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MARCELLO CAETANO
PRIME MINISTER

NO ONE CAN SHIRK
FULFILLING HIS OWN DUTY
TO THE HOMELAND

SPEECHES DELIVERED IN
THE CITY OF OPORTO,
IN MAY 1969

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SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA INFORMACAO E TURISMO

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5/21/66
H.F.N.S.

MARCELO CASTANHO
MEMBER

NO ONE CAN SHIRK
FULFILLING HIS OWN DUTY
TO THE HOMELAND

RECEIVED IN THE CITY OF TORONTO
ON MAY 1966

RECEIVED IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

I have a very simple programme of government,
which is to serve the deep-rooted interests
of the Nation

Speech made in
the City Hall of Oporto,
on 21 May 1969.

I have a very simple programme of government
which is to serve the deep rooted interests
of the Nation

Speech made at
the All India Congress
on 21.12.1947

Mr. Mayor of Oporto:

At a time when you are succeeding as Mayor of Oporto one who gave his life in serving the community I wished to be present in this noble city to bear witness to the Government's respect for it.

This feeling of respect is due to the second city of the country, as it is to the qualities and civic virtues of its inhabitants. It is merited by the city council, which is the highest expression of local administration in the city and has always fought with zeal to defend common interests. Thanks to the devotion of its leaders, the participation of the citizens and the support of the State it has proved able to carry out several major achievements.

But when I had announced this intention I was surprised by the initiative taken by the town councils of the whole country in wishing to accompany me here today. They said that their intention was to share my feelings as regards the city of Oporto, to express their support

of the Prime Minister and to congratulate him and themselves, on the significance of my recent visit to the Overseas Provinces.

In speaking for everybody present, Mr. Mayor, you have been kind enough to consider my acceptance of the burdensome tasks of government, the guidelines I have laid down and the work I have so far been able to do, as reasons making for the greater glory of the country. Quite sincerely I do not think there are any such. When the noble President of the Republic called me to put before me the problem of the succession to Dr. Salazar I envisaged the invitation as a call to do my duty. At a time when so many Portuguese are called on to sacrifice their comfort, their interests, their health, even their lives for the cause of Portugal no one can shirk fulfilling his own duty to the Homeland, and I am thus fulfilling mine.

I do so the best I can. I have a very simple programme of government, which is to serve the deep-rooted interests of the Nation, which is made up of all Portuguese, whether they live on Portuguese territory or not, the Nation that was set up by our ancestors and which shall be the home of our descendants. Within that Nation we are responsible for our destiny, even though in an ever closer spirit of solidarity with the rest of the world.

I am not one who favours grandiloquent phrases or who likes to make empty promises. I am sufficiently familiar with public life to know how far the practical powers of government can extend and at what point the irresponsibility of utopian concepts takes over. I am fully

aware of the value of Politics but I am equally clear that this worth can only be attained through good, effective administration.

The company of the representatives of the Portuguese municipalities here today delights and comforts me because I know that they understand me. Others may shout bombastic slogans which their overheated imaginations lead them to think contain the miraculous panacea for all national problems. But those who labour in the municipalities to meet the day-by-day real needs of the population, who know how difficult it is for taxpayers to pay their taxes and for the municipalities to collect sufficient revenue to meet the manifold needs of any local community, who know the cost of providing a district with the electricity, water, roads, drainage, transports they need, and how each improvement is a victory, which brings no rest to enjoy it but only the prospect of many other struggles to be waged as a consequence, and the administrators who are familiar with the difficulties of techniques and the demands of the law, and realize that in managing public monies we cannot dispense with caution, formalities and controls, often irritating and which together constitute the frightening barrier of obdurate bureaucracy — these men have experience of the realities of public administration and they understand that the Prime Minister would like to progress rapidly but at the same time does not wish to deceive or lie to his fellow citizens by telling them that everything can be made right in the twinkling of an eye.

It is not in a few days or weeks that one can provide the town councils with the revenue they desperately need or simplify the tangled red-tape involving town-planning projects or building plans. Unlike a fairy tale we cannot sweep away every obstacle and eliminate every brake on the dynamism of administration. But thought is being given to all these problems: life hastens on and administration cannot be left behind.

But it should be noted that if we wish to adapt an efficiently adjusted administration to a process of accelerated development we cannot desire the socialistic invasion of human activity by Governmental agencies. The State should resolutely steer economic life, give it dynamism and discipline. But not exercise a heavy-handed, numbing power over it. We know how great the risk of such numbing is when structures are petrified within the rigidity of legal statutes and when functions are carried out at the speed of bureaucracy.

That is why I defend a social State but not a socialistic one. Social to the extent that it places the common interest above the interests of the group, the class or the individual. Social because it makes such an interest prevail in the face of the authority that rests on collective reason. Social so long as it seeks to promote the access of the worse-off layers of the population to the benefits of modern life, and to protect those who in labour relations can be considered to be weak. But not a socialist one, since it is our aim to preserve, dignify and even encourage private initiative and

to encourage enterprises to do what the State would never be able to effect alone.

I believe, gentlemen, that we are in agreement, as we are that the administration should increasingly cultivate the spirit of public service, that is, the notion that it exists to serve the public with the function of achieving the common welfare.

Gentlemen: if we are in agreement on these points our meeting has been a fruitful one. Nowadays when the problem of the political system of our country has ceased to exercise us, the great problem of Portuguese public life is to further Portugal's destiny, here and beyond the seas, fulfilling with ever greater firmness and resolution the missions that our century imposes on States. And also to ensure that the supreme political, economic, educational and social aims that fall to the Portuguese Republic are furthered and attained in peace, in a vast spirit of agreement and solidarity among all those able to relegate to a secondary place all minor differences of opinion, the better to unite in the firm intention of serving the supreme interests of the Nation.

May the example so often given by the civic spirit of the city of Oporto, the traditions always maintained by the men in the municipalities, which are the primary cells of the nation, and the admirable, wholesome lesson taught us by the inhabitants of the Overseas Provinces serve us as guides and models for our work!

Long live Portugal!

For victory
economic effort is no less indispensable
than military actions

Speech made in
the Oporto Stock Exchange,
on 21 May 1969.



Gentlemen:

The Oporto Commercial Association has done me the honour of making me an honorary member. I know the significance of such an honour in the traditions of this Exchange and in the social life of the city. That is why I have come to express my thanks.

My life as a lawyer and politician has often brought me to Oporto. I have thus frequently been enabled to make contact with people in the city of all classes, and the various professional branches. This contact has given rise in me to a feeling of respect for this simple, straight-forward, outspoken, industrious manner of theirs, which clearly reveals the characteristic generosity of the people of the region.

Oporto grew and was enriched as the trading centre of North Portugal. From it gets its name that glorious wine that comes from the further reaches of the Douro, which goes out to warm the hearts of those who drink it all over the world, with its recollection of the glint of the

burning sun on the schists of the mountains that border the valley of the famous Douro. The products of the hard-working folk of the Entre Minho e Mondego provinces who have now added manufacturing to their agricultural toil, pass through the city on their way to distant markets. Many of the raw materials and machines coming from foreign countries or our overseas provinces enter the country via Oporto, for as time goes on we shall need to import less food and manufactures as our internal ingenuity and effort provide them in greater quantity to meet the growing needs of the nation.

Shipping and trade were the characteristics of Oporto, before its sturdy artificers brought forth the many enterprising industrialists who scattered their factories about the city and its surroundings.

Trade, in the past as in the present, has been one of the main motive forces in economic development and social progress. Through it producers in search of consumers have overcome the barrier of distance and have spread their wares over the world, thus reaching places of whose existence they were unaware. Thanks to the ingenuity of the trader, supply creates the need for demand or gives it a new aspect, extending the latter and making it unexpectedly rich and far-reaching.

Free initiative is thus given the opportunity to bloom in trading. The discovery or expansion of a market may depend on the trader's intelligence, perspicacity or daring. The expansion of output, increased sales and lower selling-prices depend on perfecting the methods used as a

result of close observation of economic conditions and the psychology of the consumer, when it proves possible to expand demand. Dynamic commerce ceases to be the questionable accessory of agricultural and industrial output; instead it is transformed into their most valuable collaborator, to the extent that it provides the producer with a sure placing at a reasonable return of the goods produced and also encourages creativity.

I would not wish to forget here those bush traders who in Africa were almost always the pioneers of civilization. A short time ago this city celebrated the centenary of Silva Porto, whose name has been given to one of the finest inland towns in Angola. Modest traders who in times of a complete absence of any form of comfort ventured into the interior and settled in most inhospitable places. Very often they can hardly have been models of textbook virtues; yet, speaking the language of material interest, which is the one most readily understood by all men, they proved able to lay down social contacts with the heathen, very often carrying to them their first indication of a different culture and putting them in contact with the elementary comforts of civilized life. Thousands of such men of business, isolated in the interior of Portuguese Africa, lived there for years, with the help of the friendship of the natives. Often they raised large families, where there were many half-caste descendants.

It is now the fashion to despise individual efforts as a means of social promotion and an instrument of the collective progress. Especially among young people the

idea is prevalent that all sizeable improvements in the human condition can only arise from a transformation of society, and the stage is reached at which contempt for the élite is preached, associated with the worthlessness of the individual and the deleterious nature of personal action. How wrong this concept is!

There can be no human progress if men do not become individually better. Mankind is no more than an abstract expression of the characteristic values of the human race. It is men that constitute mankind, and in them it is manifested. Human progress must necessarily arise from the elevation effected in man's feelings, his character, his intelligence, his knowledge of the world, his ability to act. This cannot suddenly be brought about by legislation or instantaneously produced by revolution. It must of necessity be the achievement of those men who open up wider horizons and engage themselves in promoting the enhancement of their fellow men.

Like all forms of enhancement this one is hard and sometimes even painful. It cannot be effected once and for all for everybody, except in the pompous formulae with which sometimes the masses are quickly intoxicated and deceived. Nor is it effected in the same manner for all. At least for us, the heirs of Latin and Christian culture, nothing could be falser than the notion that to improve man we must destroy his personality, plunge him into the grey, anonymous mass, lose his identity in the monstrosity of a collective life where he is bereft of initiative, free-will, privacy or any prospect of individual expression. Each

man should have an opportunity of fulfilling himself, that is, of enlightening his intelligence and developing his range of activity, in such a case the limits being the necessary ones of the unavoidable restrictions of social intercourse and community spirit.

Sometimes untrammelled initiative and the adventurousness of the individual's action may have great disadvantages or even harm the community. This is true. Such is mankind: a mixture of qualities and defects, which is inevitably reflected in all human endeavours. No task ever carried out in the world by mankind, whether alone or in collaboration, has been freed from the risk of error, the taint of vice, the weight of failure. What I consider admirable is that such progress has proved possible, amid all the shadows cast over human efforts, by means of man's fallible toil. We have to pay the cost of the defects of our nature so as to be able to perfect the world and make life nobler.

All these reflections were brought about by the place of the trader in civilization. I believe that a considerable role in the economic development of our country is still open to private enterprise. But the latter must realize its social function. The present-day entrepreneur cannot think only of his material interests, nor can he limit his work to the obtention of profits. The law respects the freedom of initiative, personal interest, the desire to profit, to the extent that it envisages in them valid stimuli for a socially useful task. Every entrepreneur, in trade, industry or agriculture, has a responsibility towards his fellow-citizens,

which is to undertake to make available capital which enables him to direct and coordinate technical skills and labour to enrich the community and to contribute to general welfare. First by providing and guaranteeing jobs. Then by producing in ever better conditions. This is why the enterprise cannot be improvised, either at the launching or in the process of development and expansion. The State cannot wash its hands of responsibility by only supporting forms of initiative that are lucid and well-organized, by integrating them in the common effort from which they should not be severed.

The present-day trend of setting up vast economic areas where men, capital and goods can freely circulate opens up new prospects, causes new worries and places new responsibilities on the shoulders of politicians and industrialists.

While the Nation is still an ever-present reality in the mind and way of life of the European, the age of economic nationalism has gone by.

Neither we nor any other nation in West Europe can shut our frontiers to labour flows, or prevent capital, very fluid by nature, from seeking the most lucrative forms and places of application, or nowadays set up protectionist trade barriers in the shelter of which national activities can vegetate without any competition from abroad.

We must fully realize these ideas, if only to stop considering the application of foreign capital in Portugal as acts of economic colonialism. This capital is welcome when it effectively aids internal development, but not to

exploit us. All that we should do is to avoid taking it all from one source, by facilitating a national diversity of investors.

Yet our concern to fit ourselves out for the harsh struggles of the present and the future should not mean the systematic condemnation of medium- and small-scale undertakings.

In some sectors there may be an imperious need for the concentration of many small firms to bring about powerful units sufficiently strong to flourish and to face the competition for markets; in others the medium- and small-scale firms should be protected and supported with care to maintain them as factors of social stability and even as guarantees of balanced management on a human scale.

More than ten years ago the formation of the European free-trade zone was announced, a concept which later was partially achieved with the institution of EFTA. Ever since the government has called the attention on many occasions of those concerned to the fact that a new age had begun, and with it new habits.

We can never insist too much on an appeal to private initiative not to waste time, for little enough is available for it to adapt itself to the changed circumstances.

I stressed a few moments ago that the legitimacy of the firm was based on the usefulness of its social function, which is most clearly revealed at such critical times as these. Private enterprise, by enjoying a flexibility which State enterprises lack, possessing a freedom of movement,

engagement and adaptation that Government departments cannot rival, gaining the advantage of a receptivity to changing circumstances which enable it continually to review and adjust its plans and projects, will show its true worth to the extent that it shows itself able to overcome present difficulties and win for Portugal and the Portuguese this difficult struggle to attain national wealth.

We are undergoing a grave period in the history of the world and of Portugal as well. Soldiers are risking their lives and shedding blood on the fronts where the inviolability of national territory is being defended. But all Portuguese should consider themselves to be mobilized. For victory economic effort is no less indispensable than military actions. For Portugal to travel securely forward it must have a healthy agriculture, a prosperous industry, a worthwhile commerce. It is a front where decided, brave, persevering men are no less necessary, and where there is no lack of enemies either, beginning with our defects, our lack of preparation, our backwardness. But we shall win through thanks to the qualities that the Portuguese people have always revealed on every field of battle, at every critical moment of their collective history.

It is important to maintain
the military virtues untainted

Speech made at the Headquarters
of the First Military Zone,
on 21 May 1969.

General commanding the First Military Zone,
Gentlemen:

I am most grateful for this opportunity to meet the officers serving in the first military zone and for your words of greeting.

I was brought up on principles that believed the nobility of man to reside in serving his fellow men, and above all in serving the Homeland to the point of sacrificing himself for it. At that time the concepts that glorify selfishness and seek to gild the greediness of appetite, whim, fancy, selfish enjoyment, vice and passion of the individual as the highest expression of liberty had still not become the fashion. Such a liberty as this, unlimited by nature, unconfined within the framework of social discipline, which does not express the dominion of intelligent rationality over sheer instinct is, morally, mere selfish indulgence and legally is nothing if not dangerous anarchy.

I still think that the only healthy society is one where individuals accept a limitation on their personal interests

to the extent that the collective interest makes this necessary. Only those nations can survive that are able to give the collective ideals sufficient force to prevail over the capricious nature of individual convenience.

In all countries the armed forces represent a training-ground where the lesson is taught of how to serve the community, where the spirit of discipline is cultivated, and where true recognition is given to the generous gift of willpower, the conscious renunciation of private comfort and interests, the readiness to sacrifice one's life to serve the homeland.

In the world of today, more than ever, we must preserve this reserve of moral energy. When we see discipline destroyed everywhere, giving way to a confused sense of values accompanied by a cowardice of attitudes, then it is important for us to maintain the military virtues untainted.

Like similar crises in history the present one is a passing phenomenon. Societies cannot last without laws to co-ordinate and harmonize the activities of their members, to make their several interests compatible, to fit into the general pattern the sphere of freedom of each. For there can only be liberty where there is discipline. If an individual is allowed to do what he wants, his will inevitably oppresses the expression of others' desires. But if these latter are given an equal freedom, then the resulting struggle of selfish desires can only lead to the victory of the strongest.

The law is the expression of an ideal of justice prevailing over rough force. Armies, like security organizations, are the legitimated power that ensures the prevalence of the rational criteria of the law over the fortuitous whim of violence, the healthy strength that guarantees the predominance of the collective reason over the rebelliousness of individual greed.

On occasion it may be questioned whether the armed forces of the major powers serve the cause of Right in world conflicts. In our country we have constitutionally condemned for over fifty years war as a means of settling conflicts between states. With us there is no place for unjust wars. The Portuguese armed forces have been exclusively employed to defend national rights which, however well based on legal title and the will of our people, have of recent years been frequently menaced and even assailed, which has forced us to be on the alert and to be ready to defend ourselves.

Portugal has willingly sent its soldiers and sailors to fight, the brave soldiers and sailors I recently met in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique fighting with the purest sense of daring patriotism. Thousands of temporary and militia officers have come forward to do their military service, and they have brilliantly and efficiently supplemented the work of the regular staff cadres, insufficient for the purpose.

But perhaps public opinion is not exactly aware of how hard the life of professional soldiers, sailors and airmen has been over the last twenty years. Since the second

world war the regular officers have been called on to serve outside Europe, on successive arduous periods of service abroad. In many cases they have only served in Europe for brief periods of months. Very often they have been separated from their families for lengthy periods, especially when their children were about to attend higher courses of education, precisely the time when they needed the presence and the guidance of a father. These real sacrifices cannot be ignored by the Government, which must take them into account. Within the near future I hope to be able to solve some of the problems raised by such situations, where they can be solved by the resources of the Treasury and the abilities of the legislator.

I feel that in so doing the Government is fulfilling its duty towards the armed forces. At the same time it will take steps to improve the organization of national defence, both in the central organs and in the theatres of operations, the better to make our military work more efficient. My hope is that these measures, arising from the Prime Minister's visit to the Overseas Provinces, will prove in their effects equal to the intention inspiring them.

That visit, General and gentlemen, has taught me many unforgettable lessons. But the most important of all is that we cannot hesitate here in the rear. This lesson was taught me in my contact with the young men who every day risk their lives to defend the territory of the Homeland. I also learned it in the impassioned enthusiasm of Portuguese citizens whose grand ideal is to go on being Portuguese, and also in visits to the wounded in hospital and to the dead

buried in war cemeteries. We cannot hesitate for a moment in our struggle against apathy and betrayal. We must not hesitate in fighting against defeatist propaganda, or in the vigorous efforts we are called upon to make against incompetent organization, prejudices, neglect, bureaucracy which hamper the defence effort, slow it down or raise its cost.

We know that modern wars have ceased to consist of frontal conflicts between vast armies — they now take the shape of thousands of minor conflicts and skirmishes scattered over the entire world. We are aware that our adversaries seek to overcome us by undermining ideologically our moral resistance, by encouraging various kinds of subversion in the very heart of the nation, by occupying the strategic positions in the fields of information and propaganda. We cannot be so foolish as to give them full liberty to disarm the State, making it powerless when faced with the systematic poisoning of public opinion, to forestall and put down attacks on the domestic and external security of the Nation.

You, General, have paid a just tribute to the President of the Republic. The Prime Minister, responsible for the political furtherance of national defence, is very happy to be associated with the words addressed to the supreme Head of the Armed Forces, who has so distinguishedly symbolized the high ideals that inspire, determine and direct them. In him I would like to salute the Portuguese Armed Forces.

The Corporative State
is a social justice State

Speech made at
the Oporto Traders Association,
on 22 May 1969.

Gentlemen:

I am delighted to have this opportunity of meeting the leaders of traders' associations and the trade unions of Oporto. I am most grateful to you for your invitation and your hospitality.

Since I became Prime Minister I have constantly sought contacts with the mass of the people. I try to see with my own eyes what the facts are, and to hear from the lips of those directly concerned what their complaints and ambitions are. I do not make many promises because the world is full of promises. I prefer to move onwards, doing what can be done, conscious as I am of the difficulties to be overcome. But I do like to explain, to lay out my thoughts before you and give the reasons for what action I take.

As we are at a meeting of corporative leaders I think it might be suitable to think aloud about the timeliness and the future of the Portuguese corporative system.

Several people have in fact questioned the advisability of maintaining the titles, the formulae and the institutions of the Corporative State. Should there continue to be a Ministry of the Corporations? Are the employers' associations, the trade unions and the Corporations themselves to go on?

Of course the easiest and least onerous revolutions are the verbal ones: things remain but the names are changed. There have been more than a few revolutions of this type in the past political history of Portugal. Yet these are mere alterations of title which mean no real change in fact, a kind of trap which I cordially detest.

Before the Ministry of the Corporations was instituted I publicly expressed my disagreement with the idea. My argument was that in a Corporative State all Ministries are in fact ministries of the corporations. I added that, in my opinion, the public should not be made to feel that the corporations were the bureaucratic departments of a given ministry, since they should exist and function outside the bureaucracy of the State and should be able to deal freely with all authorities and official circles.

But the Ministry was in fact set up. It has existed for years and its abolition or re-naming would now have a very different significance from what was implicit years ago in the decision to create it or not. Such a significance would not necessarily be unfavourable to the permanent existence of the organization, since it might rather indicate that the institution now does not need a governmental instrument of support and promotion. Such a significance would have

to be carefully pondered and explained, to meet a real situation and so that the latter might translate a progress and not a regression.

Is there any continued reason for corporativism to exist? Does the concept which underlay its inception still merit the tribute of legislation and men's support?

In corporativism we have first the organization of firms and workers. In a country reluctant to accept associative formulas, the work done in this sphere over the last 35 years has been vast indeed. In 1933 we might truthfully say that there was no significant organization of the workers, if only because at that time we stood merely on the threshold of industrialization. Employers' associations, as the representatives of a class, were also few and of little significance.

Nowadays there is a dense network of employers' associations, trade unions and people's centres, covering the entire country. It is impossible to consider at the present time that there is no case for associations of firms and of workers. They must be maintained. The present problem is to know if such associations should find a place inside the State or outside it, which would probably mean, in the latter case, being against it, and if the association of firms and of workers should be considered as a line-up of powers for the class struggle, or as a means of achieving normal understanding and negotiations with a view to an agreement of interests, with the possible arbitration of the political authorities to ensure the primacy of the general interest of the community.

The State today can neither be unaware of, nor despise, economic facts and the occupational tensions which have assumed such importance in social life. The 19th century attitude, which relegated the resulting conflicts to the sphere of private interests, is quite unacceptable in our time.

In other countries where industrialization and the emergence of the proletariat came about slowly, it proved, from the middle of the 19th century on, a difficult, painful struggle to make the public aware of the problems of the economy and labour, within traditional political and legal frameworks and it surprised institutions unsuited to, and incapable of dealing with, these new aspects of life.

But Portugal was able to glean the benefit of others' experience. The 1933 Constitution dates from the dawn of our industrial development; with its social repercussions it was to preside over the major strides forward in our modern development. The Corporative State was thus conceived as a political formula where the producers at once occupied an important place and where the concerns of social justice are basic collective aims. As I have already had occasion to point out, the Corporative State is a social justice State. Thanks to the work of the institutions, and without any need for struggle or conquest, the formulas of the defence, protection and promotion of the worker took root in Portugal. Labour was regulated by general laws; by the multiplicity of collective bargaining agreements the network was filled in and the scheme of social welfare benefits expanded and completed. Access to the labour

courts has been facilitated, family protection has been instituted, technical training and accelerated occupational training have been extended. Thousands of scholarships are granted, attention has been paid to the economic-rental housing problem. Steps have been taken to deal with technological unemployment. Places, groups and activities have been instituted to provide entertainment in leisure hours and suitable places for pleasant holidays.

If our benefits have not reached as high a level as in some other countries it is because, situated as we are on the edge of Europe, without any industrial tradition and with little associative spirit, dependent on a traditional, poor agriculture, on which the major part of the working population was engaged, with a very low level of productivity coupled with low wages, the start of the crusade was extremely difficult and enormous efforts have been necessary to make progress, as we have fought against every kind of difficulty and obstacle.

The path that commonsense points out to us is the improvement of what we have, correcting mistakes (for no political or social formula is free of them), keeping to the right road, making solutions more effective and just, and the methods used to attain them, instead of wandering adventurously off to try out other methods by mere imitation of what strangers do. The latter themselves, moreover, are far from considering their own practice in this domain perfect.

The interests of the country make it essential that we go on cultivating the spirit of understanding, harmony,

agreement between firms and workers, so that may solve their problems pacifically, keeping the authorities as a referee for divergencies where no agreement proves possible.

It is basically this spirit that underlies the essence of the corporative system. Is it necessary to repeat it?

I consider that that liberal formula belongs quite to the past which considered the associations of entrepreneurs and of workers like any other kind of association, dealt with labour relations as mere private contractual relations and left the solving of economic and social conflicts to the law of the strongest.

Portuguese corporativism considers the associations of employers and of workers as bodies with status in public law which the organs of State must respect, take into consideration and listen to and which, in the field of labour relations, establish regulations through collective bargaining agreements. It gives labour law the dignity of public law. In the line of legal progress it replaces the violent solution of conflicts by strike or lock-out by the intervention of labour justice or the arbitration of an impartial authority.

In the course of this long progress of over thirty years we have established a social climate that is very often not evaluated with the naturalness with which it actually functions.

In richer foreign countries the benefits provided for the workers may be bigger, but anyone having been in contact with their labour spheres knows the hardness, the

harshness, the coldness with which man and problems are dealt with, and the permanent tensions to be met with there.

I think we stand in an excellent position to go on progressing along the roads which we see to be most compatible with the Portuguese character, increasingly quickly, of course, but along roads that we ourselves cut out in our own land, built after our own lights and which will lead us forward to clear-cut aims with all safety.

Here in Oporto, which has always prided itself on being a laborious city, we can look forward to a society in which work is more and more honoured, in which it is work, in its various types and manifestations, the work of entrepreneurs, the efforts of leaders, the toil of scholars and artists, the work of technicians, workmen and country-folk, the toil of housewives and mothers, the efforts of officials and the basic toil of educators, that will exalt, distinguish and enhance men.

I drink a toast to the corporative bodies represented here and to all their members. In so doing I ask them to accompany me in toasting our country, and so that in it we may always in a spirit of understanding, collaboration and peace, give concrete form to the ideals of prosperity and justice which inspire us all, but which only the common effort in a daily renewed toil can transform into lasting realities!

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