

# Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin

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## GOA ARMY AND POLICE ON THE ALERT

Patrols, searches and arrests

From Our Correspondent, Goa, May 1961.

**F**OLLOWING the raids by the Commandos of Azad Volunteers Corps at Betim and Keri, in May 1961, the Portuguese authorities in Goa are in such panic that they have seized all arms and ammunition owned by private citizens and confiscated their gun licences. They have also restricted the stock of explosives in possession of mining concerns lest it falls into the hands of the underground nationalist forces. Arms and ammunition merchant "Goncalves and Companhia" have also been threatened with dire consequences if any material from this establishment reaches the underground workers.

Intensive searches are made in Keri, Sanquelim, Morlem Hond and other places. Movement of people, particularly in border areas, has been restricted, about 20 jeeps patrol the border at night, police in plain clothes are also moving near the ferries and motor-car stands. If they suspect a person he is immediately taken to the police station for interrogation. Assembly of five or more persons in cities like Vasco da Gama, Mapuca and Margao is restricted. The police approach such persons and question them. If no satisfactory answer is given they are taken to the police station for verification.

### DESERTED STREETS

Any person found on the road after 8 o'clock at night is also taken to the police station for interrogation. Consequently streets are almost deserted at nights.

It is also learnt that the Government of Goa have issued confidential orders to open fire on any persons found moving under suspicious circumstances at night or running away in spite of the police order to halt near the border.

Two armoured cars have been stationed at Belly on Polem Road. Numbers of all cars going to or coming from Polem are taken down. All cars found moving after sunset are searched. Every public building in Panjim is kept under close watch and people are not permitted to loiter around them. Old reservists and retired police and army personnel are being called back on duty.

Ferries and bridges at Sanquerim, Corjuem, Assonora, Colem and Shirsai are guarded at each end by five policemen, one of whom is a white Portuguese. Four Catholic ferry-men were arrested recently by the police on suspicion that they have allowed the Commandos to cross the river at night after their attack on Betim Post. Another person who reported that he had seen 15 to 16 persons crossing the border near Maulinguem in the early

hours of April 26 was also taken to the police station for interrogation. The police have detained him for days to extract information.

It is learnt that the Portuguese authorities are thinking of closing some posts close to the Indian border owing to the difficulty to guard them adequately.

On the other hand the Goa Commandos are determined to strike whenever they have the opportunity. I had the opportunity of visiting one of their underground hideouts and saw how insistent they were to cause damage to Portuguese morale before moon sets in.

### DEATH OF A NATIONALIST

I also attended in a village in Bicholim Taluka the funeral of Manohar Krishna Pednekar who died on 13th instant as a result of injuries sustained during the successful ambush of a large column of jeeps at Morlem recently. In this ambush four white army officers were killed and several others injured.

## London Public Meeting

A meeting organised by the Council for Freedom in Portugal and Colonies took place on June 16th at the Central Hall, Westminster. A large audience was present. Manuella Sykes, Rev. Parsons, Barbara Castle, Basil Davidson and A. Wedgwood-Benn dealt in particular with the situation in Angola and Sacuntala de Miranda also referred to the police repression in Portugal. A group of employees from the Portuguese Embassy and Portuguese official agencies in London attempted several times to break up the meeting, but had to leave when the meeting objected to their disorderly behaviour.

## Foreign Support for Salazar Regime

It is a well-known fact that Salazar could not wage a war in Angola but for the foreign support his policy receives. Portugal has no heavy industry or armaments industry; it is NATO arms which are being fired in Angola. The following recent news items bear this out: It has been announced that President Americo Tomas of Portugal will visit Madrid sometime in October to meet Franco. ("Diario de Lisboa," 21-3-1961.)

In the Commons on May 17th, Mr. Denis Healey (Labour) criticized the Government for sending the frigate Leopard having on board the chief commander of the South zone, Vice-Admiral Copeman, on a goodwill mission to Angola. Mr. Healey was appalled by stories of mass shootings and casual murder that he had learnt from English missionaries just returned from the colony. Mr. Healey said also "Unless the Portuguese Government changes its policy in Angola, NATO may well have to decide as the Commonwealth did in the case of South Africa, that the military advantages of Portuguese membership are not worth the political disadvantages of her membership. (From the daily press.)

On the 8th April there took place in Lisbon a meeting of the Permanent Commission of MPs from NATO countries. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 6-4-61.)

An official mission of the Ministry of the Army headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Luis Ramires, arrived in London on the 15th April. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 16-4-61.)

Eighty-four pupils from the industrial college of the U.S. Armed

Owing to the lateness of this Bulletin it should be regarded as covering the months of June and July.

All material in this Bulletin may be reprinted. The publishers would be grateful for acknowledgement when this is done.

Forces visited Army installations in Lisbon at the end of April. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 22-4-61.)

Cardinal Traglia, General Pro-Vicar of the Pope for the Government of Rome and President of the Commission for the Higher Direction of the Italian Catholic Action, took a leading part in the Fatima celebrations in Portugal. Addressing himself to the pilgrims he referred to the "Portuguese soldiers that at this moment serve God and the Fatherland in the Overseas territories" and declared that "There can not be any neutrals in this fight." ("Diario de Lisboa," 13-5-61.)

Mr. John Epstein, general secretary of the NATO Association and director of the "British Society for Understanding," visited Portugal recently and held conferences at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the

(continued on back page)

# Life and Health in Portugal

By A. Ramos

**T**HE standard of living of the Portuguese is the lowest in Europe, as was previously documented.<sup>1</sup> The net individual income in Portugal was, in 1954, 176 U.S. dollars, as against 1,017 in Sweden and 788 in the United Kingdom. This very low income of the population is reflected in the conditions of housing, nutrition and health.

## HOUSING

According to recent official sources<sup>2</sup> there existed in Portugal 350,125 families in need of re-housing. Of these 2,592 were homeless, 2,853 lived in buildings or parts of buildings not intended for human habitation, 193,234 families lived in single rooms shared with other families and 140,850 families composed of 3 to 10 or more persons, also lived in single rooms. There is also mention of a number of wealthy families occupying dwellings of 15 rooms or more.

According to a well-known Salazar supporter, Professor Almeida Garrett<sup>3</sup> a yearly rate of construction of 20,000 dwellings is necessary taking into consideration the increase in population in order to achieve the rehousing of those 350,000 families in 20 years time.

How easy is it for those in need to get new buildings? In Lisbon from 1949 to 1961 the level of rents increased by 93.2 per cent.<sup>4</sup> But for the people of Lisbon from 1948 to 1960 salaries increased by only 30 per cent.<sup>5</sup>; and in 1959 only 1,426 dwellings at cheap rents were built in the whole of Portugal.<sup>6</sup>

In the countryside, where 68.9 per cent. of the population live, the housing situation is appalling. Let us hear statements by some Salazar supporters: "The standard of living of our farm workers is terribly low. . . . In their miserable shacks—of sombre aspect, with precarious roofs, single roomed, with no floor . . ." <sup>7</sup> "Months and months of unemployment, hunger and cold persist."<sup>8</sup> Referring to the conditions of housing for peasants in the regions where big landlords predominate, Dr Matos Gomes, another Salazar supporter, wrote in 1956: "In the Ribatejo, the dwelling is called 'mota,' . . . without a minimum of hygiene or comfort, without security against the weather and the floods. In the Sado the dwellings are 'cabanas,' in conditions even more primitive than the huts of the Africans. In the Tagus and Sado and all over the Alentejo the migrating populations are housed together in 'quarters,' sleeping either on the floor or on soiled straw mats or on hard beds without mattresses."<sup>9</sup>

## NUTRITION

In Portugal the level of individual caloric intake for 1950-51 stood at 2,465 calories, as against the desirable 3,000 minimum, 75 per cent. of the proteins are of vegetable origin.<sup>10</sup> According to F.A.O. statistics for 1954-55 this caloric intake is the lowest in Europe and equals that of Tunisia and the then Belgian Congo.<sup>1</sup> Only 20 grams of animal protein are taken daily per inhabitant as against 60 grams in Sweden.<sup>11</sup> Daily intake of milk per inhabitant is 33 ml.<sup>12</sup>—the recommended minimum is 15 times higher. Even in Lisbon only a third of the milks is pasteurized.<sup>13</sup>

These few figures are sufficient to give an idea of the actual conditions of chronic starvation endured by

the majority of the Portuguese people. In the countryside standard diets of bread, potatoes and vegetables are the rule. Deficiency diseases like pelagra, nowadays a rarity in Europe, are still a common occurrence in some parts of Portugal.

## HEALTH

It is not surprising that, having to endure the conditions above referred to, the standard of health of the Portuguese is very low. The following are some of the most important problems concerning health in Portugal.

### Infant Mortality

In 1957 among 34 countries of the whole world Portugal occupied the 32nd place, having, with 88 deaths per 1,000 live born, the highest figure for Europe.<sup>14</sup> The decrease in this mortality rate in relation to 1921-1925 was lower than in 30 other countries. In 1925, a year before the military coup d'état that eventually put Salazar in power, infant mortality was lower than in Czechoslovakia, Japan, Singapore, Hungary or Ceylon: after 32 years of Salazar's rule it became higher than in any of those countries and more than twice the rate in the first three.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the régime's position regarding this major problem is epitomised in the words of one of its supporters: "I consider utopic any ambition to reduce our infant mortality rate to a low level . . . This impossibility is imposed upon us by conditions which are a part of the structure and character of the population . . . which is very prolific . . . I think it is only possible to look for the reduction of the mortality rate to a moderate level, 50 or 60 deaths per 1,000 live born."<sup>15</sup> This was written in 1952 and even then the hopes of this enlightened defender of a paternalistic and beneficent rule proved too high, as 8 years later infant mortality in Portugal was practically the same, 5 times higher than in Sweden, 4 times higher than in Switzerland.

### Maternal Mortality

In 1958 this was the second highest in Europe, after that of Malta (12.1 per 10,000 births).<sup>16</sup>

With reference to these two categories it is stated that "it would be possible to save 10 to 15,000 lives every year; there is no kind of assistance available for from 60 to 70 per cent. of all deliveries for 43 per cent. of all fatal illnesses during the first year of life and for 62 per cent. during the first month."<sup>17</sup>

### Infectious and parasitic diseases

It has been in the control of these diseases that spectacular results have been achieved all over the world. But in 1957 among 21 countries, Portugal occupied the last place but one, regarding mortality rates for such diseases.<sup>18</sup>

Starting with *Tuberculosis*, the death rate in Portugal is the highest in Europe (58.4 per 100,000 of the population), and outside Europe is only surpassed by that of the coloured population of South Africa and of Hong-Kong.<sup>18</sup> For *Diphtheria*, the death rate was in 1957 the highest in Europe.<sup>18</sup> For *Typhoid Fever* and *Whooping Cough* the death rates were in 1957 the second highest in Europe.<sup>18</sup>

Diseases like *Anthrax* (with the third highest rela-

tive number of cases in the world<sup>19</sup>), *Trachoma*, or *Leprosy*, characteristic of countries with a very low standard of hygiene are still quite frequent in Portugal.

The number of deaths from *Tetanus* in relation to the total population was in 1958 the second highest in Europe.<sup>19</sup> One of the factors that contributes most to the mortality rate from this disease in Portugal is the occurrence of wounds in barefooted people. Great numbers of peasants cannot afford to buy shoes. In the towns this situation is "met" by Salazar with instructions to the police to impose fines on people who walk barefooted in the streets.

#### Medical services and the medical profession

The medical profession has great traditions in Portugal. Its members, people like Garcia de Orta, Amatus Lusitano, Sousa Martins, Camara Pestana, Ricardo Jorge, Miguel Bombarda, are outstanding figures in the History of Medicine in Portugal. As in other fields of science and culture, the Salazar régime brought to the medical profession many hardships and prosecutions.

Egas Monis, who in 1948 won the Nobel prize for Medicine, was a well-known oppositionist to the régime and had to carry on his works under the most difficult conditions. Professors like Abel Salazar, Pulido Valente, Fernando Fonseca, Cascao de Ancaes, and Dias Amado, who had greatly improved the standard of teaching and raised the scientific level of their Faculties and principally of the Faculty of Medicine of Lisbon, were dismissed from their posts by the Salazar government, their only crime being their peaceful opposition to the régime.

In Portugal, State forms of medical assistance exist side by side with the predominant private clinical practice. This has brought a lowering of the standards for both types of clinical practice, many practitioners having to have more than one job to survive. Unemployment among doctors is quite high. Recently qualified physicians are paid for their hospital appointments the sum of approximately 10 pounds a month.

Due to the lack of facilities and bad economic prospects in the countryside, there is a tendency towards a concentration of doctors in the towns. On an average there is in Portugal one doctor per 1,386 inhabitants, which is one of the four lowest rates for the European countries. But in Lisbon there is one doctor per 366 inhabitants in contrast to several rural districts with one doctor per more than three thousand inhabitants.<sup>20</sup> Some rural practitioners have to attend populations of 15,000 inhabitants.<sup>21</sup>

Although the Government has built some big, modern hospitals in the three main towns—which impress visitors and tourists—the number of hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants was 52 in 1959, while in 1951 it was 80 in Italy, 112 in France, 117 in the United Kingdom. In the North of the country out of 12,200 mental patients there are 7,000 waiting for admission to hospital<sup>22</sup> and in the country there are more than 60 mental patients kept in jail.<sup>21</sup> Taking into consideration the importance of assistance to pregnant mothers and to newborn children it is really baffling to realize that from 1955 to 1959 the number of beds available in maternity hospitals decreased from 1,790 to 623<sup>23</sup> while the rates of infant and maternal mortality remained almost constant.

It is not surprising after all these data to verify that an average of 20 per cent. of the deaths of Portu-

guese people occur without medical assistance, the percentage rising to 80 per cent. and more in some regions.<sup>21</sup>

#### The medical practitioners fight

Bearing in mind all these facts, proud of the traditions of their past, conscious that there is no lack of drugs in the country—during 1959 alone drugs to the value of three million three hundred thousand pounds were imported, which contributed considerably to the foreign trade deficit—Portuguese doctors decided to conduct in their Medical Association — *Ordem dos Medicos*—a firm fight for better conditions for themselves and for the health of the Portuguese people.

In July 1958, 700 doctors met in Lisbon and decided to prepare a report on their precarious situation and on health problems in Portugal. The following year, in another meeting with even bigger attendance, a report was presented, whose general issues were unanimously approved and its proposed solutions also approved by a large majority. In Oporto and Coimbra large meetings also took place and local reports were elaborated. Finally, thanks to the joint efforts of the three sections of the Medical Association, a joint report was published<sup>20 21</sup> this year. This constitutes a major achievement for the medical profession because manoeuvres from the government and opposition from reactionary sections of the profession had to be dealt with. The report is in itself the most complete and up-to-date analysis of the health problems in Portugal, advancing in its 227 pages a number of concrete solutions for those same problems.

An old claim of Portuguese doctors was the creation of a Ministry of Health as an important element in the struggle against human diseases in the country. Faced with a growing movement that carried strong criticism of the official health policy, the Salazar Government appointed, as Minister of Health, Dr H. Martins de Carvalho, just one month after the big Lisbon Medical meeting of July 1958. The new minister is a career diplomat, with a great experience within NATO and the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.); he was also one of the defenders of the Portuguese position in Goa, at the Hague International Court. The creation of the Ministry of Health was in a way a victory for the medical profession, but was also a deliberate attempt by the Government to break the impetus of the doctors' claims through the action of a shrewd and clever politician. However, the medical profession have, with just a few exceptions, kept their unity over the most important issues, and a slowing of the pace of their struggle was only apparent in the last months. The unfortunate decision of the General Council of *Ordem dos Medicos*, in January this year giving support to the Government in their "actions to face the international campaign that is waged against the Portuguese Government regarding the colonial problems" can be explained by the difficulty of public discussions on these problems in Portugal, due to absence of democratic liberties there. This creates all over the country an atmosphere of fear, ignorance and distrust, favourable to the maintenance of the old myths of a beneficent Portuguese colonial policy.

#### The auxillary medical professions

In 1956 Portugal had one nurse for 2,373 inhabitants while in Denmark there was one nurse for 253 inhabitants—which is more than 9 times higher a

proportion—Ireland one for 284 inhabitants and in Holland one for 400 inhabitants.<sup>24</sup>

One of the reasons for the shortage of nurses in Portugal — there are less Portuguese nurses than doctors—is the fact that nursing is one of the worst paid professions and as well as that nurses have to accept the rule of not marrying.

Medical technicians have not a definite status, they are scarce and their wages are low.

#### Medical research

From what has been said one would not really expect a high standard of medical research in the country. That is true. But, it has been a characteristic of the Portuguese people throughout the centuries that, in spite of the unfavourable social conditions, their contribution to mankind's common cultural and scientific wealth has not been negligible. Research workers like Carlos Franca, Pereira da Silva, Athias, Reinaldo dos Santos and Nobel prize-winner Egas Moniz, have produced worthwhile scientific work. All of them—deceased with the exception of dos Santos—had to carry out their work without any Governmental support.

Today with the intention of impressing visitors and international bodies, the Salazar Government has built some modern laboratories and purchased a considerable amount of costly foreign equipment. But most of these attempts have only resulted in good business for private firms, as the material is not adequately used through lack of properly trained and paid personnel.<sup>21</sup> The reasons are that the Salazar Government is not interested in pursuing a policy of developing cultural and scientific values in the country,<sup>25</sup> as this would turn into the interest of the Portuguese people which it opposes.

A foundation subsidized by the huge profits from the Irakian oil, the C. Gulbenkian Foundation, is now in operation in Portugal. Its chairman is Dr Azeredo Perdigao, who recently made part of a delegation of Portuguese bankers that expressed wholehearted support for the Government colonial policy. Very few real improvements for the advancement of science have resulted from the action of this Foundation, more and more dependent on the deleterious influence of the Salazar Government and its social implications.

Even the excellent report of "Ordem dos Medicos"<sup>21</sup> does not seem entirely aware (pg. 210) of all the implications of the development of medical research that could decisively contribute to the economical and cultural advancement of the country, and to the wellbeing of its people.

#### Medical services in the Portuguese colonies

It is not within the aims of this work to make a study of these services. Just the same one is aware of the existence in Angola, in 1957, of one physician for 18,964 inhabitants<sup>18</sup> and in Mozambique, in 1955, one doctor per 30,795 inhabitants,<sup>24</sup> while in 1957 the proportion was one doctor for 610 inhabitants in Austria and one for 1,386 in Portugal. This means that developed countries have 400 times and more doctors than in the Portuguese colonies and that even Portugal, an under-developed country herself, has more than 20 times the number of doctors as that of some of her colonies.

It is not surprising then that in Angola, for instance, the majority of deaths are attributed to unknown causes.<sup>26</sup>

All these facts contrast with the Salazar statements

about a unified Portuguese world. Within misery it seems that the colonial misery is even worse. So much so that the presence of a luxuriously installed Institute of Tropical Medicine in Lisbon has all the appearance of a big propaganda stunt.

#### The future

The evolution of the health situation in Portugal does not seem to offer very bright prospects. A recent official statement says that "after 1957 it appears that a general tendency towards a somehow worse condition of the health status of the country is in operation, principally in what concerns infant mortality, typhoid fever, diphtheria, whooping cough and tetanus"<sup>27</sup>

The valiant Portuguese medical doctors seem to have a very hard task ahead. Nevertheless, through their recent struggles, larger and larger sections are becoming convinced that partial successes for the health of the country can be achieved even against the wishes of the Salazar Government, although major improvements will only be possible when a democratic régime is in operation in Portugal, bringing with it a general change of economical and social conditions, and the end of the sombre fascist Salazar nightmare.

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# Education in Angola

By S. de Miranda

THE basis of the ideology preached by Portuguese colonialists is the concept of "assimilation". According to this concept, any African who wants to be accepted as a member of the Portuguese community has to break away from all his traditions and institutions in order to change his African personality completely and to integrate himself in the culture and custom of the master race.

On August 25th, 1960, the Portuguese newspaper "Diario de Noticias" transcribed from the periodical "Aspects de France," an article by J. Placard D'Assard entitled "The Portuguese Example," in which the Portuguese colonisation is described in the following way: "Portugal never practised racial discrimination and never wanted to acknowledge any differences other than those determined by the levels of civilization. She has so constituted a unitarian and hierarchized empire, in which the rights progressed with the aptitudes. Because she denied Rousseau's conception of the formal equality of individuals, Portugal could realize the equality of *élites*, apart from any racial discrimination. Becoming civilized, the native does not meet with a hostile or close society, but with a "Lusitaniedade" that integrates him completely. Independence for him is not conquered through a differentiation with the white man, because his independence is a part of the independence of Portugal, as a nation of which he is a citizen. The only limitation to the equality of rights does not lie in a racial barrier but in his cultural and technical backwardness."<sup>1</sup>

It is outside the scope of this article the discussion of the concept of assimilation and of its deep imperialist meaning. What we intend to do is to show how racial discrimination actually works in practice, through a system of education which theoretically aims at promoting the "equality of the *élites*" by breaking the cultural barriers that separate the Africans from their colonisers. We shall direct our study especially to Angola, the African country where the failure of the Portuguese policy of assimilation is at present more evident.

## Illiteracy and public expenditure

The results achieved in the field of education can be assessed in the first place through the rate of illiteracy. The official statistics of Angola (Anuario Estatístico de Angola) admit that, in 1958, 99.6 per cent. of the negro population were illiterate. Comparing these figures with the rates of illiteracy given by South Africa in 1946 for the "native population" and by Belgium for the Congo in 1951, we get respectively 72 and 63 per cent.<sup>2</sup> Even among the so-called "civilized population" (supposed to include all the whites, 89 per cent. of the mixed and 0.75 per cent. of the negroes) 38 per cent. are given as illiterate.<sup>3</sup> This fact is not surprising if it is known that the public expenditure on education in Portuguese colonies is one of the smallest in the world. UNESCO published in 1954 a booklet entitled "Basic Facts and Figures," in which is given an account of the annual public expenditure on education in 161 countries of the world. In the following table we quote the

figures for the Portuguese colonies. They are originally given in 'escudos' and we changed them to sterling, considering roughly the rate of exchange as 80 escudos per £.

TABLE 1<sup>4</sup>  
Public Expenditure on Education (1950)

|                      | Total   | Per inhab. |    |
|----------------------|---------|------------|----|
|                      | £       | s.         | d. |
| Angola .....         | 175,000 | 10         |    |
| Cape Verde Isl. .... | 23,038  | 3          | 3  |
| Mozambique .....     | 237,500 | 9          |    |
| (Port.) Guinea ..... | 8,150   | 3          |    |
| S. Tome Isl. ....    | 6,825   | 2          | 3  |

The expenditure in Angola, though not the lowest in the territories submitted to the Portuguese rule, was only 10d. per inhabitant. Mozambique and (Portuguese) Guinea were even in a worst situation with expenditures of 9d. and 3d. per inhabitant. And if we compare these figures with those given for all other African territories, we come to the conclusion that Portugal was the country which spent less on education than any other colonial power in the colonies. In the same year (1950), French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa, for instance, spent respectively 5s. (330 French francs) and 6s. 9d. (440 French francs) per inhabitant. (In England and Wales the public expenditure per inhabitant was £7 2s. 0d.)

## "Instruction to natives"

Let us see now how the educational system is organized in Angola and how racial discrimination actually operates in the context of that system.

In Angola, as well as in Mozambique, there is a special educational programme for natives, distinct from the one applied to the whites and to the assimilated. It is divided into three categories: *rudimentary education*, which is called "ensino de adapatacao" since 1956, *elementary technical education* and *normal education*. According to the Organic Overseas Law (Carta Organica do Ultramar) this teaching is entirely entrusted to Catholic Missions: "Instruction especially intended for natives in the provinces where the native system still prevails will, in those regions where the Portuguese Catholic Missions are established, be entirely entrusted to missionary personnel and their assistants. In localities where these missions cannot carry out the function, instruction will continue to be the charge of the State."<sup>5</sup> Besides the Catholic Missions there are also a number of Protestants Evangelic Missions which do not enjoy the sympathy of the authorities but are still in charge of the education of a part of the African population.\*

The aims of the instruction given to natives are also defined in the Organic Overseas Law: "In the instruction to natives there is envisaged their perfect nationalization and moralization and their acquisition of habits and aptitudes of work in keeping with their sex, age, condition and local economic condition." There is no place in this scheme for African traditions

and institutions and native languages are allowed only as an instrument for teaching Portuguese.

In rudimentary schools children are supposed to learn the elements of Portuguese language and history and a few notions of agriculture and hygiene, in accordance with a very elementary programme lasting from about three to five years. The elementary technical schools are schools of arts and crafts on a primary school level. And the normal schools prepare Africans to be teachers of rudimentary schools in the interior.

Table 2 gives the total number of schools for Africans existing in Angola in 1958 and the number of teachers and students enrolled in them.

\*During the last months, Protestant missionaries have been particularly subjected to persecution by the authorities. At least eight were killed and 40 arrested.

TABLE II<sup>6</sup>

|                           | Schools | Teachers | Students |
|---------------------------|---------|----------|----------|
| Rudimentary Education ... | 1,008   | 1,275    | 57,428   |
| Elem. Technical Education | 6       | 26       | 483      |
| Normal Education .....    | 1       | 10       | 266      |

It is obvious from the Table that the elementary technical schools and the normal schools, which together had only 749 students enrolled, have almost no influence in the education of Africans. As for the rudimentary schools, of which 838 belong to Catholic missions and 170 to Protestant missions, the number of students enrolled in them, though already small in proportion with the total African population, does not give a measure of the extent to which Africans are educated. Indeed the Anuario Estatístico de Angola admits that 60 per cent. of those students did not pass in the examinations. From the 483 students enrolled in elementary technical schools (351 negroes and 116 mixed) only 187 passed in the examination and from the 266 enrolled in normal schools 219 passed. Actually the overwhelming majority of African students do not go beyond the first year of rudimentary education. In this situation it is not surprising that most of them do not have access to the secondary and higher levels of education.

#### Primary education

Besides the "instruction to natives," carried out by the missions, there are in Angola primary schools, both governmental and private, providing a four-year course of elementary education which gives access to the secondary schools ("liceus" and technical professional schools). The syllabus in these schools is the one adopted in Portugal itself.

In 1958 there were in Angola 420 primary schools of which only 165 belonged to the government. The remaining were private schools mostly run by religious organizations. The total number of primary school teachers was 850, which means that Angola

with a population of 4,145,266 had one teacher for 10,215 inhabitants while the (Belgian) Congo in 1951 had one primary school teacher for 308 inhabitants.<sup>7</sup>

The majority of students in these schools are white. In 1958 the total number of students enrolled having achieved satisfactory results was 25,632 from which 53.2 per cent. white, 20 per cent. mixed and 26.6 per cent. negro. And as we go up in the scale of education the percentage of negro and mixed students becomes smaller and smaller.

#### Secondary education

Secondary education is provided by the "ensino liceal," which is roughly the equivalent of British grammar school education, and the "ensino tecnico profissional," teaching of craftsmanship in a secondary school level. Only the "ensino liceal" gives access to higher education.

In 1958 there were in Angola thirty-two establishments of the "ensino liceal," comprising 5 lyceums (liceus) or government schools and 27 private schools, most of them run by religious organizations. The total number of teachers in them was 280 (108 in the lyceums and 172 in private schools) and there were 4,705 students enrolled. From these, 1,685 failed to pass.

The percentage of African students enrolled in the lyceums is very small. Most of them, owing to the difficulties they have with the language and to the general inefficiency of the teaching cannot complete their elementary education before they are 13 years old, the age limit for entering the lyceums. Table III shows the total number of students who passed their examinations at different levels of secondary schools education, classified according to their race (the classification is the one adopted by the official statistics of education in Angola).

The Table shows that the Africans are a tiny minority of the students receiving secondary education in the lyceums. In 1958 only 6 negroes studying in lyceums completed their secondary education and only 4 applied for Portuguese Universities.

As for the technical professional education, in 1958 Angola had only 13 arts and crafts schools of secondary level (9 governmental and 4 private) with a total of 228 teachers. They had 2,679 students enrolled and only 5.3 per cent. of those were negroes). Included in this classification are the Agricultural Schools in which not one student was negro in 1958.

There is no university in Angola, nor in any of the Portuguese colonies in Africa. If Angolans want to get higher education, they have to apply to one of the three universities in Portugal. Colonel Sa Viana Rebelo, governor general of Angola, explained the fact: "For various reasons it has been thought preferable that our negro 'élites' should be educated in Lisbon. The universities which are provided for Angola in the future will not have more than the early years of courses. The final phase of studies will

TABLE III<sup>8</sup>

|                               | Students<br>(Total) | White |      | Mixed |      | Negro |     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|-----|
|                               |                     | Total | %    | Total | %    | Total | %   |
| Entrance examination .....    | 1,459               | 1,669 | 80.1 | 189   | 13   | 101   | 6.9 |
| First cycle (2nd year) .....  | 819                 | 695   | 84.9 | 64    | 7.8  | 60    | 7.3 |
| Second cycle (5th year) ..... | 422                 | 375   | 85.8 | 50    | 11.3 | 13    | 2.9 |
| Third cycle (7th year) .....  | 82                  | 66    | 80.6 | 10    | 12.1 | 6     | 7.3 |
| Entrance to University .....  | 59                  | 49    | 83   | 6     | 10.1 | 4     | 4.5 |

be undertaken in Lisbon, so that our African students will be well impregnated with the nation that Portugal and Angola form a whole . . . The natives access to higher levels of society can be granted only with prudence.”<sup>9</sup>

This last statement suggests that the failure of the system of assimilation may not be due only to inefficiency. And we must recognize that the policy of obscurantism pursued by Portugal in her colonies was one of the factors that helped her to be the last colonial empire in the world.

- 1 *Diario de Noticias* (Lisboa, August 25th, 1960).
- 2 *Basic Facts and Figures* (UNESCO, Paris, 1954).
- 3 *Anuario Estatístico de Angola, 1958* (Luanda: Republica Central de Estatística Geral, 1959).
- 4 *Basic Facts and Figures* (UNESCO, Paris, 1954).
- 5 *Carta Organica do Ultramar* (quoted in J. Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*).
- 6 *Estatística da Educacao, Provincia de Angola, 1957-1958* (Luanda, 1959).
- 7 *Ibidem* and *Basic Facts and Figures* (UNESCO).
- 8 *Ibidem*.
- 9 In an interview given to “*L’Avenir*” (Leopoldville), quoted in P. Fryer and P. McGowan Pinheiro, “*Oldest Ally*” (London, 1961).

## Salazar’s Economy of War

By G. Araujo

THE criminal war which the Salazar régime is waging against the people of Angola is putting a new strain on the already shaken Portuguese economy. The local budgets of the colonies of Angola, India and Mozambique make special provisions for the expenses of the Army. Each one of these colonies will be spending more than before for the upkeep of troops and in any immediate or forthcoming military operations. The burden falls on Angola with £106,250 (8,500 contos), on India with £9,925 (794 contos) and on Mozambique with £36,000 (2,880 contos).<sup>1</sup>

Invoking the pretext of a national emergency, the Government has also included new and extraordinary allocations in the general budget for 1961. A bulk sum of £229,450 (18,356 contos) will go to the Portuguese Air Force stationed in the Colonies. The Navy will get £96,688.<sup>2</sup> The table below gives the figures:

From a brief analysis of these figures it is quite clear that nearly half of the present allocations have been granted to Angola with 49 per cent. of the total expenses, while Mozambique comes next with 11 per cent. The colony of Timor, where there are no signs of unrest as yet, receives 10 per cent., following the news that a nationalist movement has recently come into existence with the purpose of liberating the territory from Portuguese rule.

### On the way to bankruptcy

In Salazar’s budgets the allocations given to the Services of Military Security and Defence cover nearly

half of the total expenses included in them. In plain figures it means that £49 million have been allocated altogether to the armed forces and to the Secret Police (PIDE). The Government spends on the whole of the Public and Social Services, including Education, a little less than £64 millions. The cost and the upkeep of the Army has been a cancer feeding in our economy, a crippling disease that has been pushing the country down the road to bankruptcy.

### Monopolies in Angola

The responsibility for this appalling state of affairs lies with the Government and the corrupted generals who sit on the boards of more than one big company. They are the only ones who will profit from a colonial war. In the recent reshuffle of the Government full power was given openly and shamelessly to the direct representatives of the big monopolies. The Minister of the Colonies (or Overseas Territories in Salazar’s own version), Prof. Adriano Moreira backs the interests of the SONEFE and the STANDARD ELECTRIC. Two new members in the Portuguese cabinet, Generals Cabrita and Gomes de Araujo, are also company directors, the former of the SONEFE, the latter of the STANDARD ELECTRIC. These people comfortably seated in well-padded offices in Lisbon are the ones who talk of heroism, while Portuguese peasants and workers with the lowest standard of living in Europe daily give their lives in an unjust war. They are being

| Colonies                    | Army<br>£      | Navy<br>£ | Air Force<br>£ | Total<br>£ | %   |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----|
| Cape Vert .....             | 73,563         | 3,662     | 2,850          | 80,074     | 3   |
| Guinea .....                | 207,737        | 27,812    | 34,400         | 269,949    | 10  |
| St. Thomas and Prince ..... | 26,212         | 15,725    | 12,237         | 54,222     | 2   |
| Mozambique .....            | 304,287        |           |                | 304,287    | 11  |
| India .....                 | 216,926        |           |                | 216,926    | 8   |
| Macao .....                 | 207,137        |           |                | 207,137    | 7   |
| Timor .....                 | 257,300        |           |                | 257,300    | 10  |
| Angola .....                | 1,007,975      | 49,487    | 179,962        | 1,237,424  | 49  |
| Total .....                 | £2,301,137     | 96,687    | 229,450        | 2,627,319  | 100 |
|                             | Contos 184,110 | 7,735     | 18,356         | 210,200    |     |

cynically sacrificed to keep the enormous profits made out of African slave labour. An idea of the high rates of exploitation of these monopolies can be easily obtained from the figures for net profits for 1959 of the following enterprises which operate in Angola :

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
|   | £         |
| Benguela Railways .....                               | 2,347,862 |
| Diamang .....   | 1,587,675 |
| Bank of Angola .....                                  | 735,725   |
| Sociedade Agricola Cassequel (Farming Co.) .....      | 466,173   |
| Companhia do Acucar de Angola (Sugar Co.) .....       | 360,125   |
| Companhia Angolana de Agricultura (Farming Co.) ..... | 358,437   |
| Total .....   | 5,855,997 |

These simple figures show perhaps better than any lengthy explanations the reason for the massacre of Africans in Angola.

Since 1959 Salazar has been diverting larger and larger sums of money to the armed forces. Relative to her financial resources, Portugal is spending more money on the armed forces than any other European country. The increase in extraordinary expenses is shown in the following table:<sup>3</sup>

| Years  | 1959       | 1960       | 1961       |
|--|------------|------------|------------|
|  | £          | £          | £          |
| Military expenses                            | 7,921,250  | 10,143,750 | 20,881,250 |
| Plan of development and other expenses ..... | 20,711,250 | 24,305,000 | 24,850,000 |

Meanwhile new and far larger allocations will be needed to keep this policy of war. A recent decree by the Ministry of Finance makes a new allocation of £6,750,000 to sustain the war in Angola.

The consequences of these measures on Portuguese economy can be already seen in a fall by 5 per cent. of Portugal's gold and dollar reserves in the first three months of this year.<sup>4</sup>

### The armament drive

At the same time the Government is taking quick measures to step up development at home of the existing ammunition industries while preparations are being made to create new ones. Soon a law will be issued giving special advantages and conditions to the investment of private capital in the ammunition industry.<sup>5</sup> Judging from the past experience of Salazar's economic measures, one can foresee that the inducement will prove an unexpected source of profit for the big monopolies who are the backbone of the régime.

It appears also that Salazar is directing the economy of Portugal so as to prepare to sustain it through the hazards of a long colonial war on the pattern of the Algerian conflict. Such a policy will be disastrous to the Portuguese people and will bleed the country white. This move raised the interest of certain groups who seem to be willing to block the non-monopolistic capital inside the country and to divert it to war industries or others related to them. A leader that appeared in the *Diario de Lisboa*

(14-4-61) sounds public opinion on the need for official measures to be taken by the Government in order to prevent Portuguese capitalists from banking their money abroad.

### Development plan

On the other hand Portuguese economy at home is in a more desperate plight than ever. Although 50 per cent. of the Portuguese people make a living out of the land, our agriculture has sunk to the lowest level of production in Europe. Taking the index of production of 1947 as 100 (provisional data) in 1960 it is no more than 102.7. Recently reports from Olhao (Algarve) speak of growing unemployment among the fishermen of this southern town.<sup>6</sup>

No doubt the highly praised Second Plan of Development (1959-4) has been unable to cope with the needs of the industry. The estimates to assist "agriculture, forestries, cattle-breeding and fisheries" are far from being fulfilled. From data gathered by the Higher Inspection for the execution of the Second Plan of Development (*Inspeccao Superior do Fomento*), a special bureau created by the régime, it is clear that the whole plan is on the verge of complete collapse. Such qualms over the fulfilment of the plan are clearly expressed by the Inspection itself.

In the first half of 1960, of the total capital allocated for the successful execution of the plan only 30.4 per cent. and 30.8 per cent. have been invested. For the second half there are still no data available, but some disturbing facts have already emerged. Roads and water supply to backward villages have received less than half of the estimate allocated to them. Heavy industry is 65 per cent. under the mark set in the plan. Railways, rolling stock, airports and technical research have received under 75 per cent. of the estimates laid down by the planners.<sup>7</sup> Knowing the inadequate estimates of investment in Salazar's Plan of Development, these rules are much more than a resounding failure.

### Balance of trade

The economic situation is also worsening in our balance of trade. In 1959 Portugal imported £28,861 (2,309 contos) of goods by value and exported £15,087 (1,207 contos). Our imports more than double the exports, raising our current deficit with the Common Market to £12½ million. (1 million contos).<sup>8</sup>

These facts of hard cash prove that Salazar can hardly live up to the picture of a sound economist and a sensible statesman, which has become a recurrent piece of propaganda in official literature and in the speeches of his supporters.

1 **Primeiro de Janeiro** 21-3-1961—All these conversions have taken the rate of exchange at 80 esc. to the pound.

2 Data taken from the **Diario de Lisboa**, 9-4-1961.

3 **Conta Geral do Estado**, 1959.

4 **The Observer**, 18-6-1961.

5 **Primeiro de Janeiro**, 3-4-1961, and **Diario de Lisboa**, 2-4-1961.

6 **Diario de Lisboa**, 1-4-1961.

7 All these dates have been taken from the **Boletime de Informacao do Banco do Fomento Nacional**, 1961.

8 **Primeiro de Janeiro**, 23-3-1961.



## INSIDE PORTUGAL

Two prominent leaders of the Government fascist only Party, the Uniao Nacional, recently produced statements about U.N.O. On the 27th April engineer Cancela de Abreu said in a public meeting to celebrate the 33 years of Salazar in the Government: "We must leave U.N.O.! We must categorically and disdainfully turn our backs on that disqualified organism". This meeting was presided over by the Ministry of Presidency Dr Theotónio Pereira, ex-ambassador of Portugal in London. ("Diario de Lisboa," 28-4-61.)

On the 22nd of May another Portuguese fascist leader, Professor Roy Ulrich, in a public meeting in Lisbon presided by the President of the Republic and dedicated to the colonial problems, called U.N.O. "an inept assembly where the truly civilized countries constitute a small minority". ("Diario de Lisboa," 23-5-61.)

The economic situation in Portugal continues to deteriorate. The vice-governor of the Bank of Portugal declared recently in Lisbon that there has been an increasing worsening of the balance of payments, with a loss of reserves calculated as 5 or 6 per cent. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," May 1961.)

The situation in agriculture is also serious. In the National Assembly, dr Nunes Fernandes, deputy of the Uniao Nacional—all the deputies belong to the fascist Party—declared on the 20-4-61 that "agriculture is kept in a state of alarm" and that "(its) problems continue without definite and convenient solution". ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 20-4-61.)

In a meeting of land proprietors in the richest part of agricultural Portugal, Alentejo, Mr. A. F. Rodrigues pin-pointed the importance of the agricultural crisis and said that "of all the countries of Western Europe Portugal is the one whose yields of wheat cultivation per hectare are the smallest". ("Diario de Lisboa," 19-5-61.)

At the same time the great monopolistic companies continue to progress. Uniao Electrica Portuguesa, one of the big producers of electrical energy, was recently authorized to elevate their capital to three million seven hundred thousand pounds.

### Colonies and Colonial War

According to reports which appeared in the British press, the Portuguese in Angola have killed between 30,000 and 49,000 Africans and herded thousands more into four concentration camps, Baia dos Tigres, Dembos, Porto Alexandre and Silva Porto (**The Observer**, 21-5-1961, **New Statesman**, p. 741-12-1961, **The Guardian**, 3-5-1961.) At the same time feverish preparations are being made in the colony with the arrival of military reinforcements to start a calculated war of extermination against the Nationalists. Indiscriminate air raids and napalm bombs have been the means used by the Portuguese forces to stamp out the resistance. According to Richard Beeston, special correspondent of the **Daily**

**Telegraph** (3-5-1961) a Portuguese Air officer has defined clearly the ends of this offensive: "We will hunt the terrorists down like game. We have no alternative but extermination. The United Nations can protest as much as it likes".

At a farewell to troops embarking for Angola the Portuguese Ministry of the Army, Brigadier Mario Silva, declared: "We are going to fight savages. We are going to fight wild beasts. . . We are going to face terrorists which must be fought as wild beasts are fought". ("Diario de Lisboa," 5-5-61.)

A new installation for wounded soldiers was inaugurated in the Military Hospital in Lisbon, in preparation for receiving casualties from Angola. ("Diario de Lisboa," 18-5-61.)

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation made a donation of £6,250 (500 contos) to the Portuguese Red Cross in Angola. The donation will be used to purchase ambulances and any other equipment required by the services of the Red Cross. ("Diario de Lisboa," 13-4-61.)

A new decree-law recently issued by the Ministry of Overseas Affairs grants special powers to officers in the army who will be entitled to arrest and imprison anyone who may be considered suspect or guilty of offences against the Portuguese authorities. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 25-3-1961.)

Civil defence organisations and a special corps of militia made up of ordinary white settlers have been formed throughout the Portuguese colonies. (**The Guardian**, 1-4-1961, **Times**, 3-4-61.) Decrees recently published in the official gazette — **Diario do Governo** — deal in detail with the organisation of civil defence and of the corps of volunteers. In a state of emergency the civil defence is allowed to call upon such organizations as the Red Cross and the militia of the **Mocidade Portuguesa** (Fascist youth movement). The civil defence committee will include among other members the Chief Constable and an inspector of PIDE (Portuguese Gestapo). ("Diario de Lisboa," 31-3-1961.)

The civil servants in Angola who are engaged in action against the African nationalists can not be subject to judicial proceedings, according to a new legal diploma issued by the Ministry of Overseas Affairs. ("Diario de Lisboa," 7-5-61.) This gives a free hand to the reactionary sections of the white settlers who carry out terroristic actions against the Africans.

A unit of the fascist Portuguese militia the "Legiao Portuguesa" which uses the same methods as the Nazi SA or the Italian Camiseneri —left for Angola, to take part in the colonial war. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 25-4-61.) The newly-appointed Governor General, General Venancio Deslandes, former Ambassador in Spain, was at one time commander of the militia.

Big colonial enterprises in Angola are hiring troops to protect their interests. Units of paratroopers were hired by Companhia de Celulose do Ultramar Portugues and by Hidroeletrica do Alto Catumbela. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," May 1961.)

The number of refugees in Luanda, capital of Angola, has reached 2,000. ("Diario de Lisboa," 30-3-1961.)

Indian nationalists have recently been very active in Goa, attacking the Portuguese troops in the colony. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 27-4-61.)

The capital of the colony of Mozambique, Lourenço Marques, was left without an electricity supply for several days. ("Diario de Lisboa," 16-5-61.)

Public works in Angola, up to the value of 4 million pounds can from now on be granted to private enterprises without considering lower tenders. New groups of Portuguese capitalists are visiting Angola. ("Diario de Lisboa," 19-5-61.)

Foreign interests continue to support Portuguese policy in Africa. On the 23rd April the Ministry of Transports of South Africa, Schoemann, visited Mozambique. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 24-4-61.) On the 26th April a South African commercial mission arrived to Lisbon, and left for West Germany after talks with the Portuguese authorities. ("Diario de Lisboa," 26-4-61.) South Africa is interested in joint enterprises with Portugal such as the development of the manufacturing of ammunition.

On the 30th May the minister of Agriculture of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, J. Grayland, and the Minister of the Interior, Malcolm Barrow, arrived in Mozambique.

Portuguese colonial policy continues to be severely criticized in the international arena:

Kanyamma Chiume, press secretary of the Malawi party of Nyasaland, has appealed to all Africans to support the nationalist movements of Angola and Mozambique. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 21-3-1961.)

The Soviet Government has asked for an international inquiry into the massacres and the situation in Angola. (27-5-61.)

The Angola Situation was also discussed at the Security Council of U.N.O., at the demand of 41 Afro-Asian nations. (7-6-61.)

Mr. Mario Andrade, President of the Consultative Council of the Conference of the Nationalist Organization of the Portuguese Colonies (C.O.N.C.P.) has written to the heads of state of Africa and Asia asking them to intervene "effectively and in unison" to stop the war of extermination waged by the Portuguese Government against the people of Angola.

He has thus carried out a decision of the C.O.N.C.P. which met in Casablanca from April 18th to 20th, 1961. He wrote:

"The C.O.N.C.P. responding to the deepest wishes of our people requests you to arouse public support in your country for the patriots of the Portuguese colonies. It believes that demonstration of such support will help significantly the struggle for the national liberation as well as isolating Portugal from the international arena".

Several African and Asian governments have already expressed their support for the aims of the C.O.N.C.P.

## Foreign support for Salazar Regime — cont. from page 33

NATO Portuguese Commission. ("Diario de Lisbon," 16-5-61.)

Dr. Erhard, Minister of Economy of West Germany, visited Portugal from the 11th to 15th May, after having talks in Spain with Franco, whom, he considered, "is impregnated with a liberal spirit" (at a banquet in Madrid on the 10th May). He held conversations with Salazar and remarked that the Portuguese dictator "is creating the best possibilities for the development of Portugal." In reply, Dr. Franco Nogueira, Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, well known for his extreme colonialist views at UNO, said that "the identity of our values unites us in the fight for the same cause." Erhard also declared at a Press conference in Lisbon that Portugal remained amongst the most trustworthy countries.

As a result of these conversations it was stated that the West Germany Government was going to finance long-term projects of the Portuguese Government and new facilities were agreed for more investments of German firms in Portugal. ("Diario de Lisboa," 10th, 13th and 16th May, 1961.)

One hundred and fifty cadets of the U.S. Navy College will arrive in Portugal on board the "Empire State IV" on the 24th July next for a five-day visit. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 22-5-61.)

Lord Home, British Foreign Minister, visited Lisbon at the end of May, and held conversations with Salazar and other Portuguese politicians. He declared in Lisbon that "the fashion of criticising the colonial powers was unjust." His visit provoked many comments in the House of Commons, as it could have no other interpretation for the Portuguese people than support for the Salazar Government. Lord Home was in Lisbon on the 28th May, when the celebrations of the anniversary of the fascist coup d'etat that brought Salazar to power took place. On this same day a bomb exploded in the centre of the town. ("Primeiro de Janeiro," 26-5-61, "Diario de Lisboa," 29-5-61.)

General Luis de Pina, Portugal's chief of staff, visited Britain on a NATO exchange on the 5th June. General Pina fought for three years under Franco in the Spanish Civil War. (From the daily Press and Portuguese Encyclopedia.)

Captain Henrique Galvao, of the "Santa Maria," was denied a British visa to visit Britain at the invitation of the Council for Freedom in Portugal and her Colonies. The matter was discussed in the House of Commons by Opposition members. In a letter to the Council, Galvao writes that: "Unfortunately Salazar has more power near the British Government than the democrats who fight for Democracy and Freedom in Portugal." (From the daily Press and from Cap. Galvao correspondence.)

At a general meeting in London of the "Lisbon Electric Tramways Limited" which has the monopoly of all public transport in Lisbon, Lord Rathcavan, president of the Admini-

strative Council, proposed the payment to shareholders of 6 per cent. interest. He referred to the "indignation" aroused in Portugal by the events in the "overseas province" of Angola. ("Diario de Lisboa," 19-5-61.)

Dr. Dirk Stikker, the Secretary-General of NATO, had conferences in Lisbon with Dr. Salazar and with Dr. Nogueira, the Foreign Minister. He also had talks with Brigadier Mario Silva, the Minister for the Army; Admiral Quintanilha Dias, Minister of Marine; and Colonel Kaulza de Arriaga, Under-Secretary of State for Air. ("The Times," June 9, 1961.)

The British Government agreed to sell two Royal Navy frigates—Morecambe Bay and Mounts Bay—to the Salazar Government. (London, June 1961.)

Six units of the British Second Frigate Squadron were recently engaged in manoeuvres with Portuguese Air Force aircraft. They went to Lisbon on a five-day visit. ("The Times," 17-6-61.)

## New Under-Secretary an old fascist

In the recent reshuffle of Salazar's Government, Dr. Carlos Eduardo de Soveral becomes the new Under-Secretary of Education. Mr. Soveral has always been a loyal supporter of the regime as well as a long standing member of the Portuguese fascist youth movement (*Mocidade Portuguesa*). He is also a regular contributor to the fascist literary magazine *TEMPO PRESENTE* (*Present Time*) and a well-known figure in the circles of the *OPUS DEI* (Catholic association of strong reactionary views).

In 1959 he published a volume of essays *A NOSTALGIA de HESIOD* (*Nostalgia for Hesiod*), in which he tries to demonstrate the lack of a "genuine imperial call on the part of the British nation" (p. 56). The title fits in with the author's longings for the military glories that crowned the existence of the Greek warrior, who is set as an example to be followed in our time. In Mr. Soveral's opinion war has arresting virtues that make it worthier than peace. He goes so far as to point out, in a sentence of remarkable oracular foresight, that only in such a dramatic emergency do "the ablest come to power". (p. 98.)

A faithful disciple of the Nazi creed of racial superiority, he takes pains to propound the theory that the history of Europe is basically the history of Aryan groups. (p. 145.) Germany and the Greeks and the Romans of the past have shaped alternately the destiny of our continent. Since black-haired Europeans of the South come of Latin stock, they are also genuine Aryans and so the Portuguese, by implication, belong to the chosen race. For all Africans and democrats these are ominous ideas, particularly at a time when Salazar's government is engaged in an all-out colonial war.

1 Editorial Verbo, Lisbon.

## Dr Agostinho Neto

Portuguese authorities in the island of Santo Antao (Cape Verde Islands) are preparing their usual tactics to murder Dr. Neto.

In his letter of March 21st, 1961, just received, Dr. Neto writes:

"The authorities have put out rumours that I am trying to escape by Russian submarines. At any time the police can kill me and announce that I have escaped. People who are in contact with me are advised to avoid me. Some of them have been threatened with imprisonment if they see me again. . . It looks that the police have engaged some agents to incite people against me so that a gang may be gathered to provoke and kill me. . . These and other police activities around me make me fear that I may be killed by them at any time".

Dr. Neto is an Angolan doctor and poet, and was arrested in Luanda on June 8th, 1960. After his arrest the people of Icolo and Bongo protested to the district officer of Catete. But the peaceful demonstration of protest was fired on by the troops, and 30 Africans were shot and 200 injured. He was deported to Portugal in July, where he was detained in the Aljube prison, Lisbon. In September he was taken away in a military plane to Cape Verde Islands and told that he was an "health officer" there.

## Joint Committee for Patriotic Action

A very important political event took place recently in Portugal with the creation of the Joint Committee for Patriotic Action, which gathers representatives from all the parties and tendencies opposing the Salazar Government, from the monarchists to the Left Wing parties. This already shows a defeat for Dr. Salazar, as one of his most important political weapons has been the absence of unity amongst the Portuguese democratic forces.

All political parties except the fascist Uniao Nacional are forbidden in Portugal. The new joint Committee has already issued a manifesto stating its aims for a united anti-Salazar political struggle, capable of constituting a Provisional Government that would organize free elections in the country.

## STILL THE SANTA MARIA

The Seizing of the Santa Maria (Popular Library, New York, 1961)

is the title of Henry A. Zeiger's book which gives the fully documented inside story of Captain Galvao's fourteen days' epic on the high seas. Written in a racy style, though rather unsatisfactory in the analysis of the Portuguese political scene, this is the first complete account to appear in book form and in a well-known collection of paperbacks.

Portuguese & Colonial Bulletin, 374 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. Printed by Butler & Co. Nottm.