrique Galvao's spectacular adventure was headline news. If it achieved nothing else, it riveted the attention of the world, for the first time in thirty-five years, on Salazar's rule over nine million Portuguese and nearly ten million Africans. People everywhere are asking questions about Portugal and the Portuguese empire.

They are also asking questions about Galvao. What did he and General Humberto Delgado mean when they talked about 'liberation' and 'independence' for the Portuguese colonies? How far do Delgado and Galvao really represent the Portuguese opposition?

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WHILE there is violent repression in Portugal, and massacres of Africans in Angola, it is not easy to answer some of these questions. For neither the Portuguese in Portugal, nor the Africans in Angola, nor for that matter those white settlers there who oppose Salazar, have had a chance to speak out freely.

As far as the intentions of Delgado and Galvao are concerned we have only their published statements to go on. But when it comes to conditions in the lands under Salazar's rule, the facts are clear. In Portugal there is a peculiarly vicious form of fascism prevailing, and the most ruthless colonialism is in force in the Portuguese possessions overseas.

During the last war even Hitler's High Command had sometimes to tell the truth in its war communiques; Salazar's newspapers and news agencies do not even have that notion of truth.

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WHEN Sr Mendes, director of the Portuguese State Information Service in London, told a BBC interviewer that censorship in Portugal was no different from film censorship in Britain, he was lying; and we print this month the first comprehensive account ever published of how the Portuguese censorship operates.

When Salazar and his paid propagandists declare there is peace, harmony and racial amity in the 'overseas provinces' they are lying. In his dispatches from Angola during the past month the Luanda correspondent of the Guardian has demonstrated that 'violence and death' are what is happening there today.

When the Portuguese government pretends that Goa is the peaceful meeting point of east and west, they are lying. The truth about this, too, will be given in future issues of the Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin.

And so when the Portuguese official news agency and the Lisbon *Diario de Noticias* issue lying reports about the Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin and describe its editors as 'traitors', we are not surprised. In the language of the 'New State' truth is synonymous with treachery.

## World campaign to free prisoners

(Cont. from front page)

whose recently-published book 'Missao em Portugal' tells the story of his term of office as Brazilian ambassador in Lisbon.

The conference is the latest step in a campaign that began when Don Ramon Menendez Pidal, President of the Spanish Academy, headed a list of eminent Spanish intellectuals who protested to Franco's Minister of Justice against political persecution.

Their letter declared that the thousands of political prisoners in Spanish jails were 'one of the deepest wounds to the national spirit', because Spain was deprived of their participation in the life of the nation.

### 'The two Spains'

News of this protest aroused great interest in Brazil, and Brazilian intellectuals launched an appeal to the peoples of Latin America to campaign for the release of 'so many suffering Spaniards'.

On hearing of the campaign, Professor Menendez Pidal wrote to the Brazilian professor Idel Becker expressing his utmost sympathy for a campaign that would be waged on behalf of political prisoners in both Spain and Portugal.

'The two Spains which have

been so divided', he declared, 'must now join together and collaborate in the destiny of the common homeland'.

A committee of lawyers was set up, composed of Maurice Cornil (Belgium), Mario Berlinguer (Italy), Henri J. Douzon (France) and J. Platts-Mills (Britain).

### Sartre's support

The first Latin American Conference for an Amnesty for Spanish and Portuguese Political Prisoners and Exiles—to give it its full title—called on the peoples of Latin America to campaign for:

- 1 Complete amnesty for all social and political prisoners in the two countries, and for persons who have been driven abroad;
- 2 The suppression of special tribunals, and the transfer to the ordinary courts of all trials for political and social offences; and
- 3 The application of those human rights recognized by international organizations.

Prominent among supporters of the campaign are the French writers Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir.

## News in brief

**BEGGING.** A special department to suppress begging has been set up in Portugal. (*Diario de Lisboa*, January 7.)

**PRODUCTION.** Wheat production in Portugal in 1960 was 30 per cent. lower than in 1959. (*Diario de Lisboa*, December 31.)

**REINFORCEMENTS.** A thousand more Portuguese troops are being sent to Portuguese Africa as reinforcements. (*Diario de Lisboa*, January 21.)

**TEACHERS.** Salazarist deputy Melo Machado told the National Assembly during a discussion on the serious problems of primary education: 'Either there are not any schools or there are not any teachers, or the teachers have too many pupils'. (*Primeiro de Janeiro*, January 20.)

**WATCHERS.** On January 20 the seventh conference of the Portuguese and Spanish general staffs began in Lisbon. On January 25 the Spanish officers went to the Ministry of the Navy to watch the work being done in connexion with the pursuit of the 'Santa Maria'. (*Diario de Lisboa*, January 20 and 25.)

**EXAMPLE.** The Spanish newspaper ABC declared in an editorial on January 15 that Portugal is an example to the world of how 'a small nation without great military potential can, with an energetic Christian policy, keep its positions without retreating a single step, while all around atomic powers retreat'.

## ARRESTED AGAIN

Arrested in Lisbon during a PIDE (secret police) raid on their house last December were Guilherme da Costa Carvalho and his wife Maria Diogo.

Guilherme Carvalho was imprisoned without trial in the notorious West African island concentration camp of Tarrafal from 1948 to 1954.

Released, he was imprisoned again in 1959. Early in 1960 he escaped, together with a number of other prisoners, and has been living in hiding. He and his wife have two small children.

## LADDER TO SACOR SUCCESS

PORTUGAL'S great oil monopoly, SACOR, made a gross profit of nearly £4,400,000 in 1959. Its capital was £6,250,000, and its net profit nearly £1,600,000.

The Portuguese Constitution lays down that the State must 'prevent excessive profits on capital', and provides for the appointment of a government delegate to companies to enforce this.

In the case of SACOR this position recently lay vacant for two years, since Engineer Vargas Monis resigned the post to become managing director of . . . one of SACOR's subsidiary companies!

An earlier government delegate to SACOR, Engineer Duarte do Amaral, was also given a directorship by SACOR!

# A message to the Portuguese people

HENRIQUE GALVAO

THE capture of the *Santa Maria* was not a romantic gesture. Still less was it the result of a plan merely intended to attract world attention to the dramatic situation of Portugal. The capture of a large and magnificent vessel, which lasted for eleven days, and the voyage across the Atlantic pursued by planes and ships of several nations, have a meaning for all of you.

We wanted to prove that the dictator Salazar was not invulnerable—and we succeeded. We struck at him, and at his navy, and we made them ridiculous in the eyes of the whole free, Christian world.

Tomorrow, wherever and whenever we meet him face to face once more, we shall strike at him again. We would not be what we are, nor would we be your spokesmen, were we to limit ourselves merely to the domain of military action. *We are in fact at war with the Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships.* We are not interested simply in overthrowing Salazar by itself. We pursue a revolutionary aim: the reconstruction of Portuguese society on new bases. Owing to various circumstances there has never before been held out to the Portuguese people a hope and a future corresponding to their aspirations. We intend to take that step, which is decisive for all of us.

We know that no one fights for vague promises and beautiful words. Talk about liberty, equality and

fraternity solves nothing. For this reason we do not intend to fall into the same error as that made by those who reiterate principles and are fearful of irritating the dictator, and who take refuge behind vague formulas. We want a revolution, profound, authentic, total and humane.

It will have as its starting point the destruction of an iniquitous social order, and it will be based on agrarian reform and urban reform. Our watchword will be: land for those who till it and houses for those who dwell in them. We shall eliminate the great landed estates and speculation in building. We shall implacably destroy the privileges of the Portuguese plutocracy which divides men from birth into rich and poor.

We are far away from Lisbon and the dictator, but all of us are acting with the unshakable conviction that we shall enter the city as victors and implant there the Portuguese revolution of the twentieth century, the revolution which will also open the doors of the overseas colonies to freedom, progress and independence.

These are the words I have to say to you at this moment when the first military action taken by the forces under my command has come to a victorious conclusion. We are the nucleus of the future liberation army of Portugal and Spain.

February 2, 1961

## Three democrats visit the President

*On February 6 Mario de Azevedo Gomes, professor of agronomy and former Minister (before Salazar), and two lawyers, Dr Acacio Gouveia and Dr Eduardo de Figueireido, went to see the President of Portugal, Admiral Americo Tomas. We give below extracts from the communique later issued by them to the Portuguese democrats, as published in the Jornal de Comercio (Oporto) of February 8.*

WE told the President at the outset that our presence was to be regarded as representative . . . that we knew we were expressing a strong collective feeling and that [the democrats] were with us when we represented the masses of the Portuguese people . . .

We then said that it was our task to express the state of veritable alarm in which the country finds itself, and that it is only through fear—for so long a canker on Portuguese life—that this alarm does not at each step take a more visible form.

The profound unease to which we have been drawing attention for a long time is due, above all, to the subordination of all activity to the standards of a political system which is autocratic, repressive and deeply contemptuous of the fundamental liberties of citizens. This constant unease has been aggravated in recent months for reasons known to all . . . There have now been unleashed on Portugal, because of the state of affairs in the overseas territories, international

campaigns bringing the greatest discredit . . . When one goes deeply into the reasons for this discredit it is to be seen that apart from the invincible strength of new ideologies on the march, grave responsibility is certainly to be imputed to the colonial administration of latter years, to the imperialist emphasis of metropolitan action, to the belated reaction by which those responsible try to mend earlier errors—and it seems evident that they lack the authority for any announcement of reform.

At this point it was stated . . . that the Portuguese Press, in its contact with the public, breathes an atmosphere of lies; to judge of this it is only necessary to compare it with the free Press abroad. Moreover, official announcements themselves, on fundamental questions, do not give the country the whole truth. We may cite for example the decisions of the Hague Court in comparison with what the country was led to believe, and which does not correspond to the

authentic documents of which we have knowledge . . .

We then arrived at the case of . . . the *Santa Maria* . . . (a) There was the initiation of political revolt on national territory, led by a Portuguese, under the Portuguese flag; (b) This revolutionary political act was considered and treated as such by the foreign nations that intervened: above all there should be borne in mind the conduct of the American admiral who negotiated with the Portuguese revolutionary leader as equal to equal; (c) He and the other rebels being given political asylum totally confirms the political nature of the events; (d) If now, as one may deduce from the official communiqué, the government shows itself uninterested in the result, attributing international aspects to what has taken place, this does not in any way diminish the real seriousness of the event and does not in any way mitigate the loss of prestige which the government has sustained in this emergency.

## Cultural repression under Salazar

G. ARAUJO

WITH the exception of Franco's Spain, the repressive measures taken by the Salazar régime against intellectuals are virtually unprecedented in modern times in any country of western Europe. Occasional official statements to the contrary issued in the Portuguese Press, and sedulously voiced by the *Secretariado Nacional de Informacao* (SNI), are meant solely to hoodwink public opinion and to make out that Portugal abides by the Charter of the United Nations, of which she is a member. Let us examine the facts.

The *coup d'Etat* of May 28, 1926 that brought the fascists to power was followed by a short period of apparent tolerance which served to disguise the illiberal nature of the régime. As soon as Salazar felt the ground a little firmer under his feet he swooped on all journals and publications by establishing a censorship bureau. The censors dealt not only with the Press, but also with any other publications which might incur the government's disapproval. Like the secret police, the *Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* (PIDE), the censorship was liable, in an emergency, to come under the immediate and personal control of Prime Minister Salazar. Together with the *Inspeccao Geral dos Espectaculos*<sup>1</sup> it formed a most efficient apparatus of cultural repression, working through a vast network of provincial and local branches. Later it was to extend its powers to the colonies.

### Censorship in the theatre

The *Inspeccao Geral dos Espectaculos* decides the fate of films and plays; but it would be erroneous and misleading to compare its functions to those of the Lord Chamberlain in Britain. A play or film is seldom judged entirely on its ethical values. Its chances of being put before an audience depend on the critical

For lack of detailed news, we were only able to make a brief reference to the most recent happenings in Luanda. But we insisted that, at least, they constituted one more reason to increase the state of alarm and the public apprehensions whose acuteness we were making known to the head of the State.

Finally we ended with the following solemn declaration: that in the name of the many whom we knew and felt to be with us in this approach, we thought it our duty as Portuguese and patriots to call on the President of the Republic to give the nation immediately a government capable of inspiring confidence in the country, which would be free of responsibility for the present state of affairs, and in whose programme there would be, as the first condition of a healthy life, the restitution to the Portuguese of those fundamental liberties which are promised by the Constitution and which, outrageously, have been a dead letter among us.

reflection it may cast on the version of historical and current events concocted by fascist propaganda.

It would be a long and tedious task to list the plays by Portuguese and foreign authors which have been banned in one way or another by the censor. Here is one recent example. In 1960 Bertolt Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan* was included in the programme of a Brazilian company on an exchange visit to Portugal. After a tumultuous première at a Lisbon theatre, in which a few *agents provocateurs* were foiled in their attempt to wreck the performance, the *Inspeccao* intervened by suppressing the play at the last minute. In protest, the whole company staged a sit-down strike at the entrance to the playhouse, and were joined by the patrons who had turned up unaware of the ban. As a contrast to this ridiculous situation, let us recall that more or less at the same time Brecht's *Life of Galileo* was drawing big audiences at London's Mermaid Theatre, proving the success of the year.

When a playwright has been ostracized by the *Inspeccao* his works are also forbidden to appear in print. That has been the fate of Brecht's plays. Although tireless efforts have been made by a few publishers, permission has been repeatedly refused by the censor.

### Censorship of the Press

The censorship of books and periodicals seeks to be less clumsy in its methods, though no less rigorous in its effects. The launching of a new journal is hampered by all sorts of restrictions, which range from the necessity to deposit a large sum in cash with the authorities to special guarantees that the prospective editor must give about his political views and those of his staff. Long lists of names have to be drawn up. Yet finally the whole project has almost always to be abandoned.

One of the advantages of this method lies in the absence of any publicity against the régime, and against the censorship itself, thus helping maintain the fatherly image of a benevolent dictator. In this quiet way many a good and interesting project has been prevented from coming to anything. Quite recently the idea of an independent daily aiming at a large circulation, which was to have come out under the joint editorship of two well-known writers, J. Cardoso Pires and Castro Soromenho, had to be dropped owing to pressure by the censorship.

Together with this unobtrusive control of the Press that might be, the censorship hounds the Press that is by supervising all the news<sup>2</sup> and leading articles. Galley proofs must be submitted to the censor at very short notice; then, at his discretion, the text will be expurgated or abridged. This entails tremendous financial losses to the owners of the newspapers, who end up by demanding a self-imposed censorship from their staffs. Moreover no blank spaces are allowed to appear in the newspapers as published. At the same time, no daily paper is allowed to appear without the infamous tag: '*Visado pela Comissao de Censura*' ('Approved by the Censorship Committee'). Occasionally, when the censor has second thoughts about his own revision, or if he suspects that he has been outwitted by an author, the newspaper in question is promptly seized and withdrawn from the book-stalls. Literary journals of high merit, *O Diabo* (1941), *Sol Nascente* (1940), and *Mundo Literario* (1948), as well as a newspaper with a broad coverage of cultural activities, *Sol*, have all been forced to discontinue publication in this way.

### The banning of books

Having succeeded in gagging the Press and distorting public opinion, Salazar had now only to curb the will of the creative writer. By law no typescript of a book need be sent to the censor before publication. But whenever any work annoys the authorities, it is promptly impounded, together with any foreign books that enter the country and are considered unsuitable. The damage done to Portuguese letters has been tragic. Authors, their creative freedom impaired, feel dispirited and frustrated, and give up projects that could be a remarkable contribution to Portuguese thought.

Antonio Sergio's *History of Portugal*, banned immediately after its publication, was left unfinished; this is one of the most blatant cases of the castrating influences of the censorship. Sergio is one of the most distinguished Portuguese thinkers, a lively essayist and a man of integrity, whose work enjoys in Portugal a popularity comparable to that of Bertrand Russell in Britain. The first volume of his *History*, which was intended as a sociological introduction to a vast subject, has been held in high esteem and, in the opinion of the author himself, might have been his major work.

The seizure of books has become an ordinary occurrence in the Portuguese literary scene.<sup>3</sup> Not even writers of fiction could escape the closely-knit net of the censor's suspicious scrutiny of their work. The poet Jose Regio, a Catholic, had his novel *Jogo da Cabra Cega* banned in 1934. Carlos de Oliveira, a novelist of repute, saw his second book *Alcateia* (1944) suppressed; Virgilio Ferreira's *Vagao J.* followed suit in 1946. Next J. Cardoso Pires, a short-story

writer, fell into disgrace, and his unsophisticated *Historias de Amor* was banned.

The publishers began to fear seriously for their businesses, and consequently started to seek advice from the censor about any new typescript. Ferreira de Castro, a novelist translated into fourteen languages, had his work refused and was obliged to throw a book together to fulfil his contract with the publishers. The result, *Tempestade*, was one of his less significant books.

### The case of Aquilino Ribeiro

In 1959 Aquilino Ribeiro, a septuagenarian, a respected citizen and an honoured writer selected as one of the Portuguese candidates for the Nobel prize for literature, became the target of the censor's hatred. Aquilino Ribeiro has been writing for more than fifty years on his native province of Beira, whose peasants he understands as no one else in the country. They are honest and hard-working people, who form one of our greatest contingents of emigrants to Brazil. Very few succeed in making the money that would enable them to own a small house and a patch of land. Those who return have to face the humiliation of defeat, and start all over again in a community that pities them. To their private miseries they have to add those faced by a whole village, when the government enforces the expropriation of communal ground on the *serra* (the mountain). From time immemorial they have used part of the *serra* for grazing their cattle and gathering wood for the family fire. Once they are deprived of it, without any compensation, they rise in impotent anger against the tommy-guns of the dictator's troops.<sup>4</sup>

Against this realistic background, and exploring an incident which had already been the subject of outstanding Sicilian and other Italian novels, Aquilino Ribeiro evolved the plot of *Quando os Lobos Uivam* (*When the Wolves Howl*). Obviously he did not intend to write a political tract, but a work of art blending reality and imagination in his exuberant style. At the same time he was continuing the humanist tradition of all great literature by denouncing a blatant injustice and making a generous plea for the social betterment of destitute peasants.

But truth, even in the realms of fiction, is galling to the régime, and the old story was repeated all over again. The book was impounded by the censor<sup>5</sup> and the author committed for trial on the charge of 'aiming at the discredit of the régime' (*desacreditar as instituicoes vigentes*). In his defence, which was smuggled out of Portugal and published in Brazil,<sup>6</sup> Aquilino turned the tables upon his accusers and made a complete indictment of the dictatorship. Drawing largely on the proceedings of the 1959 congress of the *Uniao Nacional* (Salazar's own party and the only one allowed to exist legally) he proved that economic reality surpassed by far any literary imaginings. His fellow-candidate for the Nobel prize, Miguel Torga, who has known imprisonment in the fascist jails, and who had his play *Sinfonia* banned in 1947, saw also his latest book *Diario* (8th volume, 1960) confiscated for three days.

The recent so-called amnesty for political prisoners was simply a fraud, which proved to be an excellent way of saving face when an embarrassed and harassed government extended it to a writer who was still on bail awaiting trial. Thus the government avoided

the scandal of the trial of Aquilino Ribeiro. The ban on the novel, however, has not been lifted.

### Fascism versus the intellectuals

Other measures of coercion and social pressure have also been exerted against recalcitrant intellectuals who voice their protest against, or their disagreement with, the fascist authorities. The list of academics, scientists, research workers and artists who have been deprived of teaching posts, or of the necessary means to pursue their professions, is endless. The nation has been systematically and ruthlessly robbed of its best brains. Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, lecturer at the Faculty of Arts in Lisbon, is one of the recent victims (1959). But earlier, thanks to the great purge of 1945, many academics have had to eke out a living in ordinary occupations far removed from their field of research. Rodrigues Lapa, Pulido Valente, Fernando da Fonseca, Antonio Aniceto Monteiro, Jose Morgado, Ferreira de Macedo, Bento Caraca, Mario Silva, Marques da Silva and Antonio Jose Saraiva: all were dismissed by Salazar from teaching posts which they had held with exceptional brilliance. Some of them, seeing all roads blocked inside Portugal for the pursuit of their research, accepted invitations from foreign universities, and have emigrated, only to add new distinction to the country of their adoption. Rui Luis Gomes, an eminent mathematician, is at present in Argentina; Dr Zaluar Nunes sought refuge in Brazil; Professor Manuel Valadares, a disciple of Mme Curie and a physicist of merit, is now director of one of the most important nuclear establishments in France.

Sheer brutality and violence, in the most sadistic Hitlerite fashion, were also used against the distinguished scientist Dr Abel Salazar, who saw his laboratory raided and literally smashed up by the fascist thugs of PIDE. Alfredo Caldeira, head of the *Academia Nacional das Belas Artes*, was deported to the concentration camp of Tarrafal, where he died in 1938.

A long and dismal trail of suffering and obscurantism is all that the *Estado Novo* has to show for thirty-five years of despotic rule. Not satisfied with refusing to spend enough on education, it has purged the teaching forces of the country of their best people and stamped out any form of criticism. Polemics, debates or letters to the editor are features unknown in Portuguese intellectual life. In a controversy, any bibliographical references which may smack of rationalism are bound to suggest to the PIDE that the author's views are . . . unsound. When the time comes, under some pretext or other, a search will take place at a suspected address, and if any forbidden books are found on the shelves they will be confiscated. Maria Archer, a writer and now a political exile in Brazil, had her home searched by the PIDE in an attempt to confiscate a manuscript.

A few authors have rewritten passages of their own work in order to make it more palatable to the censor's taste. At times, constant protests from the writers and public condemnation have compelled the censors to reverse a decision. But it is not very often that they change their minds.

The régime has to admit it has failed to build a fascist culture of any significance. Funds have been amply supplied by Salazar to help a philosophical journal that teaches scholasticism (*Revista de Filosofia*) and a fascist magazine (*Tempo Presente*) published by Salazar's sycophants, who openly slander the democratic writers and seek to besmirch their reputation. In Portugal there is neither a libel law nor permission to print rationalist or humanist journals. The *Vertice* is a lonely exception, but the censor emasculates or suppresses any adverse criticism in it.

Aware of this intellectual vacuum, Salazar included in his exhibition of thirty years of culture under the *Estado Novo*, held in 1956 in the premises of the SNI in Lisbon, a list of journals he had suppressed and books whose authors he had dismissed from teaching posts. In a document signed by progressive intellectuals unwillingly represented in the exhibition, who were indignant about the dictator's hypocrisy, it was pointed out that their literary and scientific output had been possible not owing to but in spite of Salazar, and in the teeth of his government's fierce opposition.

- <sup>1</sup> By Decree 17046A (July 29, 1929) Salazar changed the *Inspeccao Geral dos Teatros*, created on May 6, 1927, into *Inspeccao Geral dos Espectaculos* and transferred it from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of the Interior. This move ensured a stronger grip on political and cultural activities.
- <sup>2</sup> Salazar has created a Portuguese news agency, ANI (*Agencia Nacional de Informacao*), which is staffed by staunch supporters of the 'New State.' ANI's mission is to filter foreign news and supply its own, properly angled and selected, to all the national newspapers.
- <sup>3</sup> The repressive action of the censorship and the fascist nature of the regime have been denounced by foreign intellectuals. One of the most recent contributions in English is Benjamin de Mott's article, 'Glossing a Portuguese Diary,' *Hudson Review*, vol. xiii, no. 2, pp. 261-9, 1960. See also 'Under Pressure in Portugal,' *The Times Literary Supplement*, August 16, 1957.
- <sup>4</sup> The concentration or monopoly of the land in the hands of a minority is one of the main causes of the impoverishment of the peasantry. Between 1938 and 1951, according to data in the archives of the *Registo Predial*, more than half-a-million small farms were incorporated in big estates. Cf. A. Ramos 'Some Problems Facing the Salazar Government,' *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, vol. i, no. 1, pp. 2-3, February, 1961.
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. Benjamin de Mott, *op. cit.*
- <sup>6</sup> Aquilino Ribeiro, *Quando os Lobos Julgam a Justica Uiva* (Sao Paulo, n.d. [1960]). This contains the full text of the indictment.

# Mozambique: the curtain of silence is tearing

Marvin Harris, *Portugal's African 'Wards': a First-hand Report on Labor and Education in Mozambique* (Africa Today Pamphlets, 2. New York: American Committee on Africa, Inc., 1958. 36 pages. 50 cents.)

ONE of the most illuminating studies yet available in English on conditions in the Portuguese east African colony of Mozambique is this work by Professor Harris. The author, who is an assistant professor in the department of anthropology at Columbia University, spent nearly a year in Mozambique from June 1956 to May 1957 conducting research into Portuguese influence on the cultural transformation of African peoples.

After his experiences in Brazil he 'went to Mozambique fully expecting to encounter a system of race relations which would contrast strongly with the policies of the Union of South Africa'. Instead he found that there were striking similarities. Nowhere did he see 'Europeans Only' signs, but segregation was more effectively enforced by economic barriers. When a bus ride in Lourenco Marques costs a quarter of an African's daily wages, when cinemas, football matches, restaurants and hotels are all too expensive for Africans, it is no wonder that they are not to be seen in such places.

'There is no need for establishing native "locations" as in the Union: perfect residential segregation follows automatically from urban zoning laws and rents'. And the African quarter is quite safe at night for Europeans because a curfew keeps all Africans indoors after nine o'clock.

Today the curtain of silence around Mozambique has begun to tear apart; and doubtless the emergence of a Mozambique African National Union, announced in Nairobi on February 12, will help to tear it down altogether. The author of this brief work managed to get behind the curtain and to emerge again with facts about the state of near-slavery which has at last driven one more colonial people to fight back. And much of what Harris found in Mozambique is equally applicable to Angola.

First device to control the six million 'natives' of Mozambique is the pass-book, which all adult males and all employed boys and employed women must carry. Travel — which requires permission — em-

ployment details and taxes paid are all recorded there, and a duplicate is kept by the authorities. Second device is corporal punishment, applicable summarily for the most minor discourtesy to a European. Third is the threat of banishment to the equatorial island of Sao Tome.

Forced labour, Harris says, has gone on in Portuguese east Africa since the nineteenth century. Known as the *shibalo* system, it was banned by law. But the ban does not alter the fact that the law also provides that anyone found 'idle' may be pressed into work for the State. And 'today in Mozambique,' says Harris, 'all active male *indigenas* [natives] between the ages of 18 and 55 years are presumed to be "idle" unless they can prove the contrary'.

Only a handful are able to provide this legal proof. It is this State-operated forced labour system—at a wage ranging from five to two dollars a month—which backs forced labour for private concerns. Anything is better than forced employment by the State; and a contract from a private employer is proof of 'non-idleness'. Harris quotes official sources to show that 90,000 male agricultural workers were privately employed in 1953. Their wages were slightly less than 1s. 3d. per day worked.

But forced labour in Mozambique is by no means the whole story: its very existence forces 'not merely 100,000 workers, but the overwhelming majority of Mozambique's African males, to participate in the European economy on terms which are deeply injurious to native welfare, but highly lucrative for the Europeans, especially in the neighbouring territories'.

This last phrase introduces the worst crime of the Portuguese colonialists—and the real reason why South Africa is Portugal's best friend in the United Nations. For not merely are tens of thousands of Mozambique Africans supplied to the Rand and Rhodesian mines under international agreements, but tens of thousands more 'clandestine' migrants are virtually forced there to escape from the harsher conditions at home. The author gives a wealth of detailed information from official sources about this vicious traffic which is steadily depopulating southern Mozambique.

P. McG.

## Sick prisoners denied treatment

ILL - TREATMENT of political prisoners in Portugal has been intensified in recent weeks. Visits and food parcels from relatives have been suspended, and sick prisoners have been deprived of supplementary rations prescribed by prison doctors.

Seriously ill women prisoners who are being refused treatment include Dr Maria Luiza Costa Dias Soares, Maria Angela Vidal, Maria da Piedade Gomes dos Santos, Sofia Ferreira and Luiza and Aida Paulo.

Another woman, Dr. Candida Ventura, was at the point of death before the police permitted her transfer to hospital from Caxias prison.

Francisco Miguel, whose health has been ruined by more than 20 years in jail, is once more in danger. He was imprisoned in July 1960, six months after his escape from the Peniche fort.

Recently he was put for 30 days in one of the prison dungeons, whose walls are running with water. Dozens more sick prisoners are being similarly treated.

## Speechless quartet

Four members of the Portuguese embassy staff were among the audience at a public meeting on Salazarism in London on February 13.

During the discussion that followed the speakers' denunciation of the regime the only argument any of them could muster was the familiar one of the 'chaos that existed under the Republic'. But there was no reply when one of the speakers pointed out that the conspiracies which had shaken the 1910-26 Republic were all the work of the men who afterwards brought Salazar to power.

# PROGRAMME FOR ANGOLA

(Cont. from front page)

The liberation front would call on the peoples of the world to support its cause.

The **LONG-TERM PROGRAMME** describes in detail the kind of government the Movement wants to see in an independent Angola.

Such a government would review Angola's position in the foreign treaties, agreements and alliances to which Portugal has committed the country.

Equality and mutual help between the various ethnic groups of Angola would be guaranteed and attempts to divide the Angolan people would be forbidden.

The new government would encourage the return of those hundreds of Angolans who have been forced by colonial conditions to leave the country.

Where regions are densely populated by a particular national minority with distinctive characteristics, they would have the right to autonomy.

Each nationality or ethnic group would have the right to use and develop its own language, create its own script and preserve and renew its cultural heritage.

Economic, social and cultural ties would be created and developed among all the autonomous regions and nationalities of Angola. There would be freedom for all Angolan citizens to travel throughout their country.

An entire section is devoted to relations with the rest of Africa. It declares the Movement's solidarity with all African peoples fighting for independence, and in particular those who are fighting elsewhere in Africa against Portuguese colonialism.

The Movement supports unity of all the peoples of the African continent on the basis of mutual respect, and will also support eventual union of African States, carried out by democratic and peaceful means, on the basis of the freely expressed popular will.

## CIVIL LIBERTIES

The usual democratic guarantees of civil liberties are set out for the new political system, but the vote is to be given to citizens as soon as they reach the age of eighteen years, although they will not be able to stand for election until they are twenty-one.

An Assembly of the People of Angola is envisaged, which would draft a political Constitution and nominate a coalition government.

The State apparatus is to be Africanized; but the personal rights of all law-abiding foreigners will be guaranteed in accordance with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

The transformation of Angola into a modern industrial country will be undertaken on the basis of a planned economy. Agricultural productivity is to be stepped up and the gradual mechanization of rural work under-

taken. The single-crop system of cultivation will be abolished.

The State will establish its own commercial and industrial enterprises and will encourage both production and distributive co-operatives. Heavy industry and consumer goods industries will be established.

Protection will be given to private commerce and industry. But the privileges of Portuguese and other foreign companies will be ended—although foreign concerns which conform to the new laws will be protected.

## AGRARIAN REFORM

Foreign trade will be controlled entirely by the State. Angola's so-called debt to Portugal will be reviewed and measures taken to reduce Angola's trade deficit.

The present taxation system will be abolished and replaced by a new, just and simple system of levying taxes.

An agrarian reform will be carried out, which will end private monopoly in agricultural production and will nationalize land belonging to enemies of the independence movement and traitors and proven enemies of the independent Angolan State.

A limit will be placed on the area of privately-owned land. Peasants who have either no land or not enough will be given land.

Forced labour will be ended forthwith, and trade unions and workers' organizations protected.

An eight-hour day will be established, and laws will be passed for the protection of labour. The State will fix a minimum wage, and there will be equal pay for equal work.

Churches, places of worship and all legal religious institutions will be protected.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Women will be equal with men before the law; they will be guaranteed the same rights in every sphere.

The State will establish a comprehensive social security service.

The programme provides for basic reform in education. There will be a campaign against illiteracy; higher education will be extended, especially in the field of technical studies.

Foreign military bases will be abolished and a national defence army, run on democratic lines, will be organized.

Diplomatic relations will be established with all foreign countries on the basis of mutual respect and equality.

The United Nations Charter will be respected. The new Angola will belong to no military bloc.

There will be a policy of special good neighbourly relations with adjoining African countries.

## 'WE WISH THEM COMPLETE SUCCESS'

**A**TTITUDE of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola towards the seizure of the 'Santa Maria' was made clear in a statement by the Movement's president, Mario de Andrade, at a Press conference in Conakry, capital of the Republic of Guinea, on January 27.

Stressing that the action of Captain Henrique Galvao and his companions was in no way an act of piracy, Mario de Andrade declared that it was the prelude to a series of actions directed against the dictatorship which had ruled Portugal for over thirty years.

'We can only wish complete success', he went on, 'to steps taken by the Portuguese democrats with the aim of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship—our common enemy.'

## THEIR ARDENT DESIRE

'As regards an eventual landing of the "Santa Maria" in Angola, we are waiting for Captain Galvao to define his position towards the Angolan liberation movement, and towards the right to self-determination of the peoples colonized by Portugal, so that we may then assume our own responsibilities.'

Replying to certain Press reports, the Movement also made clear that the development of its own struggle for the ending of Portuguese colonial-

ism is independent of General Delgado's plan of operation for the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship.

Nevertheless, the Movement 'ardently desires' the success of this and all other attempts to create a democratic regime in Portugal.

**PIPE.** A pipeline is to be built from Beira, Mozambique, to Southern Rhodesia. A trust with U.S. participation is planning to build a refinery there. (Petroleum Times, January 13.)

**CONDEMNED.** The Pan-African Conference of Liberation Movements, held in Nairobi on January 14, strongly condemned Portuguese colonialism.

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