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PRESS CONFERENCE
BY THE MINISTER
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
DR. RUI PATRÍCIO

GIVEN AT THE PALÁCIO DAS NECESSIDADES,
ON 23 JULY 1970

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INCORPORAÇÃO

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DR. RUI PATRÍCIO
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
BY THE MINISTER
PRESS CONFERENCE

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I

I would like in the first instance to express my gratitude at the presence of so many representatives of Portuguese and foreign newspapers and news agencies. I would also like to say how much I have esteemed their work, as far as matters concerning this Ministry are concerned, during the six months in which I have occupied my present post.

One of my constant endeavours has been to ensure a more direct, close and timely contact with the ever alert, interested and active representatives of the newspapers and news agencies through the relevant department of this Ministry. It must be admitted that certain aspects of this collaboration can be improved and steps are being taken towards that end.

Nowadays information is an independent but indispensable element in the foreign policy of any country. Perhaps in no case is it as decisive as it is for Portugal. Most of the hostility or lack of understanding that persist in certain spheres about the real facts of the life of the Portuguese Nation derive solely from an insufficiency of information, or partial or distorted information.

A few months ago the Prime Minister said in this Ministry: «It is astonishing to see to what extent the world at large is ignorant about us. It is revolting to see how we are constantly being traduced. A campaign based on lies has been mounted against Portugal, while the truth is rejected, our rights ignored, the evidence thrust aside unseen, simply because they do not correspond to the image that Portugal's adversaries have malevolently created and persist in maintaining in circulation».

We thus have the greatest interest in providing information, and in seeing that it is provided, about Portugal, on the largest scale, with the greatest freedom, but also with the strictest adherence to the truth.

I shall begin by making a few brief observations on the development, over the last six months, of the main trends of world politics that have a direct or close interest for Portuguese foreign policy.

The world has continued to live under the threat of an extension or worsening of armed conflicts in certain zones. In spite of the efforts — not always co-ordinated — to solve it, the Middle East conflict shows a growing tendency to increased aggressiveness on both sides and is the cause of the most serious concern for those responsible for international affairs.

Unaffected by the interested and alarmed concern of the rest of the world, the forced passive rôle and anxious expectation of all the other nations, the two super-powers continue with their preliminary negotiations on the conditions in which they could consider a joint discussion of the limitation of their stocks of armaments and nuclear weaponry. Meanwhile, all over the world, the arms race for conventional weapons continues and there has been no renunciation of the use of threats or force against the independence or territorial integrity of other States.

The United Nations Organization continues to reveal itself unable to carry out suitably the basic task it was set up to perform, and which constitutes the real purpose of its existence: the maintenance of world peace and security. The many varied proposals and suggestions that are now being discussed among its members on the topic that is most essential to mankind do not seem to be the ones best suited and most reasonable for the aims in view.

On our part we continue to be convinced that the United Nations Charter contains the principles and rules that are both necessary and sufficient for healthy international relations. We continue to believe that it is a strict respect for its provisions and the other rules of positive international law, far more than the re-statement of principles or confusion in interpreting and applying precepts that are quite explicit, that conditions the basic premises of peace, security and mutual respect in the relations between States. This is the tenor of a recent communication of ours to the Secretary-General of the Organization on the important matter of the strengthening of international security.

Europe's foreign policy continues to turn on the topics of the normalization of relations with the countries of the Eastern bloc and the question of European security. These problems have been discussed inside NATO and were the subject of a recent communication on the occasion of the Ministerial meeting in Rome. Far from being contrary to the idea

of a European security conference, as has on occasion been suggested, the Portuguese position has supported the efforts of those who seek to ensure suitable previous conditions tending to the success of such a conference by preventing it from becoming a mere instrument of propaganda or a way of avoiding the real problems at stake.

We continue to observe with the greatest concern the growing Soviet and Chinese penetration in Africa and the veritable siege of the continent that the Soviet Navy is mounting by its growing presence and influence in the Mediterranean, the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. The major part of Portuguese territory lies in Africa, and we are the victims of acts of aggression that are the direct result of such penetration in countries abutting on our provinces, so that our concern is both legitimate and natural. But our attitude to the problem and the key positions that we hold in the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean are also important to the defence of the free world, and that concern is not ours alone.

III

On the plane of the bilateral relations of Portugal I would like, in the first place, to recall the significance and importance of the visit paid by the Prime Minister to Spain. The manner in which the Press followed up that visit, narrated all the revelant events and commented on their results—all of which figured in an extensive official communiqué—, make it unnecessary for me to make here the extensive reference that is due to so important an event in Portuguese foreign relations.

We have also maintained intensive international contacts with several friendly nations, especially on the plane of meetings with Foreign Ministers and other members of Governments. Here we should recall the recent visits to Lisbon of the North American Secretary of State, and the Foreign Ministers of Luxembourg, France, Brazil and South Africa, in this last case accompanying the Prime Minister of South Africa, and also the Minister of Information and Tourism of Malawi and the Minister of Education of Swaziland.

In the pursuance of our constant policy we also continue to make every effort to improve or normalize our relations with other African countries, especially those whose territories abut on our overseas provinces.

In seeking to establish peace and regional co-operation plans in Africa the ruling demagogy of the Organization for African Unity is a serious

obstacle, as are the attitudes of certain governments, inspired by outdated ideas of continental leadership or hegemony; even so we must recognize with satisfaction that a tendency is becoming visible in certain areas of Africa to consider the tasks of peace and progress as priority cases. Several African governments, undoubtedly those of the States that are most stable, most moderate and most concerned with the welfare of their peoples, recognize, tacitly or expressly, that the most logical ordering of priorities and the most elementary common sense in the use of resources call for peace-loving suitability, reciprocal trading and an attitude to other systems and methods based on mutual respect as the surest means to achieve political stability and the economic and social progress of each African nation.

In this context we cannot understand the position of other Governments which persist in welcoming to their territories the subversive movements which attack our inhabitants and providing them with bases from which to launch their assaults on our territories or even, in certain cases, giving them active collaboration and support. We cannot accept the view that the opposition of such Governments to the concepts of our overseas policy is sufficient justification for an attitude that violates the most elementary rules of international society. On this topic, moreover, we have been pleased to witness the recommendations and appeals for a renunciation of acts of violence made by influential figures in international affairs.

Recently there have been further, very serious incidents in zones of the provinces of Guinea close to the frontier with Senegal, which were the target for outrageous, barbarous attacks carried out by the P. A. I. G. C. terrorists.

There is no conflict of interests between Portugal and the Republic of Senegal. President Senghor, who is a respected, enlightened and cultured Head of State, has on several occasions stated in public his esteem for Portugal and has taken advantage of such occasions to recall the Portuguese origin of his name. The relations between the people of Senegal and those of Portuguese Guinea, and the latter's authorities, are friendly and even fraternal. If it were not for the criminal activities of P. A. I. G. C., working from Senegalese territory, there would not be at this time any problems between Portugal and the Republic of Senegal, apart from differences of political concepts, which should not be the cause of hostility and aggression, above all at a time when so much is made of peace-loving co-existence.

Stress has been put in public on the extreme moderation and patience that we have shown in this case, as in other similar ones that have occurred.

But this attitude, which we should like to maintain, does give us the right to demand that immediate, effective steps be taken to put an end to the subversive activities mounted against us from Senegal and from other countries too, such as Guinea (Conakry), Congo (Brazzaville) and Zambia.

Or are we to believe that the aim is to allow the notorious Soviet doctrine of 'limited sovereignty' to take root in Africa, through subversive movements under communist command, thus preventing the legitimate African governments from maintaining peace and order in their own territories?

IV

Over the last few months the anti-Portuguese propaganda has concentrated on one topic, which appears almost as a 'leitmotif', practically obligatory in the attacks on Portugal that emanate from the usual centres of hostility against our country. 'Threat to peace', 'crime against mankind', 'act of aggression', 'criminal plan', 'attempt to perpetuate white domination' and so forth — these are only a few examples of the extensive vocabulary that has been used by the leaders of subversive movements, the spokesmen of the Organization for African Unity, communist newspapers in several countries and certain African leaders, in dealing with the same subject.

What then is at stake? Some bellicose plan to attack neighbouring territories, as takes place daily all over the world? Some massive concentration of planes and bombs, as are constantly and increasingly happening on the banks of the Suez Canal? Some sinister proposal to massacre whole peoples, such as those which victimized the Nigerian Ibos and the black Sudanese Catholics?

Nothing of the sort. What calls forth this invective is merely the pacific plan to build a dam and the meritorious programme for the economic and social development of a vast region of Africa, the project for the Cabora-Bassa Dam and the Plan for the Development of the Zambezi Valley! One is tempted to call on Heaven to witness such insanity!

But let us recall the facts of the matter, which have already been clearly and exhaustively explained to the public in speeches and statements by the Portuguese figures responsible and in extensive, concrete, objective technical reports, but they do not seem to have been able to penetrate the dense smoke-screen of lies sedulously put up by certain circles.

The enormous potential of the Zambezi River has long been known. In 1957 the Portuguese Government began the systematic prospection of the

natural resources of the Zambezi basin situated on Portuguese territory and to plan their entire utilization. This formed part of the development policy it has long been systematically carrying out in the overseas provinces. The research and prospection effected, which covered a very extensive area, from map-making and topography to economics and sociology, took years and involved expenditure of some hundreds of millions of escudos. A full development plan was laid down, including agriculture, forestry, stock-raising, mining, irrigation and river-regularization, the production of electrical power, industry and service industries.

Guiding principles were defined to preside over the drafting and carrying out of the plan, such as the community development of the native population, with a view to economic and social progress, the occupation and cultivation of new agricultural areas, more intense forestry and stock-raising, as well as the development of already existing zones devoted to agriculture and livestock, the laying down of indispensable infra-structures in electrical power production, transports, trading, commercial distribution, and the setting-up of an effective network of health, hygiene and education services so as to help to enhance the local population.

The results of these studies are the patrimony of the population of Mozambique — white, yellow, half-caste or black — of the Portuguese Nation and Mankind in general. To make this patrimony bear fruit, through the economic and social benefits that it can bring forth, instead of letting it lie sterile and useless, would be the undeniable, irrefutable duty of any conscientious Government and could only deserve the support of those institutions which are concerned with economic development on the world scale.

The Portuguese Government has not sought to shirk this duty. It had to consider an option between two alternatives, taking into account the vast investments called for, the restricted scope of available domestic financial resources and the fact, which limits our activity but does not prevent it, that the Portuguese Nation, unlike other countries which squander generous foreign financial aid, can only count on a 'negative' aid from the international community. The first alternative would be to effect a simple, modest, minimum programme of investment in the region; the second, to promote the execution of a more ambitious plan through selection of a major undertaking that would be able, by its size and features, to prove profitable in itself and also to mobilize on the commercial plane considerable foreign capital and which would provide the motive force for the execution of the rest of the plan.

Only the latter alternative would seem to be in accord with the widely proclaimed 'decade of development' and it was the one chosen.

The natural features of the Cabora-Bassa gorge, the situation of the market for electrical power in the Republic of South Africa, which made it possible to find an initial purchaser for enormous quantities of energy, and the interest shown by international industrial circles, made it possible to build up the plans and start work. When offers for tender were invited great interest was shown and competition between the industrialists and financiers of several countries was sharp. It is public knowledge that the diplomatic representatives of several western countries were very active in persuading our Government that the plan should in fact be carried out, as it will be, and that the industries of their own countries should play their part. Not the least diligent among them was the eminent representative of Italy. Those diplomats, and the governments they represent, surely did not consider that they are collaborating in a 'crime against mankind', and neither they nor we could possibly have foreseen how far the madness of the adversaries of the Portuguese Homeland would go.

In synthesis, the facts about Cabora-Bassa are the following:

1) Building the dam is only the first step, indispensable and decisive, for the carrying-out of the following stages, of a vaster plan of utilization of resources and economic and social development that will benefit an extensive area of the province of Mozambique and will determine the economic and social promotion and improved living standards for many thousands of Africans.

2) Among the immediate consequences of the construction of the dam, with a beneficent influence on the African inhabitants, will be: a) a very marked reduction in the intensity and frequency of the floods that at present greatly hamper local agriculture; b) the possibility of river shipping; c) availability of water to irrigate extensive areas.

3) The supply of electrical power to the Republic of South Africa is only the first phase of utilization of the dam. The position of South Africa as regards the undertaking is simply that of a major consumer which will pay for the energy bought in execution of a long-term contract, with quantities and prices previously laid down. It is hard to see what economic domination this position can give it over the region, nor what relation there can be between such a project and 'the maintenance of the white domination in Southern Africa'.

4) There is no South African collaboration in the defence of the dam, nor will there be. Nor is it necessary: in the first place because there is no subversive activity in the region of Cabora-Bassa. But if terrorist

elements did try to penetrate the region, the Portuguese armed forces, with the collaboration of the local inhabitants, would be enough to expel them, as is happening in all the other regions of Portuguese territory that are attacked by terrorists based on foreign countries.

5) The construction and exploitation of the dam are the entire responsibility of the Portuguese State and the intervention of foreign companies is carried out on the commercial plane in the positions of contractors and suppliers of equipment paid for in instalments.

6) The following phases of the dam project are intend to supply electrical power, in large quantities and at a very low price, to the economy of Mozambique and that of all the neighbouring countries that wish to benefit from it, and to the extent that the growth in these economies consumes the available power. A concrete example: only the Cabora-Bassa project can make it possible to exploit the bauxite reserves of the Republic of Malawi.

7) The supply of electrical power from Cabora-Bassa to Malawi is a definite recommendation by the Economic Committee for Africa of the United Nations, and the possible use of power by other African countries is part of the policy of collaboration in sources of electrical power suggested in a report of that organization which, on the other hand, considers on objective and favourable terms the building of the dam and its influence on the agriculture and industry of Mozambique.

8) There is no truth whatever in the malicious rumour circulating as part of the campaign against Cabora-Bassa that through the project the intention is to promote the settlement in the region of 'one million white settlers'. It is incredible that such a rumour should gain credence in certain circles. In the first place, the number itself is absurd. It would be quite outside the immediate physical resources of air or sea transportation, not to mention the economic, social and financial aspects involved. There is nothing in the development plan tied to the large-scale, directed, unbalanced installation of settlers of any race. What we do foresee is a natural and desirable expansion of population in the area, without distinctions of race, arising from economic development.

Those who are familiar with the Portuguese policy — and past facts and achievements are even more eloquent than statements of purpose — know very well that respect for the rights of the population and the concern for balanced development and the harmonious intercourse of the races have always characterized our agricultural or industrial development plans in Africa. What better example could be given of the co-existence and

fraternization of different races than the townships and villages set up as a result of the plan to harness the Limpopo?

These are facts. But if this is the reality how can we explain the well-directed campaign that in newspaper articles, politicians' speeches, conferences and congresses has been mounted against this undertaking?

We are told that in some circles that are traditionally hostile to the Portuguese Overseas position and the continuity of Portuguese sovereignty in Africa, because of ideological prejudice and ignorance of the facts, surprise and perplexity have been caused by this remarkable propaganda directed against the Cabora-Bassa Dam. Why, they inquire, should anyone attack the carrying out of an investment plan that will take years to complete, and which, instead of exploiting or exhausting natural resources over the short term, mobilizes and enhances them permanently, which places at the disposition of the population of Mozambique and the neighbouring territories a decisive factor of economic development and which, furthermore mobilizes the financial resources and credit capacity of the Portuguese State for long-term development purposes? Are not a dam, the regularization of floods, the irrigation of fields, valuable elements of the infrastructure of a territory, independent of political changes and transfers of sovereignty? And if we cannot applaud the project — since we should never applaud 'colonialists' for anything whatever — would it not be more sensible to greet this spectacular achievement of the Portuguese State with a discreet silence?

There is no reason for this perplexity. Those who reason in this manner are deeply unaware of the aims that lead the anti-Portuguese movements and the political philosophy that inspires them. Never have the terrorists who harass the frontiers of Mozambique been able to conceive the idea of a Mozambican nation or of taking such a concept as the inspiration for their actions. Nor have they ever entertained any illusions as to their ability to overcome and break down the undying resistance of the Portuguese Nation and of the peoples that constitute it. How can the communist powers and the foreign communist parties which command those subversive movements, making use of ignorance and fostering and instilling tribal and racial hates in the terrorist militants, and taking advantage of the venality and personal ambitions of their leaders, be interested in the present and future welfare of the people of Mozambique?

The aim is quite different: to destroy and kill, to foster artificially a useless, inglorious struggle, against the will and the interests of the majority of the inhabitants, with the sole aim of undermining and weakening positions that stand firm against communist infiltration in Africa.

Our adversaries are coherent and methodical. Those who attack and terrorize the inhabitants of our African villages are inevitably fighting and opposing everything that signifies the enhancement of the territories and the progress of their population, Cabora-Bassa or any other development project.

The international campaign against Cabora-Bassa causes in us just, sincere indignation and forces us to make an additional effort to provide information and enlightenment that we had not considered necessary, and which we shall have to make, for we cannot be indifferent to the systematic distortion of the image of our policy and our intentions that has been so malevolently distributed among sectors of public opinion that have still not been informed about the project and its nature.

Our enemies have also sought to be active on the diplomatic plane, but there they have inconvenienced us very little. In fact, what responsible Government would force companies in its own country to cancel freely agreed contracts, duly authorized, subjecting them to the inherent, heavy commercial responsibilities arising from breach of contract, preventing them, and their workers, from culling the legitimate benefits of valuable orders, and taking up, from the historical viewpoint, the grave moral responsibility of hampering a pure social and economic development project? What government would do all this merely to placate the irrational hatred of terrorist leaders, to bow docilely before the political directives of the Soviet Union in Africa, or to satisfy the personal resentment and political frustrations of Mr. Kaunda?

Here we might justifiably ask if the President of Zambia, who is a declared humanist, and who has set himself up as a mentor of the offensive against Cabora-Bassa, also considers a 'crime against mankind' the investments that we are making in our ports and railways and which permit the traffic in the imports going into Zambia, as will be the case now with the maize that he needs to satisfy the hunger of the inhabitants of his country?

But the campaign has at least one merit. We have never entertained any illusions on the real aims of those who attack Portugal in Africa. What they are fighting is not our political concepts or the validity of our political creed, nor any mistakes of application or possible imperfections in practice we may be guilty of. What they fear is not any lessened welfare of our population or diminished happiness of our peoples.

What they are attacking is our plans of social and economic development, the plans to expand production to feed our inhabitants and to contribute to make up for deficiencies in other countries, the schools and hospitals that we build, the harmony of races, cultures and religions that

we have built up. What they fear are our successes and the concrete proof that we can give of the excellence of our solutions and our working methods.

We know that this is the way things are. But, from the Portuguese point of view, it can only be to our advantage for our adversaries to reveal thus clearly, in the full light of world opinion, all the cynicism of their tactics and ends.

PRESS CONFERENCE: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question: I hear that the **Zambian Consulate in Rome** has published a **communiqué** alleging that we are carrying out a military operation to withdraw the natives from **Cabora-Bassa**. According to this document the **'Gordian Knot'** operation, being effected in **North Mozambique**, has **Cabora-Bassa** as its aim.

Answer: I spoke a few minutes ago about the fantastic allegations that are made about the **Cabora-Bassa** project, and I am perhaps not really sufficiently surprised to be indignant at this allegation. It is similar to, and worthy of, others made during this campaign against **Cabora-Bassa**. Anyone who is familiar with the map of **Mozambique** will know that the **'Gordian Knot'** operation to which reference has been made is being carried out near the north-east frontier with **Tanzania**. But **Cabora-Bassa** is in the **Tete** region. So much for the geographical knowledge of the **Zambian Consulate in Rome!**

Q: You have spoken of a campaign against **Cabora-Bassa**. But I know that there is also a movement of interest in the project, particularly on the part of certain scientific institutions which are believed to have expressed the desire to collaborate in study and research into the flora and fauna of the region, but they were not given permission to do so.

A: This is a technical aspect of the matter that does not lie within the powers of this Ministry, but I am sure that you will gain immediate enlightenment on the matter if you put this question to the Ministry for the Overseas Provinces.

The statement that several scientific institutions have shown an interest in the **Cabora-Bassa** project does not surprise me, since everyone who

is rational and aware in the world should support the project. There cannot be any scientific institution to condemn the project; even the Economic Committee for Africa of the U.N. supports it, as I have pointed out.

An observation by the same journalist:

'But has the matter of the disappearance of certain species caused by the construction of the dam been taken into account?'

A: All problems affecting the protection of species of fauna and flora were carefully and thoroughly studied by our technicians and scientists. Never has there been so thorough-going a mobilization of Portuguese intellectuals and foreign collaborators as for the study of the problems of the Cabora-Bassa dam.

I cannot give you a concrete answer but from my general knowledge of the matter I think you may be sure that all these aspects have been duly taken into account.

Q: You have referred to Italian diplomacy in connection with the Cabora-Bassa matter. What does this consist of?

A: One Italian firm is part of the Zamco consortium and the position of the firm is defined on contractual terms. We have had no official communication from the Italian Government on the matter and it seems to me unlikely at the present moment that we shall have one, until a new Government is formed.

Q: What meaning was attached in international circles to the discussion of the Portuguese overseas problem during the last elections for members of parliament?

A: It is true that, as a result of the strident campaign of an active minority of Portuguese people in certain international circles, having at their disposition strong foreign political support and access to the international press organs that such contacts put them in contact with, there was an attempt to create and spread the idea that the Portuguese overseas policy did not enjoy popular support but was merely a Governmental policy, not a national, popular one.

The elections of October 1968 provided the world at large with irrefutable proof of popular support from the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese for the defence of national territory. On this topic there can

be no room for illusions now, for doubts have been dissipated. The best evidence of this is given by a U.N. report in which the following comments are made, unless my memory fails me: 'public opinion considers, almost in its entirety, that the results of the Portuguese legislative elections translated the unity and solidarity of the Portuguese and were an unambiguous manifestation of the desire to put up an intransigent defence of national territory'.

Now this was printed in a U.N. report. Not that it was necessary. In many international contacts that I have made, I have been told time and again, explicitly, that it is recognized that the Portuguese Government and the Prime Minister hold the mandate of the Portuguese Nation in carrying out their overseas policy. This has disappointed certain sectors, which had let themselves be taken in by the outcry made by that minority of Portuguese people. I will recall, as we all remember, and as the Prime Minister recently observed in a talk to the Nation, how widely criticised was the decision that he took at that time to allow wide, free and extensive discussion of all the overseas problems during the election campaign. At that juncture I also heard indignant comments from sectors that have always supported the notion of stagnation and immobility, reluctant by temperament and from prejudice to engage in any debate, and who are the people who normally oppose any kind of progress or development as soon as it has the slightest effect on any of their interests, however insignificant, and who attacked that decision on the grounds that the national conscience itself was at stake: How wrong they were! Even on the individual plane, which of us has never, at some time in his life, undergone an examination of conscience, an internal debate, putting to the test the most basic truths in which he believes? The result of such an examination is that what could become a mere mechanical act of routine is transformed into a rational, well-grounded conviction.

The Portuguese people could not let their determination to defend the national territory be questioned externally; the decision of the Prime Minister to accept that debate, an attitude worthy of the historic reaction of Dr. Salazar in 1961, could only been taken by one who felt a deep love for his people and who knew that they were worthy and deserving of the confidence he felt in them.

Perhaps you will say that the fact that a small minority of Portuguese people, as expressed in the election results, opposes the Portuguese overseas policy may be considered to be a drawback on the international plane. I have already said that I do not think so; in any case, what Nation, even at the most dramatic moments of its history, can pride itself on not having

had some people, some of them with good intentions, who collaborated with the occupying power or aggressors?

Q: Two questions. Why was Portugal not present at the World Youth Congress held in New York? Were we not invited?

Are there likely to be attacks against Portugal this year in the United Nations?

A: On the first question I must point out that we were invited, as were all the other member States of the United Nations, to the World Youth Congress recently held in New York, but we had enough sense not to be present at that festival of world anarchy. Many Governments now envy us for taking that decision. In the first place I would like to throw some light on the very unusual circumstances in which the invitations to the Assembly were issued. A short time ago we published a note sent to the Secretariat of the U.N. protesting against the incredible, discriminatory conditions on which the invitations had been made. They desired to have representatives of what they called non-self-governing territories and the Secretariat gave the Organization for African Unity power to choose the guests. This was not the decisive element in our position, for we should not have been present in any case, as we did not accept any such principle, but it does reveal the remarkable circumstances in which the whole process of the preparation of the World Youth Congress took place. Moreover we were not the only absentees: Brazil abstained also. Fortunately we were absent. We are all now familiar with what went on there: hand-to-hand fighting, complete disorder, the complete impossibility of any rational, ordered discussion, even the Secretary-General himself hooted down and insulted, and the delegates of all the western countries prevented from expressing their opinions. The latter were almost forced to leave the assembly, but only the Norwegian delegate was bold enough to do so. For all these reasons we think we were absolutely right not to be present at the World Youth Assembly.

However, we do not wish to congratulate ourselves on this sad example of demagoguery that the United Nations Organization has just given to the world; we would merely like some useful conclusion to be drawn from the manner in which the assembly took place. We think it is extremely serious to have allowed the principle, against which we strongly protested, I repeat, of sending invitations to the representatives of subversive movements. Shall we, in the very near future, see the United Nations Organization inviting the representatives of hi-jackers, the kidnapers of

ambassadors, of terrorist movements, urban or rustic, operating in South America, Central America and North America? Without doubt they are equally entitled to such an invitation with the anti-Portuguese terrorists, and they will no doubt rush to state their rights in the matter.

I would like to make the following comments on the second question you put to me:

We have long expected the year 1970 to bring an increase in the offensive against Portugal, both in the United Nations and in the forms of activity characteristic of the subversive centres under communist command.

There are several reasons to explain this fact, especially the disappointment of our enemies at the energetic statement of will to defend intransigently the national territory that has been shown by all Portuguese people. This feeling has led them this year to bring about a desperate recurrence and intensification of the attacks against Portugal.

We should have no illusions. The fact I mentioned a short time ago — the invitation to representatives of subversive movements — which, we hope, commonsense will prevent a repetition of, shows that this offensive is going to continue.

On this point I should say that a few months ago I promoted the drafting of a white book on Portugal and the United Nations. In it, which is now ready and about to be published, the basic documents concerning all the matters brought before the United Nations and affecting Portugal are quoted and analysed. Apart from being a just, outstanding tribute to the immense effort made by our diplomats over the last ten years, the publication of this book is one, clear-cut way of demonstrating the solid, unquestionable juridical and moral foundations of the Portuguese position.

Thus we are in no doubt as to whether the attacks will continue. I should not like to go into the matter in depth until we have new data on the topic, but I will add this, as a final comment, that it has long been recognized that, to destroy the Portuguese Nation, our adversaries will have to begin by overthrowing international law. They will never destroy the Portuguese Nation, but they have already begun seriously to shake the foundation of the edifice of international law. We hope that there will be a reaction against this process to the benefit of all the international community.

Q: I would like to put two questions of a different nature. First: can you confirm, Mr. Minister, a news item emanating from New York and

quoted in our press, as regards an alteration in our representation at the United Nations?

Second, can you indicate the concrete prospects awaiting trade exchanges and economic collaboration between Portugal and Brazil?

A: As for the first question, I did not become aware of the matter through the press. There has in fact been a change in our representation in the United Nations, within the framework of the general diplomatic movements that take place in this Ministry. I would not call this a matter of routine, since the post is an important one, but it is a matter that forms part of that general movement. As for the second inquiry, on the concrete prospects now envisaged in trade, trading exchanges and economic collaboration, quite recently, at the time of the visit of Foreign Minister Gibson Barbosa to Lisbon, further contacts were made and principles that had already been formulated in the relationship between the two countries were activated in order to open up new prospects. To use the language of aircraft builders, I would say that at this time the Brazilians and the Portuguese have broken through the sound barrier in economic relations, that is, we have entered a third phase which follows on the first, which was pure lyricism, and the second, a phase of legal construction of the bases on which the relations between the two countries could be carried on. This third stage can be defined as one of concrete achievements. In this respect the main part is for the entrepreneurs to play, as is obvious, but very encouraging symptoms are to be seen: schemes for collaboration in civil aviation affairs, the presence of contractors from both sides of the Atlantic in tenders for work in both countries, banking collaboration and research into the prospects for collaboration between industries. These are encouraging signs that strengthen my conviction that we are really and ever more intensively going towards a more far-reaching exchange that will bring the two countries closer, and which is more in accordance with both political and spiritual realities.

Q: Before Mr. Wilson was defeated in the elections, he was asked in the House if he intended to visit Portugal. He very emphatically answered 'No', as if to come to Portugal were a very dangerous act for him personally or for his safety. But since the advent of the new Government Mr. Duncan Sandys has asked if the new Prime Minister was inclined to put the relations between Portugal and Great Britain on a new footing. I would like to ask you, Mr. Minister, if in fact there is a new outlook on

the part of the Conservative Government towards Portugal, our problems and such matters as the sanctions against Rhodesia?

A: In the first place I must say that I was not present in the British House of Commons to be able to evaluate the sense of the expression to which you have referred, and I suppose that you were not present either, so that it is perhaps better not to draw any conclusions about the way in which the word was said. I must also add that the international policy of the Portuguese Government towards all the countries with which Portugal maintains normal relations does not generally depend on a change of government, since it is based on stable co-ordinates, given principles and facts that do not depend on such modifications. I would only add that for our part we are always desirous of having talks with the British Government about problems of mutual interest.

Q: You have just said that there is no basis for the statement that we seek to settle one million whites in Cabora-Bassa. I do not know whether you are aware that last year, and also at the beginning of this year, recruiting posts for Portuguese workers for Cabora-Bassa were set up in the Portuguese emigrant colony in France. Were these posts set up by Portuguese Government or were they the responsibility of foreign bodies interested in construction work at Cabora-Bassa?

A: In the first place I should say that there is no incompatibility between the statement I made a few minutes ago and the circumstances to which you refer. It is natural that there is insufficient skilled manpower on the spot and nothing could be more logical or normal, more in harmony with the interests of all concerned, than to seek recruits in France. What has this got to do with the installation of a million white settlers? In the second place these recruiting posts were not set up on the initiative of the Portuguese Government but by the entrepreneurs. Should the Portuguese Government intervene in this recruitment and not allow Portuguese workmen to be accepted for work on the dam? It would be quite absurd. Thus there is no contradiction between the facts you have mentioned and the statement I made.

Q: I would like to ask several questions, but I will limit myself to three which seem to me rather more important. The first refers to a problem that seems to me of importance but has not yet been raised: the relations between Portugal and the Common Market. Has the Portuguese Govern-

ment taken up any position or made any declaration of beginning negotiations with the Common Market; if so, what are the aims of Portuguese diplomacy as far as the Market is concerned?

Secondly, you have referred to the policy of good-neighbourliness with the African countries with which we have close contacts or common frontiers. Have there been positive results in relation to any of these countries, or is it merely a general statement of attitude, following on the policy defined by Dr. Salazar in relation to Portuguese foreign policy?

The third point I want to raise is a concrete one. Do you consider, Mr. Minister, that the latest memorandum of the Warsaw Pact powers about the system of collective security shows any difference from what you consider to be mere propaganda aims, and thus intended for a more realistic approach to the problem or, on the contrary, are you sceptical still on the topic of European security?

A: Your questions are indeed interesting and they call for an answer.

On the first I think that we have already defined publicly, on several occasions, our positions as regards the Common Market. Perhaps this publicity has only appeared in the form of speeches and not in a specific communiqué on the matter, but I shall be very pleased to confirm what I have already said on the topic.

Quite recently, at the end of May, the Portuguese Ambassador to the European Communities indicated to the Chairman of the Committee of European Economic Communities our desire to hold negotiations with the Common Market with a view to finding the system of association most suited to the interests of both parties. As was made public, quite recently, as a consequence of the communiqué following the meeting of the Six last December, and also as a result of our communication to the Committee, it was decided a few days ago that the negotiations with Portugal would begin quite soon. A highly qualified committee of specialists in the various related fields is at present studying, both extensively and intensively, the conditions which might have an influence on the accurate definition of the specific terms of the type of link with the Common Market that would best suit us. Thus, neither on the part of the Six, nor on ours, is there any exact knowledge of what that solution is likely to be. We do feel the desire to negotiate and it is no doubt a task for our diplomacy to state this and to get the notion accepted by the Six as well.

On the second question, we are making concrete efforts, and in some cases there have been positive results with some of our neighbours. I would

not care to make these results public here, in detail, if only not to endanger them.

As regards the communiqué from the Warsaw Pact powers: I think that in fact there has been a slight progress, at least in the form adopted in the latest declaration from them. But I think it is still too early to draw all the conclusions from this communiqué and to make out whether the progress is restricted to the form or whether it also extends to the contents. In that case I think I must repeat that our position is not one of hostility or scepticism but of collaborating but prudent readiness.

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