

Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin

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Goa • Macao • Portugal • Timor

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PRISON TERMS LENGTHENED

In an ordinary tribunal Jose C. Gomes and Alfonso S. Gregorio were again tried by Political Authorities and their terms of prison lengthened by a further 5 and 9½ years with imprisonment for security reasons for an indefinite period, prior to being sentenced by a Plenary Court.

SALAZAR SELLS OUT ANGOLA

NOW that Salazar is waging a ferocious colonial war against the people of Angola, he is also trying desperately to keep a firmer economic foothold in the country. Unlike the people of other colonial countries, the Portuguese people never benefited in any way from the colonial exploitation of its rulers. Salazar's regime, by its own essence, exists only to protect the profits of big business and of a small clique of monopolists.

This is the tragic irony of Salazar's so-called nationalism. He is prepared to slaughter the youth of Portugal for the sake of a few million pounds which are gladly pocketed every year by a small group of company directors who share the loot with foreign financiers and investors.

All the hypocritical cant of past glories and the heroic slogans which the dictator tries to goad the Portuguese people into accepting a ruthless and fore-doomed colonial war are used only to divert public attention from the real issue. Portugal herself ranks among the underdeveloped countries and is economically colonised. That is why the interests of her own people coincide with those of the Angolan nationalists, who are allies in the same struggle for freedom against a common enemy.

MASSIVE INFILTRATION

Forsaken by all decent Governments, Salazar is opening Angola to a massive infiltration of foreign capital in a last-ditch attempt to win over the support, or buy the connivance of the democratic countries for his policies of total enslavement of the colony. He will not succeed, because the free-loving peoples of the whole world are watching his manoeuvres. At the same time the response that Salazar encountered among some foreign businessmen and their willingness in making a deal with the regime strikes a direct note of warning, which cannot pass unnoticed by their own Government, nor by all democrats.

FEVERISH ACTIVITY

News received from Portugal show a frantic and feverish activity in Government circles, and among the Portuguese monopolists in pursuance of these aims. The Mabor Company for the production of tyres and rubber goods, (set up with Portuguese and American capital) approved a resolution in its general assembly on March 28th, whereby the assets of the company are to be increased by 80,000 contos (£1 mil-

lion). The immediate target of this resolution is the investment of 150,000 contos (£1,875,000) in a new industrial concern in Luanda. The **Credit Litorais**, with the approval of the French authorities, has also agreed to invest 420,000 contos (£5,250,000) in an aluminium plant to be built in Angola.

On the other hand **Krupp**, the well-known German industrial concern of such black memories, that is already a shareholder in the iron mines of Goa, has signed a contract with the **Companhia Mineira do Lobito** for the extraction of one million tons of iron ore per annum from the Cassinga mines in Southern Angola. **Krupp** will supply all the necessary rolling stock to take the ore from its source to the port of Mocamedes. The first allocation will be of 450,000 contos (£5,625,000).

TIE-UP WITH RHODESIAS

Salazar's government is also trying to tie up its own interests with those of the Rhodesias in order to secure the support of States which have borders with the Portuguese colonies. In this way the railway line that runs from Salisbury to Beira is going to undergo deep alterations and the port itself will be enlarged and refitted. American firms (**Primeiro de Janeiro**, March 29, 1961) have been invited to submit their estimates for an order which will be in the region of \$7,551,788 (£2,718,750).

ORGANISATION COVERS AFRICA-ASIA

NATIONALIST organisations of Portuguese in Africa and Asia held their first conference in Casablanca from April 17-20, and decided to set up a permanent organization, **Conferencia de Organizações Nacionalistas das Colonias Portuguesas (CONCP)**, with headquarters in Rabat.

The Conference was convened by The Goa League, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola and African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde and was attended by fourteen delegates from Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Goa and S. Tome Islands. The President of the Conference was Mario de Andrade and the Secretary, Dr. P. D. Gaitonde, President of the Goan National Congress.

The delegates were received by H.M. the King of Morocco who said that he was very happy to give his consent for the headquarters of the CONCP to be in Morocco.

CONCP has three organs: the Conference, the supreme authority, constituted by delegates of all the nationalist organization's members of CONCP; the Consultative Council, a consultative body constituted by two delegates from each colony; and the Secretariat. The President of the Council is Mario de Andrade (Angola). The Secretariat is constituted by Marcelino dos Santos (Mozambique), general secretary; Joao Cabral (Goa), administrative secretary; and Alfred Bangura (Portuguese Guinea), treasurer.

A report of the Conference and of its resolutions will be given in the next number of this bulletin.

Conference for Amnesty

A European Conference for Amnesty of Spanish political prisoners and exiles took place in Paris on the 25th and 26th of March.

The conference was attended by a large number of delegates from more than 17 European and South American countries, the latter in keeping with decisions already taken by the 1st and 2nd South American Conferences of 1959 and 1961. The Conference had a great success in rallying people

from all political tendencies. A delegate from the Group of Portuguese Democrats in Britain was present, integrated in a large Portuguese delegation. During the Conference the problem of Portuguese political prisoners and exiles was also referred to; and more than 50 delegates signed a document giving full support to the realisation this year of a Conference for Amnesty of Portuguese Political Prisoners.

The Problem of Goa

A. C. SERRAO

IS there a problem in Goa? This is a question which any onlooker, not equipped with factual knowledge of Portuguese colonialism, may ask if he is confronted with the apparently peaceful situation which reigns at present in that part of the Portuguese colonial empire.

In fact, there are troubles in most parts of the former colonies already liberated or in a process of liberation from the yoke of big colonial powers. There is a merciless colonial war going on in Angola. Unrest and dissatisfaction are obvious in Mozambique, Guinea and other Portuguese colonies. But Goa, at the moment, seems to be at peace with her foreign rulers.

Dr Salazar assumes that Goans have no aspirations of their own and continues trying to convince the world that Goa is nothing more than a Portuguese "overseas province", with statements like the following one, made in his speech of April 12, 1954:

"In these tiny territories, which had been ceded or military occupied, Portuguese blood mingled liberally with that of the local people's; more than four centuries of life in common, of a spiritual presence, of insulating a different civilization, of interpenetration of cultures, have created a thoroughly differentiated social type. Try as you may, a Portuguese from India, a Lusó-Indian, cannot be confused with a native of the Indian Union. All who visit Goa coming from the Union cross not only a political frontier but also a human frontier; an original creation of a Western civilisation orientalized by contact with the milinary culture of India".¹

Misleading propaganda

On the other hand, the Government of India, which claims the territories of Goa, Damaun and Diu as parts of India, has adopted a rather passive attitude of non-interference, following a policy of "peaceful means" as a matter of principle and in order to avoid "international repercussions". This attitude of course has boosted Dr Salazar's arrogance and encouraged his misleading propaganda intended to show that there is no problem in Goa.

The facts, however, are not in favour of the thesis defended by Dr Salazar. On the contrary they show clearly that Goans have their own aspirations which are not the same as those of the Portuguese people. That is why they demand the right of self-determination as guaranteed by the U.N. Charter.

As a first step it is essential that Goans should free themselves from Portuguese colonialism. This is in accordance with the decisions taken unanimously by the General Assembly of U.N.O. Then they will have the right of self-determination to unite or not with India. If they choose the first course it will not be due to Mr. Nehru's imperialism, as Dr Salazar implies, but compelled by their own needs and wishes.

Even though maintaining his assertion that "Goa is part of India", which is true, Mr. Nehru has never denied to the Goans the right of self-determination. In his speech of June 4, 1957, made before an audi-

ence of about 30,000 Goans in Bombay, he said: "You should understand that a small territory as Goa with thousands of close contacts with the interior of the country, can neither flourish nor advance or progress as a separate entity." This is the practical reason. But in theory I want to make it perfectly clear that I have no desire to compel Goa to join India against the wishes of the Goan people".²

These wishes of the Goan people have been revealed in many revolts against the Portuguese colonialism since the 18th century. As we feel that it is needless to report on all of them, we shall refer only to the events that have taken place since 1946, when India was not yet independent and Dr Salazar had already started to arrest the "sayagrahis", who attempted to challenge his oppressive rule with a peaceful mass movement named by the Portuguese as the "Jai Hind" (Long Live India) revolt, whose aims were clearly revealed in this significant slogan.

On June 18, 1946, a civil disobedience movement started, but the Portuguese met it with an iron hand. Thirteen Goan leaders were immediately exiled to Portugal, Angola and Cape Verde Islands. Many people were arrested and beaten up without mercy. The terror had started.³

A tense situation

Between 1946 and 1954 a tense situation existed in Goa, where the Portuguese reinforced their position with troops brought from Portugal and Portuguese Africa, armed with modern weapons of war, including tanks. More than 2,500 patriots were arrested, among them Dr Gaitonde, a prominent Goan surgeon, only for having said "I protest" at a private dinner, when a speaker proclaimed that "Goa is Portugal".⁴

On July 21 and August 2, 1954, Dadra and Nagaraveli, two enclaves completely surrounded by the territory of the Indian Union, were liberated from the Portuguese yoke by Goans helped by the local population. In December 1955, Portugal presented a petition to the International Court of Hague claiming the right of passage through the Indian territory so that Portuguese sovereignty might be restored in these two enclaves. India did not refuse to accept the challenge of the Portuguese Government and pleaded the cause, though contesting the court's jurisdiction in her internal affairs. The procedures lasted for five years and the case was tried in 1960 ending with a decision which did not give satisfaction to any of the claims made by the Portuguese. The Portuguese Government however proclaimed, for the use of internal propaganda, that the decision favoured Portugal.

The facts reported would have been sufficient to prove that the Goans have their own aspirations. But to appraise the Goan problem in its true perspective and to disperse the dense mist of fantasy and systematic distortion used by Dr Salazar's propaganda, a few statistical data must be added.

The Portuguese possessions in India consist of Goa,

Daman and Diu, the respective areas and populations of which are shown in the following table⁵:

TABLE I

Area	in square miles	Population
Goa	1,309	547,448
Daman	219	69,005
Diu	14	21,138
Total	1,542	637,591

The population is made up of the following racial groups⁶:

TABLE II

Whites	892
'Yellow'	58
Indians	637,152
Mixed	200
Negroes	258
Others	31
Total	637,591

Clearly the vast majority of the people in the Portuguese territories in India is of Indian race: The so-called Luso-Indian or 'mixed', as the Portuguese official statistics designate them, are only 200, i.e. less than 0.05 per cent. of the total population. The whites do not constitute a separate settlers' colony; it is made up of Portuguese officials and their families. It is a migratory population of people who return to Portugal when their appointments terminate. The figures in Table II are based on the census of 1950, which is the latest census published. But during the last five years both the African and European populations have increased considerably as a result of the heavy reinforcements by the Portuguese of their armed forces in their "State of India". The present strength of these forces is estimated at about 12,000 troops, mostly Europeans.

The Goans' mother tongue is Konkani; that of the inhabitants of Daman and Diu is Gujarati. (Both languages are also spoken outside the Portuguese enclaves, in the surrounding regions of India—Gujarati by some 11 million people). Their standard of education is given in the following table⁷:

TABLE III

Illiterates	499,455
Persons who read and write and with primary education	116,507
Persons with secondary education	12,235

From the figures supplied by the Portuguese themselves, we can see that 78.4 per cent. of Goans are illiterate. They do not speak Portuguese and the Portuguese do not speak Konkani. This is the "original creation of a Western civilisation" as Dr Salazar proclaims.

Moreover, there is not a single university in the "State of India", but only a Medical College of a very low standard intended to train doctors for local needs. According to the figures published by the Portuguese Central Office of Statistics and Information (Reparticao Central de Estatistica e Informacao) there are 21,299 pupils in secondary schools, but of these only 666 frequent Portuguese schools. The rest are in English, Marathi and Gujarati schools.

In the Portuguese enclaves, as in the rest of India

there are many religions. Portuguese statistics⁸ show that there are only 234,019 Catholics; the remaining are mostly Hindus. Hinduism is thus the predominant religion of the "Portuguese India".

Except for a few extractive industries that have been developed over the last decade, Goa is an agricultural country. But large tracts of land are not cultivated, and the agricultural system is very primitive, so the food produced is not enough to feed the people for more than five months of the year.

Goa's economy is totally dependent on India. Dr Salazar admitted this in his speech of April 12, 1954.

"As the population is dense—an average of about 160 inhabitants to the square kilometre—and local resources are limited, Goa produces a flow of emigrants to the Indian Union. . . Some eighty thousand in Bombay and about twenty thousand elsewhere (in India). . . The entire trade between Metropolitan Portugal and the Portuguese State of India represents a mere 0.75 per thousand of Metropolitan trade. In 1953 we sent ten thousand contos worth of goods out there and imported not even a thousand. Our share—that of Continental and Overseas Portugal taken together—in the trade of Goa, Daman and Diu does not exceed 10 per cent. of imports and 0.5 per cent. of exports. The Indian Union, as is to be expected, accounts for about 20 per cent. of the imports and over 40 per cent. of the exports of the Portuguese State of India. . . Some of the largest mining companies are owned by nationals of the Indian Union, where the most sizeable profits consequently return. . . The only metropolitan business concern of any importance in Portuguese India is the Banco Nacional Ultramarino".⁹

Cannot reap the benefit

The best natural port on the coast of Malabar is Marmagao. It could be used for the traffic of goods from the Indian *interland* to the Western sea and vice-versa, in the interests of the economy of the country. But so long as Goa remains a Portuguese colony, isolated from the rest of India, the Goans cannot reap the benefits that they would have from the privileged geographical situation of this port.

Goa is ruled by a Portuguese Governor General with legislative, administrative and financial powers, and even the power to interfere with the judiciary. Goans are treated as second class citizens and deprived of any chance to play an effective part in the administration.

Local newspapers come under a strict government censorship—some of them are even controlled by the government. The same applies to books and, in fact, to every form of publication, extending even to calendars, handbills and wedding invitations. The local press serves merely as an official mouthpiece of the Portuguese policy and for spreading of anti-Indian propaganda.

The constitution of any committee or organization, even for social or religious purposes is subject to the approval of the Government. The syllabus of private schools have to be sanctioned in detail by the chief of the *Mocidade Portuguesa* (Portuguese Fascist Youth Movement). There are military tribunals whose functions are vague and whose latitude of power is so ample that anything can be brought under their jurisdiction.

Goa provides one of the classic cases of a territory

which being spiritually, culturally and economically part of a State (India), is politically separated from it and dominated by an alien power situated nearly half-way across the world. The reunion of Goa with India is not only natural for spiritual, economic, social and political reasons; but also desired by Goans, for Goans are Indians.

Goa cannot exist as a separate political unit outside India, for then Goa would be a colony of India, by reason of its unavoidable and total cultural and economic dependence on India. And Goans would be foreigners in India, which would be an unbearable situation for one-fifth of the population of Goa that earns its livelihood in India.

For the last 18 years, ever since the satyagraha of June 18, 1946, Goans have attempted to solve the problem of Goa by peaceful means and have failed. They are now compelled to resort to "direct action".

- 1 Goa and the Indian Union, official translation of Dr Salazar's speech, published by the **Secretariado Nacional de Informacao**. Lisboa, 1954, p. 9.)
- 2 "O problema de Goa"—Ministry of Foreign Affairs—India.
- 3 Goa, Goan Point of View—The Goa League, 1956.
- 4 Goa, Goan Point of View—The Goa League, 1956.
- 5 Anuario Estatístico do Ultramar, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Lisboa, 1958.
- 6 Anuario Estatístico do Ultramar, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Lisboa, 1958.
- 7 Anuario Estatístico do Ultramar, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Lisboa, 1958.
- 8 Anuario Estatístico do Ultramar, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Lisboa, 1958.
- 9 Goa and the Indian Union, op. cit, p. 5 and 6.

Notes on Portuguese Economy

JOAO da MAIA

PORTUGAL is one of the most backward countries in Europe. The annual average income of a Portuguese is 200 dollars.¹

Portugal is a country covering an area of 35,583 square miles. The census of 1890² estimated the population to be 5,049,729 inhabitants and the latest census of 1950 estimates the population to be 7,856,813.³

But this increase of population does not change the ratio of the active population, i.e. the number of people engaged in a profession—42 per cent. in 1890 and 40 per cent. in 1950 of the total population.

To understand more clearly this poor state of the country's economy we shall make a comparative study of the general economy of Portugal over the last 70 years, i.e. from 1890.⁴

According to the very eminent economist, Colin Clark,⁵ the active population of a country is divided into three distinctive groups:—

Primary—agriculture, fishing and forestry.

Secondary—extraction, power and transport industries.

Tertiary—transport, trade, banking, insurance, administration and private services.

The table below gives the relevant figures for Portugal:

	1900	1950
Primary	70%	48%
Secondary	20%	23%
Tertiary	10%	29%

During the same period the industrialized countries of Europe—France, Belgium, Germany and England—were going through an economic transition. Up to the first world war the primary, in these countries, was reduced substantially and the secondary and tertiary increased at the same rate. But after 1918 there was a considerable fall in the secondary and the tertiary became predominant.

Whilst the Portuguese economy however for the last 70 years has been practically static. Today, not surprisingly, in Portugal the primary still predominates, the agricultural worker still clinging to primitive methods without any use of modern agricultural machinery.

The secondary has not increased at all because of complete lack of any new industries. If there has been a noticeable increase in the tertiary, it has been mainly due to some development of trade and transport and a considerable increase of the bureaucratic machinery. The latter as a direct result of the present regime's policy of setting up co-operative organizations—the "Cremios" (employers' associations) and syndicates (government sponsored employees associations), which direct and control the complete economy of the country.

Emigration always been great

The Portuguese emigration has always been very great; it has contributed considerably to the national economy. In 1888⁶ the number of emigrants was 1 in 200 inhabitants⁷ and 64 years later, in 1952, taking into account the emigration from the Portuguese colonies, the number was still greater—1 in 138.⁸ More recently, in 1958 the number was 1 in 190 inhabitants.

At the turn of the last century Portugal maintained economic relations with England, France, Germany, Belgium and Brazil. The principal exports at that time were—Port wine, cork, cattle, fruit and vegetables, and metal ores. The principal imports were wheat and maize, sugar, olive oil, butter, potatoes and other vegetables.

In 1890 the Portuguese imports from industrial countries of Western Europe were nearly double its exports to the same countries.⁹

On the other hand, the exports to Brazil exceeded the imports. In 1893, 30.3% of Portuguese exports

were made to the Brazilian market, although the imports from Brazil did not go beyond 6.3% of the total Portuguese imports.¹⁰

Furthermore, the firms that exported port wine, cork, and copper ore were British. The mining concessions for the Panasqueira mines were granted in 1888 to a British firm, Wolfram Mining Company in Portugal, which was financed by The Bank Burnay, using Belgian capital. During the same year, the concessions for copper mines in Aljustrel were granted to a Belgian Company, also financed by the Bank Burnay. The main railways, the Northern and Eastern Lines, belonged to the French; maritime freights were carried by the British.¹¹

This meant that Portugal, in her economic relations with the industrial countries of Western Europe, exported mainly raw material, but her imports provided a market for manufactured products and food stuffs.

It is the type of commercial exchange characteristic of an underdeveloped country, and the penetration of foreign capital and firms indicates that Portugal economically was a colony.

It is quite evident from all this that the Portuguese budget could only be balanced with the exports to Brazil and the remittance of money by the emigrants, mainly via London.

In fact, loans withdrawn in western banks were needed to balance the deficit of the export-import trade relations. The interests were paid with the Brazilian money and the emigrants' cheques and guaranteed by the national revenues, real estate, and invested foreign capital.¹²

The consequence of this policy was a permanent budget deficit associated with a national debt.

The economy in recent years

During the 16 years of the republican régime (1910-1926) there was no opportunity to change the structure of the Portuguese economy. Portugal took part in the first world war and the democratic régime, faced with multiple revolutions inside the country brought about by reactionary forces, collapsed.

In the 35 years following the 1926 coup d'état, since when the present régime has been in power, although Portugal did not enter the second world war, the close relationship between Salazar's régime and the big monopolies and trusts and its general policy prevented any essential change in the main features of Portuguese economic external relations.

In fact for the period 1950-1954, for instance, the Portuguese foreign trade was characterized by:

- (a) a strong concentration of exported products like wood, cork, resinous products, ores, cotton, textiles, tinned food and wines — which represent more than 70% of Portuguese exports;
- (b) a strong geographic concentration of Portuguese sellings—60% to European markets and nearly 45% to Great Britain and U.S.A. and Germany;
- (c) a great disparity in the nature of Portuguese buyings—a large proportion being raw materials compared to machinery;
- (d) a great geographic concentration of the Portuguese imports—nearly 60% coming from European markets. More than 40% of Portuguese buyings came from Great Britain, U.S.A. and Germany;

(e) a large participation of Portuguese Colonies in Portuguese exports—nearly 25% consisting mainly of produces difficult to sell in foreign markets.¹³

In 1959 the deficit in the Portuguese trade with foreign countries was 5,763,000 contos (1 conto = £12/10/0 approximately), i.e. the amount of Portuguese imports was nearly twice the amount of Portuguese exports. The Portuguese Colonies contributed altogether with 490,000 contos to decrease the debt.¹⁴

Today the Portuguese emigration to Brazil does not contribute a great deal of foreign currency as it was at the turning of the last century since Brazil's ban on remittances and the devaluation of the Brazilian currency. But the emigration from Mozambique to South Africa and from Angola to the former Belgian Congo is a source of foreign currency—the Mozambique emigrants are about half a million and each one of them is worth £30 a year to Portugal.¹⁵

Economy unchanged

It is quite evident that the main features of the Portuguese economy have not changed at all over the last seventy years.

The Portuguese economy is developing at a very slow rate, widening the gap between Portugal and the other European countries. If the gross national product during the period 1952-1957 increased at an annual rate of 4.3%, in 1957 it slowed down to 3.8%, and in 1958 fell to 1.6% rising in 1959 to nearly 3%.

Furthermore, the figures giving the amount of capital invested in the second "Plano de Fomento" (Plan for the Development of the Portuguese Economy); during the first half of 1960 have just been published. A sum of 1,629,139 contos was invested—only 32.8% of the amount envisaged for the whole year. It is interesting to note that on none of the programmed chapters of the plan even 50% of the original allotted sum was invested.

If we take into account the fact that Portugal is an underdeveloped country compared with other industrial European countries and that today Portugal forms part of the European Free Trade Association, the situation has to be viewed with grave concern.

In conclusion, is it surprising that the average income of a Portuguese per year is 200 dollars, or that the average weekly earnings in 1958 of a Portuguese industrial worker was £1/14/0¹⁶ or that the average annual amount of milk and meat consumed by a Portuguese is 19.75 pints and 37.5lb. respectively, when in Sweden the corresponding amounts are 482 pints and 99lb.¹⁷

1 Economic Survey of Europe — 1959, Chapter VII—United Nations, Geneva, 1960; Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics, 1959—United Nations, New York, 1960.

2 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.

3 "Estatistica Agricola 1959"—Instituto Nacional de Estatistica—Lisbon, 1960.

4 The year when the first unsuccessful attempt was made to set up a republican régime in Portugal which was only established 19 years later — 5th October, 1910.

5 "Les Temps Modernes"—Paris, 9 eme annee, n.c. 101.

- 6 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.
- 7 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.
- 8 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.
- 9 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.
- 10 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.
- 11 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.
- 12 "A Revolucao Republicana de 31 de Janeiro"—Rui Luis Gomes—Author's Edition, Orporto.
- 13 "A Disciplina Corporativa do Comercio Externo"—IV Congresso da Uniao Nacional—2a Seccao—Vida Economica—Lisbon, 1956.
- 14 "Jornal do Comercio"—10.3.60—Lisbon.
- 15 "Os Nativos na Economia Africana"—Marcelo Caetano—Coimbra Editora, 1954. "Journal do Comercio"—3.3.61, Lisbon.
- 16 "Estatistica Industrial, 1958"—Lisbon, Instituto Nacional de Estatistica, 1959.
- 17 "O Problema do Leite" IV Congresso do Uniao Nacional, 2a Seccao—Vida Economica—Lisbon, 1956.

State of Rebellion in Angola

From Our Own Correspondent, Cairo, April.

"The people of Angola are standing in a state of rebellion. The European population in a panic have demanded from the Portuguese government new troop reinforcements," said Mr. Mario de Andrade (President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) addressing the 3rd All African People's Conference held in Cairo on the 25th March, 1961.

THE SETTLERS

Speaking about Portuguese immigration to Angola, Mario de Andrade said that for a dozen years the Portuguese have adopted a policy of mass immigration of Europeans to Africa with the main aim of resisting the African masses. According to the latest official estimates, the number of Europeans has increased tenfold in the last ten years, while the African population, subjected to a system of forced labour and moved at will by the labour recruiting forces have not even increased by a third. The administration has settled these immigrants in the best and most fertile agricultural land—on the high plateau of Cela—and the valleys of Cuanza and Cunene. These settlements are agricultural villages, created in the image of Portuguese villages.

The immigration is so indiscriminate that every type of European lured by the call of certain local European traders has found his way into Angola. Many of them eventually being forced to take such lowly jobs as house painters and shoe blacks—occupations which had been previously exclusively reserved for the coloured population.

With the settlers came troop reinforcements, officers and men are moved from Portugal to Angola with the sole purpose of convincing the white settlers of the solid basis of their 'colonising' mission.

The speaker said that the Angolan people's movement had put forward many proposals aiming at a peaceful solution to the problem of Angola. In their declaration of June 13th, 1960, they had specifically emphasised that the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola considered that the Portuguese government should reject the principle of aggression, and had proposed the convening at the end of 1960, of a round-table conference constituted of the repre-

sentatives of all the Angolan political parties and the representatives of the Portuguese government for the peaceful solution of the colonial problem in Angola.

Instead of discussions and talks, however, the Portuguese Government had categorically refused to even accept the idea of the existence of a colonial problem in Angola. The P.M.L.A. had nothing but racial declarations from the Portuguese government, and had finally witnessed the strengthening of the official repressive machinery and the massacre of the population of their country.

Mario de Andrade informed the Conference of the massacre of Icolo Bengo, in June, 1960, where thirty Angolans were killed and two hundred injured and of the execution of the twenty-nine political prisoners in November, 1960, and said that his movement had been receiving urgent calls from the interior of Angola. The popular masses were claiming insistently for organised plans of active self-defence. In view of the circumstances, the P.M.L.A. in agreement with other organizations of the Portuguese colonies, mainly the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and the Goan Political Convention, had specified in the course of a press conference, held in London, at the House of Commons, on 6th December, 1960, its attitude towards Portuguese obstinacy. "The Salazar Government leaves no other alternative to nationalist movements of the Portuguese colonies but the use of direct action", he said.

To alert international opinion

Speaking of the recent attacks on the prisons of Luanda by Angolan nationalists, the president of the P.M.L.A. said that for some considerable time the population of Luanda had envisaged the liberation of the leaders of the P.M.L.A. and other nationalists detained in Luanda. This attack on the prison was timed to coincide with the presence of foreign journalists in Angola and the inauguration of the second session of U.N. General Assembly. It was intended to alert international opinion. These attacks, though having a suicidal nature at first sight, have reflected the situation in Angola on an international, as well as a national scale. It was so true that, according to latest information, other action was being taken in separate parts of the country in the north and south, from St. Salvador to Malange, from Zombo to Catumbela.

Mario de Andrade warned the Conference about outside interests that were interfering under various guises with the Angolan problem. "It must be pointed out that the diamond belt of the Congo and Angola is only divided by a colonial frontier and that the exploitation is carried out by the same interests; that Katanga produces mineral riches that constitute 80% of the railway traffic to Benguela; that oil is exploited in our country by joint Belgian, British and American companies.

Will foment secessions

The Press representing certain groups of financial interests is more concerned with the independence of the Congo and Cabinda than it is with the independence of Angola. It is quite clear that imperialism will foment secessions and new Katangas which will considerably affect the unity and the territorial integrity of the Angolan country.

Under the circumstances what must be done and what do we intend to do?

On behalf of the P.M.L.A., Mario de Andrade proposed the following four-point programme:—

- (a) The immediate creation of an Angolan Liberation Front, composed of all existing popular movements; parties and organizations.
- (b) The liquidation by all possible means of the Portuguese colonial system.
- (c) The safeguarding of the interests of the peasants

and working masses, who form 99% of the population.

- (d) To enter into alliance with the progressive forces of the world and to obtain the support of all peoples all over the world for the cause of Angolan liberation.

Mr. Mario de Andrade was elected to the Executive Committee of the All African People's Conference. The Conference passed a resolution on Angola saluting the "Angolan patriots who, since the events of February last courageously fight against Portuguese colonialism", affirming their belief that the Angolan people are ready at any moment, to assume the national sovereignty and condemning all possible devices intending to allow an imperialist and neo-colonialist interference in Angola, particularly the provocation of divisions among the people, the territorial dismembering of the country or the setting up of a puppet government. The Conference also recommended that the Afro-Asian countries, who are members of the U.N., should use their good offices with a view to forcing Portugal to apply the resolution of the General Assembly of December 14th, 1960, on the elimination of colonialism that the independent African States should reconsider their position in what concerns the diplomatic and commercial relations with Portugal and that the African States should be watchful of any eventual intervention of the U.N. in Angola, abstaining from taking any position which could place them in such a situation as to be forced to support imperialist manoeuvres.

Council for freedom in Portugal and Colonies

AT a Press Conference held in the House of Commons on 29th March, Sir Leslie Plummer, M.P., announced the formation of the Council for Freedom in Portugal and Colonies. Sir Leslie Plummer, who is the Chairman of the Council, detailed out its aims:—

To bring together friends in Britain of freedom in Portugal and her colonies who are struggling for freedom, independence and human rights. To operate a free independent information service, and to work through all parties in Parliament and on public opinion to influence British Government policy in support of these objectives in the United Nations, through NATO and other international organizations.

Mr. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who, with Mr. Donald Wade, M.P., is one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Council, attended the Press conference. Mrs. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary, and Mr. Derrick Mirfin, the Treasurer, were also present. Both Sir Leslie Plummer and Mr. Wedgwood Benn emphasized the importance of an organization of this kind as, in their opinion, much of the strength of Salazar's dictatorship comes from the support it has been receiving from Britain and United States. And they felt that all efforts had to be made in order that the British Government withdraws its support to a government which deprives the people from their human rights.

The Council is sponsored by the following well-known personalities of British political and international life: Sir Richard Acland, Kingsley Amis, Lord Archibald, Malcolm Arnold, Professor A. J. Ayer, Michael Ayrton, Percy Belcher, Professor Norman Bentwich, Mary Benson, Professor J. D. Bernal, Lord Beveridge, Phyllis Bottome, Sir Maurice Bowra, Lord Boyd Orr, R. W. Briginshaw, Fenner Brockway, M.P., Ritchie Calder, James Callaghan, M.P., Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., Canon L. John Collins, Basil Davidson, Hugh Delargy, M.P., Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., Victor Gollancz, Anthony Greenwood, M.P., Stuart M. Hall, Mrs. Judith Hart, M.P., John Hatch, John Hornér, Barbara Hopworth, Q.C., Sir Julian Huxley, Storm Jameson, Clive Jenkins, F. Elwyn Jones, Q.C., Commander Stephen King Hall, Ben Levy, Hugh MacDiarmid, Stanley Mayne, Bernard Miles, Spike Milligan, Naomi Mitchison, John Osborne, the Rev. B. E. Peake, D.D., John Piper, Professor Michael Polanyi, V. S. Pritchett, Herbert Read, Sidney Silverman, M.P., Rev. Dr. Donald O. Soper, Mrs. Mary Stocks, the Bishop of Southwark, John Stonehouse, M.P., Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., Vicky, Professor Michael Polanyi, V. S. Pritchett, Herbert Read, Mrs. Mary Stocks, The Bishop of Southwark, John Sir Gerald Barry, Richard Church, Alec Horsley, Sir Francis Meynell, Dame Alice Meynell, Jenny Lee.

Statement on the Portuguese Situation

THE Group of Portuguese Democrats in Britain call the attention of the world public opinion and of the Portuguese people to the policy of the Salazar government.

In Portugal intensified police repression has created a reign of terror. Democrats and oppositionists are continuously tortured and jailed. In Angola, Salazar is responsible for the launching of a colonial war, having systematically refused any negotiations with the African nationalist leaders fighting for the rights of their people.

Salazar has claimed that Portugal cannot live without the colonies. This is not true. The profits taken from the exploitation of the colonies only benefits a handful of people in Portugal and abroad, and have not brought any improvement to the terribly low standard of living of the Portuguese people.

Precious Portuguese and African lives are being lost through this criminal policy.

The Group of Portuguese Democrats in Britain strongly condemns this state of affairs and calls on the Portuguese people and the world public opinion to put a stop to the Salazar bloodshed in Angola and to the repression in Portugal.

PIDE continues the Torture of Women

One of the outstanding facts of the political movement in Portugal is the increasing participation of women, considered for a long time to be the most politically backward section of the population, in the opposition against the Salazar regime. As a consequence police repression against women has been particularly savage. Arrests and tortures have been frequently reported in the last months and the lives of prisoners like Angela Vidal, Dr. Maria Luisa Dias Soares, Sofia Ferreira, Aida and Luisa Paulo, Ivone Lourenco, Maria Diogo, Dr Julieta Gandara and many others are in danger.

Last February the secret police (PIDE) arrested University student Fernanda Paiva Tomas, who was tortured and beaten for several days at Police headquarters in Lisbon and is in prison since.

ANGOLA AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

ON April 15 the bishops of Angola met in Luanda to examine the situation that has been developing in the country. They issued a statement where, though condemning the attacks made by the African nationalists, they pointed out that the just aspirations of the people had to be taken into account by the authorities if they wished to avoid discontentment and trouble.

The statement went on to say that though the Church abstained from taking an active part in politics that it sincerely deplored the fact that the general interests of the people were often sacrificed to the interests of a group and that under the circumstances the Church felt bound to say openly that such a policy could not satisfy a law-abiding citizen or a true Christian.

The statement concluded by appealing to the Angolan people to unite to bring about a more equitable society which would be in accordance with Christian justice and charity.

(Diario de Noticias, 16-4-1961)

NEWS FROM THREE CONTINENTS

Strike actions for better salaries took place among salt workers in Figueira da Foz and peasants in Pinhel. Salazar's Government dismissed the legally elected direction of Casa dos Estudantes do Imperio (Association of the Colonial students in Portugal), nominating, in Lisbon, in its place a commission of their own choice. The colonial students in Portugal, with the support of the Associations of Students in Lisbon and Coimbra, have protested vigorously against this decision. The Delegations of C.E.I. in Coimbra and Oporto were closed by the Government. (From a special correspondent—February, 1961.)

A Portuguese military mission headed by the Navy chief of staff, visited West Germany and had conversations with the German military authorities. ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 19-2-61.)

In agreement with NATO, £200,000 are going to be invested in the aeronaval base of Montijo, near Lisbon, used as a supporting base by British forces. ("Diario de Lisboa", 24-2-61.)

The commander in chief of the "Home Fleet" and of the "Eastland" zone of NATO, Admiral Sir Wilfred Woods, visited Lisbon on board the H.M.S. "Apollo". A dinner was held on the ship in honour of the Ministers of Defence and of the Navy of Salazar Government. ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 24-2-61.)

The Trade Deficit in 1960 of Portuguese exports in relation to imports increased greatly. From January to November 1960 the im-

ports increased by nearly 17 million pounds and the exports only 9 million pound, compared with the same period of the previous year. West Germany is Portugal's main exporter. ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 2-3-61.)

A contract was signed by the Portuguese Ministry of Works in the presence of the United States Ambassador, entrusting the construction of a bridge over the Tagus river, near Lisbon, to a group of six enterprises headed by the United States Steel Export Company. Cost of this bridge will be £22.5 million.

The total amount of material to be imported from the United States amounts to 80,000 tons, which represents the biggest order ever placed in America by any country in the world. ("Diario de Lisboa", 25-2-61.)

Dr. E. Nzeza Landu, Economic Councillor of the Congolese regime of Leopoldville, arrived in Lisbon for talks with the Portuguese authorities. He was accompanied by the Belgian businessman G. Albert Schram, of Brussels. He visited among other places the arms factory of Braco de Prata, in Lisbon, and the famous "Santa Maria". ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 10 and 15-3-1961.)

The Portuguese colonial authorities, in their efforts to strengthen their position in international circles, have had recourse recently to the hurried nomination of some native Angolans to administrative posts, and almost immediately presented these individuals to the United Nations as representatives

of the local people. It happened recently with Julio Monteiro, nominated Governor of Malange, in Angola, and proposed immediately as member of the Portuguese delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 28-2-61.)

The Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Castiella, had talks in Lisbon with Dr. Salazar and the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs. He declared that the "Santa Maria" episode had shown the close co-operation that existed between the Spanish and Portuguese Governments and that this would continue unhindered to the very end in the Portuguese colonial problems. ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 16-3-61.)

General Delgado, exiled in Brazil after his victorious election campaign in 1958, in a letter to the President of the Goa National Congress, supported the principle of self-determination for the Portuguese colonial territories. This principle had already been supported for a long time by the majority of the Portuguese Opposition, and more recently by groups of Portuguese emigrants in England and Uruguay. ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 4-3-1961.)

In view of the serious colonial situation a special corps of Naval Fusilliers, with an organization like the "commandos", was created by Government Decree Law 43.515. ("Primeiro de Janeiro", 2-3-61.)

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