

SALAZAR SAYS

THE PRINCIPLES AND WORK  
OF THE  
**REVOLUTION**

IN THEIR INTERNAL AND  
INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

EDITION OF THE S. P. N. / LISBON 1943

1145



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Speech delivered on April 27th by  
His Excellency the Prime Minister

**SPN**  
BOOKS  
LISBON  
1943



2547/5  
5/11/52

INCORPORAÇÃO

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## The principles and work of the revolution, in their internal and international aspects

It is fifteen years to-day since I took over the portfolio of Finances and with it my share of responsibility in the higher direction of the State. The Revolution is older; its opening phases was in 1926 and it is well-known that it owed nothing to me. Nevertheless, the first two years were spent, so to speak, in tidying up our very untidy household, and above all in the important task of establishing order with the minimum of force. Without forgetting the many things achieved as a result of that trend which was afterwards defined in precise terms, we can, with no great margin of error, say that in 1928 began the period which may properly be called the period of reform and reconstruction.

Fifteen years is a short space in the life of a people, but one which, by the vigour of its current ideas and the creative force of its institutions, may inspire and set its mark upon a whole century. For this they must have intimately represented the national needs and aspirations and — in the absence of historical opportunity or material power to blaze new trails in the world — a course of action in keeping with the main trend world events. Therefore it seemed to me that an appropriate

subject for this discourse might be: *The Principles and Work of the Revolution, in their Internal and International Aspects.*

Political achievement is mainly a matter of results. Men and communities usually assess the value of ideas and formulæ by their material and moral benefits, and they sometimes disregard the intrinsic truth and justice of such principles. Such disregard is excessive, though — if we admit that its social effects only prove fatal many generations later — understandable.

Be this as it may, general results should not be confused with the difficulties of the moment nor individual sacrifice with the well-being of the community which requires such sacrifice; and to strike an accurate balance of the position, the attendant circumstance should be borne in mind.

Now the period from 1928 until to-day may be termed one of political and military preparation for the greatest war the world has ever seen, coupled with the most serious crisis that economists have registered at any time. In the space of 15 years there have been four years of economic and financial crisis, three of war in the Peninsula which cut us off from Europe by land, and four of the conflagration which one may say has cut us off from the rest of the world by sea. On economic positions impoverished by the crisis other positions had to be built up to face a blockade; weakened currencies had to bear the burden of adverse balances of payments, swollen by military expenditure; finance which could hardly stand the deficit of peace time was faced with the colossal disbursements of war. This upheaval was felt not only in material things which can be repaired, renewed or rebuilt, but also in the basic concepts of political and moral order. Everything seems to have undergone revision — promises and treaties, interests and friendships, frontiers and sovereignties, norms

of international life, the very right to live. And so the anguish of man (who cannot live without solid moral support) has been superadded everywhere to the economic penury begotten by the war or by the fear of war.

This broad picture is not intended to minimize responsibilities but it is drawn in the interests of historical exactitude so as to place political events in their right setting. For, viewed objectively, the problem must be expressed in the same terms and therefore our first question must be: *has the Revolution shown itself capable of understanding, assessing and solving the country's problems?*





# The revolution and national problems

## 1. National problems

I am not referring to the innumerable daily problems in the life of a country which demand immediate solution. I am thinking rather of the essential points which affect the existence, the preservation, development and historical mission of a people. For this purpose I shall not invoke the conclusions at which we have arrived by our reflexion and study. It is simpler to cite that which, in speeches and in writing over a whole country, was proclaimed to be the country's crying needs and shortcomings. Historians, publicists, public speakers, politicians and journalists, in the course of 100 years of wordy activities, presented a very unflattering picture of what the country required and the best means of supplying this want. Preferably under the negative or critical aspect — here and there one finds a constructive idea, but that is of small account. Again it is of little importance that some allowed themselves to be influenced by the progress made in foreign countries; that others based themselves on a certain knowledge of local facts and circumstances; that one school should attribute the country's ills to faulty education and others to political intrigue; that sometimes misery was termed disorder and at other times slackness, and lack of work and disorga-

nization was called poverty. There is no doubt that a profounder analysis would correct many notions; but with what we are here concerned is that the spate of recrimination, complaints, bitter discussion, well or ill-intended criticism, the programmes of parties or of Governments all brought to the surface, like froth on troubled waters, the knowledge of our great national problems.

Froth is the right word. As a rule there was no more than the verbal expression of aspirations — no body, no foundation, no real substance, no exhaustive study of facts or causes, procedure or means to an end. In other words, the real issues were not faced and, as we know, a problem not faced means a problem not solved. Mere expediency, in life as in government, is quite another thing.

The public was therefore made aware, even when they had little direct feeling in the matter, of great needs and problems, which because of the persistent way in which they were attacked and never solved, loomed before them as primary truths and, at the same time, as inscrutable sphinxes, terrifying phantoms, impossibilities! In many cases the public accepted this idea, and sorrowfully resigned itself to it.

The perpetual deficit, the dark mystery of the Public Accounts and National Debt; the spectre of bankruptcy; the collapse of the currency, an adverse trade balance, economic insufficiency, wretched agricultural conditions, the problem of reforestation, roads and ports, illiteracy, the neglect of the rural population, the question of fisheries, merchant shipping, colonial administration, the training and re-armament of the Army, the reconstruction of the Navy, the faulty education of the Portuguese, emigration, the picture of our international relations, the religious question — all these problems engrossed a whole century of speeches, of tons of articles, without

making any progress; I say this, of course without prejudice to honest endeavour and useful though partial achievements such as the improvement of communications and the occupation of the Colonies.

Why was no progress made?

## 2. The problem of the State. Political reform.

Let us take in the first place the problem of the central driving and directing force, that is, the problem of the State and of its structure.

Community life, particularly that of a Nation and of the higher planes of a Nation does not acquire its ordered form spontaneously. It is a mistake to suppose that society seeks or finds its guiding principles unaided; or even that it consciously learns its own needs. One man or a few men earnestly consider the problems of a community and deduce and put into clear terms what may be found vaguely and in embryo in the general consciousness; they feel its needs or conveniences, fix objectives, devise a line of action, give the impulse — they thus create a policy. This policy, according to its scope, is consummated in a few years or is continued by successive generations for centuries; but the conditions of success are always the same though the magnitude of the undertaking different.

Looking at the matter in this way, setting aside all scientific pretensions or considerations of philosophy and political law, let us ask ourselves: What is the State? — the Head, the Government, the Bureaucracy: or, succinctly, a constant objective, an enlightened will, an organisation for study and execution of that objective. The Nation in its turn having re-

ceived the directive ideas, carries out by its effort the policy of the country, in all matters which are not the direct function of the State. The Nation may and indeed should make its voice heard, that is, the expression of its needs, sentiments and aspirations, through suitable representation. The importance of constitutional organisation stands out clearly.

In the ancient monarchies the extent and force of royal power and hereditary function could make a dynasty the faithful trustee of the political thought of a country. The task of conquest, the formation and settlement of the realm, the venture of overseas discoveries, the restoration at home and in the Colonies, are striking examples of how dynasties can be faithful to an ideal and to a policy. Sometimes, too, we see elect bodies subsisting or coexisting with others, maintaining a constant State policy and faithfully upholding a tradition. Some examples are: the Senate of the ancient Roman Republic, the British Admiralty, the Roman Curia.

In the modern State excessive concern over the defence of individual rights and liberties against possible abuse of the Sovereign and his Ministers led, in every country, to a crisis in the headship of the State; the power, continuity and duration of the higher direction were affected and with them all their potentialities. The expedients which are usually sought and employed when the success of a vital enterprise is endangered by an expiring mandate, are inadequate remedies for deep-set ills.

As a result of these political changes and the perhaps hasty conclusions of current doctrines regarding the seat of sovereignty, the crisis spread to the formation, stability and prestige of Governments. The results were different, according to the measure of national qualities and instincts of self-defence. In Portugal, however, everything that was humanly

possible was done to nullify the principal organs of sovereignty, wherein principally resided the force and authority of the State. Our shameful record and the complete loss of prestige suffered by all political institutions, show that we had reached a stage where the limits of misgovernment had been exceeded. Parliament alone was enough to prevent government — with its parties, groups and passions, its eagerness to impose its will upon the Head of the State and upon Governments, its total irresponsibility towards God and man. Because of the origin and constitution of both Chambers, it could not even aspire to national representation since no attempt had been made to organise the country along its natural lines so that Parliament might be the image and faithful mouthpiece of the Nation.

The Bureaucracy at least might have been saved, but unfortunately it was the first victim of misgovernment and political disorder. In the absence of a proper State the usefulness of the Bureaucracy could hardly be recognised; and being corrupted by personal influence and incompetence, the time came when it was regarded as completely useless. When the bureaucrats, through the faults of others or own incapacity, realised their uselessness, they lost all stimulus, zeal and professional pride, and resigned themselves to being parasites and the butts of public scorn. More than one political movement was based on the peregrine notion of abolishing the Bureaucracy, an attitude which gives a good picture of the incomprehension of the rulers and of the community.

We alone have had the courage to affirm that the Bureaucracy is a precious and indispensable organ of Government. It is also our duty to say that up to the Revolution — and possibly even today in some quarters — the Bureaucracy lacked training or even the habit of executing its appointed task. (I speak in

general terms, and without prejudice to those who display genuine talents). Our bookish learning, our dialectical and unobjective training, which loves to deal in abstraction and has little taste for facts, are a splendid breeding ground for empty verbiage and endless procedure, but they are no good for coping with reality or solving life's problems. So one of the crying needs was to re-educate Bureaucracy and make it capable of sustained effort.

Even from a purely political aspect this question has more importance than one might think. When there is a lack of executives to carry out the thoughts and plans of Government, the Ministers, instead of being merely the «technicians of general ideas», as Marshal Lyautey used to say of himself, are compelled to become the technical experts of their own Ministries. This may seem at first to be a good solution, but I do not consider it so, because exceptional abilities are required to shoulder such a colossal burden; there is bound to be a loss of perspective in relation to the general plan as the political leader is snowed under by the details of particular problems. But I believe that our generation is more or less condemned to this practice.

Well, men of forty have seen two political doctrines in action. Unprejudiced persons may be guided by the lesson of experience if unconverted by the inherent evidence of the principles involved. Not only had we reached a point where nothing, it seemed, could be attempted without the complete reform of political institutions but the nature of the political reform that took place met the country's greatest need, which was to endow the Nation's life with such an organic representation, and such a central guiding power as should be stable, strong and efficient. Without these it would have been impossible to establish or execute any plan even if such plan existed. It is my belief

that only an important body such as the Council of State, but on a wider basis, could be, by the side of the Head of the State, the faithful interpreter of doctrine and the safe trustee of a political tradition.

### 3. The Country and its economy

Beyond the State is the Nation — a community life with its needs, work and aspirations. The State exists for the Nation; authority and the public services are organised on its behalf. It would be ostentatious, and in fact impossible, here to enumerate all the acts, measures and achievements in every branch of life which, in the last fifteen years, have created or improved labour conditions, satisfied the country's needs, accelerated its progress, raised the level of its life and the expression of its culture, and, in short, renewed the Nation. Instead of chronicling the concrete solutions which have been found for our problems, I prefer to comment on one or two essential points.

It is my belief that at times our possibilities have been exaggerated. We are a poor country and the future does not promise, so far as the Motherland is concerned, anything more than the dignity of a modest standard of living. The ideas of richness spring from the mildness of our climate and from our pure blue sky. It is a cliché and as fictitious as the legend of uncultivated areas in the Alentejo and the extent of common land. Not only is the country small, but the mountain ranges, rocky expanses, dunes and arid soil further reduce its available area. Rainfall is irregular, drought frequent, irrigation, even when possible, is costly, thus making production precarious or expensive. Our agriculture is subject to fortune both as to quantity and net yield. The fuel and mineral deposits of

Portugal are poor compared to those of most European countries. It is true we have the sea.

There is a factor which has perhaps led us into error, and that is the quality of some of our products. Wines, fruit and fish are of high grade and are precious goods in the full sense of the word. But to suppose that this factor will make up for the lack of the others is to assume that modern life, with its mass production and standards, still retains a taste for the fine products of mother Nature, and is willing to set perfume, flavour and high quality above mere quantity. I am not sure that this is so.

Within a constricted space a constantly growing population struggles to find a livelihood — and they shall have work and food. That is the sole purpose of our endeavours to ascertain the mineral resources of the country and the best way to use them, to arrest the progress of dunes, to plant trees in hilly areas, to divide up and bring under cultivation common land, to undertake schemes in connection with waterways, drainage and land erosion. All these schemes aim at enlarging the area of profitable space in the country — in other words, at making the country larger. Even with no interruptions or distractions, this should engage our attention for two or three decades or more, and involve the expenditure of many millions. Even so, the results may be found to lag behind the population both as to food and labour — a grave fact which must be taken into consideration.

I see two remedies before us, to be applied jointly — overseas colonisation and increased industrialisation. The land in the Colonies is rich, covers a wide area, costs nothing, and has hardly any population. It should provide the natural complement to the agriculture of the Mother Country, particularly in low-priced products and raw materials for industry, besides absor-



bing that part of the excess population which Brazil may be unwilling to receive. Economic and political solidarity between the Mother Country and the Colonies was defined in the Colonial Act, and time has shown that it is possible and indeed necessary to place national economy on an imperial basis.

In a few weeks' time it will be possible to give details of a scheme for the industrial organisation of the country, to cover, naturally, only the main developments and basic industries in harmony with natural and economic conditions. It will then be possible to see more clearly the main lines of our future development in this direction and how it is hoped to ensure work and bread for the Portuguese by means of a national economic plan.

Such a plan should be designed to serve the nation; that is its scope and purpose. But how can this be done? Such terms as «national», «nationalist», «nationalisation», applied to economic questions give rise to misunderstandings because they appear to have different meanings in different places; but we find no difficulty in clearly expressing our own views in the matter.

The national economic policy does not presuppose or demand that the State will absorb private concerns and take over monopolies, even when the latter are concerned with what are in effect public services. Our nationalism is anti-socialist, and eschews «Statism», for the reason that our experience has shown it to be anti-economic and because we take our stand on individual initiative and on the value of private enterprise to safeguard human liberty.

The National Economy is not necessarily autarchic in the sense that it is self-sufficient or isolationist. Such tendencies, on the one hand, are irreconcilable with the manifold exchanges and the interdependencies of modern life, and, on the other

hand, hinder the best utilization and division of labour in the world. ✕

Finally, our National Economy does not impose an exclusive use of home capital or labour to the detriment of foreign capital or labour. The latter we accept since we sincerely believe in international co-operation and are convinced of its benefits. Of all nations we have shown ourselves one of the most liberal and generous towards foreigners; no legislation or tradition exceeds ours in facilities, respect for, and rights of, nationals of other countries, who in almost everything are placed on the same footing as the Portuguese. Foreign capital invested in the country is assured of guarantees, favours and privileges rarely enjoyed by national capital. Our respect for foreign collaboration is based not only on our upbringing and on a point of principle, but is due to the fact that we recognize the advantage of economic liberty. In the last crisis, when the great and so-called «free» nations were restricting foreign labour, freezing credits, placing difficulties in the way of the transfer of money, forbidding the circulation of capital, altering in a variety of ways commercial and financial practice, we almost alone in a sea of embargos, kept our doors wide open to all and (to the amazement of the world) maintained freedom to import, to deal in foreign exchange, to circulate capital. That is our way.

We loyally recognize our debt to foreign capital, technical skill and enterprise, and particularly to British capital, as an important factor in the country's welfare at home and in the Colonies. Our capitalists are partly responsible for this state of affairs, for their timidity leads them to prefer the fixed yield of State securities to the adventure of greater enterprises, where the chance of higher profits is offset by greater risks. Blame-worthy too, is the action of those Governments which fear at times to show the same deference, regard and concern for Por-

tuguese capital that they more easily grant to foreign investors.

In view of such principles and traditions of international liberty and collaboration, how shall the problem of the nationalisation of our economic assets be regarded? My answer is as follows: In principle all economic factors which belong to or work in Portugal must be integrated in the national economic structure, must primarily serve it, must follow its objectives, must obey its commands. It would be too ingenuous to suppose that such foreign elements are not also part of the economic machinery of their countries of origin, if only by reason of the incomes earned, personal situations, repercussions on foreign trade — and there are many other factors besides these. We should have enough sense of order, not to say pride, to wish Portuguese interests and Portuguese national life to be the criterion imposed upon nationals and foreigners as the first condition of their existence here. Portugal could not claim to have sufficient liberty and security if the key positions of her economy were not subject to national but to foreign commands.

In the light of these principles, which are the fruit of plain common sense and of some experience, the recent law called that of the nationalisation of capital does not imply any aggressive spirit or lack of appreciation towards foreign capital which is working or wishes to come and work in the Portuguese metropolitan or colonial fields, which is still open to great initiative; but rather constitutes an invitation and incitement to Portuguese capital and a proof of confidence — so as to induce it to take the place which belongs to it in the progress and cohesion of our economy in harmony with its importance and availability. I think that the hard lesson which it has received in recent times through its experience in foreign countries, combined with the proof of our administrative capacity, will convince this capital to exploit

and enrich the country from whose labour it arises and the nation to which it has paramount obligations.

#### 4. National organisation. The Portuguese Nation as a Historic and Moral entity

As a guiding principle of national and international economy, Liberalism is dead, and with it the faith in its reputed power of an automatic ordering of economic life. Current events are seeing to its decent burial, since there is no chance of its resurrection. Even disregarding the major needs of people and the lessons which the war taught as to economic policy and, generally speaking, the activities of the country as a whole, some form of national organisation is now believed by all to be imperative. We have endeavoured to avoid socialism and communism by means of the Corporative system, by applying it not only to agriculture, trade and industry, that is, to the direct and purely profit-making activities, but also in the spiritual and moral activities which co-exist with the others and are at least as important as the bread we eat.

We should have a very poor idea of a nation if we regarded it merely as a conglomeration of farmers or merchants demanding protection and the development of their material interests from the State. When one is old and has not only many centuries but a history one feels that there are other values to be considered which are not only a heritage but a constant obligation. Reason commands us to preserve that heritage and to be faithful to its traditions.

When, near a bridge or road built for public convenience, we repair a castle or monument, or restore an ancient church or decrelitc monastery, there are people who do not realize that

we are striving to preserve our identity as a whole and to strengthen the nation's personality. But that is exactly what we are doing. There are clear und definite qualities which make us what we are — kindness, simplicity, humanity now so rare in the world, a spiritual urge which in spite of all its enemies still informs Portuguese life, a capacity for suffering, an unvaunting courage, adaptability coupled with the power to impress personality on its surroundings, appreciation of moral values, faith in law, in justice and the equality of men and of people; all these qualities, which are not material or profit-making, are part of the national character. If, on the other hand, we study the marvellous history of this little people, to-day almost as poor as before it discovered the world, the traces it has left in lands again conquered or discovered; the beauty of the monuments it has raised, the language and literature it has created, the extent of the possessions where with exemplary fidelity to its history and character it continues its high civilising mission, we must conclude that there is that in Portugal which makes one proud to be Portuguese.

From the moral aspect and not taking into account the eternal value of certain principles, that policy which we call of the spirit, in the highest meaning of the term, is concerned entirely with effecting the rehabilitation of Portugal in the minds of the Portuguese and of the Portuguese in the concert of Nations.

Both were necessary, both were undertaken and achieved by the Revolution.



## II

### The Revolution in its international aspect

I must now deal with the second point — the principles and the work of the Revolution in the light of international events. Have those principles and that work had value as factors of foreign policy and of the world of to-morrow? However presumptuous this question may be, I shall make bold to explain why this point should be considered.

#### 1. The principles and the work of the Revolution as elements of foreign policy

Of the two questions mentioned, the first answers for itself. If the Revolution put Portugal's house in order, recast and strengthened her economic life, aroused patriotism, made for unity and the cohesion of national forces, reorganised and armed the Army and Navy, if that Revolution gained prestige through the principles which it defended, the work which it achieved and the cooperation which it extended, there can be no doubt that the Revolution not only placed the country in a position to determine her own policy, but enabled her to follow that course with proper dignity, by the side of other nations. It is clear that, if an ordered and orderly Portugal, freed from inglorious party faction with its permanent threat of revolutionary disturbances, with some self-regard and confidence,

respected for its achievements and behaviour, were unable (in such things as are within her control) to follow a definite international policy, it could not hope to do so with the handicap of political, economic and social unrest, with constant changes of government and of policy, and amid the tumult of passion where not infrequently ideas other than the nation's may creep in.

In the circumstances provided by the National Revolution the Government, at the beginning of the present conflict, were able to define their position of neutrality — not unconditional neutrality obviously, for they could not overlook the requirements imposed by the dignity of the Nation, the higher interests of the country and the existence of the British Alliance, which we did not fail to re-affirm at a dark and difficult moment. Our position is indeed delicate because we have friends in every camp and because there are nations involved in the struggle to whom we are bound by close bonds of political comradeship or deep affection — countries such as Great Britain and Brazil. Nor let it be thought that neutrality is maintained without care, effort and expense. It is not like a stream gently flowing through the meadows without even a stone to cause a ripple on its surface. The fact remains that Portuguese neutrality has been maintained in spite of the innumerable obstacles which had to be overcome; except in the case of Japan, in the still outstanding incident of Timor, our neutrality has been respected by all; and I believe that we too have honoured it.

Apart from our own efforts and the respect of other countries, we have found precious support in the policy of friendship with Spain which bore fruit in what has been termed the Peninsular Bloc. Not only the catastrophic spread of the war but also other considerations made it desirable that a peace zone be maintained in the Peninsula; this idea was upheld by



us from the very beginning, in the concept of the neutrality of Portugal and Spain. The affinities between the two countries, the recollection of the Civil War, the recognition of mutual and general interests which hold out future possibilities of Peninsular co-operation in the world, such are the bases of our joint policy and the earnest of their logical development.

Let us now consider the other problem:

## 2. Portugal in the world of to-morrow

Being out of the conflict, we might quite naturally consider ourselves unaffected by the result of the war. This cannot be so since the non-combatant countries are in the war like the others. The reason for this is to be found in the widespread nature of the conflict, in the fact of international solidarity and in the intention of the principal leaders to take advantage of the occasion by reforming the world. «Reforming the world» means simply to lay some rules of life for the peoples of the world and to develop social and political ideals likely to improve the life of men and to promote the progress and well-being of nations. A new order is awaited but only the result of the war will determine who is to define it. It has been authoritatively declared that this order must be accepted willingly or by force. Hence we, too, in any case, are concerned in the matter.

Life tomorrow, in many of its aspects, will not depend on who wins the victory, and civilisation will be sustained by ideas which are already alive everywhere, in the midst and in spite of the conflict, and are producing their own atmosphere in every country of Europe and America, with repercussions in Africa. Nevertheless it is certain that the procedure and perhaps even some of the solutions will depend on the victors

and on the relative state of their forces at the end of the war. For this reason, perhaps, and because the war unfortunately threatens to be a long one, neither side has gone beyond making vague statements which, from prudence or from inherent difficulties, leave some of the essential points unanswered. Thus even if it were legitimate and convenient to do so one would not be able to enter into any discussion.

For my part, perhaps unjustifiably, I fear three particular tendencies in the scheme for setting right the world — the desire for an ideal state of affairs, giving an unreal value to aspirations; the rut of war in the habit of a collectivised life; the predominance of economic considerations, that is, the subordination of all solutions to the economic exigences which would make civilisation lose the charm and value which humanity has put into it, and would revolutionise the world without bringing peace.

Whatever form these plans may take, they will rest on two basic problems — order and international collaboration.

With the exception of Communism which will continue to be a factor of disorder, the immediate concern of all will be to see that order is maintained where it still exists and is re-established where it has been destroyed. The problem is all the greater and more serious on account of the hatred, the trail of violence, destitution and other results of the war, and no sensible direction of events may challenge the internal organisation of any State which is in itself a guarantee of order. Only Communism will take another view. In my opinion this is the greatest human problem of all times, I mean that it is a problem of the basic concepts of humanity and of individual and social life, and therefore a matter of the gravest risk to Western or Christian civilisation. It is probable that no concept of life has ever before exhausted itself so completely

in the course of a social experiment. Never before, it seems, have science, technology, and organisation substituted so deeply that human and spontaneous initiative that makes the sweetness, richness and attraction of other interpretations of what life and man represent. It has been shown that so-called material progress — military power, marvellous machines and industrial plants — may co-exist with the diminution and extinction of free will. Where the State and the Machine absorb man, there is no room left for human liberty. It is doubtful whether these essential aspects of the question can ever be forgotten — no matter what fellowships war may impose.

What will be the foundation for that close cooperation between nations which everyone now regards as an essential condition of peace and of future well-being? The answer is of great interest to us as our economic and political nationalism may, on that account, be found outside the general lines of war reorganisation, with a corresponding need for future adjustments. The fact that wars arise from conflicts between countries — and now intercontinental aspects are becoming apparent — leads many, very naturally, to seek the remedy for such great ills in supra-national, continental or world forms of organisation. It is not in accordance with my views, nor is it the principle of our Revolution, to deny the interdependence and fellowship between States nor the need for a formula for international organisation of labour which should settle problems in common and determine what cooperation should be rendered. I merely state my sincere conviction that twentieth century man is not yet capable of seeing or solving world problems except through national, free and independent entities. People of exalted imagination, armchair politicians engrossed in abstract solutions and unconcerned with the many realities bound up with

the life of peoples, will maintain the view that something better is possible. Nevertheless, prudent persons will agree that a national basis is still the most solid, the easiest and safest on which peoples can cooperate for their mutual well-being.

In this way, just as strong and stable family organisation ensures a solid and close-knit society, so the definite, strong and independent authority of a State within its own boundaries, together with an ordered, solid and national economy, facilitate agreements of international interest and make easier the undertaking and fulfilment of pledges or matters of concern to a community of nations.

In politics problems are simplified by the limitation of frontiers and powers. The principle is: neither two rulers for the same territory nor two authorities for the same function. This is equally applicable to colonial possessions, regarding which some current ideas are far from being clear or innocuous.

The question of the right of access to raw products — particularly colonial products — arose at a time when nobody thought of holding back such products and the only problem was indeed how to find purchasers for them. If you will look into the matter, you will see that in peace time, since there are non-industrial colonial countries and nations which are great producers of raw materials which they are eager to sell to the world, there can be no real difficulty, except that of the lack of means of payment, i. e. the difference in the media of currency, which after all is a problem of sovereignty. Hence we are back to the very question from which we started. It is therefore illusory to believe that régimes of condominium, mandate, open door and others like them, will solve any question unless the purpose is to confuse the issues by despoiling certain peoples of what they discovered, conquered, and now administer and civilise, in order to effect a covert transfer of

property. For these reasons and because of the debt which all men owe to justice and of our debt to our own history, and although the matter is presumably not our concern, that must be regarded as a wise policy which was laid by the Colonial Act and has been pursued untiringly by the Revolution.

And that is all.



### III

## Conclusion—Unpleasant remarks

Before concluding, I am sorry to have to make some harsh and disagreeable comments.

The Government and myself are greatly responsible for the unpreparedness of the mind of the public for the unavoidable difficulties and sacrifices imposed by the war. In order to preserve the country's normal life as much as possible the policy adopted by others of maintaining a constant state of alarm was not followed. Perhaps the public ought to have been made aware of the political and economic difficulties which have to be overcome all the time, the friction, the arguments, the risks threatening our neutrality, the permanent peacetime crisis of those who are still at peace. As a result the Portuguese have been spoilt by this paternal treatment; they are unwilling to bear hardship; they are careless and do not take the trouble to understand. The Government are not irritated because poor folk, who lack a handful of coal or olive oil, complain of shortages or the time wasted in obtaining supplies. But the Government cannot excuse the intolerance of people who are not in want of the indispensables of life, but who grumble because they cannot always obtain unessentials. Our proper attitude in face of the immense desolation of the war, the mil-

lions of beings perishing of hunger, of misery and sorrow should not be vague sentiments of mere commiseration, untouched by real concern, but rather plain living, renunciation and patience which, though falling short of actual assistance, at least express communion of ideas and identity of moral atmosphere. How far from this attitude is the calculated and profiteering egoism which evades the law to profit by the wretchedness of others!

There is another point: the world crisis is no figure of speech; its seriousness, profundity and extent, the interests and concepts at issue are shaking the foundations of the best constituted nations and empires. I repeat what I said just now: we are not fighting but we are in the war like the others. While that army which made the Revolution occupies the posts assigned to it, it is the duty of the Nation to show its unity, force and cohesion — in short, full national consciousness. I must praise the country for this attitude, while rebuking some Portuguese who in one way or another striving to destroy the moral armour of the country, when it is a well-known fact that that armour is one of the strongest factors of our defence. Some of these persons are animated by hopes which nobody will fulfil for them; others adduce reasons to justify their disagreement with the Government's policy, though, in truth, no one can suppose that, apart from ignorant or irresponsible folk who know no better, no one can suppose that that policy could or should be otherwise than the one hitherto followed in defence of well-realised national interests.

We know that other great European crises formerly threatened to divide us on foreign issues; but in our own day the Government cannot be accused either of disloyalty or of neglecting the special obligations of fidelity attaching to relations engendered by centuries of common interests. It is true that the Government have at the same time tried to maintain a worthy



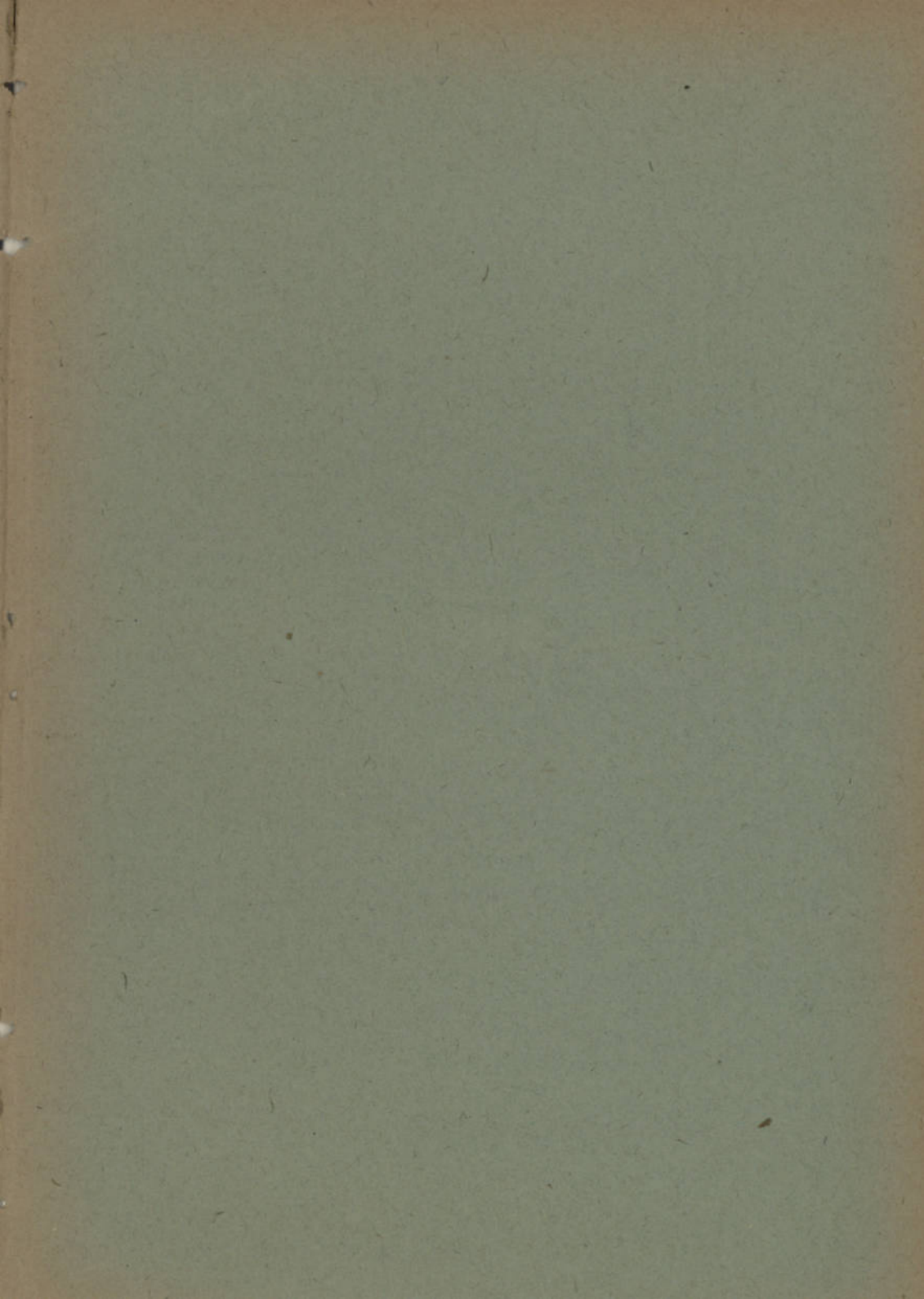
attitude, always with that wide and tolerant benevolence proper to a friend, even when he is not the weaker party. That some foreigners among us should complain is admissible, because of the favoured position they have enjoyed; that Portuguese citizens should also attack us can only mean that their measure of patriotic dignity is not the same as ours. Our own measure, however, we have inherited from those Portuguese who were better men than we are, who made our history and created a nation which we are bound, even in the face of the opposition of some, to respect and defend.



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