

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

Vol. 11 No. 1

INSTITUTO DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
ARQUIVO DE HISTÓRIA SOCIAL
N.º 7-1399 Class. Pub. 139

January 1971

Aggressors and Splitters

ON November 22nd a Portuguese armed force who had left from the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau and was supported by Portuguese warships, invaded the Republic of Guinea, an independent and sovereign African state.

The objectives of this vicious act of aggression were several. To weaken or overthrow the legal government of the Republic of Guinea, if possible. To raid, in any case, installations in that country of PAIGC, (the liberation movement of Portuguese Guinea); and to get hold of Portuguese war prisoners kept there.

The invasion was repelled, but the PAIGC installations were attacked, and some Portuguese war prisoners were taken back by the invaders.

The Portuguese government has been a consistent enemy of the African peoples and of their unity. Whenever there has been trouble in Africa these last ten years, the Portuguese have been involved. They supplied mercenaries and bases for Tombé of Katanga. They supplied mercenaries and weapons for Biafra. They support Banda of Malawi. They spearheaded the recent attempts at a 'dialogue' between South Africa and the Republic of Malgasy and others. They have made repeated military incursions against independent states, neighbours of their colonies, such as Guinea, Senegal, Zambia, and Tanzania.

The shameless and serious act of aggression, of unprecedented dimensions against Guinea, is just the latest and most blatant of a long series.

U.S. SUPPORT

It is by now well-known that the Portuguese fascist and colonialist régime only survives because of the military, economic and political help it gets from the United States,

Britain, West Germany, France and other NATO countries.

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Rui Patrício, was on an official visit to the United States, from 9th to 13th November; just before the Guinean aggression and at the time of a similar U.S. raid on North Vietnam. Patrício had talks with the ultra-reactionary Spiro Agnew, with the U.S. Secretary of State, William Rogers, with Nixon's adviser, Kissinger and with the president of the U.S. Export-Import Bank. One of the topics of the meetings was the American air-bases in Lajes, in the Portuguese Azores islands. More U.S. economic support for the faltering Portuguese fascism and colonialism was openly pledged.

The timing of the aggression in Guinea, after the North Vietnam raid and the American visit, is certainly strongly suggestive of added U.S. military and political support, encouraging further acts of disruption of international norms of life and threats to peace by the clique of fascist and colonialist thugs which rule Portugal and her colonies.

THE SPLITTERS

The tactics of aggression, disruption and division used internationally by the Portuguese régime are paralleled by the tactics of repression and division used internally by the régime against its opponents.

To divide and split the Portuguese anti-fascists, to isolate the most active and capable amongst them has always been one of the main weapons of the fascists, especially since 1958.

This policy has had some success because of opportunist and short-sighted trends—mainly anti-communist—amongst some of the anti-fascists.

These trends were clearly present

last September in Algiers when members of a Portuguese anti-fascist organization expelled other members and took control of facilities given by the Algerian government, such as a radio station, to attack anti-fascist forces in Portugal.

This type of action has, in the past, always led to failure. It will undoubtedly follow the same path to-day. But nothing will stop the path to victory of the broad Portuguese anti-fascist movement.

THEY MUST BE STOPPED

The true character of the Portuguese fascists and colonialists has been repeatedly exposed to the eyes of the whole world. They are ruthless, brutal and cynical thugs, who have no respect for the most elementary human rights or for the sovereignty of other nations. They represent a permanent threat to peace and good international relations. They are a scourge to their own people and to the peoples of their colonies.

How can these cynical ruffians be tolerated amongst civilised countries? How can NATO pretend to be 'an alliance for freedom' with Portugal as its member?

Portuguese fascism and colonialism must be destroyed. Only then can the Portuguese people and the peoples from the Portuguese colonies be free to help to make this world a better place.

From Heroic Vietnam —

Last October the Bureau of the Union of North Vietnamese Women sent the following message to the Portuguese women who fight fascism:

"We send you our fraternal greetings and our fighting solidarity.

"We know of your fight, and of your spirit of revolutionary optimism; which is always with you even in the nights of prison, even in the darkest hours of the struggle.

"We are with you in our common struggle, and in our mutual successes. Together we shall defeat imperialism, fascism and all forms of oppression.

"Thank you for all your efforts and for your support."

'NO' TO REACTION!

THE UNITED NATIONS

On June 25th last, the Portuguese government refused to participate in the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the U.N. Decolonization Resolution.

On July 9th last, the government of Senegal protested to the U.N. Security Council against repeated border violations by Portuguese colonialist troops from Guinea-Bissau.

The World Youth Assembly—which took place in New York on July 18th last, as part of the programme for the celebrations of the U.N. 25th anniversary—approved a motion condemning the Portuguese fascist régime, and another expressing their solidarity with the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies.

TEN YEARS

'PORTUGUESE and Colonial Bulletin' will celebrate ten years of life next month, February, 1971.

It was thought convenient, for that reason, to consider this issue as the No. 1 of Vol. 11; and from this issue onwards, to commence numbering the pages again as from No. 1.

For us, these ten years of publication have been very hard and difficult. Constant financial worries; putting up with either excesses of enthusiasm or lack of interest towards persistent and serious work; political victimization and threats to one's livelihood. These were just some of the problems we had to face.

But fascism is still in Portugal and colonialism is still in the Portuguese colonies. Both are much weaker than they were 10 years ago, thanks to the struggle of the Portuguese people and of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Thanks, a little bit also, to our struggle. But they are still there!

We need therefore to continue. We cannot stop. We shall never give in. We must never cease in our endeavour.

Please send us donations, and subscriptions. We need your help urgently! (Cheques & P.O.'s payable to 'Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin')

The U.N. Decolonization Committee approved on August 19th last a motion condemning the collaboration of West Germany, Italy, France and South Africa in the building of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique. The motion was approved by 17 votes against 2 (Britain and the U.S.).

On September 29th, the Portuguese delegate to the U.N. General Assembly Law Commission refused to support a draft resolution on principles of International Law and friendly relations and collaboration between member states, which was discussed at the United Nations.

On October 3rd last, the Guinea delegate to the U.N. General Assembly accused Portugal of training mercenaries to invade the Republic of Guinea; and of repeated border violations by the Portuguese colonialist forces from Guinea-Bissau.

On October 8th last, the Zambian delegate to the U.N. Autonomous Territories Committee asked that the building of the colonialist enterprise of the Cabora Bassa dam should be stopped. Statements published on October 25th to celebrate the U.N. 25th anniversary, condemn Portugal's colonialist policy and appeal for support for the anti-colonialist struggle.

On November 5th last, the U.N. Special Political Committee approved by 103 votes against 1 (Portugal), a motion advising an increase in assistance for the African liberation movements in Southern Africa.

On November 20th last, the U.N. Trusteeships Committee approved by 90 votes against 7 (Britain, U.S., S. Africa, Spain, Brazil, Colombia, and Portugal), a motion demanding immediate independence for the Portuguese colonies.

THE AGGRESSION ON GUINEA

A U.N. fact-finding mission to Guinea, in a report released in New York on December 4th, blamed the Portuguese for the November invasion of the Republic of Guinea. The report concluded that Portuguese armed forces, commanded by white Portuguese officers, landed from ships manned by white Portuguese sailors and commanded by white Portuguese officers. The Portuguese naval force which attacked

Conakry consisted of two troop-carrying ships and three or four patrol boats.

Protests against the Portuguese aggression were world-wide. They came from the African Unity Organization, and from the governments of Algeria, China, Congo (Brazzaville), G.D.R., Liberia, Lybia, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Soviet Union, Tanzania, and others.

NON-ALIGNED

An embargo on trade with Portugal was decided at the Non-Aligned Countries Meeting in Lusaka (Zambia), on September 10th last.

BRITAIN

Many greetings to the Portuguese political prisoners and their families have been sent to Portugal for Christmas and the New Year, in answer to an appeal from the British Committee for Portuguese Amnesty.

There were several public protests and demonstrations, principally in December, against the building of the Cabora Bassa Dam and Barclay's Bank involvement in the project.

ALBINA PATO

ALBINA PATO, a brave 42-year-old Portuguese anti-fascist fighter, died in Portugal during October.

Her death was the result of the inhuman treatment she had received at the hands of the Portuguese secret police. She was arrested in 1961 and badly tortured. Kept for 8 years under the terrible conditions of the Caxias jail, she was finally liberated after the term of her sentence had expired. She had been one of the subjects of a national and international campaign for the liberation of Portuguese political prisoners. Her health was ruined by the cruel treatment of the Portuguese fascist secret police and this was the reason of her death.

Her funeral, at Vila Franca de Xira, near Lisbon, was attended by over 1,500 people, who openly voiced their hatred of the fascist murderers, despite the presence of the repressive forces.

Albina Pato was the wife of Octavio Pato, an anti-fascist leader and was a political prisoner in the Peniche jail since 1961. To him our Bulletin expresses its deepest sympathy for his great loss.

INSIDE PORTUGAL

THE ESCUDO IN DANGER

THE Portuguese Government recently found it necessary to deny that the Escudo is threatened with devaluation (D.L. 22/8/70). 'Enemies of the country were accused of spreading 'poisonous rumours' which, it was alleged, are at the root of the present lack of confidence in the currency.

The apparently strong position of the Escudo in the international money market has always been one of the main theme-songs of the Portuguese Dictatorship's propaganda since the days of Salazar. But, in fact, the economic basis of the Escudo's stability is being increasingly weakened.

Though Portugal has a favourable Balance of Payments, its Trade Balance is consistently adverse. The trend of Portugal's trade from 1967 to 1969 is given in the following table:

Volume of Trade in £ millions

Trading Partners	1967			1968			1969		
	Imports	Exports	Balance	Imports	Exports	Balance	Imports	Exports	Balance
Common Market Countries	144.0	48.9	- 95.1	150.0	52.0	- 98.0	182.0	63.1	- 118.9
EFTA Countries	98.5	92.6	- 5.9	98.7	109.1	+ 1.4	127.5	121.0	- 6.5
Portuguese Colonies	61.3	75.0	+ 13.7	65.0	78.7	+ 13.7	74.6	88.4	+ 13.8
U.S.A. & Canada	32.3	34.4	+ 2.1	30.2	37.9	+ 7.7	23.8	38.8	+ 15.0
Others	93.0	41.2	- 51.8	91.4	40.4	- 51.0	108.8	36.9	- 71.9
Totals	429.3	290.1	- 139.2	438.3	309.1	- 129.2	531.7	348.2	- 173.5

It can clearly be seen from these figures that the Common Market countries are the real beneficiaries of the trade with Portugal, under its fascist régime, and of the exploitation of the colonies. The meagre profits of Portugal's trade with her colonies are utterly insufficient to balance the huge trading deficit with the partners in the Common Market; and though the favourable trade balance with the U.S.A. might be read as a subsidy, it is insignificant beside the adverse figure of £173.5m. The recently published 'Bulletin

of the German-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce' gives the figure of £93.5m, as the Portuguese trading deficit for the first six months of 1970, which suggests that the adverse balance for the full year will be the worst ever.

An adverse factor in the balance of payments is the outflow of currency from Portugal in respect of profits and dividends earned by foreign capital invested in the country. For short-term capital loans these payments rose from £1m. in 1967 to £5m. in 1969. The payments on medium and long-term foreign capital investments rose from £1m. in 1967 to £2.7m. in 1969.

If the Balance of Payments is favourable to Portugal in spite of the huge trade deficit and the payments to foreign investors, it is only because of the revenue from tourist traffic and, above all, the remittances in foreign currencies from Portuguese emigrants abroad. These remittances have been steadily increasing because of the constant flow of emigrants escaping from misery in their own country, and from war in the colonies.

STILL MORE BRITISH CAPITAL FOR THE FASCISTS

In our last issue we reported recent British loans to Portugal totalling £16.6m. in addition to the huge Lazard Bros. loan of £51m. in 1967.

A new British loan of £5m. was recently arranged by the U.K. Government Export Credit and Guarantee Dept. for the Portuguese Financial Society through a consortium of British Bankers headed by N. M. Rothschild & Sons. The group comprises Barclays Bank, Bank of Scotland, Glynn Mills, Lloyd's, Midland, National & Westminster Banks. The loan is for the acquisition, *inter alia*, of transport and telecommunications equipment, both for Portugal and for the colonies (D.L. 29/10/70). In the colonies this equipment will be used to carry on the repressive war.

THE SELL-OUT GOES ON

To buttress up the régime and give desperate boosts to the economy, the sell-out of Portuguese resources to foreign firms goes merrily ahead.

The South African and British owned Beralt Tin & Wolfram firm, a subsidiary of the Charter Consolidated Group, exploits in Portugal one of the largest tungsten mines in the world: Panasqueira. Beralt's profits reached £989,000 in the first half of this year, compared with £556,000 for the same period in 1969. The profit already made in 1970 exceeds the whole of the 1969 pre-tax earnings (The Times, 10/9/70).

Amongst the foreign firms which recently increased their investments in Portugal are: the American 'Daniel Construction Company International', of Delaware; the Swedish 'John Mattson and 'A.B. Bergendahl'; the French 'Wanner Isodic Isolation S.A.' (thermal and sound insulators); and the Norwegian 'AS Norsk-Strong-pack' (D.L. 26/8/70).

PORTUGUESE BANKS FLOURISH

The Borges & Irmão Bank has opened a branch in Paris to handle the profitable business of dealing with the remittances of 500,000 Portuguese emigrants in France (P.J. 18/10/70).

The Portuguese do Atlantico Bank, one of the biggest in Portugal,

—Overleaf

The latest study of the European Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) suggests strong expansionary measures as a 'remedy' for Portugal's economic weakness. However, these will only reinforce the already high inflation trends.

The future of the Escudo is indeed precarious.

(D.L. 10/7/70 - 16/10/70; Vida Mundial, Lisbon, 3/7/70; Seara Nova, Lisbon, July, Aug., Nov. 1970; The Economist, London, 29/8 - 4/10/70; P.J. 27/8/70).

INSIDE PORTUGAL—continued
has raised its capital to £96.5m.
(D.L. 5/7/70).

DEFENDING THE COLONIAL WARS

STILL clinging to a desperate policy of colonial survival, the Portuguese Minister for Overseas has stated that 'the defence of the Overseas territories will not weaken. The fight will continue and we shall win by the force of arms in all the lines where we have to fight.'

INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA

In the last few years, Lieut.-Col. Marques Pinto revealed in a broadcast statement March 7th, 1969, nearly 500,000 Portuguese 'have served in the Army'.

Furthermore, he added, by the end of 1969, in Angola, nearly 1.5m. people had been moved into 3,100 new villages, of which 2,900 had means of 'self-defence'. In the same year, in Guinea, 26,000 had been moved into new compounds and more than 400 villages had also means of 'self-defence'. (Vida Mundial, Lisbon, 10/7/70, p.15).

Although, as with official Portuguese war statistics, great caution should be exercised, the forced movement in Africa of large numbers of people is here clearly acknowledged.

NEW CENTRE FOR THE AIR FORCE

The Air Force has now a Meconographic and Statistical Centre to solve problems of information and communication, especially in relation with the African colonies. (D.L. 27/8/70).

MORE SOLDIERS FOR WAR

More than 800 recruits took their military oath on June 26, 1970. On July 24th, 19 Air Force pilots were awarded their brevet. On August 17th, 211 Fusiliers were sworn in. (P.J. 26; 24-7; and D.L. 17/8/70)

A £69,382,500 allocation has been made for the upkeep of the Armed Forces in Africa (D.L. 29/9/70).

INCREASING THE NAVY

The Portuguese Navy has a new warship, the 'Jacinto Cândido', which was built in W. German shipyards. (D.L. 16/7/70)

THE COMMUNIST BOGEY

Marcello Caetano's Foreign Minister gave a Press conference on July 23rd, 1970, in which he in-

dulged in his usual attacks on the United Nations and tried to raise once again the ghost of Anti-Communism to cover up Portuguese rule in Africa. He referred to the 'gradual Soviet and Chinese penetration in Africa' and to the importance for the West of the Portuguese presence there. He emphasized that NATO should take this into account and expressed grave concern over a policy of détente in Europe.

He defended wistfully the Cabora Bassa project and claimed for it the full responsibility of the Portuguese Government, who has no other aim than the 'economic development of the continent'. But he readily admitted that South Africa will be the great beneficiary of such a gigantic project.

PORTUGAL CAN LIVE WITHOUT HER COLONIES

On the other hand, on September 27th, 1970, in a long speech to the 'National Popular Action' (or ANP), Salazar's former 'União Nacional' and the Government Party (the only one allowed in Portugal) Marcello Caetano criticized the United Nations Organization for 'its 25 years of inefficiency'.

The National Popular Action was celebrating the second year in office of Marcello Caetano as Prime Minister and all the party loyalists gathered at the Fox Palace in Lisbon.

But the most important passage of Caetano's speech was the one that touched on the colonial problem. Caetano emphasized the need to defend the colonies. Then he added: 'There are people who maintain that the defence of the overseas territories is indispensable, since their loss would entail the loss of Portugal's independence. I do not agree. It is obvious that Portugal without the Overseas territories would be extraordinarily diminished in the world, would lose a lot of her weight and projection... but the independence of Portugal is in the heart, in the soul and the will of the Portuguese. With a small or a larger territory Portugal will always subsist' (P.J. 28/9/70)

These words are a new note in the Government's thinking, forced by the difficulties of the colonial wars and the discontent at home against them. But they are also an important warning for those democrats in Portugal who believe that the independence of the African

colonies would entail the automatic fall of the fascist régime at home. Caetano's régime is already thinking in terms of weathering the storm and remaining in power for good.

CABINET CHANGES

Abiding by his own motto of 'continuity with change', Caetano, since he took office (27/9/68), has changed his cabinet twice, first on March 27th, 1969, and then on January 15th, 1970.

This time a woman, Dr. Maria Teresa Lobo, has been appointed undersecretary for Health and Assistance, the highest Ministerial rank ever given to a woman in Portugal ('Vida Mundial', Lisbon, 25/9/70). Caetano is also quite clever at playing the feminist card.

PETER BROOK IN LISBON

At the invitation of the Gulbekian Foundation, the distinguished theatre and film director, Peter Brook, had a meeting in Lisbon with a few Portuguese actors and drama critics. (D.L. 21 & 23/10/70).

Such visits are always used, under cover of 'culture', to foster the prestige of the fascist regime or of the foreign interests in Portugal.

BOMBS IN LISBON

On October 26th a bomb, led on the 16,000 ton ship 'Guenes' (which is used to transport troops to the colonies) exploded and caused considerable damage.

On November 20th there were three other bomb explosions. One near the U.S. Information Centre, which was damaged; another by the secret police training centre, and the third near the liner 'Niassa'.

LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT

THIS movement (Box 338, Richmond, B.C., Canada) has published a 'Liberation Calendar' concerning the Portuguese colonies. The price is two Canadian dollars each, with discounts for large numbers.

It has also appealed for medical supplies for the Angolan guerrillas of the MPLA (Serviço de Assistência Médica, SAM, P.O. Box 1595, Lusaka, Zambia). They have special need of tetracycline, chloroquin, antibiotics in ointments, antispasmodics, sulphur (powder), boxes for minor surgery, ambulances and jeeps.

FOREIGN POWERS HELP FASCISM

CLOSER TIES BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND BRITAIN

THE recent visit paid by the Portuguese Secretary for Industry to London was hailed in Portugal as the beginning of a 'thaw in Anglo-Portuguese relations'. The Portuguese press reported that the British Foreign Office 'had been a little anxious to know the decision' on whether Mr. Rogerio Martins, the Portuguese Secretary of State, would accept Sir John Eden's invitation. It was stressed that Mr. Martins was the first member of the Portuguese Government to visit Britain officially since 1955 (D.L. 9/10/70).

On the agenda were Britain's negotiations to join the Common Market and the effect which its entry could have on the European Free Trade Association (EFTA, of which Portugal is a member) (The Times, 13/10/70).

The growing panic of the Portuguese Government in relation to the present economic situation in Portugal, which was reflected in a recent speech by Mr. Caetano, the Portuguese Premier, is reported to have been a factor underlying the conversations held by Mr. Martins and the British Government (P.J. 14/10/70).

NATO HELPING THE COLONIAL WARS

THE Portuguese (and, of course, the South Africans) have been the staunchest advocates of the need for the creation of a Southern Atlantic defence organization. Given the present state of the Portuguese economy (see leading article in this issue) Portugal could not hope to continue for much longer fighting a colonial war on three fronts, even with NATO armaments and South African financial assistance. But are the Western Democracies really so short-sighted as to take Portugal's colonial policy as the basis of their own?

That the Portuguese Government hopes they will is clear from a recent report in the 'Daily Telegraph': 'In her boldest public effort so far to gain NATO support for her African campaigns, Portugal has told the Alliance's defence chiefs that her South Atlantic bases are at their disposal in the struggle for control of the Atlantic. Speaking deliberately in English to drive home his point at a State banquet in Lisbon, Gen.

Horacio Sá Viana Rebelo, Defence Minister and No. 2 in the Caetano Government, told representatives of all NATO countries, except France: 'South of the Tropic of Cancer Portugal possesses naval and air bases stretching from the islands of Cape Verde to Guinea and Angola which, by the use of modern equipment, could help control the vast area of the whole Atlantic'. The General claimed (the report continues) that from the standpoint of the Alliance's military command the North Atlantic could not be seen in isolation, and that Portugal's fight in Africa was therefore of vital interest to it. The Portuguese Government places its territories and bases outside the NATO zone at the disposal of the objectives of the alliance', he stated. Listening to the Portuguese Minister were leading NATO military chiefs, including Gen. Andrew Goodpaster, Supreme Allied Commander. The Portuguese pledge came at the end of a week-long visit to Portugal by the military commission, the alliance's top policy-making military command, in what is described in diplomatic circles here as 'a hard sell visit', organized by the Portuguese, the NATO chiefs were taken to installations on both mainland Portugal and on the adjacent islands of the Azores, where America has a major air base. Gen. Viana Rebelo's pledge is interpreted in diplomatic circles in Lisbon as the beginning of a determined new attempt to convince reluctant NATO allies of the importance of the African war campaigns in the global fight against Communist encroachment' (Daily Telegraph, 12/10/70).

The British policy of selling arms to South Africa is also a considerable help to Portugal, South Africa's closest ally.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR WHITE AFRICA?

An agreement for nuclear co-operation was signed between Portugal and South Africa on the 7th October (P.J. 8/10/70). On the 13th October, the Portuguese press reported the presence in Lisbon of Prof. Edward Teller, the man who directed the team that created the first H-Bomb (P.J. 13/10/70). Dr. A. J. Roux, the president of South Africa's Atomic Energy Board, who had been in Lisbon for final dis-

cussions on the agreement, revealed on his return that South African experts had developed a new method of enriching uranium (P.J. 21/10/70).

CASHING IN ON EMIGRATION

An agreement on social security has been signed between the Portuguese and the Belgian Governments, which is reported to be of interest to some 10,000 Portuguese emigrants who work in Belgium and their families' (P.J. 15/9/70).

The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs recently visited Luxembourg where he discussed with his counterpart 'matters of economic nature and of defence'. The Luxembourg Minister praised the Portuguese emigrants who 'are of the greatest importance to the country's economy'.

When asked in Luxembourg by a journalist the causes for such massive emigration from Portugal, the Portuguese Foreign Minister candidly replied: 'The causes are merely economic and relate to wages' (P.J. 3/10/70).

(See also main article, this issue.)

THE FRANCO GERMAN CONTRIBUTION

The West German Government has refused to reconsider its position as a major investor in the building of the Cabona-Bassa dam. A statement to this effect was made in reply to President Kaunda's efforts to have West Germany reconsider its stake in the project (P.J. 17/10/70).

A similar decision was taken by the French Government, who also was approached by President Kaunda (P.J. 22/10/70).

As is well known, Britain also has a considerable stake in this major joint project of Portugal and South Africa—Ed.

GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION

THE 'Portuguese' Gulbenkian Foundation, founded 14 years ago, after the death in Portugal of the oil magnate Calouste Gulbenkian, has liquid assets valued at £110 million, including valuable investments in the Iraq Petroleum Co. Ltd.

It has so far distributed in Britain and Commonwealth countries a total of £5.7m., of which £550,000 in 1969 alone. These donations contribute to the propaganda image the Portuguese Fascist Government wants to create abroad.

THE tourist sector is one of the 'economic mainstays' of Portugal's Third Five-Year 'Development' Plan (1969-73). It was chosen as the strategy for promoting 'economic growth' under the assumption that it would create a significant inflow of foreign exchange earnings and would act as a catalyst for the creation of other activities to provide an expanded internal market.

In purely economic terms, the choice seems a misguided one in the case of Portugal, since the country still lacks the basic infrastructure needed for developing its productive capacity. Agriculture and industry, the most vital sectors of Portugal's economy, are in drastic need of structural changes to meet the country's real needs.

The Keynesian argument that the multiplier effect of the spillover benefits derived from the development of tourism would help to raise the standard of living in the country as a whole is not a valid one in the case of Portugal, where the inequitable pattern of income distribution and the serious imbalance of the economic structure make the tourist industry a self-contained enclave within the economy, which benefits only members of the existing Portuguese oligarchy and foreign investors. Nor has it benefited even marginally the standard of living of the people. For instance food prices in the Algarve, one of the main tourist regions in Portugal, rose by 11.1 per cent in 1969. This compares with a rise of 8.1 per cent in Lisbon and 5 per cent in a non-tourist provincial capital like Évora. Wage increases have failed to keep pace with the rising cost of living and in real terms have remained stationary in the last few years.

Indeed, tourism has emphasised the regional imbalance in the Portuguese economy, with the development of tourist areas like the Algarve at the expense of such regions as Trás-os-Montes, whose mineral resources remain virtually untouched; or Minho, where low wages and the lack of employment opportunities have resulted in a mass exodus of the population. The role of tourism has also been the very opposite to that of a catalyst for overall economic growth. A brief outline of certain major features of the present state of the Portuguese economy will inevitably lead to the conclusion that the choice of tourism

as the strategic sector for promoting growth was a political rather than an economic one. All the figures quoted below are taken from the Report of the Banco Nacional de Fomento (National Development Bank) on the Economic and Financial Situation in Portugal in 1969.

1) Gross National Product

The rate of growth of Portugal's GNP has been declining steadily since 1966. It fell from 6.3 per cent in 1967/69 to 4.7 per cent in 1968/69.

A sectional analysis of the composition of the GNP indicates that the contribution of the primary sector (agriculture, fishing, extractive industries) decreased from 9.36 per cent in 1965/66 to 1.04 per cent in 1968/69, while that of the secondary sector (industry, building, public utilities) decreased in the same period from 9.32 per cent to 5.60 per cent. In the case of these two sectors not only the growth rates of certain categories of activity failed to reach the targets set in the Third Five Year Plan, but they actually showed a marked downward trend and registered significant negative growth rates. In the fishing industry, for instance, the negative growth rate of minus 12.5 per cent in 1968/69 indicates the backwardness of its infrastructure and of the techniques used. In the mining industry, the stagnation of the growth-rate at around 0.7 per cent shows the need for the reorganisation of this group of activities which, according to the Banco's Report, 'could provide a significant impulse for the industrial development of Portugal'.

It is only the 7.32 per cent growth rate of the tertiary sector (Public Administration, defence, education, transport, tourism, health, etc.) which compares favourably with that of earlier years. A percentage share of this sector in the GNP is attributable to the size of the military expenditure account.

2) Utilization of Resources

The trend in the inflow of overall resources into the national economy was extremely low: 2.4 per cent in 1968/69 as against 6.3 per cent in 1967/68. This decline in trend is mainly due to the slackening in the growth rate of the GNP (4.7 per cent in 1968/69 as against 6.3 per cent in 1967/68).

3) Internal Demand

The expansion of overall domestic demand (Consumption plus Investment) slackened considerably in

TOURISM AND THE STATE OF THE PORTUGUESE ECONOMY (1) by Carvalho Melo

Direct Foreign Investment and External Credit

	Total
Private sector	£57m.
Public sector	
Loans for Tejo Bridge	£ 1.00m.
Loans for shipbuilding	£14.00m.
Siemens/Kreditanstalt loan	£ 0.04m.
Government bonds for a loan of 25 million Deutsche Marks placed with Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (two issues: 6.1 million in 1968 and 10.8 million in 1969)	£ 0.04m.
	£15m.

(Source: Banco de Fomento Nacional, Table no. 90, page 205)

1968/69; the upward trend was only 3.6 per cent, a rate of growth not much higher than the 3 per cent rate of expansion achieved in 1965/66.

4) Investment

The rate of growth in overall investment (public and private) was only 0.7 per cent in 1968/69 as against 5.8 per cent in 1966/67. The growth rate of public investment fell to 1.1 per cent from 21.9 per cent in 1967/68 to 8.3 per cent in 1968/69. But direct foreign investment and external credit in 1969 amounted to £12 million. The table above gives a breakdown of direct foreign investment in Portugal in 1969. Foreign investment in 1969 is indeed the only one showing a steady rise in Portugal. In 1961 they amounted only to £16 million, in 1963 they reached £32 million, and two years later £40 million.

5) Capital Formation

To quote the Report of the Banco Nacional de Fomento, 56 per cent of the gross formation of total fixed capital is accounted for by the 'Services' sector, which for a country in need of building up its directly productive structures indicates a defective orientation of capital investment. If this tendency continues it would be difficult for the economy to be re-oriented towards more effective patterns of economic growth.

6) Failure to Reach Plan Targets

Portugal has failed to reach any of the targets set in the Third Five Year Development Plan for the growth of GNP and the productive

visible exports (i.e. emigrant's funds, tourism, shipping, banking, interest on loans, dividends, insurance, legacies and gifts) which rose from £51 million in 1968 to £207 million in 1969.

The most important contribution to the increase in invisible export earnings was the rise in private transfers of money, composed essentially of remittances from Portuguese emigrants working abroad, which amounted to £171 million in 1969 as against £141 million in 1968. Profits from tourism actually declined by £18 million compared with 1968, but still accounted for £44 million. Tourism and private transfers alone, therefore, accounted for the balance of payments surplus. Given the deficit in all other categories, the balance of payments would have shown a total deficit of £159 million if these two items were deducted (cf. Table 20, page 74 of the Banco's Report).

10) Cost of Living and Wages

Prices continued to rise and in the case of food there was an overall increase of 5.4 per cent in 1969 reflecting the regression in agricultural production in that year. The trend in the cost of housing went up from 15.6 per cent to 19.5 per cent in Lisbon and from 11.8 per cent to 22.4 per cent in Oporto from 1967/68 to 1968/69.

Wages of industrial and transport workers in Lisbon have risen in the last ten years but the increase is cancelled out in real terms by the proportionate rise in the cost of living. The Banco's Report states that 'low salaries have led to a widespread lack of stimulus to technological innovation and the country is at present suffering the consequences of this both in the productive sector and in the competitive position abroad of its economic activities. On the other hand, as labour shortages began to make themselves felt in the industrialised countries of Europe, Portugal became a major exporter of manpower. Both these tendencies are clearly incompatible with the basic interests of national economic development' (page 82).

The balance of payments showed a surplus of £56 million in 1969, which was £14 million less than the 1968 surplus. This surplus was mainly due to the profits from in-

visible exports (i.e. emigrant's funds, tourism, shipping, banking, interest on loans, dividends, insurance, legacies and gifts) which rose from £51 million in 1968 to £207 million in 1969.

The seriousness of the present situation of the Portuguese economy which is revealed by the brief summary of significant features given above (and it must be emphasised that the source of the facts and figures quoted is the Report of the National Development Bank of Portugal, a government-controlled body) would seem to call for a radical revision of the very basis of the country's entire economic structure. To choose the development of tourism as the 'mainstay for economic growth' in such a situation seems to indicate that the government is less interested in promoting the country's real development needs than in maintaining an oligarchy whose privileged position is helped by the growth of the tourist industry.

For Portugal, tourism is a passive exploitation of the country's natural resources. The share of the value of production and capital formation from tourism which finds its way into the rest of the economy is very limited indeed. Foreign exchange earnings from tourism are invested in activities designed to attract more tourists (hotels, casinos, golf courses, etc.) rather than in productive activities which would help the country's economy.

The same reasoning applies to the other activity responsible for Portugal's balance of payments surplus: the export of manpower, which created such a profitable inflow of capital into the country in 1969. Both sources of foreign exchange earnings are completely independent of Portugal's economic growth and depend rather on the economic growth of other countries. The Portuguese abroad are making an effective contribution to the economies of the countries in which they work. The savings which they manage to send home, however, are rescuing from serious deficit the balance of payments position of the country which failed to provide them with adequately paid employment. But such inflow does not contribute towards the creation of productive resources, because it is not invested in industry or other basic activities and because local manpower is by now seriously lacking. Similarly, tourist earnings result from savings made by individuals whose productive activities are confined to their own countries. In other words, Portugal is being saved from bankruptcy not by the development of its productive potential but by its parasitic dependence on the savings made possible by the economic growth of other countries.

THE TRUE NATURE OF THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

The seriousness of the present situation of the Portuguese economy which is revealed by the brief summary of significant features given above (and it must be emphasised that the source of the facts

(Continued next issue)

FIGHT OF THE PEOPLE

(from our Correspondents in Portugal)

WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS

Forced by the ruinous policies of the Castano government, with ever rising prices and wasteful expenditure in the colonial wars, the brave Portuguese workers have been intensifying their struggle, defying the growing police repression.

Work stoppages took place, amongst others, in the Rogers factory in **Alhos Vedros** (300 women workers), in the Lisotofu in **Espinho** (300 women workers), in the **Lisbon** transport British-owned **Carri's** workshop (also against the victimization of 6 employees), in the **Construções Metálicas in Aveira**, (2,000 metal workers), in the **Silva e Arroja in Alhos Vedros** (300 women cork workers), in the **Lisbon** evening paper 'Diário de Lisboa', in the **Metalurgia Nery in Torres Vedras** and in the **General Instruments Lusitânia in Arruda** (300 workers).

Bans on overtime and 'go slow' actions succeeded in the **Sonadel** factory in **Alhandra**, in the **Barreiros** truck factory in **Setúbal**, in the **Mague in Aveira**, amongst the **Lisbon** transport workers (**Carri's**), in the **José Ribera in Senhora da Hora**, in the **Tudor** batteries factory in **Castanheira do Ribatejo**, in the **Sonafi in Oporto**, etc.

Other industrial actions took place in the **Trefilária** and the **Olavo** factories, both in **Sucavém**, in the **Aeronautics works in Aveira**, in the **Cimento Tejo in Alhandra**, amongst the **Oporto** transport workers (with mass meetings of 600 employees, clashes with the police and arrests, last August), in the **Nacional de Sabões in Lisbon**, amongst the 15,000 railwaymen, etc.

THREE DAY STRIKE

In protest against an increase in fares 700 steel workers in the **Siderurgia Nacional in Seixal**, near **Lisbon**, went on strike for 3 days.

IN THE 'SINDICATOS'

In the state-controlled unions many struggles for representative leadership and for action defending the workers rights and interests are taking place.

In **Lisbon** 5,000 metal workers imposed a leadership of their own choice. The same happened with 1,500 **Oporto** metal workers who

later held another meeting of 3,000 workers, fighting for improved conditions.

Other struggles in the 'Sindicatos' took place amongst the **Northern** textile workers (meetings with 1,500 workers), the **Lisbon, Oporto, Evora** and **Ponta Delgada** insurance workers (**Lisbon** meeting of 3,000 employees), the 2,000 **Covilhã** textile workers, the 300 **Leiria** sailmen, the **railway** clerks (meeting of 1,200 employees), the 25,000 **bank** employees, the 5,000 **TAP** airways employees, 2,000 **Lisbon** shop assistants, etc.

Government repressive measures against the workers actions in the 'sindicatos' included the removal from office of the **Lisbon** metal workers leadership, prohibition of a general meeting of the same workers, and of wool textile workers in **Mação, Minde** and **Riachos** etc. etc.

5th OCTOBER

The 60th anniversary of the 1910 Republican Revolution was celebrated in several parts of the country, despite the fascists' opposition.

In **Sucavém** there was a public demonstration in the streets by over 1,000 workers, who did not retreat in presence of the repressive forces.

There were meetings and celebrations in **Lisbon, Aveiro, Oporto, Viseu, Covilhã, Estarreja, Santarém, Caldas da Rainha, Leiria, Marinhã Grande, Alcanena, Alenquer, Evora**, etc., attended by many people.

FARM WORKERS

Higher wages were won by farm workers in **Montemor, Evora** and **Alcácer do Sal**.

STUDENTS

On October 21st the **Veiga Beirão** commercial **Lisbon** students went on strike against price increases in school materials.

IN THE BARRACKS

Resistance against the brutal rule of the officers and preparations for the colonial wars continue.

Demonstrations of protest occurred in **Santarém** and **S. Jacinto**. In **October** in **Vendas Novas** there was a mutiny with clashes with the officers. In **Tancos** hostility to the colonial wars was openly expressed.

AGAINST REPRESSION

Several protests against the repressive police measures were made by the **Portuguese National Com-**

mittee to help the political prisoners, which consists of leading personalities in Portugal.

Public demonstrations against the repression took place on May 28th (anniversary of the fascist coup in 1926) in the **Barreiro** region. Another public demonstration was made by the youth of **Vila Franca de Xira**.

Over 2,000 and 1,500 people signed demands for the release from jail of **Fires Jorge** and **João Honrado**, **João Honrado** and **Veiga de Oliveira**, another political prisoner, were later released from jail.

Other signed protests against arrests by the secret police have been sent to the authorities.

A Higher Court, in **Oporto**, decided that statements made to the police by detainees, without a lawyer being present are illegal. This was, and still is, the usual way in which the secret police (D.G.S.) extract 'confessions' under torture, from the political prisoners.

BOOK REVIEW

JOAO Mendes, in his recently published book 'La Revolution en Afrique—problemes et perspectives' (Paris, 1970) makes an extremely important contribution to the discussion of one of the crucial questions that faces the world today. No serious student of African affairs can afford to ignore this scholarly and closely-argued analysis of the struggle against imperialism throughout the African continent.

African problems, and the future of African countries, are not seen in isolation in terms of some supposed 'Third World', but in the context of the historical development of monopoly capitalism on a world scale. Above all, **João Mendes** recognises that the economic factors, and the objective balance of power between different classes, are the determining considerations in any given situation, and does not allow himself to be led astray.

We do not pretend, in the space available to us, to give a detailed review of a book which embraces so wide a scope. Nor can we analyse the programme he puts forward for African unity and the development of the resources of that rich continent in the interests, not of foreign monopoly capital, but of the masses of its people. But we repeat that no serious student of African questions can afford to neglect this impressive document.

NEWS OF REPRESSION

(from our Correspondents in Portugal)

1970 CALENDAR OF REPRESSION

Amongst the people arrested in Portugal by the Portuguese secret police in 1970 were the following:—

In January—Álvaro Santos, a bank clerk; Diana Andringas, a woman journalist; Maria da Silva, a girl student; José da Cruz, a clerk; Raúl Feio, a student.

In February—António Neto, a student; Fernando Sabrosa, a student; Salgado Zenha, a lawyer; Dr. Carlos de Macedo, a physician; Maria Eugénia Varela Gomes, a woman member of the Portuguese National Committee to Help Political Prisoners; Glória Rodrigues, a 14 year old girl student; Maria dos Santos and Manuela Rego, two women; Jorge Vilaça and his wife Dominique Savonitti, a French citizen; Carlos Cruz, a Catholic deacon.

In March—António Moura, a clerk; Gilberto da Silva, a clerk; Manuel de Jesus, a Navy Sergeant.

In April—The students Jaime Gama, Maria de Oliveira, José de Oliveira, Manuel Salazar, Manuel Monrão, Saúl da Costa, Vitorino Pereira, João Graça, Fernando Espada, Horácio Rufino and José da Costa, Father Pinto de Andrade, a Catholic priest from Angola, arrested for the 5th time; Raúl Rego, a journalist, and member of the Committee to Help Political Prisoners.

In May—In the Setúbal district Álvaro Monteiro, an engineering technician; Carlos Lopes; Staline Rodrigues, a tradesman; Fernando Carlos, a student; Alfredo Marques, a clerk; António Chora, a civil servant; Zacarias Fernandes, a clerk; Leonel Coelho, a pedlar; José Cunha, an industrial worker. All these prisoners, whose only crime was to have tried to organise legal political opposition to the régime, were badly tortured with beatings and deprivation of sleep. Dr. Teó MASCARENHAS, a 71 year old Goan ex-prisoner and lawyer, released after 10 years in jail, declared last July, in Madrid, that prisoners go mad as a result of torturing by the Portuguese secret police. In the first six months of 1970 over 124 people

were arrested by the secret police in Portugal.

In August—Father Mário de Oliveira, a Catholic priest and former Army Chaplain; Francisco Correia, Daniel Beles and António Ribeiro.

In October—Mário Cardia, an Arts graduate, Luís Silva, an Economics graduate and Domingo Guerra, a salesman, accused of distributing opposition pamphlets in Lisbon streets.

In February, 4 Dutch Catholic priests, working in Portugal, were deported by the authorities, as a reprisal against 700 Dutch priests having in Holland, publicly supported independence for Mozambique.

THE POLITICAL TRIALS

During the first half of 1970, a total of 30 people were sentenced by the special political courts. On September a further 15 political judicial proceedings were announced; 10 of these will bring 52 people to trial.

On July 16th, the Oporto Plenary Court sentenced Pedro Pereira to 15 months in jail for 'incitement to strike'. On July 15th, the Lisbon Plenary Court tried the poet António dos Santos, because of 'offences, by words, to the Armed Forces'.

On October 22nd, the same court sentenced António Moura to 20 months and Gilberto da Silva to 22 months in jail.

On November 24th, the same court started to try the nine Setúbal democrats arrested in May, as mentioned above.

On July 31st, the Portuguese Navy Court tried Manuel de Jesus, a sergeant, and António Silva, a naval rating, for 'crimes against the internal State Security', which were proved non-existent. The acquittal of these two sailors was mainly due to widespread protests of the population.

AGAINST WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS

The legally elected leaders of the Lisbon district metal workers 'sindicato' (state controlled trade-union), were suspended last November, by a Labour Court, at demand of the Government, pending procedures to

remove them from office. Their 'crime'? To have tried to obtain a new collective agreement with improved conditions for the metal workers.

In Aveiro the municipality refused to give the name of Mário Sacramento—a well-known writer and an opponent of the régime—to one of the town streets, because of this 'not being opportune'.

THE MACHINERY OF REPRESSION

More threats against the political opponents of the régime were made by Caetano's Minister of the Interior, Raposo, on July 14th, when the new commandment of the fascist militia, the 'Portuguese Legion', took office, and on July 1st, when the new commander of the G.N.R. (one of the armed police forces) took office. The new G.N.R. commander, General Pires, then took the opportunity to criticize the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and proffered more threats. Caetano said, visited, in a bellicose mood, the headquarters of G.N.R. and P.S.P. on October 24th.

The P.S.P.—another armed police force which in Lisbon alone has 4,500 men in arms—is going to recruit more guards, as announced on August 22nd, and on October 15th received another credit of 90,000.

From June 26th to November 4th, police stop operations on the roads took place in Vila Real, Oporto, Covilhã, Aveiro and in the Algarve, involving 37,139 vehicles.

YOU MAY QUOTE US

All the material and articles published in the "Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin" may be reproduced or quoted. We shall be grateful for an acknowledgment of the source.

KEY TO REFERENCES

'P.J.'—*Primeiro de Janeiro*

'D.L.'—*Diário de Lisboa*

Two of the leading daily, censored, Portuguese newspapers.

Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, K. Shingler, 10 Pentamian Road, London, S.W.8. Subscriptions for one year, including postage: Britain and Europe 15s., Overseas (airmail), £1. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin.

COLONIES

THESE are the minimized losses reported in the Portuguese war communiqués and press from June 19th to October 28th, 1970.

	KILLED Annual Forces Militia	WOUNDED Annual Forces
Guinea	81	?
Angola	95	—
Mozambique	161	362
—	337	362

Numbers for the wounded are not always available, and this time no numbers were given for the Militia wounded. But in Guinea 2 and in Angola 36 soldiers were reported missing. There were also 113 civilians (Guinea, 48; Angola 65) killed, and 60 (Guinea 31; Angola 29) wounded in military action and 28 reported missing in Angola.

For the Armed Forces, the sum total for eighteen weeks and four days is 344 killed and 362 wounded.

GUINEA

THE COLONIALISTS ARE LOSING THE WAR

The liberation war in this colony against the Portuguese colonialists continues with great intensity and rewarding successes for the nationalist forces. Portuguese war communiqués, from June 21st to October 11th, 1970, at a time of intense military activity by the Guineans, tend more and more to be rather reserved in their information. The less factual they are, the more they hope to conceal the real situation there.

These communiqués report frequent engagements with the PAIGC forces in the areas of Oio, Chanhã, Tombali, Cubucaré, Cumbamori, Jagali and Sara. On the other hand, the Portuguese admit that the Guineans have regularly shelled their entrenched camps and positions in the areas of Sançorliá, Pachana, and Pachle, near the Senegalese border and Gadamuel in an area close to the border of the Republic of Guinea. Portuguese forces have also been severely mauled at Barro, Bogene, Bintá, Farim, Piche, Guilege, Gadamel and Cameconde. Sudden raids have been made by the Guineans in the villages of Fasse and Sissagunda, in the Pirada region.

In Bigene, the PAIGC forces sank a Portuguese launch in the Cacheu river.

The small towns of Ualicanda and the shopping centres of Bigene, Cambaju and Buruntuma were also raided by the guerrillas, who made great havoc there.

The Portuguese forces were also frequently ambushed and convoys were blown up, whenever they tried to link up in broad daylight their besieged camps. (P.J. 21.6. to 18.70.)

HELICOPTERS AND NAPALM

On March 7th, a Portuguese helicopter was brought down by the fire of Guinean guns. It was a helicopter of French make, Alouette II (Turbonóica).

On March 8th, 1970, Portuguese helicopters bombed with napalm the liberated villages of Salamina, Gamalque, M'Bunga, N'Gafó and Botche M'Bana (South), killing four peasants (PAIGC Actualités, no. 15, March, 1970).

GANTURE FALLS

In May, 1970, the Portuguese entrenched camp of Ganture, in the South, was deserted by the colonialist forces, after repeated shelling by the Guinean patriots. This is one of the many news items the Portuguese have omitted from their war communiqués (PAIGC Actualités, no. 17, May, 1970).

THE COLONIALISTS AND THE CHIEFS

General Spínola, the Governor-General of Guinea, has been trying to organize a local militia capable of supporting the Portuguese colonialists in their fight against the liberation movement. This policy has met with a limited success. But even a limited success is something for the desperate situation of the Portuguese forces. The Governor-General has encouraged a few meetings of the Foola, Balante and the Mandingue chiefs, in order to find this so much needed support. (P.J. 21 and 28/7/70.)

PORTUGUESE ALARM

From July 12th to 13th, 1970, the Portuguese authorities reported with great alarm that a PAIGC force over 300 strong, launched a vigorous attack against Pirada (Bafante country) with guns and mortars, causing wide destruction. (P.J. 16/7 and V.M. 24/7/70.)

After all this, statements made by Spínola in Lisbon, on August 8th, 1970, reporting that 'the situation in Guinea continues to evolve in a frankly favourable way' rang somewhat hollow . . . (P.J. 8/8/70.)

ANGOLA

ANOTHER VISIT

The Portuguese minister for the Overseas territories has been to Angola on a short visit, trying, no doubt, to encourage the colonialists there.

A SLIP IN THE WAR COMMUNIQUEES

The hopes of the Minister are not matched by the war communiqués, issued for the period under review by the Portuguese Armed Forces.

Rarely have stylistic variations revealed so much about the situation they want to conceal. The Angolans are described as a 'cruel and sadistic enemy' (18 to 25/7/70). If the Angolan forces ambush Portuguese convoys, this is a clear sign of 'the enemy's impotence and perfidy' (7 to 13/6/70). If they attack villages, where the Portuguese have no defences, it is obvious the enemy intends to hinder and 'oppose the social promotion and economic development of the populations' (13 to 20/6/70).

And when the author of these communiqués indulges in apparently arbitrary statistics, to prove the decreasing power of attack of the Angolans on Portuguese troops, he draws unwittingly the right conclusion from the figures he produces: a 'substantial increase in the percentage of offensive actions against our troops' (P.J. 4/10/1970).

Indeed this statement is quite extraordinary, since he has attributed the lowest figure (7.7 per cent) to 'the enemy's offensive actions'.

SEVERE CLASHES

The Portuguese report, among many others, engagements with the Angolan liberation forces in the regions of Dembos, Luso, Cuanda, Nambuagongo, Balacende, Cambambu, Serra Ambulla, Pango Afuquém, Dala, Cangumbe, Lutembo, Sessa, Ninda, Longa, Rivungo, and along the Moxisi and Pengo rivers.

It is also clear that Caetano's men have been very active in their attacks on the Angolans, in view of the operations they have launched,

such as BROCA (in the Zala area), ZAGA, and ENERGA. In all these operations they admit clashes with 'large numbers of well-armed Angolan forces' (P.J. 21/6 to 9/10/70).

THE GUERRILLAS STEPPING UP THE WAR

The Angolan Guerrillas are increasing their military activity beyond the large areas already liberated in the 9-year-war, that began on Feb. 4th, 1961, with an attack on the Luanda prisons.

The Portuguese authorities were badly shattered by the swift assault on the Karipande barracks by MPLA guerrillas. The colonialists tried to create a bad incident with Zambia by inducing the white settlers to loot the trains carrying Zambian goods. The looting took place only in the towns, such as at Huambo (Nova Lisboa), Bié (Silva Porto), Dilolo (Teixeira de Sousa) and Casala.

It was done at the instigation of the secret police (DGS) and the Portuguese army.

Among other actions, on January 14th, the Guerrillas shelled with guns the Massivi and Luacano barracks, killing at least 19 Portuguese soldiers in one engagement.

Between Jan. and Feb., 1970, the Guerrillas sank two Portuguese launches and destroyed 12 vehicles. The verified losses on the Portuguese side were 147 killed and wounded, and 48 militiamen killed. (MPLA — Informations, June, no. 3, 1970)

In the northern zone the Portuguese forces were often engaged on the routes from Tomboco-Lufico, Tomboco—San Salvador—Maquela; in the north-eastern area there were frequent clashes with the colonialists in the Malange, Lunda and Cahungula districts, and in the eastern zone attacks were made on the Portuguese at Quele, Mussuco and Forte República, among many other posts. (War Comm., Jan. to June, 1970).

In July the town of Alto Chikapa was stormed and occupied for 30 hours by Guerrilla forces (W. comm. 31/7/70).

DEFOILIANTS AND GENOCIDE

From May 1st, 1970, the colonial Portuguese Army has been dropping defoliants in the cultivated fields of the liberated territory of Eastern Angola. On May 21st, at 10 a.m.,

three Portuguese aircraft, with the support of two bombers, dropped defoliants along the banks of the river Luena.

The Portuguese have learned how to inflict the horrors of Vietnam on the free Angolans. (MPLA comm. 10/7/70)

S. AFRICAN TROOPS INSIDE ANGOLA

In the town of Lumege, in the Muxico district, there are 4 companies of South African troops, housed in private barracks. These troops are equipped with helicopters, artillery, automatic weapons and bazookas.

Together with the Portuguese, the S. African forces were involved in operations in Oct.-Nov., 1969, in the Lunda region ('Vitória ou Morte', April, 1970, p.6.)

WHEN THE VULTURES FLY

On Sept. 9th, a Brazilian trade mission visited the colony. On Oct. 20th, a Spanish trade mission completed a visit to Angola (P.J. 5/9 and 21/10/70).

The 'Johannesburg Consolidated Investments Company Ltd.' is to found a new company in Angola.

The 'SETA Exporting Tobacco Co.' has increased its capital to £290,000, of which £79,750, comes from the 'Continental Leaf Tobacco Co.' (Geneva) and the remainder from the Portuguese 'Tabaqueira' and 'The Sociedade Ultramarina de Tabacos'. (D.L. 26/8/70)

SOARING PRICES

From 1968 to June 1970, prices have gone up in Angola 17 per cent, clothing 25, and housing 22 per cent (D.L. 28/8/70)

MORE DIAMONDS

In 1969 the Diamond Company of Angola doubled its output over 1968. It had a £4,582,000 net profit. It has a £4,263,000 capital and £5,597,000 assets (D.L. 21/8/70).

FOREIGN TRADE

The Lisbon Government has granted to Angola a £7,250,000 loan (P.J. 10/7/70).

In the last 3 years Angolan exports to England (mainly iron ore and crude oil) have increased five times (P.J. 13/7/70).

In 1969 trade with S. Africa totalled £6,301,758, an increase on last year (P.J. 30/6/70).

MOON STRUCK COLONIALISM

In an exhibition sponsored by the USA consulate in Luanda, from

August 27th to September 2nd, a fragment of lunar rock was shown to the public (P.J. 27/8/70). This piece (brought in the 'Apollo') had been shown previously at L. Marques. (P.J. 20/8/70.)

MOZAMBIQUE

PORTUGUESE OFFENSIVE

The Portuguese colonialists were deeply impressed by a Frelimo base they assaulted in Cabo Delgado, where they found deep tunnels which could bear the impact of 200 lbs. bombs. (P.J. 28/6/70). The Portuguese may boost up their morale with the presence in the Lourenço Marques harbour of S. African mine sweepers (P.J. 18/7/70) and American destroyers (P.J. 17/10/70). Yet they know the struggle is becoming tougher every day.

This is why the Governor, General Kaulza Arriaga, is trying to recruit a local militia among the Makondes in Northern Mozambique. (D.L. 25/7/70).

The resources of the Portuguese are being stretched as it is shown by the frigate, 'D. Francisco de Almeida', with a record of more than 241 days' navigation in Mozambique waters (P.J. 27/8/70).

On the other hand, the big operation which the colonialists started last June in northern Mozambique, made them move north 35,385 men of the estimated 50,000 troops stationed in this colony (P.J. 11/8/70). The fascists admitted, however, that their campaign to attract the local population had failed so far (D.L. 12/9/70).

FRELIMO FIGHTS BACK

And by September the Portuguese war communiques reported severe attacks on them at Cabo Delgado, where the Antador barracks were shelled, and in the Tete district. ('Sunday Times', London, 25/10/70). In the Niassa the Frelimo was reported to be very active (P.J. 27/9 and 15/10/70). The Portuguese colonialists reckon, though, that in guerrilla warfare any temporary advantage can only be judged from long-term results. And they were surprised to find, after a big military operation, that the Frelimo forces were gathering again for attacks on the Portuguese barracks at Nova Torres in the North.

And in the Beira district, in August, a goods train was derailed, stop-

ping all connections with Rhodesia, Malawi and Zambia (P.J. 12/8/70).

MOZAMBIQUE AND MALAWI
A new road is to be built to link Mozambique with Malawi. It begins 5 kms. from Moatize. (P.J. 24/10/70).

CABORA BASSA

In the Cabora-Bassa area, the colonialists have started the preparatory work for the building of the dam. The new village, intended to house 3,300 workers (1,300 Europeans and 2,000 Africans) and appropriately named SONHO (Dream), is surrounded by a special cordon of armed police. The movements of everyone entering the village are checked by a closed television circuit. (P.J. 21/10/70).

SOUTH AFRICAN COLLABORATION

Portuguese and South African engineers are already studying the construction of the gigantic power station of Moatize, which will supply electricity to S. Africa (V.M. 26/6/70).

Meanwhile a Johannesburg firm has offered two electronic computers, estimated at £145,000 each, to the University of Lourenço Marques (P.J. 20/8/70).

In September a cargo of 27,000 tons of steel was being gradually moved by train from this city to S. Africa. (P.J. 29/9/70).

PUSHING AFRICANS OUT

An African population of 25,000 people, living on the banks of the Zambezi river near the Cabora Bassa area, will be displaced and forcibly settled elsewhere. (D.L. 9/7/70)

SENDING THE WHITES IN

With the aim of strengthening the white supremacy in the colony, the authorities are going to settle, at an estimated cost of £261,000, 400 families, mainly from Madeira, at the Colonato de Lioma (Lioma Settlement) in a 16,000 hectares area near the Gurue (P.J. 26/9/70).

MOZAMBIQUE FOR SALE

A new £1,157,427 deal has been clinched between the Portuguese Government and the 'Bureau of Recherches Géologiques et Minières' for mining prospectations in northern Mozambique, between parallels 13

FREEDOM FOR THE PRISONERS!

JAILED in the Peniche fortress are prisoners whose conditions have worsened so much under the 'liberal' Caetano, that from March to May, 1970, there were strong protests by the victims.

Conditions there are still very bad and the health of many prisoners continues to deteriorate seriously.

PIRES JORGE

The life of **PIRES JORGE**, the 63-year-old workers' leader—who has been in the anti-fascist struggle for 43 years and who fought for 19 years in the clandestine movement in Portugal—continues to be in danger, after 14 years in the fascist jails.

JOSE MAGRO AND OTHERS

JOSE MAGRO, another anti-fascist prisoner who is also in a serious condition, has been over 17 years in prison.

Peniche prisoners include other well-known anti-fascist fighters, such as:— **DIAS LOURENÇO, BLANQUI TEIXEIRA, JOSE CARLOS, MARIO ARAUJO, GUILHERME CARVALHO,**

JORGE ARAUJO, ROGERIO CARVALHO, DOMINGOS ABRANTES, ILDIO ESTEVES, DINIZ MIRANDA, CANAIS ROCHA, etc., etc.

OTHER WOMEN

In the Caxias fortress, near Lisbon, are the women political prisoners.

They include **ROSALINA LABAREDAS** and **URSULA MACHADO.**

WE MUST FREE THEM

The campaign for the liberation of the Portuguese political prisoners has already had many successes. But we must be true to the best values of mankind and free more of these people from the clutches of the fascists.

Demand an amnesty for all Portuguese political prisoners, writing to Professor Marcelo Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal.

Fascists must not be allowed to keep any prisoners 25 years after the end of a war that was fought to end fascism!

and 16 to the south of the Equator. (V.M. 12/6/70)

The first Japanese electric engines of a £1,160,000 order have been delivered in L. Marques (P.J. 3/8/70).

Three new factories, at a total cost of £1,450,000, are going to start work in 1971 in Lourenço Marques and Nacala (Beira). One of them will produce chocolate for export to Malawi and Swaziland. (P.J. 17/9/70).

The Anglo-American Corporation has asked a concession from the Portuguese to prospect for diamonds in the Zambezi region, Tete district (P.J. 18/7/70).

It is estimated that more than £145m. will be invested in Mozambique up to 1972 (P.J. 27/8/70).

THE CULTURAL UMBRELLA

It is in this particular context of the aid given to the Portuguese colonialists, and the huge profits taken up by the Western investors,

at the expense of the sweat and blood of the African peoples, that 'cultural' and pleasure visits (always organized with the backing of Portuguese authorities) must be judged. They either help the efficiency of monopolistic exploitation, or try to break the isolation of the colonialists. Here are some of the items in the calendar of recent visits.

Dr. David Cushing, the Head of Biological Programming of the Fisheries Laboratory of Lowestoft, has been to L. Marques to deliver a lecture on 'Contemporary trends in World Fisheries'. (P.J. 27/8/70)

The Principal of the German College of Oporto visited this colony for a fortnight before returning to W. Germany (P.J. 23/8/70).

Rhodesian high school girls from Salisbury have been on a visit to L. Marques (P.J. 27/8/70). Meanwhile, the younger brother of the Shah of Persia, Prince Abdul — Reza Palavi, elected this colony for a two-week safari. (P.J. 12/8/70).