

PORTUGUESE AND COLONIAL BULLETIN

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AN INTERNATIONAL ARMY

The Portuguese Finance Minister, Dias Rosas, stated publicly in Lisbon, last April—as reported in the censored Portuguese press—that Portugal's military expenses, which in 1961 were £60 million, or 36 per cent of the total budget, had increased to nearly three times that amount in 1969, reaching £170 million or 41 per cent of the budget. (According to other sources, quoted in this issue, the percentage of military expense in relation to the total budget is even higher.)

It is well-known that these figures do not give the total amount of the military expenditure in Portugal and colonies, because other sums spent with the Army are frequently included in the budget under a different heading. But, even so, they succeed in expressing the nightmarish depth of Portuguese contemporary reality.

These vast sums of money are being spent by the country with the lowest standard of living in Europe! By a small country with just nine-and-a-half million inhabitants, engaged for over ten years in three colonial wars in Africa, keeping nearly 200,000 men in arms.

The Portuguese army is also vital for the Portuguese fascist dictatorship at home. It was the army that made the 1926 coup which initiated the present régime. It is the army which supplies the leading cadres and officers for the other repressive forces (G.N.R. and P.S.P.) and for the secret police. And it is the army which is the ultimate repressive force in Portugal, always ready to intervene against the majority of the Portuguese people, who oppose fascism, when the other police forces are unable to do so.

The Weapons

Being a weakly industrialized country makes Portugal incapable of supplying her army with all the necessary weapons to conduct the repressive policies of the régime in Portugal and the three African colonial wars.

A portion of the huge profits obtained by the foreign powers, from

the exploitation of the peoples and the natural resources of Portugal and her colonies, is directed to the economic and military help that has kept the Portuguese fascist régime in the saddle for 45 years.

The United States has supplied Portugal, especially since the Second World War, with tanks, warships and aeroplanes. The planes include, amongst others, jet fighters: Republic F-84 G and F-86F Sabre; bombers of the Lockheed PV-2 Harpoon, Lockheed P-2V Neptune and Douglas B-26 types; and other types of planes such as the Cessna T-37C; North American Harvard T-3 and T-6; C-47 Dakotas; Skymaster C-45 and Beach C-45 Expeditor; and Boeing's 707 and 727 for transport of troops to Africa. Portuguese Army officers frequently receive training in the United States.

West Germany has financed the establishment of two ammunition factories in Portugal (Fábrica de Material de Guerra de Braço de Prata and Fundição de Oeiras) and of an Army Aeronautics Factory (Oficina Gerain de Material Aeronáutico, in Alverca, near Lisbon) which supply the needs of the Army in the colonial wars. It also financed the Beja air base. It supplied Portugal with 130 Dornier DO-27 planes of the German Air Force; with American jet planes; German-built warships; Mercedes Benz and Unimog military vehicles. Portuguese soldiers wounded in the colonial wars recuperate in Germany. West Germany has continued the support given by Hitler to the Portuguese régime; (under the Nazis Army cadres were trained in Germany, such as the notorious General Spínola, now Portuguese Army Commander in Guinea-Bissau).

France has supplied Portugal with French-built warships (four frigates and four submarines), a large number of Alouette helicopters and also giant SA-330 helicopters, Saeh guided missiles and Panhard armoured cars.

Britain has supplied Portugal, since 1961, with three frigates, 150 Auster P5/160 planes and also Islander

planes and 200 Austin Gipsy military vehicles—amongst other weapons. The British firm Westland is a partner in the firm building the French helicopters supplied to Portugal.

NATO, of which Portugal is a member, has been instrumental in the supply of many of these and other weapons to Portugal. Forty jet fighters Fiat C-91 NATO type R4 (a joint Italian-British-French-Dutch venture) were handed over in 1966, along with other weapons.

Modernity and Efficiency

Although some of the weapons equipping the Portuguese Army are not of the most modern type, other combat means are up-to-date. Napalm, supplied by the United States and through Nato, is widely used. Telecommunications equipment is very modern.

For an Army engaged in repression, information and a scientific approach to it, are very important. Computer equipment has been developing rapidly in Portugal in recent years. Data banks and time-sharing were the subject of two meetings last June in Lisbon and Oporto.

The last word has been said with the use of defoliants by the colonial Army in Angola. US exports of herbicides to Portugal rose from US\$57,330 in the whole of 1969 to US\$227,320 in the first 11 months of 1970. Britain's ICI also exports herbicides to Portugal.

The interconnection of the Army with foreign financial interests is general and has wide international implications. The closure of the Suez Canal and the diversion of the oil supply routes to Europe round the Cape put the Portuguese colonies at war in strategic positions on that route and extended to them the interests built around the giant Lisnave shipyards in Lisbon. These Lisnave international interests are even trying to give, from war-ridden Mozambique, support to the recent South African policy of wooing the Malagasy Republic into a Pretoria-Tananarive-Lisbon oil axis, through the building of a deep-water port at Narinda, in Madagascar, serving the oil tankers. And the Portuguese Army is in Mozambique to protect the building of the internationally-financed Cabora-Bassa dam, which is intended to give huge profits to the South African white racists.

The Uncertain Future

The Portuguese Army is led by a reactionary clique of generals and officers, drawn from the old aristocracy and the newer bourgeoisie and connected by economic ties with the

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INSIDE PORTUGAL

Growing Inflation

In a meeting held in Lisbon at the 'Banco Português do Atlântico' 725 executives of great international enterprises discussed such problems as the balance of payments, the stability of the Escudo, and the disadvantages of its eventual devaluation (DL, 8.3.71). There is growing concern

about these questions in Portugal.

In the following table, quoted from 'Inflação', A. Castro, Lisbon, 1970, the Gross National Product (at 1963 prices) and the means of payment (money in circulation and Bank deposits) for the six-year period 1964-1969 are shown as increment percentages from one year to the next:

Year	GNP at 1963 prices	Money in circulation	Bank Deposits	Total means of payment
1964	6.9%	5.3%	18.9%	15.6%
1965	7.1%	11.4%	15.8%	13.0%
1966	3.2%	6.7%	12.4%	9.4%
1967	7.8%	5.0%	13.8%	12.0%
1968	6.2%	7.3%	15.0%	12.3%
1969	6.3%*	11.3%	16.8%	14.2%

*provisional

It is revealing to compare this trend with Portuguese military expenditure since the outbreak of the colonial wars. The next table (also from

'Inflação', A. Castro, Lisbon, 1970) sets these expenses against the Net National Product, calculated at 1963 prices:

Year	Net National product £m	Military expenses £m.	Military expenses as % of NNP %	Military expenses as % of Budget %
1964	1,105	85	7.6	137.9
1965	1,266	104	8.2	42.67
1966	1,300	108	8.3	43.02
1967	1,399	125	7.7	43.76
1968	1,486	132	8.8	44.30
1969	(a)	137 (b)	(a)	43.64

(a) figure not available; (b) calculated on the basis of 9% inflation in 1969.

The economic situation in Portugal cannot be wholly explained by the inflationary trends that affect all Western countries. The following figures for inflationary rates in some Western countries during 1969, as given in International Financial Statistics, May 1970, show Portugal's exceptional position:

Country	% consumer price increase
W. Germany	4%
Gt. Britain	6%
USA	6%
France	6%
Belgium	4%
Japan	7%
Portugal	10%

The Prosperous Few

A report on 95 large Portuguese industrial and financial enterprises ties for foreign investments because (Journal do Comércio, 14.1.71) states

that the capital and reserve funds of this group of concerns has grown steadily from £364m. in 1965 to £490m. in 1969. This growth is especially marked in the banking, electricity, tobacco and overseas sectors.

The net profits of these firms rose from £21m. in 1965 to £40m. in 1969, almost doubling in five years, while in the same period capital and reserve funds increased by 33.8 per cent.

The Sell-Out to Britain . . .

The main foreign investors in Portugal are Britain, the United States, West Germany and Belgium (Journal do Comércio, 3.2.71).

At a meeting in Lisbon attended by a group of distinguished members of the British Export Council, led by D. B. Ercolani, the Director of the Banco Português do Atlântico stated that Portugal offers great opportunities for the régime favours the entry of

capital and allows the unrestricted withdrawal of the profits made by foreign enterprises (Diário de Notícias, 5.3.71).

Bull and Collins (Oil and Gas) Ltd. will prospect for oil off the coast of Portugal, and are investing £4.3m. in an oil rig for that purpose (DL, 22.5.71).

Sandeman, with large interests in Port wine, had net profits of £151,129 in 1970 (The Times, 2.6.71). Marks and Spencer opened a subsidiary in Lisbon (DL, 3.6.71).

And to West Germany . . .

Herr von Holleben, West German Ambassador to Portugal, declared at a dinner sponsored by the Portuguese-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, that Portugal can count on the full support of the Federal Republic in her efforts to reach agreement on entry into the Common Market. Proof of this support has already been given in the past months at Brussels (O Comércio, 25.5.71).

Siemens, the electrical machinery trust, signed a contract for the supply of all electrical equipment for a new pharmaceutical factory to be built for Schering in Portugal. This is the third major contract with pharmaceutical firms to be won in recent months by the 'Portuguese' subsidiary of Siemens (PJ, 1.5.71).

A West German financial group is to exploit the S. Domingos copper pyrite mines in Beja (Alentejo province, Southern Portugal) which belonged to the British firm Mason and Barry (O Comércio, 25.5.71).

And Other Foreigners

Toyota, the Japanese car manufacturers, opened its largest car assembly line outside Japan in Ovar, Northern Portugal. The object of Toyota's investment in Portugal was very clearly stated: a better access to European markets (PJ, 25.5.71) . . . using Portugal's cheap labour force.

The American trust 'Holiday Inns' is to build its second hotel in Portugal on a 37,000-square-yard plot in the Algarve. The construction of two more hotels, one in Lisbon and the other in Oporto, is under consideration (DL, 5.6.71). Building land for hotels in Lisbon is fetching over £107 the square yard (DL, 28.5.71).

Herré Lavenir, a close associate of the French Prime Minister, Chaban Delmas, following a visit to Angola, pledged French support for Portugal's application to associate with the Common Market. He stated that further investments in Portugal are being discussed (Journal do Comércio, 6.5.71).

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PORTUGAL'S EMIGRATION PROBLEM (1)

By A. Leal

Suddenly it appears that the gravity of the problem of emigration has struck deep in Portugal. For the last two years the Portuguese censored press has been giving a wide coverage to the situation and the fate of the emigrant, who has sought a new life mainly in France and West Germany. Round table discussions and debates have been organised by economists and sociologists to review the problem and a few 'stipulists' of Marcello Caetano's party, 'Accao Nacional Popular', the only one allowed in the country, and therefore the only one to be heard inside the 'National Assembly', have been sounding dramatic warnings on the consequences of this exodus. A reasonable number of studies has been published on the subject and there is no doubt that the problem has assumed proportions of national importance.

The Government's Concern

The Government can no longer appear indifferent. And in the new presidential style of Caetano's rule, where many speeches are made promising great changes with very little being actually done, the authorities were expected to do yet more promises and even a few alterations to the existing legislation.

Under Marcello Caetano, the old Emigration Board (Junta de Emigracao), which came into existence in 1947, has been replaced by 'Secretariat for Emigration', headed by a First Secretary, a post of ministerial rank. The First Secretary, A. Saragga Leal, when he took his new post on January 23rd, 1971, announced that he intended to 'protect the emigrant and direct all emigration through the legal channels'. On the Portuguese side, this will be done through the 'Regional Division' of the National Service of Labour, which has its offices throughout the country.¹ The creation of the present Government Department is well in keeping with the superficial analysis Mr. Caetano had made of the problem, in the 'National Assembly' in December, 1970. 'Emigration', he said, 'is an endemic phenomenon in national life which will last for many years to come'.² In other words, the problem is not going to be tackled with a view of solving it, but rather of bringing it under control in a way that might better serve the long-term policies of the regime.

New Agreements with France

The two main countries of destination for Portuguese emigrants are France and West Germany. Bilateral agreements have already been signed between Portugal and the German Federal Republic, aimed at halting the flow of illegal emigrants. But the situation in France has remained until now sufficiently fluid to enable many 'illegal' emigrants to be employed on the spot.

This was the main worry for the Portuguese authorities. Between January 20th and 22nd, 1971, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs had preliminary discussions in Paris as the subject with members of the French cabinet.³ And finally these negotiations were brought to a conclusion in Lisbon, on April 6th of the

same year. The new agreement introduced a few alterations to the Convention signed between the two governments on December 11st, 1963.⁴ Yet the details given to the press by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the present agreements are as vague as to leave many questions unanswered.⁵ Apart from the fact that 'illegal' emigration is from now onwards to be halted, very little is said, and that in very general terms, about the social insurance in which temporary workers will be entitled, as well as about social benefits available for those who might fall ill while on a holiday in their own country.

Judging the actions of the Government at their face value, it would seem that round number one of the proposals made by the new Secretary for Emigration has been completely fulfilled. And this may well be the case. But there is much more that meets the eye in this abolition of French toleration for the illegal emigrant.

Myths on Emigration

The full implications of the present agreements are often clouded in official and private reports by a mythology that conceals the real motives that prompt the Portuguese worker to emigrate. Having accepted, like Caetano, that emigration has existed in the past and is here to stay with us, many journalists and intellectuals who still give pen welcome to the 'Day of the Emigrant' as a date to be celebrated in the Portuguese calendar, a few of them go so far as to detect in emigration a clear sign of the 'adventurous spirit of the race' that harks back to the age of the Portuguese discoveries in the 15th and 16th centuries.⁶

Others try to explain the phenomenon by a mechanism of 'natural causes', in which 'demographic pressure' would act as the main lever in the emigration process. According to this school of thought, a per cent in the birth-rate in Portugal (despite her infant mortality rate, one of the highest in Western Europe) would push the Portuguese into a migratory movement. Nearly six years ago this myth had already been exploded in a previous issue of our 'Bulletin', at a time when the problem was hardly discussed in Portugal and had not caught yet the public eye.⁷ It was shown then that the density of inhabitants per square mile (261 in 1963) was below that of countries such as West Germany, Holland, Belgium and Denmark, which attracted immigrants and had no emigration problem themselves. To this it may be added now that the annual average birth-rate between 1956 and 1966, was in Portugal 0.80 per cent, whereas France (1.20 per cent), Canada (2.20 per cent) and Switzerland (1.75 per cent), to quote just a few, had higher birth-rates and a large immigration intake.⁸ The analysis of Portuguese emigration made in the 1965 issue of our 'Bulletin' is quite accurate and still correct today, new aspects being only considered here to account for the present evolution of the problem and the recent measures taken up by the Caetano Government.

If malthusian theories are totally inadequate to provide a reason for the population flow from Portugal, so are those

which rely on historical and psychological factors for its explanation. Spirit of adventure and the desire to know foreign lands and new customs go better together with 'tourist' curiosity, or with the leisure of the well-to-do in life. One has only to listen to what the emigrants themselves have to say about their own situation. An enquiry conducted in France in 1965 assembled hundreds of statements of which the following are only two typical: 'Ah! If one were not forced to work outside his own country; if one could only work near his own family! Or: 'When I get old, I will return to die at home... All Portuguese want to die in Portugal...'

These emotional confessions may strike the reader as rather naive, but they express candidly the true feelings of the crushing majority of immigrants. Indeed the authors of the enquiry admit surprise at what they term the 'strong attachment of the Portuguese to help their homeland'.⁹

The Emigrant Status

That much may be the answer to the so-called spirit of adventure. On the other hand, those who want to find historical reasons for present migratory movements go as far back as the sixteenth century. They are clearly under the impression that there is a continuum in the process that started with well-organised expeditions under Government control as early as the 15th century, and in the steady flow of individuals, who for personal reasons, on their own initiative and free from official pressure, if not quite often in opposition to it, decided to leave their homeland to work elsewhere.¹⁰

The fact that the first Democratic Republic (1910-1926) pursued the same old policy of African colonization, and took no measures to correct the migratory movement, may have added to the confusion whereby the present is explained in the terms of the past. Yet there is a fundamental distinction as shown above, between the colonizer, integrated in a plan of official policy and the individual worker. The latter is indeed the real emigrant. And he begins to appear as such in the early 18th century, when in defiance of official regulations, he left Portugal for Brazil, a tendency that was to grow throughout the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century until 1945.

It is not by accident that this process begins in the 1700's, for it was by then that the economic gap between Portugal and the modern industrialised countries was beginning to be felt. Emigration was not an adventure, but a flight from misery and hardship at home.¹¹ And any analogies with the migratory trends of the past, and the so-called 'Overseas epic', are not only misleading, but erroneous, becoming a tool that plays into the hands of the propagandists of the regime.¹² For those are keen to perpetuate the myth that the population flow must continue, although it should be directed (they consider) to the overseas African colonies.

Shift in Emigration

One of the most difficult problems in the study of Portuguese emigration is the

lack of adequate statistics, since the official data takes no account of the illegal immigrants. And yet the provisional data so far available do give an idea of the situation.

The 'modern' migratory flow began around 1870, and was directed mainly to Brazil until 1945. Table I shows the steady increase in the number of emigrants from Portugal in one country.¹⁴

Table I

Years	Emigrants	Annual Portuguese av. population
1866-1888	309,374	11,462
1886-1926	1,351,119	32,347
1926-1967	1,326,233	32,954

From this table it is clear that, in one century, 2,986,526 Portuguese left their country. From 1960 to 1970, 70 per cent of the Portuguese emigration went to Brazil, and between 1947-54 the percentage was still 78.6. In the same period only 3 per cent left for the Portuguese colonies.

After the end of World War II, France became the main country for Portuguese immigrants, as is shown in Table II, where percentages of the total are given according to the country of destination:

Table II

Countries of Destination	1951-60	1961-67
Brazil	65.7	9.9
Argentina	3.7	0.4
USA	5.8	6.0
W. Germany	—	4.9
Canada	4.5	5.8
France	5.0	61.6
Holland	—	0.4
South Africa	1.9	2.4
Venezuela	10.4	4.9
Other countries	1.0	3.6

In the 1951-60 period, Brazil still topped the list with 65.7 per cent, but by 1961-67 that quota had been reduced to a meagre 9.9 per cent, whilst France was already taking 61.6 per cent. This shift in the flow from Brazil to France can be explained by a spiralling inflation in Brazil since 1961, which made the exchange rate with the Portuguese escudo quite unfavourable to the immigrant, who had to keep his family or relatives in Portugal.¹⁵ Such a sharp decline in numbers, as has already been illustrated in Table II, can even be appreciated better, if we compare the number of immigrants to Brazil between 1961-67, which stood then as high as 54,767, with a mere 2,300 in 1970.¹⁷

The Highest Peak Ever

In 1950, industrial development in France led that country to employ foreign workers, and the Portuguese found there a ready market for their labour. In the second half of 1969, it was estimated that the Portuguese labour force in France had reached half a million.¹⁸ And by 1971, other estimates were putting that figure as high as 600,000.¹⁹

But the most dramatic revelation came with data for 1969. In that year, of a total of 157,000 Portuguese emigrants, 83,000 had entered France illegally, although the total according to official statistics was only 70,165.²⁰ This means that 85 per cent of Portuguese emigration into France was illegal. Moreover, the total number of Portuguese immigrants in that country

formed nearly 13 per cent of its foreign labour force.²¹

It was quite obvious that this situation could no longer be fitted into any 'traditional' pattern of the Portuguese migratory flow, nor could the usual historical or psychological interpretations be given to explain the enormity of what was happening. And the fact was indeed dramatically underlined in the 'Boletim da Junta de Emigração' for 1969: 'This picture has never been encountered, within such limits, in the history of Portuguese emigration'.²² A hard admission to make, considering that the 'Boletim IE' is an official publication.

Naturally the 'Boletim IE' is only interested in containing emigration by a tightening up of administrative measures, since an examination of the causes would lead inevitably to a tremendous indictment of the régime. In fact the rise in the migratory flow, particularly illegal emigration, coincided with the year of 1961, when the liberation war started in Angola, showing ever since a steady upward trend. And in the period 1961-66 the annual averages of emigration was already the highest in Portuguese history.²³

A large number of the people who were leaving the country illegally were young men: 92 per cent of the young immigrants in France were under 21, 64 per cent came illegally and 28 per cent arrived with a tourist passport. Official sources show also that, in 1967, 1,000 men had reached the call-up and 1,000 never turned up at the recruiting centre for their health inspection.²⁴ From official sources of doubtful reliability, since illegal immigrants are never accounted for, it can be said that from 1967 1967 more than 500,000 young people under 30 have left Portugal, a number that is really much higher if the illegal immigrants are included.²⁵

Meanwhile, emigration to the Portuguese colonies, which fell heavily in 1961, is still at a very low level.²⁶

Causes for Emigration

For the young the fear of the African wars and the prospect of a long stint of military service, which can now last up to four or five years, are inextricably linked with the appalling social conditions inside Portugal, the low wages, the lack of security, the rising cost of living, the absence of democratic trade-unions, and the oppression in human rights and the constant watch of the PIDE-DGS (Secret Police). Political, social and economic factors, all imposed by Castano's fascist dictatorship, are entirely responsible for the gigantic exodus of the Portuguese people from their own country. This can be corroborated by another significant characteristic in the present migratory flow, a characteristic that has appeared since 1960.

Until then it might be said that peasants, manual and unskilled workers formed the main contingent of emigrants. But this is no longer the case. An enquiry covering the 1960-65 period was conducted by the Association of the Portuguese Industries among 247 industrial firms. It showed that many skilled workers, mechanics and engineers have also emigrated to France and West Germany.²⁷

The effects of the present exodus are obvious and are being made worse by the departure of women who together with their children join their husbands or relatives in France. Higher salaries, better social conditions, than those they had in Portugal (although still extremely harsh), and better possibilities of education for their children, induce the immigrants in

seeking permanent residence, thus increasing the degree of loss for Portugal.

With good reason did one of Castano's 'deputies' complain in the 'National Assembly' about military service and emigration as the causes for the disappearance of nearly all the active population of the Minho province (Northern Portugal).²⁸ He might well add that the same situation is now developing fast throughout the whole country. Many provinces already display a sad scene of wilderness.

Another dramatic case is the north eastern province of Trás-os-Montes, with its 130 miles of border with Spain. This province is tempted by emigration, having remained for years a very depressed area.

In 1960-69 to flee their own misery, many people in the province were attracted, first, to large urban centres, inside Portugal, where jobs might be less scarce and wages slightly better. Lisbon and Oporto were the main points of attraction. As a consequence of these migrations, new shanty towns began to grow on the fringe of those cities. In 1965, there were already, in Lisbon, alone, 18,500 huts, providing shelter for a large number of people. Of these 67 per cent had come from Trás-os-Montes.

The emigration flow to foreign countries (mainly France) has now reached its peak. The importance of the movement can be judged by the fact that from 1860 to 1960, according to some estimates, over half a million people left the province, a figure which equalled the total of its population in 1960.²⁹

Emigration to Spain

But France and West Germany are not the only countries to receive 'transcontinental' and other Portuguese immigrants. There is a less known flow of emigration to neighbouring Spain. Often do the Portuguese authorities complain against the tolerance shown by Spain with regard to Portuguese emigrants, since nearly all those who enter France are smuggled over the border across Spain. Yet little attention has been paid so far to the Portuguese who have chosen to work in Spain itself.

Spain is indeed in a curious position, because she has an emigration problem of her own, of considerable magnitude. By 1966 there were nearly 100,000 foreigners living in the country, the Portuguese being by far the largest single group with 13,779 people.³⁰ This figure, however, did not include the illegal immigrants, who have been moving in steadily since 1966 and 1967. The present lack of adequate information is no reason to ignore the problem. Legal Portuguese emigration to Spain is practically non-existent, and the vast colonies of immigrants may strike any observer as rather odd.

But it is a fact. A large steel plant and other industrial plants are at present being built in the area of Oviedo-Gijón, Avilés and Mieres (Asturias). This industrial development has led to other works, such as the construction of a motorway. In view of the situation created by Asturian emigration, there was suddenly in the area a lack of manpower. And Trás-os-Montes has a large number of jobless people. Those who are employed being mainly seasonal workers earning low wages. Thus the migratory flow began to move to the nearest labour market. Initially the lack of manpower was caused by the high wages and the Portuguese who arrive in Asturias were eager to take any job, however hard it might be. Many took jobs that Spanish workers had turned down.

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TERROR IN PORTUGAL

(from our correspondents in Portugal)

Under the pretext of maintaining 'law and order' police terror continues to reign in Portugal. Arrests and brutal tortures are commonplace. People are frequently arrested by the secret police (DGS-Pide), beaten or tortured, and released without ever being brought to court.

An Example

Last March, the secret police went to the home of a Lisbon law student, Cunha Leal, grandson of a well known Republican politician of the pre-Salazar era, with the intention of arresting him. The police had no warrant and the student's family questioned this. The answer of the police agents was to beat the uncle of the student the well known Lisbon lawyer, Dr. Arthur Cunha Leal, so brutally that he had to be admitted to hospital in a serious condition and kept under treatment until May.

Repressive Fury

Amongst those arrested in April was a candidate in the October 1969 'elections', Alberto Costa, a law student. Other students, including the Vice-President of the law students' union, were arrested and some so brutally beaten that had to be taken to hospital.

The house of another candidate in those elections, Firmino Martins, a railwayman and trade unionist, was raided by the police in November last year. As the police could not find him they took his 19-year-old daughter, Firmino Martins was sacked from his job in March last year because of his political opposition to the regime. Last April his photograph appeared in the Portuguese newspapers with a request by the secret police to hand him over.

Last June, Augusto Lindolfo, well-known anti-fascist who has already spent six years in jail, was re-arrested by the secret police and savagely tortured. He had to be admitted to hospital in a serious condition.

In May, June and July last dozens of political arrests were made, and some even reported in the censored Portuguese daily press. People arrested have been submitted to savage torturing. Amongst those arrested were the political leader Antonio Gervasio and journalists'

trade union leader Antonio dos Santos.

The Political Trials

On December 21st of last year the Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced José Cunha to two years in jail and 'security measures', and Estaline Rodrigues to 18 months. Before the trial the prisoners were tortured by depriving them of their sleep, beatings and burns. 'Security measures' can keep a prisoner indefinitely in jail at the whim of the secret police.

On January 5th the same court started to try 18 employees of the British-owned Lisbon Electric Tramways—the Lisbon public transport monopoly—accused of a stoppage in their place of work.

On January 25th the same court sentenced four Lisbon economics students, Maria de Oliveira and Maria Vicente—two women—and Fernando Espada and Ezequiel Vicente, to 20 months in jail each.

On February 2nd the same Lisbon Court sentenced António da Silva to 3½ years in jail, Daniel Peles to 2½ years with 'security measures' for both; and Francisco Correia to 1½ years.

On March 20th a Coimbra court gave three students, including a girl, prison sentences and fines because of 'injury to the authorities'.

On March 25th the Lisbon Plenary Court sentenced workers' leader Jaime Serra, in his absence, to 12 years in jail plus 'security measures'.

On March 31st the same court sentenced 19 people, accused of supporting the Angolan Independence Movement (MPLA), to prison sentences of between 1½ and 4 years. A Catholic priest, the Reverend Pinto de Andrade was given 3 years plus 'security measures'. This applied also to four other accused. The prisoners complained in the Court about the tortures inflicted on them by the police.

On May 27th, the same court sentenced 63-year-old workers' leader Francisco Miguel, in his absence, to 1½ years in jail plus 'security measures'.

Against the People

The democratically-elected leadership of the Lisbon Doctors' Union (Ordem dos Médicos) has been pre-

vented by the authorities from holding office.

A general meeting of the Lisbon Insurance Employees Union (Sindicato), due to take place on March 19th, was forbidden by the authorities.

A Machine in Action

Under the preventive detention law in Portugal a prisoner can be kept in isolation by the secret police for six months without legal advice or contact with relatives. There are no examining magistrates and the political trials are based on the secret police investigation and 'confessions' obtained by the police without legal presence. The secret police act without warrants and enjoy complete immunity because they are exclusively empowered to examine charges of crime committed by their own members.

Last December the Ministry of the Interior decided to enlarge one of the armed police forces, the PSP.

Another armed police force, the GNR, has a total of 10,000 men in arms, many of them in 537 rural police stations all over Portugal. The GNR Lisbon forces went on parade on May 8th displaying two infantry battalions with rifles and machine-guns, a detachment of police dogs, several motorized and armoured detachments, a cavalry regiment and a mortar company. However, the GNR second-in-command, Brigadier Pinto Bessa, asked on February 1st for more equipment and means. Last January the GNR was also given facilities to control postal communications.

The fascist militia 'Portuguese Legion', which collaborates in the repression, held several meetings in March. 'Stop' operations on the roads affected last February, March, May and June in Oporto alone, a total of 31,988 vehicles.

THE DIAMANG COMPANY

This company, with absolute control over an immense territory in Angola, where diamonds are mined by 28,000 Angolans, bossed by 700 Europeans, has a story that begins in 1915. Then Ernesto Vilhena, a director of the Portuguese Overseas Bank and the Burnay Bank (a branch of the American Guggenheim group) obtained the financial support of the Belgian Société Générale, of the French-owned Banque de L'Union Parisienne and of the American Ryan and Guggenheim groups, to form the Diamang Company. Later De Beers and Oppenheimer and British inter-

(Continued on page 40)

ests were also given a share in it. Of its capital, 45 per cent belongs to American trusts, 40 per cent belongs to English and Belgian groups, and 5 per cent only to the administration of Angola.

The Diamang no longer has the monopoly of diamond mining in Angola. In 1969 Caetano granted a concession to the American group Diversa, of Dallas, Texas. In 1970 two more American groups, Diamal and Oestediam, a branch of 'Diamond Distributors', have been awarded new concessions. Earlier this year the Diamang monopoly was more largely shared with the South African interests of the De Beers Consolidated Mines. Diamang will be from now an equal partner with De Beers in a new enterprise having a diamond mono-

poly in 20,000 square miles of Angola, for 50 years. The whole Diamang production—worth £32 million in 1970—is exported to Portugal to be lapidated there by another monopoly, the Sociedade Portuguesa de Lapação de Diamantes, in which Diamang is the biggest shareholder.

The workers of Diamang, which represent 80 per cent of the mining workers in Angola, receive very low wages, half of it being paid in food, which is produced by the workers themselves on the large estates of the company.

The Diamang has its own army of mercenaries with the support of South African technicians. From 1961 to 1964, Diamang spent £739,500 on military preparations (Africaia 21.12.70 to 3.7.71).

Portugal's Emigration Problem (1)

(Continued from page 38)

Later, with affluence of manpower, contractors began to introduce a competitive system whereby wages were reduced, and those immigrants who had benefited from the initial situation found themselves with rather poor jobs. The migratory movement from Trás-os-Montes began in 1966-67 and the number of Portuguese immigrants in Oviedo is now estimated as to be 6,000 or 7,000 (1971).

They are all poor people. Their tents are pitched on open fields or near the roads. Conditions in these shanty-towns, the Portuguese 'chabolas', as they are known locally, are extremely primitive. And the immigrants face the usual difficulties of language and integration, feeling a certain hostility on the part of the local people and the Spanish workers, who look down on them as the 'Portuguese apiares'.

The Asturian bourgeoisie has its qualms of conscience, but as these immigrants are needed for the development of their industries, they are left alone in the hope that they will not be there for much longer.¹¹

(To be continued)

'NO' TO REACTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS

On May 20th the Social Committee of the UN Economic and Social Council condemned the treatment of African primary producers in the Portuguese colonies and called on Portugal to halt the seizure of land belonging to Africans.

On May 26th, the UN Secretary General, U Thant, speaking in New York, during the celebrations of the African Liberation Day, asked the major countries trading with Portugal to refuse her all military and economic help.

On June 3rd the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation passed a resolution deploring the choice of Lisbon for the June meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers. The resolution, approved by 16 votes to none against and three abstentions, stated that the Committee viewed the NATO decision with serious concern and deplored 'this manifestation of collaboration with Portugal by the members of NATO'.

On June 18th, in a letter addressed to U Thant, Zambia accused Portugal of imposing since January, in its ports of Mozambique and Angola, a blockade on food imports and other goods destined for Zambia. This has caused serious shortages in that country.

On July 16th Senegal asked for a meeting of the UN Security Council to complain about aggressive acts by Portugal from the neighbouring colony of Guinea-Bissau—namely re-

cent military mining of Senegalese territory.

France

A number of French organisations including the largest trade union organisation, the C.G.T., the United Socialist Party and the League of Human Rights, issued a public protest against the June NATO meeting in Lisbon.

US

New protests against the Gulf Oil investments in Angola were heard at the Gulf stockholders meeting in Atlanta on April 27th.

As a result of public protests the General Electric Co., has withdrawn its request for Export-Import Bank financing assistance in the proposed sale of US equipment for the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique.

GDR

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR is giving £6 million worth of medicines, blankets, books and tents to Mozambique's Frelimo Liberation Movement.

ICTFU

The International Federation of Free Trade Unions, sent to Caetano, in July, a telegram of protest against the arrest of Daniel Cabrita, secretary of Portugal's bank employees 'sindicato'.

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- ¹⁹ *Id.* et al., 'DL', 26.3.71, p. 8.
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- ²² *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 191-2.
- ²³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 195.
- ²⁴ *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 169 and 231.
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- ²⁶ Oliveira Ramos (Braga), 'Diário das Sessões', 3.2.71.
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FOREIGN POWERS HELP FASCISM

NATO or the Non-Intervening Interventionists

The June NATO meeting in Lisbon served to stress the different positions of the Portuguese Government and of the Portuguese people. This, in its turn, highlighted a disconcerting fact: the so-called 'defenders of Western freedom' (the delegates who sat in a prestige building on which, according to the Financial Times, Portugal spent more than £250,000) are in fact helping a totalitarian régime to further its oppressive rule.

While the NATO delegates met, ARA, an underground armed organization, boldly announced it would take action designed to show the world what the people felt about the régime in Portugal and those abroad who support it.

A major explosion was provoked at the central offices of the CTT, the Portuguese telecommunications network, where the impact of the blast destroyed the vital junction box where the cables leave the building, carrying messages from Portugal to the outside world. The result was that the delegations of 15 NATO countries and some 300 correspondents found themselves cut off in a communications blackout which lasted for more than nine hours. The episode completely overshadowed the formal ceremonies in the fascist 'National Assembly' where the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Caetano, was welcoming the NATO Secretary-General, Signor Brosio, and the Foreign Ministers of the 15 member Governments seated in a solemn semi-circle, beginning with Mr. Rogers of the United States and Sir Alec Douglas-Home. The message from ARA is clear and simple. This 1971 NATO Conference went off with a bang in a way that Dr. Caetano and his Ministers must bitterly deplore, and human nature being what it is, this is what political leaders and correspondents are going to associate with Lisbon in retrospect (see the Guardian, 4.6.1971).

In a statement made after a visit to Brussels prior to the Lisbon NATO meeting, the Portuguese Minister for Defence declared that Portugal's participation in the Alliance was conditioned by Portugal's commitments to the African wars (PJ, 30.5.71).

The British Stake

Sir Alec Douglas-Home's visit to

Portugal, already commented upon in our last issue, is clearly part of a concerted effort on the part of Britain to cash in on Portuguese fascism and colonialism. Despite Sir Alec's assurances that arms and other military equipment were supplied to Portugal on the understanding that they were not for use in Africa, the fact is that it is an open secret that British arms are being used in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau ('The Standard', Tanzania, 18.5.71).

The Daily Telegraph, in commenting on the visit of the British Foreign Secretary, stressed that Portugal can expect from London a 'better understanding' of her African policy (31.5.71).

The Counsellor of the Portuguese Embassy in London was invited to hold a press conference at the House of Commons by the Foreign Relations Committee of the British Conservative Party. His theme was the Portuguese colonies (DN, 16.5.71).

A mission of the London Chamber of Commerce visited Angola, with the objective of fostering the commercial relations between Angola and the United Kingdom (PJ, 2.6.71).

The Portuguese National Overseas Bank sponsored the London visit of a group of Portuguese exporters who discussed marketing problems with City bankers. The visit was described in the Portuguese press as a success (DL, 12.6.71).

The British Military Attaché in Lisbon was one of the guests of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces in Mozambique during a visit to the scene of the war in Mozambique. His fellow-guests were the Military Attachés of the USA, Brazil, France and Spain (Journal do Comercio, 24.5.71).

Links with Germany . . .

In 1970, over 44,000 West German tourists visited Portugal. German-Portuguese trade grew in 1969 at the rate of approximately 20 per cent (PJ, 27.5.71).

The West-German firm Siemens refused to withdraw its participation in the building of the Cabora Bassa dam (DL, 2.5.71).

Angola freedom-fighters have accused the Federal Republic of Germany of supplying Portugal with military aircraft for use in the colonial wars. West Germany plans to place

further detachments of military technicians at the disposal of Portugal ('The Standard', Tanz., 28.6.71).

West German political leader, Franz Joseph Strauss, stated, after a visit to Angola, that he was of the opinion that West Germany should offer more help to the Portuguese Government (DN, 26.4.71). Strauss visited Portugal again, in May ('Provincia de Angola', 22.5.71).

. . . USA, France and Brazil

Two American destroyers called at the port of Lourenço Marques ('Notícias', Lourenço Marques, 22.5.71). A French warship also visited Lourenço Marques. This visit coincided with that of Admiral Eschbach, who was welcomed by the Commander of the Portuguese fleet in Mozambique (Notícias, LM, 20.5.71).

The Brazilian Finance Minister visited Portugal for talks concerning the growing commercial ties between the two countries (PJ, 5.6.71). After his visit to Portugal, the Brazilian Minister visited Britain, France and West Germany (PJ, 7.6.71).

The Colonies

The intentionally incomplete losses in the colonial wars reported in the Portuguese war communiqués and in the press from April 24th to July 1st, 1971, were:

Armed Forces	Killed
Guinea	34
Angola	32
Mozambique	42
	108

Numbers for the wounded since the war has increased in intensity have been completely eliminated. The sum total for nine weeks and a half is 108 men killed.

GUINEA

The war in this colony is becoming daily tougher for Caetano's army of occupation. Located in the most important urban centres, the Portuguese garrisons are practically entombed in their barracks. Occasional sorties into the bush only bring more losses. For this reason the colonialist Air Force keeps bombing the liberated areas indiscriminately with napalm. Many children and old people have been the victims of these abominable bombings.

The studiously-guarded Portuguese war communiqués do not succeed in

concealing the nervousness of the Portuguese chiefs of staff. Frequently bombing by the PAIGC forces of the villages of Sao Domingos, Ignoré, Barro, Bigene, Guidage, Piche, Gadamuel, and Guileje are reported, as well as vigorous actions in the Ganturé, close to the Cacheu river (P), 2.5 to 7.6.71).

On May 24th, a special communiqué was issued by the Portuguese Chiefs of Staff in Guinea, reporting an exceptionally violent bombing of Buruntuma village in eastern Guinea (P), 28.5.71). On May 30th, PAIGC forces severely bombed Cumtina and the colonialist troops stationed there (P), 5.6.71).

Similar attacks with heavy weapons were made on Guidage and Aldeia Formosa. The Portuguese try to boost their morale, when they succeed in intercepting a few guerrillas, or when some brave guerrilla is caught by an anti-personnel mine, as was the case in the Xitole area (Southern Guinea). But these minor 'successes' do not last long (P), 17.6.71).

Freedom Fighters are Advancing

The PAIGC communiqué of May 14th, 1971, gives a much more exact picture of what has been happening.

From January to April 1971, the PAIGC Armed Forces have engaged the enemy in 279 actions, of which 215 were directed on the towns. Three helicopters, two aircraft and 57 vehicles were destroyed by the PAIGC men (PAIGC Communiqué, 14.5.71).

In May, 1971, Arnifcar Cabral, General Secretary of the PAIGC movement, summed up the situation when he said 'the enemy has been forced to abandon, since the armed struggle started, 40 fortified camps and dozens of small posts. We are approaching the urban centres every day' ('The Standard', Tanzania, 19.5.71).

KEY TO REFERENCES

PJ—'Primeiro de Janeiro'
DL—'Diário de Lisboa'

Two of the leading daily, censored, Portuguese newspapers.

Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin

K. Shingler, 10 Pentan Road, London, S.W.8. Subscriptions for one year, including postage: Britain and Europe 75p, Overseas (air-mail), £1. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin.

ANGOLA Portuguese Difficulties

The war in this colony is spreading slowly and steadily, despite previous statements by the Portuguese authorities that the situation was well under control and that the enemy was weakening.

In fact the situation is very much the reverse. Never have the Portuguese war communiques been so studiously guarded in the information they provide. The names of places where the colonialist army operate have been gradually eliminated. Now and again there are vague references to the northern, southern or eastern parts of the territory, where the colonialist troops have been in action.

A typical example of this is found on the May 8th war-communicé: In the "Holy Cross" operation, with raids and ambushes in the North of the province, the enemy's reaction to our troops had no consequences' (PJ, 9.5.71). The last part of the communiqué shows rather a defensive than aggressive attitude, because the operation is credited with no losses on the Portuguese side. Equally vague and uninformative are the phoney statistics provided, admittedly supposed to report a decline in the number of the Angolan guerrillas' operations (PJ, 9.5-9.6.71).

Secret Agents Killed

The activities of the Portuguese Gestapo, or Directorate-General of Security, are becoming more pronounced in the colony. One of the Secret Police agents was kidnapped, on March 25th, somewhere on the Angola-Congo border, when he tried to keep an assignment with some of his informers. Another agent was killed when heading a group of DGS 'Arrows' (or Caetano's SS) against an MPLA post (DL, 26.5.71).

Angolans Attack

The MPLA war communiques (14.3; 3 and 13.4.71) report positive military action against the Portuguese barracks of Ninda, Karipande and Lumbala East (Mexico and Kuando-Kubango districts), as well as frequent ambushes and engagements in all the other five fronts where the MPLA forces are clearly on the offensive.

The attack of the MPLA forces on March 28th, 1971, at 8 p.m., against the Lumbala East barracks of the Portuguese fusiliers was particularly severe. The MPLA was acting in tribute to their late leader, Commander Henda, killed in the attack on the Karipande barracks, on April 14th, 1968. This date has now been chosen as the Day of the Angolan

Youth (MPLA Information Department).

In southern Angola the MPLA forces shot down two Portuguese helicopters on May 14th ('The Standard', Tanzania, 18.5.71).

In the Bié Also

At the moment the five fronts (North: Cumbos and Nambuangongo; Cabinda; Mexico and Kuando-Kubango; Luanda and Malange; Bié and Huambo), where the MPLA is operating and leading the struggle, cover nearly 500,000 sq. kms. In this area live approximately one million people. Angola is inhabited by less than six million people. The proportion of the MPLA forces to the Portuguese Army is of one to ten. The lack of modern heavy weapons on the MPLA side is being gradually corrected, for artillery has now been acquired, which enabled the MPLA to take ten Portuguese barracks in the eastern region in 1970. The MPLA forces are now striking in the Bié district, where the density of the Portuguese population is higher and where the colonialists have far more interests to protect. (Interview by Agostinho Neto to 'Le Monde', 11.5.71).

More Prisons

The Portuguese authorities will spend £142,800 in the next five years on the construction of new prisons in Angola ('Diário de Notícias', 19.3.71).

Colonialist Crimes

Portuguese airplanes continue to drop chemical products to destroy plant life in the liberated zones, such as 2,4-D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid), cacodylic acid, and Diclhoran (known as Tordon) (MPLA, War Comm., 12.4.71).

More Profits

The SONEFE (National Society of Studies and Finance for Overseas Development) with its headquarters in Luanda, had on December 31st, 1970, a net profit of £856,050 on £8,211,000 invested capital.

British Profits

The British-owned Benguela Railway, a subsidiary of Tanganyika concessions, had in 1970 a 12 per cent increase on its 1969 profits. Of the £1,929,845 net profit in 1970, a contribution of £171,418 was made to the Portuguese Government (PJ, 25.5.71).

MOZAMBIQUE

Caetano: The Hard-Liner

Caetano's mask is finally off. The so-called liberal is dead, and the true

hard-liner and old associate of Salazar is clearly revealed. The colonies will never be independent under his rule. This is the message the Lisbon correspondent of the 'Financial Times' (16.4.71) got from recent declarations and actions of the Portuguese Prime Minister.

The Offensive That Was

For this very reason, General Kaulza de Arriaga, the Portuguese expert in anti-guerrilla warfare, has been forced to launch a new large-scale offensive against the freedom-fighters. Only last year the country and the world had been told that the great offensive of June 1970, known symbolically as 'Gordian Knot' had finished FRELIMO and any resistance to Portuguese rule.

Vietnamisation of Mozambique

But General Arriaga is now back to square one. In the April war communique, the authorities admit not only the backing given by the population to the guerrillas, but also their intensive activity in the Tete region, where the Cabora Bassa dam is being built (PJ, 23.5.71). The Portuguese authorities are going to continue with the policy of 'regrouping' the population into protective villages. The first phase of the plan is supposed to move 85,000 people and is designed to be completed within a year (PJ, 17.6.71; 'The Standard', Tanzania, 22.5.71). The plan, tried by the Americans in Vietnam, proved a dismal failure there.

New Offensive

General Arriaga's offensive started on May 1st, at dawn, and was launched on three fronts: Cabo-Delgado, Niassa and Tete. The first Portuguese assault was launched 12 miles northeast of Mueda (PJ, 19, 21 and 17.5.71).

Rhodesian Soldiers in Mozambique

A patrol of the Rhodesian Light Infantry had three soldiers killed by a Frelimo mine deep inside the Portuguese territory in the Zambesi Valley (The Telegraph, 29.4.71).

Frelimo Invites the United Nations

Frelimo has sent a second invitation to the United Nations Committee of 24 to visit the liberated zones of Mozambique (The Standard, Tanzania, 20.5.71).

USA Gets More Interests

The Mobil Oil Company has submitted a plan to the Portuguese authorities for the building of an oil refinery at the northern port of Nacala (Agence France Press, 9.4.71). The American-owned newly-formed

company 'Mozambique Amoco Oil' has submitted plans to the Portuguese authorities to exploit the colony's huge natural gas deposit at Pande, 160 kms. south of Beira (South Africa Financial Gazette, 30.4.71).

Canada Joins In

The Canadian-owned 'International Nickel of Mozambique Ltd.', will soon begin mineral prospecting and exploitation (Diário, L. Marques, 17.5.71).

Huge Profits

The Hydro-Electric Society of the Revuê had a net profit of £317,731 in 1970 (PJ, 25.5.71).

The Real Economic Situation

In Mozambique, the cost of living, between July 1969 and June 1970, rose by 8 per cent. The balance of payments shows a £23,235,800 deficit, a figure which is 'being viewed with the highest concern' (DL, 7.5.71).

Inside Portugal

(Continued from page 36)

New Cardinal

The 81-year-old Cardinal Carejeira, a classmate of Salazar in his University days, was replaced in his duties on May 13th by Bishop António da Câmara Ribeiro, a younger and more open-minded man. The consistory in which Dom António will be made a Cardinal will be convened quite soon (PJ, 15.5.71). The old Primate came to his post on November 18th 1929 (DL, 13.5.71).

High Cost of Wars

A decree has been published authorising an expenditure of £21,750,000 for new equipment for the Army and the Air Force. The Navy is to receive £23,214,500 for the purchase of four corvettes (DN, 15.5.71), (DL, 14.5.71).

Minister Backs Secret Police

Aware of the growing discontent inside Portugal against the régime, the Minister for Defence stated recently that the Armed Forces are behind the forces of the Ministry of the Interior. He added that vigilance will not slacken, nor will the control of arms and equipment be lost. For the home front is everywhere, as Caetano has said (PJ, 16.5.71).

Deserters

More than 100 Portuguese deserters, who refused to fight Caetano's colonial wars, have sought asylum in Sweden. They feared that in France, where they were living, they risked deportation (Le Monde, 2.6.71).

Soldiers Killed

Four soldiers were killed at Mafra in a military exercise (DL, 5.6.71). Two helicopters at the Air Force Tancos base have collided in mid-air, killing five men. One of them was the Commander of the base (PJ, 1.5.71).

American Hard Selling

The 22nd World Congress of the International Advertising Association, was held at Estoril in mid-May. And now new techniques of marketing are being tried in Portugal by an American Company, Bio-Chemical International (Houston, Texas), who intends to promote the sale of their detergents and other chemical products by door-to-door salesmen. The managers recruited in Portugal must have £870 to invest in the products their salesmen will push through the doors of Portuguese housewives (DL, 27 and 29.5.71).

Sowing Confusion

Caetano wants to convince the country that he cares for the intellectuals. So on May 23rd, he visited the house of the deceased poet José Régio in Portalegre (PJ, 24.5.71). The house has been converted into a museum. It is hard to see how the authoritarian Caetano can reconcile his views with those of Régio, a stern Catholic opponent of his régime.

Hard-Worked People

In 1969 over 83 per cent of the Portuguese population had no holiday. For 1970 it appears that that figure will rise to 86 per cent. Of those who had a holiday, 40 per cent had only two weeks. All these figures show the poverty of the Portuguese population.

There is no organised assistance in Portugal for old people. In the rural areas one-third of the aged have to work beyond their powers. Out of a total of the aged, 30.7 per cent live from their work, and 31.1 per cent depend on their relatives, whereas of the remaining 38.2 per cent the number of beggars surpasses those who are entitled to a pension (VM, 30.4.71).

Emigration is Soaring

In West Germany there are more than 50,000 Portuguese emigrants (DL, 26.4.71).

In France, of a total of 600,000 Portuguese immigrants, 300,000 work in the Paris area (PJ, 11.5.71).

In 1970, Portuguese emigration to USA, reached 15,300 in comparison with 2,100 in 1965 (DL, 15.6.71).

In northern Portugal, the population has been falling in 246 local councils for the past ten years.

(From 1st page)

national monopolists and the foreign interests in Portugal and her colonies.

But there are not the same ties and reactionary trends in many of the lower cadres and certainly not amongst the 60,000 annual young conscripts to the Army. Amongst these the discontent against the policies of the régime and the insane colonial wars has grown considerably in recent months.

The overthrow of the Portuguese fascist régime will only succeed through a massive rising of the Portuguese people against it. The international army that, under the cover and name of the Portuguese Army, has been built to keep the people of Portugal and her colonies oppressed, will not be able then to prevent that overthrow. And it is very probable that on that day the growing healthy part of the Portuguese Army will be on the side of the oppressed in rebellion.

WE MUST SAVE THEM

The Portuguese régime relies on mass terror to crush the aspirations of the Portuguese people to a better life. And it uses an inhuman prison system to try to break down the health and resistance of the long-term political prisoners considered most dangerous to the fascists.

The lives of those prisoners, their survival as valid human beings, their right to be useful to their people, are at stake.

Amongst many others, in the Peniche fortress, 50 miles north of Lisbon on the Atlantic coast, are 64-year-old workers' leader **PIRES JORGE** who has spent 14 years in jail and 19 years in the clandestine antifascist movement; **JOSE MAGRO**, who is 51 years old and is the prisoner with the longest years in jail (18 altogether); and also **DIAS LOURENÇO**, **BLANQUI TEIXEIRA**, **JOSE CARLOS**, **ROGERIO CARVALHO**, **GUILHERME CARVALHO**, **DOMINGOS ABRANTES**, **ILDIO ESTEVES**, **DINIZ MIKANDA**, **JORGE ARAUJO**, **CANAIS ROCHA**, **ANGELO VELOSO**, **JOSE PULQUERIO**, etc., etc.

Other prisoners have been freed in the past as a result of public protests.

Please write to Professor Marcello Caetano, Lisbon, Portugal, demanding the release of those prisoners and an amnesty for all the Portuguese political prisoners.

Your help is precious

FIGHT OF THE PEOPLE

(from our correspondents in Portugal)

Worker's Strikes

Strikes for better wages and conditions, which are forbidden in Portugal, have nevertheless continued in recent months, bringing into direct political confrontation the workers and the régime.

There were strikes in the Fabopol factory in Santo Tirso, in the Parry & Son shipyards in Lisbon, in the Gazcidia enterprise in Montijo, amongst the seamen employed by the Siderurgia Nacional Steel Works in Seixal and in the Lopes Henriques factory in Cabo Ruivo. A four-day strike took place in the Firestone Tyre Factory in Setúbal. Eight hundred women workers of the Simoes factory went on strike for several days.

May Day

Besides the great demonstration which took place in Oporto, last May Day, as reported in our July issue, there were other demonstrations in the large industrial centre of Barcelos, in Vila Franca de Xira and in Leiria, amongst other places.

The Alparca farm workers and the Matozinhos fishermen went on strike that day.

Other Workers Struggles

Other industrial actions, including stoppages, have taken place amongst 1,000 workers of the Rabor factory in Ovar; in the Oliva factory in S. João da Madeira; in the Alumina and Esmaltal factories in Oporto; amongst 2,000 textile workers in several factories in Lisbon; amongst the 900 workers of the Mageu factory in Alverca; amongst the print workers of the paper "Diário de Lisboa", in Lisbon; amongst the women workers of the Pablo Cork factory in Montijo; and amongst the workers of the Swedish-owned Billerd Cellulose factory in Figueira da Foz.

In the 'Sindicatos'

In the State-controlled unions or 'sindicatos' the workers have continued their struggle to make these organisations defend their just rights.

In the 'sindicatos' headquarters there has been large meetings attended by 500 metal workers in Oporto; 400 textile workers in Covilha; 300 metal workers in Viana do Castelo; 1,500 bank employees in Lisbon, several thousands of insurance employees in Oporto, Evora and Ponta Delgada.

Against Repression

The National Committee to Help the Political Prisoners has continued its struggle in Portugal to achieve the liberation of the political prisoners and against the "security measures".

A large number of leading Portuguese personalities, including many writers, artists, lawyers and journalists have constituted themselves into a National Committee to fight against the political censorship in Portugal.

On July 7th there was a public demonstration of protest against the arrest by the secret police of the Secretary of the Bank Employees 'Sindicato'. Many bank employees who had gathered for that purpose in front of the Ministry of the Interior building in the centre of Lisbon were dispersed by the police. A meeting of the same 'sindicato' employees had been earlier forbidden by the authorities. On July 27th 4,000 bank employees demonstrated again for the same purpose, in the streets of the centre of Lisbon. There were clashes with the police forces, and many demonstrators were injured and arrested.

The Students

In April there were several demonstrations by the Oporto students, with clashes with the police. Eighteen students were arrested.

In May there were clashes between the Lisbon science students, who were distributing in the streets pamphlets concerning their problems, and the police. The authorities first closed the Students' Union and then the Sciences Faculty itself, as a reprisal against a protest strike by the students.

In The Barracks

Protests against the brutal military training and the conditions of the conscripts in the barracks have intensified recently.

In Mafra there were widespread protests by 800 conscript cadet officers after the death of four of their comrades during a military exercise.

Other protests took place in Lisbon (railway engineers), Leiria and Sacavém.

YOU MAY QUOTE US

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