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A DANGER TO PEACE

"PUBLIC opinion must know that peace is at stake while Fascist dictatorships are supported by Western countries." These words were spoken by Sir Leslie Plummer, M.P., when he addressed the West European Conference for an Amnesty for Portuguese Political Prisoners and Exiles, which took place in Paris last December 15 and 16. The danger exposed is real and not a mere figure of speech.

War is going on in Angola and building up in Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique as a consequence of the stubborn refusal of Salazar to grant independence to his enslaved colonies. In 1962 military expenses in the colonies reached 37-

and-a-half million pounds, while in these colonies and in Portugal people starve and are denied proper education and medical care. Portugal is today the most backward European country, after 36 years of Salazar Fascist rule.

In 1963 a total of 62-and-a-half million pounds will be spent by the Portuguese Government in military expenses—5 million more than in 1962.

This military build up is used to repress the claims for democratic rule that the Portuguese people have repeatedly expressed. It is also used to feed the cold war atmosphere and to grant continuous NATO military assistance to that repression.

The U.S. and Britain have military bases in the country, the best known are in the Azores islands and in Montijo, near Lisbon.

Portugal has been a centre for cold war crusading, as you can see in this issue.

But Salazar is incapable of solving his own problems. The last November ministerial reshuffle brought about the forced resignation of six of his ministers. Some were possible rivals of the dictator. Others were sacrificed to a failed policy in vital issues: Colonies, Economy, Education and Health. It was officially announced that general industrial production had fallen by 3 per cent. during 1962. The standard of living continues the lowest in Europe, and in some aspects the gap between Portugal and the others has widened.

To allow the Portuguese people to get rid of this backward regime seems an elementary humanitarian duty.

To this end it is necessary to review the true meaning of alliances and agreements with Portugal. They should be thought of in terms of the Portuguese people and not of the ruling Salazar minority.

It is in this light that it is right to consider as very important the support given by British personalities, organizations and ordinary British people to the campaign against Repression and for an Amnesty in Portugal. By giving support they are true to both countries, and are looking ahead to the time when Portugal without Salazar will cease to be a danger to Peace and will strengthen relations with countries all over the world. Then the "oldest alliance" will have its full meaning.

Campaign against repression in Portugal

THE British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty (Secretary Mrs. H. Ward, c/o 30 Benson Road, London, S.E. 23) who led the campaign in Britain in favour of the West European Conference for Amnesty in Portugal, will continue their activities in favour of an Amnesty in Portugal and will continue to pursue the larger issue of a campaign against political repression in that country.

The Committee feels that the situation in Portugal presents some specific features that call for a British Committee concentrating on these as it has already been doing.

A Bulletin with a report on the European Conference was recently published and distributed by the Committee.

Repression continues in Portugal. On January 2nd the lawyer Armando

Bacelar was arrested at his office in Famalicao. Other arrests are reported.

In the Portuguese prisons hundreds of political prisoners endure terrible conditions. Manuel Rodrigues da Silva, trade union leader, has already spent 23 years in jail and is seriously ill. Manuel Guedes has spent 16 years. Jose Vitoriano, another trade unionist, has spent 12 years in jail. Pires Jorge, 54-year-old workers' leader, recently sentenced to 10 years in prison, had already been in jail for 10 years, and has spent 18 years in the underground fight. These people whose crime is to have fought for democratic rights for their country, have their lives in danger as have the Catholic leader Manuel Serras, the Socialists Jose Hipolito and Edmundo Pedro, Army Captain Varela Gomes, Antonio Dias Lourenco (whose wife and daughter

(Continued on next page)

PORTUGUESE INDUSTRY

1961 DATA

Town and Districts	No. of Enterprises	No. of Workers	Total production in £	Worker's Average Weekly Salary
Lisbon				
Town	7,075	119,230	126 million	£3 16s.
District	11,774	164,235	176 million	£4 16s.
Porto				
Town	3,937	65,607	37 million	£2 10s.
District	12,962	161,930	111 million	£2 5s.
Aveiro	5,339	59,655	47 million	£2 8s.
Braga	4,212	53,346	35 million	£2 2s.
Coimbra	4,302	25,760	15 million	£2 2s.
Viseu	3,591	13,419	6 million	£1 18s.
Viana	1,887	10,064	5 million	£2 1s.

(From the official "Industrial Enquiry, 1961.)

According to "The Times" (London), 7-1-63, total production decreased by 3 per cent. in 1962.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

From January to November 1962, 33 new foreign enterprises were established in Portugal. Of these 18 were West German.

A subsidiary of the U.S. Company, Ludlow Corporation, in collaboration with CUF, the Portuguese trust, installed a new jute factory near Oporto (7-1-63). Capital invested 1 million pounds.

A British firm, W. Hurrell from Norwich, is going to build a shoe factory in Oporto.

The British-owned Lisbon Electric Tramways Ltd., which controls Lisbon public transport, paid 3 per cent. dividend for their 6 per cent. Cumulative Preference Shares (6-12-62).

Swedish industrialists, Andersson and B. Bunnestan, are going to build a paper factory in Portugal. (D.L. 9-12-62.)

Belgian capital is being invested in tourist enterprises. (D.L. 10-1-63.)

TEXTILES

Cotton textiles are the main Portuguese export; 60,000 tons were produced in 1960, 20,000 of which were exported. But the growth of the internal market has been very slow, only increasing by 10 per cent. in 10 years. Raw cotton comes mainly from Mozambique. (Report from the Oporto Industrial Association, 13-1-63.)

STEEL

Siderurgia Nacional, the only steel producer, was authorised to raise its capital from £9,375,000 to £10 million. (6-12-62)

CELLULOSE

The Socel Company increased its capital from 1.5 million pounds to 2.25 millions. (8-1-63)

MINING IN 1961

Minerals	Tons	Value in £
Coal	628,000	1,036,500
Pyrites	655,921	1,348,850
Copper	249,000	259,000
Iron	11,333	85,000
Manganese	2,550	857,350
Tungsten	1,058	555,600
Tin		

("Industrial Statistics," 1961, Lisbon)

The crisis in the tungsten mining, due to falling prices, was discussed in New York at a meeting where 28 countries participated. (D.L. 10-1-63.)

ELECTRIC CABLES

The administrator of the Avila enterprise went to Paris to hold conversations with Trefimetaux, which is associated to Siemens Schuckert in West Germany and Pirelli in Italy. (31-10-62)

CORK

A Portuguese-Spanish meeting on Cork problems took place in Madrid. Among problems discussed was Portugal and Spain membership of the European Confederation of Wood Industries. (D.L. 17-10-62.)

PORTUGUESE RAILWAYS

Eurofina—European Society for the Financing of Railway Material—conceded a loan of 25 million marks (DM)—equivalent to 2.35 million pounds—to the Portuguese Railways Company (C.P.), to be repaid in five years. Rate of interest 5½ per cent.

Direct carriage of goods by rail between Portugal and West Germany has been arranged. (D.L. 26-10-62.)

1961 PORTUGUESE EXPORTS

The total value of exports was £117 million, which did not prevent a deficit of £118 million.

Main Exports were:

Cotton textiles	£14.45 million
Tinned sardines	£11.57 "
Cork—Manufactured	£9.65 "
Cork—Raw Material	£7.65 "
Wood	£5.72 "
Wines—	
Port	£4.81 "
Others	£4.07 "
Pine Resins	£3.7 "
Tungsten	£1.13 "

Tourism was one of the main suppliers of foreign currency, bringing in £7.73 million, but this source has been decreasing substantially since 1959. (From the "Bulletin of Economic Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," Lisbon 1962.)

Campaign against repression in Portugal

— continued

are also under arrest), Octavio Pato, Julio Martins, Americo de Sousa, Jose Magro, etc., etc.

At the Peniche fortress, where many of these prisoners are kept, the conditions are almost unbearable. Three prisoners, Dr. Humberto Lopes, a lawyer, Carlos Costa and Dr. Orlando Ramos, a physician, were recently punished and beaten.

The condition of the women at the Caxias fortress is no better. Dr. Alda Nogueira is there sentenced to 8½ years in prison; Fernanda Tomaz to 8 years; Aida Magro and Aida Paulo have already spent 5 years in jail; Sofia Ferreira and Maria da Piedade are very ill; Dr. Candida Ventura is still kept under arrest in hospital.

All these sentences can be transformed into life sentences by the so-called "security measures" (Decree Law 40,550 of 12-3-56).

You can help these people by supporting the work of the British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty, with donations, local campaigns, letters to the local Press, etc. You can also write directly to prisoners (men, at Forte de Peniche, Peniche, Portugal; women, at Forte de Caxias, Caxias, Portugal). Or protest to the Portuguese Embassy (11 Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.)

PORTUGUESE BANKS IN 1962

Some of the most important Portuguese Banks have now published their 1962 reports. The table below shows the progress of Portuguese high finance.

Bank	Reserves & Capital in £	Net Profits in 1962 (£)
Espirito Santo	5,462,500	631,000
Fonseca Santos	7,500,000	300,000
Lisboa e Acores	2,425,000	211,800
Pinto e Sotto Mayor	2,375,000	300,000
Portugues do Atlantico	3,031,250	439,000

Echoes from the Portuguese Amnesty Conference

WHEN people from different countries gather together because they are moved by the sufferings and injustice of people in another country, they are loyal to the best traditions of their people, as they have not forgotten mankind as a whole. The 250 people who attended the West European Conference for Amnesty for Portuguese Political Prisoners and Exiles (Paris, 15th and 16th December), the many thousands who supported it, prove that the consciousness of Western Europe is alive to its own problems.

To the news in our last issue we add more reports in connection with the Conference.

British Press: A letter supporting the Conference and the work of the British Committee, signed by the Bishops of Southwark and Woolwich, Lord Archibald, Sir Julian Huxley, F.R.S., Professor Ayer, Judith Hart, M.P., and Eric Lubbock, M.P., was published in November by "The Times." On December 2 the "Observer" published a letter from Eric Lubbock on the same subject. "The Times," "Observer" and "Daily Worker" reported on the Conference happenings. In February, "Scottish Miner" published a large report by W. McLean, delegate to the Conference. The Labour weekly, "Tribune," published a letter supporting the campaign of the British Committee (8-2-62).

British M.P.s: Among other personalities the following M.P.s supported the Conference:

Labour: Sir Leslie Plummer, Judith Hart and L. Pavitt, delegates; also Fenner Brockway, Joyce Butler, Barbara Castle, Richard Crossman, Tom Driberg, Chuter Ede, Dingle Foot, Q.C., Anthony Greenwood, James Griffiths, Dennis Healy, Margaret Herbison, Jennie Lee, J. Mendelsohn, B. Oram, Wm. Rodgers, John Stonehouse and K. Zilliacus. Liberals: Jo Grimond, Eric Lubbock and Jeremy Thorpe.

Other international support: Ex-President Vincent Auriol, La Pira (Mayor of Florence), Vittorio de Sica, the President of the Senate of Venezuela, the Chilean Confederation of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of Soviet Trade Unions, International Commission of Jurists, International Association of Demo-

cratic Lawyers, Dutch Party of Labour, Dutch Socialist Pacifist Party, the Unified French Socialist Party, the Italian National Co-operative League, the Mozambique Democratic Movement, the Angolan United Front, the American Committee on Africa, etc., etc.

Support from Portugal: The political prisoners from Caxias and Peniche, the joint Central Committee for Patriotic Action (who sent a special delegate to the Conference), the Oporto Joint Committees for Patriotic Action, Lisbon and Oporto Youth, Angolan and Goan political prisoners, widow of Jose Dias Coelho (murdered by Salazar's PIDE), women political prisoners, Lisbon engineers, agricultural workers from Couso, building workers from Almada, metal workers in the Alfeite Arsenal and at the Lisbon firm Parry and Son, miners from S. Pedro da Cova and Aljustrel, etc.

From Portuguese Abroad: Practically all the Portuguese Democratic organizations abroad supported the Conference.

"Portugal Democratico," the mouthpiece of Portuguese in Brazil, published in its January issue a large front page portrait of Lord Russell, with excerpts of his message to the Conference, sent through the British Committee, besides large reports on the same.

The Portuguese in Toronto, Canada, picketed with posters their Consulate on the day of the Conference as reported by the Canadian Press.

Message to the Portuguese Political Prisoners: The Conference sent them a message which ended: "Hold firm, dear Portuguese friends! For their courage and integrity your people is admired by all free men all over the world. Your people will be free of the Fascist dictatorship shackles."

THEY HATE THE PEOPLE: In an important interview with the **Daily Worker**, "the Prison-House that is Portugal" (26-1-62), Mrs. Judith Hart, Labour M.P. for Lanark, gave an excellent account of the tortures and brutalities inflicted on Portuguese political prisoners. Mrs. Hart reported a conversation she had with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Franco Nogueira, who told her that "our people were not educated enough for democracy."

PROTESTS AGAINST REPRESSION

AT the House of Commons on 11-2-63, Mr. L. Pavitt, Labour M.P., asked the Lord Privy Seal, regarding radio broadcasts to Portugal, if he was aware "that a large section of public opinion in this country opposes the way in which political prisoners are being treated in Portugal." (**Hansard, 931-32 Oral Answers**)

The following letters of protest have been sent by Labour Party Constituencies:

20th February, 1963.

The Prime Minister,
House of Commons,
Westminster.

Sir,

This Constituency Labour Party, representing many thousands of electors in this area, calls upon the British Government to withdraw support from Portugal in the United Nations, in view of the repressive measures that the Portuguese Government adopted towards democratic elements in their own country.

We believe that the suppression of democratic rights in any country is the concern of peoples everywhere.

We hope that your Government, democratically elected by the people of this country, will cease supporting the Portuguese Government that was not democratically elected by the people of Portugal.

Yours sincerely,
HARRY SHINDLER,
Secretary/Agent.

20th February, 1963.

The Portuguese Ambassador.

Dear Sir,

This Constituency Labour Party, representing many thousands of residents of this area, wish for you to convey our protest to your Government at the repression of democratic rights and democratic elements in Portugal.

We believe that this repression is incompatible with Human Rights and that the suppression of these rights in any country is an attack, not only on the citizens of Portugal, but on the rights of free peoples all over the world.

We are today also protesting at your Government's action to the British Government, and urging that we should cease supporting your country in the United Nations.

Yours sincerely,
HARRY SHINDLER,
Secretary/Agent.

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Problems of the Novel under Salazar

by G. Araujo

THE oppression of Portuguese intellectuals and the ruthless suppression of many interesting artistic movements by Salazar's dictatorship, have often been described in detail in this paper.¹ Using all sorts of drastic measures, Salazar has fought with pertinacity to eliminate any form of disagreement to his autocratic rule. His ambition is, and has always been, to create an intellectual "vacuum." Third-rate journalists and hacks are given lavish support at the expense of the Portuguese taxpayer in order to bolster up a weakening regime.

In these circumstances the English reader might expect that no literature of any real significance would be written inside Portugal at the present time. Such a conclusion—although natural—would on closer examination of the situation turn out to be false. Despite political persecution, and the attempt to deprive writers of their means of livelihood, Salazar has not succeeded in bringing the writers into line. All Portuguese writers of any literary merit have refused to subscribe to any of Salazar's slogans.

Thus a clear-cut distinction must be made between Portuguese culture as a whole and the official version of it. Nevertheless, the handicaps to which writers have been subjected, and the tremendous individual frustrations caused by the censorship (which in some cases have ruined fine literary projects) have left their ugly mark on our national culture. Literature is only tolerated in so far as it keeps to marginal issues, where there is no danger that it might challenge the institutions and the ideas that support the Fascist oligarchy. Consequently, writers are becoming in-

creasingly reluctant to tackle new and interesting subjects. And so, even if the general performance of Portuguese writers may seem creditable, the sad fact remains that a Portuguese literature of higher quality and of a wider human appeal has been prevented from developing.

THE SITUATION OF THE WRITER

It is not easy for a writer to make a living in Portugal. To be economically independent, and in no need of a job where the Government through the Secret Police would have the last word, is the ambition of all men of letters. But very few succeed in this dream.

A novel, a book of poems, or a book of essays may easily take a writer one year to complete. But when he hands over the typescript to his publisher he will be lucky if he gets more than £100. When royalties are paid and all his gains properly assessed, he will have in the end little more than £300 to £400, if he is highly successful. As the author, more often than not, cannot work for the Radio or Television (which are under strict Government control), he is unable, unlike his English or French counterpart, to supplement his small income with any extra earnings in these fields.

The reason for the small return from authorship lies in the small number of people who can afford to buy books. Furthermore, after 36 years of Salazar's rule, nearly 40.4 per cent. of the population are still illiterate. The working people, who form 80 per cent. of the whole population, have had 3 years of primary school as their sole education. The number of public libraries throughout the country is small, and

according to statistical data available for 1959, the number of volumes per head is 0.3, as compared with 1.1 in Belgium and 1.7 in Denmark.

Faced with such low maximum sales, the publisher cannot afford to pay high royalties to the author. If, on the other hand, he fears the banning of a particular book, he may bring, quite honestly, a certain pressure on the writer, in order to delete a passage or pages which he may consider unacceptable to the authorities.

These are the tremendous hazards with which Portuguese writers have had to contend for many years. The great majority of them have taken other jobs to eke out a living.

Time for writing is, therefore, very limited and demands such a heroic effort on the part of the writer that much potentially fine work remains unfinished. Recently, Alves Redol, a prominent novelist and a literary prizewinner, at the end of a long and brilliant career, was forced to seek employment as a clerk, because he could not live any more on the income derived from his books.²

EXPOSING COLONIALISM

That Portugal has at the moment any literature at all is almost a miracle. But Portuguese writers are deeply aware of the brilliant literary tradition that flourished for more than eight centuries and has given birth to a new culture of Portuguese origin on the other side of the Atlantic. Brazilian literature now stands entirely on its own, but there are close and fraternal ties between the writers of both countries. And it is, perhaps, this sense of the universality of the language, coupled with the ideal of loyalty to national values that has proved one of the best strongholds for the defence of freedom.

Thus, braving many difficulties, some Portuguese writers were the first to describe the inhuman treatment imposed on the African by the white settler under Salazar's New Rule. Castro Soromenho, who since 1942 has focused attention on Angola with his novel *Homens sem caminho* (*Men with no direction*), made a further violent indictment of Portuguese colonial rule in *Terra Morta* (1949).

Rodrigues Junior tried to elucidate the character and the behaviour of the African from Mozambique in two novels of limited success (*O Branco da Motase*, 1962; *Calanga*, 1955.)³

More recently, Orlando Costa, a Goan by birth, who has lived for some time in Portugal, wrote a remarkable novel (*O Signo da Ira—The Sign of Wrath*, 1961), which shows the struggle of a Goanese family against physical conditions. The action takes place at the time of Portuguese occupation, and the plot is skilfully woven to show how a century-old colonial administration influences the ordinary lives of people so that they would rather

blame their ill-fated stars than their masters.

This early awareness of the colonial problem, aggravated by Fascist ruthlessness, does credit to the courage of the Portuguese writers. The novels of Soromenho and Orlando Costa have been selected for their intrinsic literary value. Both Soromenho and Costa have a deep understanding of the people they are writing about. They have also a keen ear for the kind of idiomatic Portuguese spoken in those remote parts. They have disregarded academic preoccupations, which lay down that a work of art should always be written in standard speech, and have reproduced in their work the language of the people.

From this point of view the novel of Orlando Costa is particularly interesting. The author succeeds for the first time in giving literary form to the Portuguese idiom spoken by the Goan community. And the result is both fascinating and artistically successful. Orlando Costa was awarded a literary prize by the Portuguese Academy of Letters but later saw his book banned by the Fascist authorities. The ban has now been lifted.

THE CONTROVERSY OF NEO-REALISM

The issue of "neo-realism" is still a very live one in Portugal as it is in other literary circles of the west. In England itself the same problem (though not always described by this term) engages the attention of critics and writers.

It was in the early forties that the need for a new realism began to be felt in Portugal. There was a growing realisation that literary work should deal with urgent contemporary themes. But there were conflicting trends. For instance, the magazine *Presenca* (1927-1940), which had done good work in making known in Portugal the names of Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, Gide, Proust and others, produced a code of aesthetic niceties which—if observed—would have led the writer further away from the sense of human values which are an essential part of any great work of art.

Healthier trends were to be observed in novels by Alves Redol *Gaibeus* appeared in 1940, *Avieiros* in 1942. In *Fanga* (1943) Redol showed the tragic condition of the impoverished peasants in all its crudity. With this work, and *Esteiros* (1941) by Soeiro Pereira Gomes, which dealt with a similar theme, it was clear that the first remarkable works of a new movement had arrived.

In *Rosa dos Ventos* (1940) Manuel da Fonseca pointed out new directions for poetry. The term "neo-realism" first began to be used by critics about this time but it has never been precisely defined.

The works mentioned may, however, be taken as first contributions to a new trend. The movement created its own impetus. It produced *Casa na Duna* (1943) by Carlos de Oliveira, *Cerromaior* (1944) and *Seara de Vento* (1958) by Manuel da Fonseca, *Olhos de Agua* (1954) by A. Redol, *Minas de S. Francisco* (1946) by Fernando Namora and *O Anjo Ancorado* (1958) by Carlos Pires.⁴ The books mentioned here would bring credit to the literature of any country.

It would be unfair to omit older and eminent writers whose work has still a tremendous influence in Portugal. Aquilino Ribeiro and Ferreira de Castro (whose novel *A La e a Neve* (1947) owes much to neo-realism) are two towering figures who have a place apart in our modern fiction. They have never shut themselves off from the new winds of literary change and have always dealt, in their own personal way, with the problems of contemporary life. *The Mission*, a novel by Ferreira de Castro has just been published in England by Hamish Hamilton.

Inevitably, the weaknesses of some writers of the neo-realist school have laid the trend open to attack. Hostile critics have accused some of these writers of not integrating their themes fully into their work. As always with innovators, they have been accused of lack of technical finish. While some of these criticisms have been made in good faith, others have come from paid hacks of the Salazar regime; for the one thing the Salazarists could not bear to see was the appalling conditions of Portuguese life portrayed quite openly in the novel.

Mario Dionisio, a critic who defended neo-realism, was accused of dogmatism. Two weekly magazines—*Diabo* (1934/1941) and *Sol Nascente* (1937/1940) were banned. After these suppressions, attacks continued through the Press.

SOME LIMITATIONS

Were the neo-realists exempt from the faults and failures that the best and ablest critics detected in the movement? Needless to say, in some points the critics were right. A rather loose construction of the plot, a certain tendency to give absolute priority to a study of social environment, as well as a deliberate neglect of form, have been serious flaws in some of these works.

In fact, all existing literary techniques were inadequate to the task these writers set out to accomplish. Nevertheless, the novels which I have cited all show qualities which effectively disprove attempts by hostile critics to write the school off as a failure.

Recently, abler exponents of the aims and motives of neo-realism have helped to clarify the task of

writers of this school. One may mention Oscar Lopes; also A. J. Saraiva (a university professor forced by the regime to live in exile). The movement is now moving forward to new strength. Hostile critics have sought to exploit this by declaring that since the movement has changed so much since its first hesitant beginnings, it should now be written off as dead!

On the contrary.

A NEO-REALIST MASTERPIECE

In the work of Alves Redol the movement has now produced a master. Redol has reached the peak of his career with two outstanding novels—*A Barca dos Sete Lemes* (1959) and *O Barranco dos Cegos* (1962). The first of these books, particularly, is nearly a literary masterpiece.

The plot is elaborate; the theme unusual. Two Portuguese men meet in a prison cell in the South of France at the time of the German occupation. One is a prisoner charged with anti-Fascist activities; the other is his jailer. The jailer, a Vichy agent, feels drawn to the prisoner and gradually tells of his life. In a series of flashbacks as seen from the prison cell, we are taken to a village in Portugal, to France and to North Africa. It is possible to detect in the hero seven dominant and contradictory psychological factors which are symbolised in the title of the book, *The Boat With Seven Rudders*.

How events and circumstances affect the make-up of the central character is the great secret of this rather long narrative in which A. Redol leaves many roads open and offers no solutions. The solid fabric of the book, its terse literary texture, an avoidance of facile pity and emotionalism, put this novel in a class apart in our modern fiction.

Redol describes his novel as a neo-realist work. In doing this, Redol was implicitly criticising the attitude of some fellow-novelists who have publicly rejected the movement in which they won their first laurels.

NEW THEMES IN REALISM

A trend away from realism is to be seen in the works of writers such as Virgilio Ferreira and Fernando Namora who have become preoccupied with problems of loneliness, death and suffering. A writer formerly influenced by such trends, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, has reacted against them in his book of short stories, *As Aves da Madrugada* (1959) which depicts in new and vigorous tones scenes of peasant life, as well as the struggle of Portuguese men and women to keep a sense of human dignity under Fascism.

Luis de Sttau Monteiro, playwright and novelist, has also recently made a fresh attempt to treat realistic

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themes. Monteiro's two books **Um Homem nao chora (Man Doesn't Cry)** (1960), and **Angustia para o Jantar (Anxiety for Dinner)** (1961) became best-sellers overnight. The people who inhabit his novels come from the same segments of Portuguese society as the people favoured by the explorers of death and suffering. But Monteiro's characters are not going to let life slip through their fingers. The stories are told with an acid irony which shows up the pretensions and illusions of the middle-class. Well-contrived situations expose the emptiness of national prejudices. A conflict of generations, the fight of the young against corruption and the struggle for social position in the Salazar world is the central theme of **Anxiety for Dinner**.

One more book may be mentioned—that of the older novelist Rodrigues Migueis, **Escola do paraíso (The school of Paradise)** published in 1960. This renders, from a child's viewpoint, events that marked the first decade of this century, including the advent of our Republic (1910).

Truly, the analysis of Portuguese reality is at present the central problem of Portuguese letters. Salazar fears any literary school or schools which rise under this banner—and attacks them—but they proceed to new strength.

- 1 G. Araujo: "**Cultural Repression under Salazar**", Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, no. 2, vol. 1, 1962. Lourenco da Ponte: **Thirty Years of Culture**. Port. and Col. Bull, nos. 10-11, pp. 61-3, vol. 1, 1962.
- 2 Seara Nova, no. 1393-94, Nov.-Dec. 1961, pp. 260-1; and also nos. 1395-98, Jan., Feb., March and April, 1962.
- 3 Gerald M. Moser: **African Literature in the Portuguese Language in The Journal of General Education**, no. 4 (Jan., 1962), vol 13 (The Pennsylvania State Univ. Press).
- 4 **Tetracornio—Meio Seculo XX de Literatura Portuguesa, 1901-1950**.
- 5 V. Ferreira, preface to **O Existencialismo e um Humanismo** (pp. 169, Lisbon, 1962).

DR. AGOSTINHO NETO

The President of the MPLA (People Movement for the Liberation of Angola), visited London at the end of January. At a Press Conference on the 26th he spoke against Salazar colonialism and the foreign support it receives.

MOZAMBIQUE

The main exports from Mozambique between January and September 1962 (sugar, nuts, tea, wood) amounted to £10,628,825. (D.L. 14-1-63.)

The projected oil pipe-line Beira-Umtali involves an agreement between seven countries and is expected to cost £11,000,000. (D.L. 17-10-62.)

A warning that unless Dr. Salazar heeds international opinion over Mozambique, his Government will be faced with another 'Angola-type war,' was given in Cairo by Mr. D. Mabunda, exiled secretary-general of the Mozambique Liberation Front. He added that, failing all other measures, the people would have to resort to violence. He alleged that refugees were fleeing daily from Mozambique into Tanganyika, carrying stories of the brutalities perpetrated by Portuguese troops. (Times, 1-12-62.)

Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Fascist Party, has visited Lourenco Marques, the capital of Mozambique. (D.L. 15-1-63.)

Almost a third of the population of Mozambique derives its income from the cultivation of cotton. (P.J. 12-12-62.)

SALAZAR

M.P. Joao Correia, speaking at National Assembly, complained of the great difficulties which industries in the colonies meet when they become competitors of similar industries in Portugal: he cited the case of a request for the creation of a match industry in Mozambique, made in 1951, having just been authorised, eleven years later! (P.J. 11-12-62.)

ANGOLA

According to a bulletin issued by the Agricultural Services of the U.S.A., Angola is expected to be in 1962-63 the biggest producer of coffee of all the African territories—3,050,000 bags out of a total of 14,000,000 bags. (P.J. 25-11-62.)

Angola exported in 1961 4.5 per cent. of the world's exports of coffee. (D.L. 30-11-62.)

The U.S.A. imported most of its coffee from Angola between January to November 1962 (171,771,000 pounds weight), according to statistics from the Secretariat of Commerce. (D.L. 4-1-63.)

The Portuguese ex-Minister of Overseas, Prof. A. Moreira, stated in an interview with the newspaper 'La Flandre Liberale' that the independence of Angola 'is completely out of the question.' (D.L. 15-11-62.)

The war in Angola is continuing. Portuguese newspapers constantly refer to troops being sent there. (D.L. 30-11-62; P.J. 9-1-63; P.J. 6-12-62; D.L. 22-11-62.) Deaths of

soldiers and officers are also reported. (D.L. 25-10-62; D.L. 17-11-62; D.L. 7-12-62) though usually these are said to be the result of 'accidents' of various kinds.

Sixty North American reporters visited Lisbon and later left for Portuguese Africa where they will spend one month. The journalists will be staying in Angola for some time. (D.L. 6-1-63.)

A new record in the production of the Diamond Company of Angola was announced: 1,147,589 'carats' in 1961. (D.L. 23-12-62.)

From 1963 there will be a new tax on coffee and sisal in Angola. The purpose is to assist the "Volunteer Corps" and to finance the Civil Defence of the Territory. (D.L. 2-1-63.)

The private budgets of the armed forces in Angola for 1963 amount to £5,259,975. (P.J. 10-1-63.)

Soldiers and officers awaiting trial are to be sent to the Portuguese colonies as part of the armed forces, except when the offences committed are punishable with expulsion from the army. (P.J. 1-12-62.)

A nationalist leader, Mr. L. Franque, speaking at the Trusteeship Commission of the U.N., requested the immediate independence of his territory, Cabinda, at present a district of Angola. (P.J. 21-11-62.)

GUINEA—Cape Verde

Frigate 'Nuno Tristao' arrived in Bissau, the capital of Portuguese Guinea. (D.L. 14-11-62.)

£108,750 has been set apart to build headquarters for the naval forces in Bissau. (P.J. 10-11-62.)

About £145,000 is to be spent on the construction of various buildings for the naval forces staying in St. Vincent (Cape Verde). (D.L. 15-11-62.)

The U.N. has issued a report on Portuguese Guinea. (P.J. 24-11-62.)

At the U.N. Trusteeship Commission Mr. Amilcar Cabral, president of the African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde, stated that his party will fight for the implementation of the resolutions passed by the U.N. He also warned the Spanish Government of the grave consequences which will follow from the policy of supporting Portugal in Africa: there is now evidence, he added, that there are Spanish soldiers in the Portuguese colonies. (D.L. 13-12-62.)

MACAO

The Government of this Portuguese Colony on the China coast decided to organize a force of volunteer reserve police, which can enroll foreign residents. (D.L. 23-1-63.)

Portuguese anti-fascist conference

TRIALS and TORTURE

ON December 19-21 somewhere in Europe there took place a meeting of representatives from all sections of the Portuguese Opposition. Some delegates came from Portugal. Others were Portuguese political leaders now living in exile.

The Conference was an important event for two main reasons. First because it strengthened considerably the unity of the anti-Fascist opposition, from left to right. Secondly because it showed decisively that for the Portuguese it is in Portugal that the centre of gravity of the anti-Salazar struggle exists.

We quote some of the decisions of this Conference.

"Regarding the problem of the national anti-Fascist organization . . . consider

(a) that it is necessary to strengthen the organization of the joint Committees for Patriotic Action (JAPs) and of the joint Central Committee for Patriotic Action . . .

(d) . . . to name the democratic movement formed by the JAPs "Patriotic Front of National Liberation" (FPLN) . . .

(g) that the anti-Fascist organization among the military forces has a decisive importance considering that without such a strong organization a successful revolution against the Fascist dictatorship is not viable.

(h) that the JAPs, organisms of the FPLN, will constitute the clandestine political organization that will direct the anti-Fascist struggle in all its forms. . .

(l) that it is fundamental for the growth of the democratic struggle in order to create a favourable situation to overthrow the Fascist regime, for there to be mobilization of the people for the most varied forms of legal and illegal struggle, based on economical, political or cultural claims . . .

Concerning the activity of the Opposition abroad, the participants consider it necessary to create abroad a Delegate Committee of the FPLN, linked to the organization inside Portugal and under the direction of the joint Central Committee for Patriotic Action.

This Delegate Committee will be representative of the United movement inside Portugal . . .

The participants consider that to make known to foreign public opinion the evils of the Salazar regime will continue to be the task of the Portuguese democratic organizations existing abroad, taking account of the conditions prevalent in each country.

Concerning the colonial problem the participants arrived at the following conclusions:

(a) they think that the United Opposition must reaffirm the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence. (b) they think that Portuguese democratic and patriotic forces must intensify their action against Salazar's colonial policy that is driving Portugal to a national catastrophe.

They think that they must fight for a just solution of the colonial problem and struggle for:

(1) the immediate end to the military operations in Angola and the withdrawal of the expeditionary forces.

(2) the opening of negotiations with the African nationalist organizations.

(3) the establishment of democratic liberties in the Portuguese colonies, namely political liberty for the nationalist movements.

(4) the liberation of all the political prisoners in the Portuguese colonies.

(5) they think it necessary in the common struggle against Salazar's Fascist and colonialist dictatorship to establish regular contacts of the FPLN with the nationalist organizations of the Portuguese colonies and whenever possible, co-operation and negotiation.

Concerning the European Common Market the participants decided the following line of practical action:

(a) to fight against the entry of the Salazar Government into the European common market.

(b) not to forecast or take decisions in relation to the position of a future Portuguese democratic government regarding the Common Market, stressing that it will be the task of the Portuguese people when they can do so freely to decide about this or any other problem of their national policy."

SALAZAR'S repressive machine does not stop. The Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced Augusto de Oliveira, on the 9-2-63, to one-and-a-half years in prison and loss of political rights for 5 years. He is a car-sprayer from Coimbra, aged 48 years. Five other people from Coimbra, Tondela and Viseu were given suspended sentences, with loss of political rights.

The same court on 16-2-63 sentenced Alfredo Pedrosa and Fausto Marta to two years in jail and Fernando Adao and Alberto Januario, all from Coimbra, to 22 months each in jail and loss of political rights for 5 years.

On 12-2-63, PIDE, the secret police, issued a communique announcing the arrest of anti-Salazarists, Rolando Verdial, son of the well-known Oporto liberal lawyer Dr. Mem Verdial, who had previously been kept in prison for 8 years), Adelino Silva, Jaime Gomes, Gilberto Ferreira and his wife Ermelinda Maria. In the same communique PIDE referred to the "investigations" concerning the activities of the painter Nikias Scapinakis and the economist, Dr. Gilberto Ramos, arrested last October, accused of being members of the Joint Committees for Patriotic Action (united anti-Salazar front).

Information continues to reach us about the treatment of political prisoners. Custodia Chibante, a peasant woman from Couso, was arrested by PIDE on the morning of April 27th last year. On June 12th she was submitted to 98 hours continuous interrogation and severely beaten by three women and a man. PIDE agents whose names are known. Some days later there was a new interrogation and beating by a PIDE Chief of Brigade whose name is known. On October 11th a new interrogation and brutal beating by the same agent. She was freed the following day, after five-and-a-half months incommunicado, without newspaper or books, without ever being brought before a Court. When she arrived back at her village nearly 400 people (a large proportion of the local population) collected to welcome her.

JOAQUIM GONCALVES and his wife MARIA LUISA da SILVA were arrested seven months ago and no one knows where they are, says another report reaching Britain from Portugal. The reports says relatives have tried without success to visit the arrested couple and have been threatened by the police as a result. One relative was arrested for protesting too vigorously. Letters sent to the prisoners have been returned marked "Not known."

EMIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL

After 36 years of Salazar rule people continue to leave Portugal to look for better living conditions abroad.

From 1950 to 1961, there were 408,742 emigrants, out of a total (1961) population of 9 million. This number represents 30 per cent. of the net increase of the Portuguese population. (N. Simoes, P.J. 15-11-62.)

In 1961 the number of emigrants was 33,526, which represent 1,208 more than in 1960.

The following table shows the main countries of destination for the emigrants:

Brazil	16,073
France	5,446
U.S.A.	3,370
Venezuela	3,347
Canada	2,635

Women Protest

Dr. Maria Luisa Costa Dias Soares is a Portuguese Catholic physician, married to the political leader Dr. Pedro Soares.

She comes from a well-known Lisbon liberal family, who count some representative intellectuals among their members. She was arrested some years ago because she had accompanied her husband, who had tried to escape from Salazar's repression by hiding in Portugal. She was held for a year before being tried, and at her trial she was acquitted.

She was arrested again on 5th December, 1958, on similar charges. She waited two years before being brought to trial.

As a result of her imprisonment a chronic illness from which she suffered was much aggravated.

In August 1959 she was transferred to a hospital. But as her husband, who had also been arrested, had succeeded in escaping from the Peniche Fortress, the police once

again sent her back to Caxias Prison, although no diagnosis of her illness had been made.

As a result of improper medical care her condition worsened. She was meanwhile brought to trial—she was unable to attend, due to her serious condition—and was sentenced to 2 years of corrective imprisonment, which she had in fact already served, but as in addition security measures were applied, she was kept in jail.

After vigorous protest by her family the police agreed for her to be transferred to hospital again, on condition that they paid all expenses for her treatment.

During her stay in hospital she was watched night and day by police agents; male agents frequently entered her room, without requesting permission, and insulted her. She was operated on and had one of her breasts removed. During the operation a woman police agent in the guise of a nurse was present.

A few days after the operation, while still extremely weak and unable to stand, she was again transferred to Caxias prison. Transport by ambulance was forbidden and this "could cause public scandal."

After this her condition quickly deteriorated; she lost 44lb. in weight. Her weight was reduced to 5½ stone. After another 8 months in prison—PIDE had promised to free her (but only if her husband gave himself up)—she was again transferred to hospital at the expense of her family, still under arrest. Learning that she could die at any moment, and also as a result of the international campaign for her liberation, PIDE decided to release her last year, on payment of £625 surety and under condition that for the next five years Dr. Soares, (a) should not go anywhere away from home without authorisation; (b) should report to the police at the end of every month.

Dr. Soares' condition is still extremely grave. According to medical opinion she is incurable while under the conditions in which she is forced to live, under constant police vigilance.

It is imperative that she receives proper treatment abroad in another psychological environment.

We appeal to all men and women of goodwill to exert every effort (letters to the press, trade union and other organisation protests, local campaigns, protest letters to the Portuguese Embassy, 11 Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.) to save Dr. Maria Louisa Costa Dias Soares, **by her being allowed to leave Portugal and have treatment abroad.**

PRESS CONFERENCE

Dr. Manuel Sertorio, exiled leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party (Uniao Socialista), gave a press conference in London on 9th January, to report on the December Anti-Fascist Conference he had attended, and whose resolutions we partially reproduce in this issue.

Protests against repression — from page 115

The Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London.

Dear Prime Minister,

The Cheadle County Constituency Labour Party is concerned at the repression practised by the Governments of Spain and Portugal, and the treatment of political prisoners. We ask that you make representations to these governments and refrain from giving support to these countries at the United Nations.

Yours sincerely,

for Cheadle County Constituency
Labour Party.
Hon. Secretary/Agent.

9 Gainsborough Avenue,
Marple Bridge,
Stockport, Cheshire.

Marple 1890. 3rd February, 1963

The Secretary,
Parliamentary Labour Party,
House of Commons,
London.

Dear Colleague,

The Constituency Party has sent resolutions of protest to the Portuguese and Spanish Ambassadors, protesting at the repression in those countries and the treatment of political prisoners. Also to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary asking them to make representations and cease supporting these countries at the United Nations. We ask the Parliamentary Labour Party to note these and continue to press for the downfall of these two Fascist regimes.

Yours sincerely,

for Cheadle County Constituency
Labour Party.
Hon. Secretary/Agent.

9 Gainsborough Avenue,
Marple Bridge,
Stockport, Cheshire.

Marple 1890. 3rd February, 1963

H.E. The Portuguese Ambassador,
Portuguese Embassy,
London.

Your Excellency,

This Cheadle County Constituency Labour Party is concerned at the repression practised by your Government in Portugal and Angola and would welcome the release of the many political prisoners.

Yours sincerely,

for Cheadle County Constituency
Labour Party.
Hon. Secretary/Agent.

9 Gainsborough Avenue,
Marple Bridge,
Stockport, Cheshire.

Marple 1890. 3rd February, 1963

The Foreign Secretary,
Foreign Office,
London.

Dear Foreign Secretary,

The Cheadle County Constituency Labour Party is concerned at the repression practised by the Governments of Spain and Portugal, and the treatment of political prisoners. We ask that you make representations to these governments and refrain from giving support to these countries at the United Nations.

Yours sincerely,

for Cheadle County Constituency
Labour Party.
Hon. Secretary/Agent.

NEWS FROM PORTUGAL

FIGURES EXPOSE FASCIST PROPAGANDA

The *Jornal Portugues de Economia e Financas* (15-11-62), a magazine which reflects the interests of Portuguese big business, published an article, "Perspective of Economic Development" (pp. 15-16) in which a frank criticism is made of the economy under the Salazar regime.

The author of the article draws attention to the economic stagnation of the country and refers to its backwardness in relation to the rest of Europe. Portugal has only two towns of any significance (Lisbon and Oporto). Its agriculture is "medieval" and its basic industries are far too small.

On the whole 82 per cent. of the people live in rural areas and in small fishing villages on the coast. Life in those centres is dull, poor and without any cultural recreation whatsoever. And yet, even though 4/5 of the Portuguese people live and work in the country, the agricultural output is inadequate for the country's needs.

Industrial production is very poor regarding electricity, cement and steel. Portugal produces less than 4 million kwatts. of electricity per year. In cement, the annual output is 1,200,000 tons, and the yearly production of iron and steel reached only 250,000 tons. In Europe, the only countries at a similar level of production are Eire, Greece and Turkey.

To reach a European level, Portugal should produce more than 10 million kwatts. of electricity. If we doubled our output of cement we should be still at the bottom of European production. The recently created steel industry can scarcely satisfy our national needs. At present we cannot even foresee the time when we might be able to reach these modest targets.

The much advertised plans of development by Salazar and his ministers have not reduced the backwardness of Portuguese economy in relation to Europe (p. 16). The Second Plan is coming to an end and no change of any real significance has taken place in Portugal.

RISING PRICES

Rising prices and a debit balance of £64,150,125 in Portugal's trade balance with foreign countries were some of the economic characteristics of 1962. (*The Times*, 7-1-63.)

AN ECONOMY OF FOREIGN LOANS

The Portuguese Government has raised a loan with the Federal Republic of West Germany. Through the "Kreditanstalt fur Wiederaufbau" the Portuguese Fascists will get 150 million D.M. (£12,500,000), which they will have to pay back in 25 years at an annual rate of interest of 3½ per cent.

(*Jornal Port. de Economia e Financas*, 15-11-62, p. 35.)

This is not the only loan raised by the Salazar Government. One loan for 25 million pounds has been negotiated with the Import and Export Bank of Washington. A 7.5m. pound credit has been obtained from a French group, and a similar sum lent by a group of American banks.

The Salazar Government needs £87,500,000 in foreign capital in order to complete the second six-year development plan. This plan is now entering its fifth year, and, as we have already seen, it will not alter the present situation of Portugal as an underdeveloped country. Of the needed sum Portugal has already negotiated £56,250,000.

TOO POOR TO BUY A RADIO

In the 30th Congress of the Portuguese branch of the Philips company held in Lisbon it was revealed that 2,230,000 Portuguese families own 1,000,000 radio sets and 70,000 television sets. This means that 55 per cent. of the Portuguese families do not own a radio and that only 3.1 per cent. possess a TV set. (D.L. 17-10-62.)

THE FINANCIAL TIMES AT FAULT

The Lisbon newspaper *Diario de Lisboa* (23-10-62) protests in a leader against a statement made by the *Financial Times*, which maintained that the cost of living in Lisbon was "reasonable" for the Portuguese. The *Diario de Lisboa* challenges the *Financial Times* to produce its figures, and warns that what may be cheap to a foreign visitor is not necessarily so for the Portuguese.

BLACK MARKET IS RIFE

The Portuguese potato crop has been far too small for the needs of the country. So 10,000 tons of potatoes have been imported. But the scarcity of this vegetable in the market has continued. It is rumoured that the potato has been sold at high prices for seed.

At the same time eggs and olive oil have also disappeared and can be found only in the black market. The farmers do not get any special profits from this scarcity of food. Who is speculating and making a fortune from the poor? (*Diario de Lisboa*, 15-1-63.)

PORTUGUESE FASCISM AND SOUTH AFRICA

In the United Nations, the Portuguese delegate, Dr. Antonio Patricio, while paying lip service to the condemnation of "apartheid," voted against any sanctions being imposed on South Africa. (D.L., 2-11-62.)

EDUCATION UNDER SALAZAR

In the northern district of Castelo Branco 85 per cent. of boys and girls cannot pursue their studies for lack of high schools (*liceus*). If parents had the means, they would have to send the children to another district. But this is out of the question, because 95 per cent. of the families concerned have no means to do that. So children at the age of 10-11 have to cease their education.

The high school (*liceu*) of Castelo Branco, originally built for 600 students, holds at present 1,500. (P.J., 11-12-62.)

The Faculties of Arts and Sciences of Coimbra University have exactly the same number of professors and lecturers as they had 30 years ago, it was pointed out in the National Assembly (Fascist Parliament of Salazar's yes-men. (P.J., 14-12-62.)

Salazar's Window Dressing

Salazar is always trying to deceive international opinion. By frequent new legislation he still hopes to convince the world that the regime has changed its character.

Last summer a new decree, which came into force on January 1st, was issued to ban prostitution throughout the country. Until now prostitution was a source of revenue for the State. Every street-walker had to pay taxes.

The new law is rather ambiguous in defining the term "prostitution." For instance, an unmarried woman living with a man may come under the definition given in the law. (*Republica* 27-9-62.)

The present decree does not deal in any way with the root causes of the problem, i.e. unemployment, extremely low wages, and one of the poorest living standards in Europe. These are the main factors behind this social problem.

Also, the new law does not make any provision for the rehabilitation of the women concerned.

NO!

TO SALAZAR'S POLICY

ALL OVER THE WORLD

PORTUGUESE policy in Africa was criticized by President Sekou Toure during the opening session of a meeting of Afro-Asian jurists held in Conakri. The President also stressed how disappointed African peoples were to note the complete inability of International Law to give back to their own peoples the territories of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. (D.L. 16-10-62.)

The 51st Interparliamentary Conference ended recently in Brazilia after Mr. Habib Tliba and Mr. Rishnamoorthy, delegates respectively from Tunisia and India, had criticized Portugal's policy in Africa and supported the struggle for independence in Angola. (D.L. 2-11-62.)

Uganda has put an end to consular relations with Portugal, it was officially announced in Kampala. (P.J. 4-11-62.)

The U.N. "sub-committee of five" for Angola has presented its report to the General Assembly. They propose immediate negotiations between Portugal and the "rebels" in order to bring peace again to that territory and the transference of power to the population. (D.L. 17-11-62.)

The report also states that Portugal should stop immediately all military actions in Angola, should abstain from any further repressive measures and at the same time free all political prisoners by means of a general amnesty. All this Portugal should do in obedience to decisions passed at the General Assembly of the U.N., declares the report, and if Portugal fails to carry out these decisions the Security Council and the General Assembly should decide on further measures so as to ensure the fulfilment of these essential steps towards a peaceful solution in Angola. The report also suggests that it would be very useful for the governments who are on good terms with Portugal to put pressure on the Portuguese government to try and make it understand the political realities concerning Angola. The committee regrets the total lack of co-operation by the Portuguese during their visit to Africa. They were not allowed into Angola and had to interview Angolan refugees in Leopoldville. (P.J. 21-11-62.)

The Liberian delegate at the U.N. General Assembly pointed out recently that Portugal still adopts 15th-century practices in Africa and the delegate from Nigeria accused the white states that still control the southern part of Africa of having joined in a "damned alliance, with N.A.T.O.'s support, mostly dependent on agreements made with big capitalist trusts seeking to maintain their positions of privilege." (P.P. 21-11-62.)

The delegate from Guinea attacked the N.A.T.O. powers for their military aid to Portugal in the Angola war. He then paid a tribute to the African nations that have been helping the Angolan nationalist movement and declared his government would give the strongest support to the liberation of Portuguese Guinea. He also warned the Portuguese government that it must suspend any further flights by military aircraft over Guinean soil. (D.L. 22-11-62.)

Mr. Abdu Ciss, the U.N. representative from Senegal, pointed out at the Trusteeship Committee that if Portugal still refuses to comply with the obligations stated in the U.N. Charter, sanctions should be applied. These should cover: (a) Break of diplomatic relations with Portugal; (b) Boycott of Portuguese goods; (c) Recommendation to the other member states to cease any sort of assistance to Portugal which

in any way helps the present policy; (d) Ask the Security Council to examine articles 40 and 41 of the Charter in order to adopt the sanctions applicable to Portugal so as to force this country to end its repressive policy; (e) Ask the Security Council for action under article 6 of the Charter (expulsion of a member state) to be considered. (D.L. 30-11-62.)

Intensive attacks regarding the presence of Portugal in Angola were made in the U.N. by the Afro-Asian and Communist countries. (Headline in P.J. 7-12-62.)

The General Assembly has approved the Afro-Asian motion asking Portugal to grant immediate independence to its African colonies and establishing that in case of refusal by Portugal further action by the Security Council should be undertaken. A second motion also passed by the Afro-Asian group proposes the setting up of a project by the U.N. regarding the training of native students for future posts of command in Portuguese territories. This motion was voted by acclamation, 96 nations having voted in favour and just two (Portugal and South African Republic) against it. (D.L. 15-12-62.)

The U.N. General Assembly has condemned Portugal's colonial policy as "inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations." It called on all states to stop selling arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government. Should Portugal refuse to comply with the resolution, the Security Council was asked "to take all appropriate measures" to secure Portugal's "compliance with its obligations as a member state." The resolution upheld "without any reservations" the claims of the peoples of Portuguese territories to immediate independence. (The Times 18-12-62.)

The General Assembly approved a motion which demanded immediate independence for Angola. Fifty-seven states voted in favour of the motion, 14 against and 18 abstained. Britain and the United States voted against the motion.

FASCIST CRUSADERS

SALAZAR has always had close relationship and association with other Fascist regimes. Hitler, Mussolini and Franco were his friends.

After the Second World War Portugal provided a welcoming refuge for Nazis and dethroned royalty. Later followed French OAS men and Baptista, of Cuba.

Salazar has decided to defend and protect the West from the temptation of Democracy, and to contribute at all costs to the dangerous atmosphere of the Cold War.

He believes that he is the new chosen prophet whose mission lies in spreading the Fascist gospel among the Western democracies

under the guise of a righteous anti-Communist campaign.

His Bureau of Political Propaganda distributes a new monthly political magazine in French, "La Voix de L'Occident," which is printed in Lisbon. This magazine publishes lectures and talks which have been broadcast in French by the radio known as the Voice of the West.

On the 5th of November last a Portuguese section of the European Centre of Documentation and Information (based in Munich, West Germany) was inaugurated in Lisbon. This centre, it is said, aims at uniting National elites "that can influ-

(Continued on back page)

FOREIGN POWERS HELP SALAZAR

THE Portuguese Opposition, although conscious of the fact that Portugal's problems can only be solved internally through the determined efforts of the people, is nevertheless perturbed at the links which certain nations seem to share with Salazar's government. Their attitude is not limited to an expression of opinions — on the whole irrelevant, or inspired by motives or pressures sufficiently shameful to invalidate all their moral value. There is also effective aid, albeit in disguised form.

It is an aid all the more effective since without it Salazar could not retain power—with the overwhelming majority of the nation against him, the public coffers exhausted by an anachronistic and criminal colonial war, and an economic policy, ridiculously primitive, in which the first stages of the industrial revolution seem only recently to have been discovered.

Yet, in certain of the countries helping Salazar, there has been in the last few years, a tendency to denounce his methods of government and an increasing understanding of the reasons behind the opposition. The moral support this has provided the Portuguese Opposition is extremely valuable. But it is not enough. The Portuguese Opposition is not even asking for the same effective aid that has been given the Salazar Government. It is simply asking, as quite sufficient to its aspirations, that the aid at present given to Salazar be stopped, making it possible for the Dictatorship to stand alone for the first time in its history and to answer to the Portuguese people.

The Portuguese Opposition represents the Portuguese people. And the people, although they are struggling in drastically unequal conditions, will not much longer tolerate the government of Salazar. Whoever wishes to continue in the near future, to deal with Portugal, must, as soon as possible, stop helping Salazar.

And now let us see, through news

items taken from the Portuguese Press during the last few months, what certain governments and foreign personalities have actually been doing. From the official tone of these items, laconic and heavily-controlled by the censor though they are, we can understand many of the events taking place behind the facade, the visits (somewhat "ancien regime"), impassioned declarations, mutual decorations, and "patriotic" speeches.

The Secretary for Information, head of the government's propaganda service, paid an extensive visit to Germany. (D.L. 17-10-62.)

Dr. Correia de Oliveira, Assistant Minister to the President of the Council, went to Bonn to consult with the German authorities on problems relating to the European Common Market, with particular reference to the relations between Germany and Portugal. (D.L. 17-10-62.)

The Government of Western Germany has made a loan of 150 million marks to the Portuguese Government. (D.L. 16-11-62.)

Questioned about the possible concession of military bases to Western Germany, the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Franco Nogueira, declared that he had no knowledge of this, and thought that there must be some confusion over the construction of an airport at Faro, Algarve, which is being built with German money. (D.L. 21-11-62.)

The Attorney-General of the Portuguese Republic visited Germany for information purposes. (P.J. 11-12-62.)

The German newspaper, *Deutsche Tagespost*, 16-1-63, suggested in an article that the non-renewal of the agreement on the bases in the Azores would be a serious blow to the security of the West.

During a banquet organised by the Anglo-Portuguese Society in London on November 29th, the former Second-in-Command of NATO, General Sir Richard Gale, declared that, having had occasion to verify Portugal's efforts towards the supply of troops for the defence of the West, he considered that the Portuguese contribution was one of the strategic pillars of the Alliance, which he called the "Holy Trinity of Reprisal," and classified as the most important treaty ever signed in the entire history of the world. In reply, the Portuguese Ambassador, Dr. Manuel Rocheta, once more unleashed the full tide of his wrath against India, thanking the Anglo-Portuguese Society for the "significant message of solidarity which 224 of its members had addressed to the President of the Portuguese Republic during the Goa crisis."

The session ended in good Portuguese official style, with the conferment of the Military Order of Christ to Mr. J. C. Brown, President of the Society's Executive Committee. (P.J. 30-11-62.)

A French war squadron visited Portugal during manoeuvres. (P.J. 30-11-62.)

As did a Dutch warship, from the 16th to the 19th of November, on an operational and courtesy visit. (D.L. 16-11-62.)

The French submarine "Astree" visited Lisbon for military operations. (D.L. 23-11-62.)

Another French warship, the "Argens," visited Portugal. (D.L. 15-1-63.)

During the last stages of the Conference of the Peninsular Powers, which for the most part took place behind closed doors, the co-operation between the Portuguese-Spanish armed forces was stressed. From the numerous and prolix speeches, compliments, declarations of friendship, etc., the following choice item should be isolated: The Portuguese General Andrade e Silva declared that "between the Portuguese and Spanish armed forces the action is absolutely constructive, sincere and free of any political motives." (D.L. 27-11-62.)

In his New Year message, General Franco expressed his enormous admiration for the "exemplary and firm attitude of the Portuguese government." (P.J. 31-12-62.)

General Munoz Grandes, Vice-President of the Spanish Government, was invited to Portugal by the President of the Republic, Admiral Americo Tomaz, to participate in the pheasant and partridge hunting season. (P.J. 5-12-62.)

Admiral Americo Thomaz was invited in his turn to go hunting in Spain. (D.L. 12-1-63.)

The Portuguese Minister for the Army received a donation from the Mobil Oil Co., to be used for the acquisition of armaments. (P.J. 23-11-62.)

The missile carrier "Springfield" of the North American fleet, called at Lisbon in January and was visited and studied by officers of the Portuguese Fleet. (D.L. 9-1-63.)

Three destroyers are being built in Portugal at a cost of £3,750,000 each, to be shared equally between the Portuguese and American governments.

The American Naval Attache in Portugal, Mr. John Winfield, paid a visit of inspection to the Naval School at Alfeite. (P.J. 30-11-62.)

The Portuguese Minister for the Navy, Admiral Quintanilha de Mendonca Dias, paid a lengthy visit to the United States. The highlights of this visit were, according to the Portuguese Press:

Visits to the military installations at New Orleans (P.J. 12-12-62); to the San Diego base (P.J. 9-12-62); to the shipbuilding yards at Long Beach (P.J. 17-12-62); to Washington, where he was received by the highest military authorities (P.J. 28-11-62) to New York, where he was received by the Secretary for the Navy (P.J. 27-11-62); to Hollywood

(Continued over page)

STUDENTS AGAINST SALAZAR

LAST April-May great student strikes and demonstrations followed the refusal by the Fascist Government to authorize orderly celebrations of Student Day in the three Portuguese Universities (Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra).

Many University Professors expressed solidarity with the students. The rector of Lisbon University, a Catholic and a Government supporter, resigned. Forty-seven professors addressed a letter to the President of the Republic stressing that "on one side there was callousness, violence and injustice and on the other a whole youth giving so many proofs of generosity, maturity and understanding."

Reprisals followed, like the dismissal of Professor Magalhaes Godinho. Many students in Lisbon and Coimbra were suspended from the University for periods of two-and-a-half years accused, among other things, of "having contributed in some way to collective consciousness." PIDE, the political police, arrested and tortured a number of students, among them two girls Adalcina Silva and Margarida Losa. Also Victor Branco, Luis Lemos, Pedro Lemos and the secretary of the co-ordinating Student Associations Body (RIA), Medeiros Ferreira.

Jose Bernardino, well-known student leader, is kept in prison.

As the struggle continued, Salazar decided to take new measures. Last December the rectors and vice-rectors of Lisbon and Coimbra Universities resigned and a new education Minister was appointed.

The students strongly oppose the new Decree Law 44,632 of October last, which maintains strict control over their extra-mural activities and is no better than the long opposed Decree Law 40,900 of December 1956.

Demonstrations and gatherings continue. For example, on November 14, at the Lisbon University canteen a new broadsheet was issued to the population. It opposed the new decree-law, claimed University autonomy, proper functioning and free elections in their associations, creation of a National Student Union which would establish relations with other Unions all over the world; also, readmission of the suspended and liberation of the arrested colleagues.

On January 23 the students Fernando Seixas, Francisco Cordeiro and Jorge Pereira, who were recently released from prison, were again arrested by PIDE.

Foreign Powers Help Salazar

continued

where he was received by Jerry Lewis (D.L. 7-12-62); to Cape Canaveral (P.J. 27-11-62.)

The Legion of Merit was conferred on the Portuguese Minister.

The Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs also visited the United States to confer with President Kennedy and the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. At a dinner-reception in his honour held at the Overseas Press Club of New York, Dr. Franco Nogueira declared that Portugal accepted the non-existence of superior races, but added that since social development cannot be confined to strict periods, Portugal could not accept any fixed time limits for the implementation of racial equality in its overseas territories.

He concluded by saying that Portugal did not recognise the "invasion" of Goa and that the Portuguese Government would give its full moral support to any "revolutionary" movement in Goa. (P.J. 1-11-62.)

Two American Senators, those for South Carolina and Texas, accompanied by members of Congress, visited Portugal and were received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with whom they conferred on economic, political and military questions. (D.L. 24-11-62.)

Another group of American Senators visited Portugal and was received by Dr. Salazar. (P.J. 1-12-62.)

The United States, having made a proposal at UNO, in agreement with the Portuguese Government, for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the Angolan situation, later withdrew this proposal when an Afro-Asian group considered the proposal incomplete, since it did not take into account the true Angolan situation, nor did it envisage the possibility of decisive final action on the part of the U.N. The United States refused to consider any amendment of their proposal. (P.J. 21-12-62.)

The Americans are allowed to remain in the basis of Lages (Azores), pending further negotiations between the two governments. The agreement for the use of the bases by the Americans expired on Dec. 31st. (D.L. 4-1-63.)

Fascist Crusaders

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ence public life in the values of European Christian civilization." Present were Martin Artajo, ex-Franco Foreign Minister, president of the Spanish Catholic Action, director of the Spanish Catholic daily, "Ya"; Dr. Hans von Markatz, West German Minister for Federal Affairs; Professor Galvao Teles, present Portuguese Education Minister; Professor Adriano Moreira, at the time Portuguese Colonial Minister; Commander Sarmento Rodrigues, governor of the Mozambique Colony; Jorge de Melo, from the Portuguese CUF trust; the French delegate, Count de la Noe; delegates from Belgium, Greece and Austria and the Spanish, West German, Greek and Austrian Ambassadors in Lisbon. During the meeting it was revealed that the centre operates in all European countries with the exception of Eastern Europe and Holland, Italy, Norway and Denmark. Martin Artajo said "There is a great man in Portugal, and one of the greatest Europeans; his name is Salazar." (P.J. 6-11-62) (D.L. 5-11-62.)

Later (10-11-62) in the Spanish paper "Ya," Professor Adriano Moreira defined the "new strategic conception of permanent mobilization for a total war" and spoke of the great risk of "only rescuing half Korea, half Indochina, half Germany, half Finland, half Atlantic or half Europe."

The calibre of the Portuguese Fascists can be gauged by a speech at the so-called National Assembly by Salazar deputy and one of the new directors of Higher Education in the Colonies, Professor Andre Navarro. On 12-12-62 (P.J. 13-12-62) he spoke of a conspiracy against the Iberian Peninsula "led by Belgian Socialism-deserter from Africa, by British Labour—liquidator of the British Empire—and by several Italian institutions, ranging from Khrushchovian neo-Communism to Milanese progressivism disguised as Christian."

A book called "Portugal Wings—war missions," is going to be published in Portugal, describing the actions of the Fascist Portuguese pilots in Spain, at Franco's side, and in Angola.

LONDON AND PARIS MILITARY MISSION

A top Portuguese military mission visited London and Paris at the beginning of February, holding talks with military authorities in the two countries.

The mission was headed by Gen. Camara Pina, Army Chief-of-Staff, and composed of Col. Matos Chaves, Lieut.-Cols. Bettencourt Rodrigues, Army Chief-of-Staff in Angola, Nogueira and Simoes and Capt. Coutinho. (D.L. 16-2-63.)

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