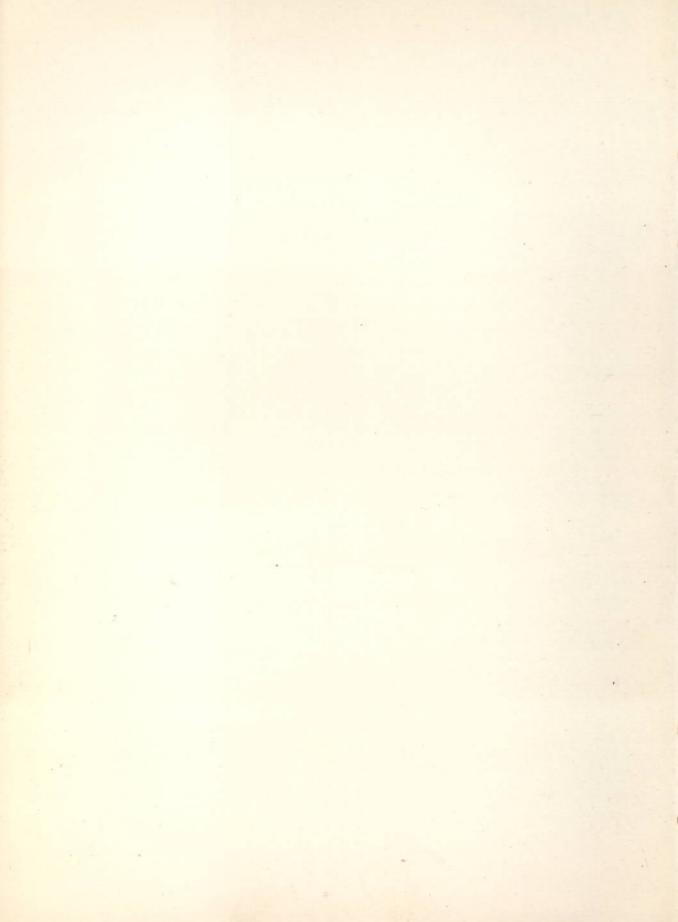
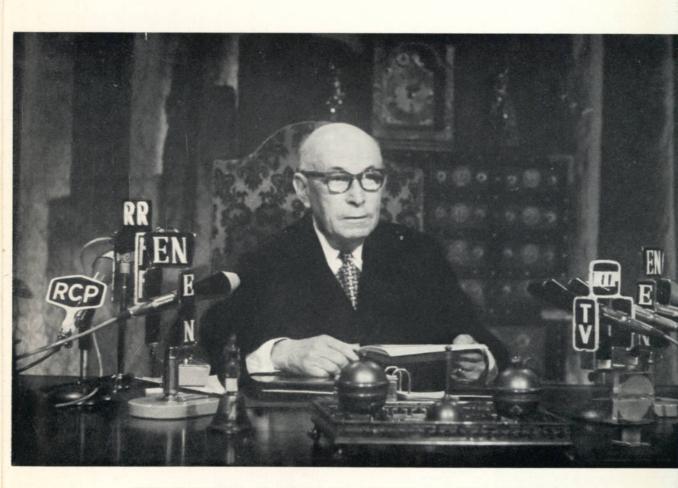


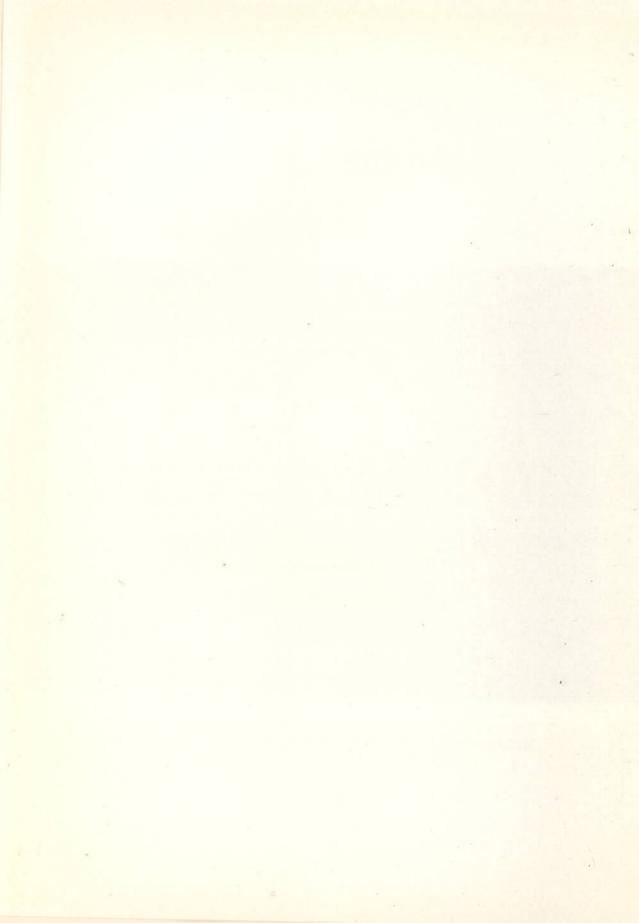
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THE PRESIDENT, READING HIS NEW YEAR MESSAGE AT THE MICROPHONES OF THE PORTUGUESE RADIO AND T. V. NETWORKS.





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N this the first day of another year I fulfil, with the same constant pleasure, my agreeable duty to send a message to Portuguese people throughout the world, bearing my warmest personal greetings for their health and happiness. These wishes, coming from one who bears the weighty honour of representing the Homeland to which they all belong, may very well be taken as the expression of the deep love that the Homeland feels for all its members.

The fleeting wings of time have shortened the gap which separates mankind from the beginning of the twenty first century, leaving the nineteenth century further and further behind, as those who were born then disappear from our midst. Almost three-quarters of our century have gone by, a period which is very different indeed from any other century in man's history. Anyone born before 1900 and still able to recall the slow and relatively calm way of life of those days and even the very limited comfort of life, must inevitably be astounded by the wonders of the 20th century, even

though he may also feel a growing concern at the febrile rhythm of present-day life and not less at the moral retrocession of which, alas, the facilities so quickly and so unexpectedly created have proved the cause. Above all in this third quarter of the century, only two years wanting for its termination, man's scientific and technical knowledge has increased amazingly but he was to a considerably extent unprepared, intellectually, morally and in his conduct, for the avalanche of material benefits that have been granted him for his use.

To this we might add that the rapid acceleration of everyday life forces people to live in a very different manner and puts a far greater strain on the nervous system. This may account for the febrile enthusiasm in which life is now lived: people readily become irascible and thus less human, as their defects and shortcomings rise to the surface.

On sending this New Year message to all Portuguese people, I shall not seek to hide the constantly growing concern that I feel; to the extent that everything is becoming increasingly difficult, I fear that the leaders

of the western world, responsible for its civilization, may even more frequently be outstripped by events and may reveal themselves in a thousand-and-one ways ever more unable to control them. This is why, in my brief remarks to the Diplomatic Corps a fortnight ago, I stated sadly that I was unable to view with sincere optimism the coming year because the times in which we are living are anything but favourable to such optimism. They do not seem to support any promising trend to a more favourable view, nor does any change in the pattern seem likely.

As I have said more than once Europe, which for centuries was the centre of world power, has been clearly declining since the end of the Great War, a process which was markedly accelerated after the Second World War. In the latter post-war period two major powers have consolidated their status and are known now as the super-powers, the US and Russia. Western Europe has been jammed between them, initially under the influence of the former, but less so as the power of the latter increased. Europe has tried to react against

these influences on occasions, but the most marked act of self-assertion, by Great Britain and France, was the most disastrous for its future, the Suez debacle. This attempt was stifled on the verge of success by the superpowers, which united in the sharpest blow against Europe, leading to the opening-up of Africa to the expansion of communist imperialism and the final demolition of the old dream of Eurafrica.

The principal gainer by this stroke was Russia which, once more, proved its sense of reality, making the best possible personal use of the unique opportunity created for its own imperialistic expansion. The fact is that it is different from classic forms of imperialism, but no less imperialistic for all that. Ever since there has been no let-up in the traditional ambition to dominate the world; afraid that its mystique might well not be enough of itself, it set resolutely to work to develop its war potential which has subsequently grown at a tremendous rate, on land, in the air and above all on the sea, so that it has long been the second world military power. It closely rivals the first, or may even

have taken the lead already, especially since Russia is not subject to the internal limitations which set a brake on militarist expansion. It set out, at the end of the war, by annexing the so-called Baltic countries and then submitting by force the countries now behind the Iron Curtain. It made skilful use of the abandonment of others' positions, occupying them, although in a different manner, and extending its influence to new States, the states of North Africa and the Near and Middle East. Thus it has oriented its policy, which is almost entirely directed against the West and the United States. Thus by its own efforts and by the short-sightedness of others, it has become the word power that holds the best cards in the world game of politics. It has played them with consummate skill to defend itself from those who never for a moment thought of attacking it ...

As a result of Western Europe's lack of vision and preparedness, and this includes the US also, it is undergoing a crisis, arising both from the fact that it is besieged and from the shortage of oil. This crisis is a very serious threat to its economy, the only facet of

activity in which in fact Europe did maintain an outstanding international position. But who is responsible for this crisis and the blindness that led to it? How is Europe to fight free of the difficulties which have so unexpectedly arisen for it, so carefully brought about by others? By acts of contrition, of which we have seen so many examples? By force, which is both limited and extremely risky in use? This terrible dilemma is the result of a prolonged, ill-fated policy of transigence, that is, the lack of perseverance and the indispensable firmness in action which has been going on for years.

The western world is now leading a harsh existence, since crises are frequent and resistance steadily weakens, especially moral resistance, the most essential type, steadily and diabolically undermined. But how, and why?

Europe is proud and sure of its democracy, more or less generalized, and the political systems arising from it, all of them largely based on man's freedom, equality and fraternity. Against this we have Russia with its people's democracy, which it likes to consider the more advanced form, although in fact it is merely the front

of an edifice that is hermetically shut off and is thus impervious to real democracy. This absolute inequality of political systems has led to flagrant disparities in the rivalry between them, and increasingly the battle honours have gone to the side which used democracy as a mere label. The propaganda campaigns for 'people's democracy' have been carried out in the liberal democratic countries without any restrictions, whereas the propaganda of the latter has never been permitted in the former. The result, while strange, was really only to be expected. The liberal countries, especially those ruled by socialists, have not reached full political maturity and began gradually to assimilate Marxist poison, while the communist countries defended themselves against any absorption of western doctrines by all possible means, however violent.

Thus, slowly or quickly, but with that persistence proper to the doctrine, which never gives up however great the difficulties it encounters and will never recognize defeat, even when beaten, communism infiltrated itself into the countries of Western Europe, in

some more than in others, sometimes in the shape of political parties, which are not allowed in communist countries, on other occasions clandestinely. But the process did not stop there: to ensure greater speed in progress towards success, the need was felt to undermine, as far down as possible, the foundations on which, for centuries, western and Christian civilization had rested. This work has been done untiringly, relentlessly, by all the means at its command, however unscrupulous or cruel. Moral degradation, banished entirely from its own sphere, has been sedulously exported to the western countries through massive propaganda, not only through tons of pamphlets, books and magazines, but also, openly or deviously, through the press, radio, television, poetry, painting, sculpture and even music. Even official information media are sometimes made skilful use of.

Moral degradation has affected the young above all, for they are the favourite target, but not even adults have escaped its effects and this is the cause of the present far-reaching moral pollution of our society and this, as I have pointed out, is the most dangerous of all forms of pollution.

Of course it is not only Marxist propaganda that has corrupted mankind: the excessively technical nature of our world has also contributed, as I outlined at the beginning of this message. Life has changed completely inside the family circle, in schools, in the Church, in society; practically everything and everybody has undergone some degree of change. From times when, perhaps exaggeratedly, everything was viewed askance, we have moved to a time when everything is found acceptable. Decorum, modesty and even honesty are considered old-fashioned concepts and the current slogan is to live to the full even if this implies theft and crime. The trouble is that in the days when much was frowned on there was at least a barrier against excess and immorality, but it has been seriously breached now that everything is acceptable, bringing to the surface the evil instincts and the animal behaviour that man has never been totally able to rid himself of.

I shall not go further into this topic, for I have referred in previous years on this occasion to the deplorable changes that have taken place in many families, inside almost all schools and even in the heart of the Church itself. These evils strike deep; the notions of respect, discipline and obedience, which we disregard at our peril, have been submerged by the waves of contestation, which solve nothing but merely worsen problems and which have now also swallowed up all the possibilities of normally useful dialogue. Increasingly alarmingly the props of our age-old civilization are shaking; total landslide can only be avoided by a very firm, strong reaction that can overrule the relentless process of demolition. All right-minded men of goodwill must consider this reaction without delay while there is still time.

Before I move on to the strictly national part of this message I would like to say a few words about the UNO, NATO and the terrorism and acts of banditry that are so frequent about the world and whose intensity is ever growing.

I have nothing pleasant to say about the United Nations Organization. It is still dominated by a group of immature recent countries, of no internal or international background, that judge questions quite erratically, devoid of any sense of justice and moved only by hate and passion. To them or their mentors, right means nothing, and even the Charter of the organization. which calls for the equal treatment of all questions, is ignored. The organization was created to unite the nations but it has never been able to. It is unable to prevent wars or to stop them; there has never been a period of absolute peace in the world at any time in its existence. But this record does not stop it from intervening in the internal problems of countries it does not favour, from dictating to them, thus forgetting the rights, some of them centuries-old, which are worth far more than its own unsupported capricious decisions. We have been very badly used by the UNO and we feel that inequality between the nations has never been so great as it now is. We might even remember the League of Nations with nostalgia: at least in theory it set out to make all nations

equal in rights and obligations. The fact is that the more freedom and equality are preached, the further off they seem to get. It is true of men; it is no less the case with the nations.

NATO has undergone practically no changes that would render it more effective. Its fifteen members do not always agree on a number of problems of general interest, which destroys the cohesion which should by rights preside over their decisions. Each member country's internal politics bedevil the work of the group and this in turn prevents the Alliance from working more effectively together. It was geographically cramped at birth, in the sense that it does not cover all the area that it should, i. e. all the North Atlantic and not merely part of it. Its aims too were limited to purely defensive ones. Within its resources and limits it does all it can, but it is a pity, and potentially dangerous, that it cannot do all that it might well perform. But it has been useful in spite of all these shortcomings.

As for the terrorism and acts of banditry that are so rife throughout the world, I feel I must point out

that it all began with the case of the Santa Maria liner, and the strange, unjustifiable importance given to those who committed the crime of piracy and kidnapping on the high seas, including the murder of the officer on watch on the bridge of his own ship. That deed and the lack of punishment meted out to those responsible, because some would have us believe that it was an act of political manifestation and not a common crime, marked the outset of the era of terrorism that has gone remarkably on for thirteen years, developing both in size and in scope. Guilefully, the contention has been maintained that these are not ordinary crimes but political deeds and this deliberately induced confusion, incredible and deplorable as it surely is, has contributed to the incomprehensible absence of sanctions and thus a further incentive to similar crimes. Kidnapping, hi-jackings, mass murder, thefts and other crimes have become so frequent that evil by itself is not enough to explain their continuity and frequency, unless we take into account the associated failure to punish the perpetrators. Gangs of wrongdoers live luxuriously on

the product of their thefts and other crimes, rather like the pirates of other times. How can this be possible? From transigence, which is incomprehensible, from lack of firmness, that is unacceptable, or from a spirit of laisser-faire, quite remarkable in the circumstances? Perhaps all these things together or perhaps from other unidentified motives, even? Whatever the explanation, we are confronted by one of the greatest scandals of our century, a very sad symptom of its ills, affecting mankind and which progress, far from curing, has only been able to worsen. The greed for material possessions, at whatever cost, underlies this new face of piracy but the era of technical progress is also partly to blame.

Coming to more domestic matters, my first thoughts are quite naturally for the Portuguese overseas provinces and those who so bravely defend those sacred, beloved portions of our national territory. The Portuguese feel a special affection for the African lands that they discovered, civilized and have developed at a growing rate. Anyone from Portugal in Europe who visits our overseas provinces is overwhelmed by their fascination

and attractions and can never forget them. The affection of the Portuguese for what they feel is theirs is one of their greatest, best qualities; when I say 'Portuguese' I mean those who feel that they are Portuguese, regardless of their race, colour or beliefs. They are all equally Portuguese, with the same rights and the same duties. This truth explains why Portugal is in Africa, and how it is possible to defend the frontier zones of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique against terrorist infiltration from foreign territories, which ignores the principles of international law, with white and coloured soldiers in similar numbers and with equal daring and courage. I most warmly greet all those heroic defenders of the land of our common Homeland and I am most grateful for the efforts they have made over nearly thirteen years to free our land, which belongs to us all equally, from intruders who are armed, fed, fitted out and encouraged by foreign powers.

Having thus performed this first duty, I shall say that last year was one of great efforts towards the more rapid development of all the country in all aspects of its

activities. There efforts were greatly rewarded, in spite of the difficulties that had to be overcome and the priority which must continue to be given, as is only right, to the defence of the frontiers of the lands handed down to us by our ancestors, a trust we cannot betray. In fact much was done both in the social and in the material fields. Of course we have been unable to meet everybody's needs and wants because everyone sees things from his own point of view. Leaders have to direct their countries bearing in mind the interest of all, not merely of a chosen few, and their aim must always be to give their just reward to those who deserve it. Within the innumerable difficulties it had to face and the many restrictions on its power of decision, the Government was able to feel that it has done all that it could in the circumstances. Perhaps some mistakes were made, but, even in more normal, easier times, has anyone ever been quite sure of not having made any?

Much of the world, unhappily, continued to fail to understand Portugal's just cause, and this was true of many countries that we in no wise consider our enemies. The just cause, mark you, not only of Portugal but of the West, even though the latter itself is unable or unwilling to understand it in all its scope. This sometimes rather unfriendly failure to understand is, more than anything, a lack of comradeship in the common cause, which may even have been intensified in the last twelve months. The only ones to gain by this process were the enemies of the West and its civilization who continue to make skilful, unhampered use of others' mistakes and lack of vision. But I have not entirely lost all hope of seeing the West throw off its lethargy, in which it has been sunk for years by hesitation, its policy and its mistaken view of realities, a state deepened by the skilful manoeuvring of others which was not properly or thoroughly analysed by its victims.

But the point is that Portugal in spite of everything continues to make progress, almost solely thanks to its own, laudable efforts. At many points of the overseas provinces this progress has been spectacular, in spite of the priority given to defence. Contrary to the unhappy general pattern, Portugal still respects and honours its

agreements and undertakings, even when this procedure has no direct or immediate advantages or when it may even bring about further added difficulties. In this respect, too, Portugal is a rather rare case in the contemporary world.

In 1973 Portugal was visited by the President of Brazil, Gen. Emílio Garrastazu Médici, from May 14 to 19, and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, from June 5 to 8. President Médici was accompanied by Mme. Médici and his visit took place with all the desirable brilliance, enthusiasm and mutual affection. As was to be expected, it was happily a further solid contribution to the magnificent, grandiose edifice of the Luso-Brazilian Community, which steadily grows in size and solidity thanks to the identity of notions, our common tongue and centuries of shared history. May God enable us to further this work to the benefit and glory of both our countries and of mankind, which has so urgent a need of areas of frank understanding in a world which seems year by year to be increasingly characterized by disagreement and discord.

Prince Philip's visit, and also that paid by Dr. Marcello Caetano to London in July, took place as part of the commemorations of the sixth centenary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance signed in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1373, between Fernando I of Portugal and Edward III. In spite of certain vicissitudes imposed by time and events, this alliance has been steadily maintained down the centuries and has become a rare example of longevity. Naturally enough both visits were very friendly indeed, faithful to the affection which, to a greater or lesser extent, has always been maintained between the two nations. This was happily the case in Portugal, where Prince Philip met only with friendliness and understanding wherever he went and from all he met during his stay.

On the same principle I adopted in previous messages, I shall next indicate my journeys inside Portugal in Europe, which I did not leave in 1973, and also the events and ceremonies at which I was present in the capital and elsewhere. But I shall only mention what I consider to be most important, applying as far

as possible a chronological criterion. I should also point out that various circumstances, to which, happily, I did not contribute, did slightly reduce my travelling and the number of occasions on which I was present at opening and commemorative ceremonies. Even so I was active and, within my attitude and way of life, which I have defined on previous occasions, I did get many opportunities to meet the ordinary folk of the country, which I consider to be increasingly necessary.

Apart from my visits during the year to the Lisbon International Fair and its exhibitions, the National Agricultural Fair at Santarém and Agro 73 at Braga, I also paid a visit of inspection to all the new vessels added to our merchant navy during the year, especially the tankers of 135 000 tons gross belonging to the Sociedade Portuguesa de Navios Tanques company, above all that to which the name of Admiral Ortins de Bettencourt has been given. On 18 February I opened the Propam factory at Cachofarra, and the Bragança District Hospital on 1 April. The next day I paid an official visit to Vimioso and Algoso castle, which needs

restoration. On 26 April I opened the Plessey plant at Corroios. On the 27th, the 45th anniversary of Prof. Salazar's taking over the Ministry of Finance, I unveiled a plaque in the Fort of Santo António da Barra in his memory, placed there on the initiative of the Cascais Town Council. He spent the summer there for many successive years. On 8 May I visited the building work on the new Setenave shipyards at Setúbal. On the 23rd, in Oporto, I opened the Third National Congress on Labour Accidents. Three days later came opening ceremonies at the Torralta tourist complex at Troia.

On 7 June I opened the new buildings of the Dr. Ricardo Jorge National Institute of Health and on the 10th, in the Camões High-School for Boys, I presided over the annual session of tribute to primary teachers. On 20 June I opened the exhibition 'Fighting for Peace and Progress'. The next day I went to Almada, to preside over the celebrations of its elevation to the rank of a city. On 4 July I opened the exhibition '50 years of the Ex-Soldiers League'. On 8 July I visited Ferreira do Zêzere. Between 13 and 16 July I visited many parts

of Oporto and the neighbourhood, opening the new Civil Governor's Office at Viana do Castelo and paying official visits to Melgaço and Castro Laboreiro. On the 23rd of that month I opened the First Congress on Social Welfare in the capital.

7 August brought an official visit to the new city of Póvoa de Varzim, after I had been to Guimarães. I went to Madeira to open on 8 and 9 September the new airport and the Funchal District Hospital. On the 16th and 17th of the month I paid official visits to Monchique and Lagoa, Portimão and Lagos. On 25 September I presided over the opening of the Second Luso-Spanish Colloquy on Overseas History. On 3 October I opened a new textiles factory at Sabugo; on the 7th the castle of Évora Monte, recently restored. On November 4 I opened the Nova Moapão factory at Alhandra and on the 17th the Resiquímica plant at Mem Martins.

On the 19th I presided over the ceremonial opening of the 11th Legislative Assembly in São Bento Palace. The 25th of that month brought the opening at Estoril

of the First Symposium on Children of the Luso-Brazilian Community. Between December 3 and 6 I was present at the inauguration of exhibitions on St. Vincent, in the Pimenta Palace, and Portuguese India, in the Galveias Palace. On the 11th I went to the Geographical Society for the opening of a further Overseas Week. Finally, as has been my habit every year during my mandate, I have taken the chair at the opening ceremonies of the academic year of all the military educational institutions. I would like to make a special mention of the military ceremony held in the Terreiro do Paço Square on 10 June: once more this patriotic event took place with its customary brilliance, and featured the award of decorations to those who distinguished themselves in the defence of Portuguese Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. Apart from the decorations, the ceremony was a moving, grateful and nostalgic tribute to all who have lost their lives. As has been the case in previous years, similar ceremonies were held in other cities at home and overseas; in all the feelings expressed were the same.

On 28 October the new members of the National Assembly for the 11th Legislature were elected, an event to which I referred in the message I delivered before the two Chambers at the ceremonial opening session on 19 November. As I also pointed out in that message, this year sees the beginning of the Fourth Development Plan. Its scope far exceeds that of its forerunners and it will undoubtedly lead the country forward into vaster spheres of development, both at home and in the overseas provinces. It will end on 31 December 1979 and it is to be hoped that by that date the face of Portugal will have taken on other more optimistic looks, both materially and socially speaking.

Before my closing remarks, I would like to deal with other topics, such as the housing problem, but I feel that I must not, in order to prevent this message from becoming too long. But I think that I should say something about one of them, even though I have touched upon it in previous messages: I am always very shocked, on opening the morning newspapers, to read of so many road accidents, the result of which is almost always

people killed, injured or disabled. I know very well that much the same thing happens in other countries, but, although others' misfortunes are also deplorable, they cannot serve to palliate what happens in our own country. I am also aware that certain steps have helped to check the rising number of accidents, in spite of the continuous rise in the number of vehicles on the roads, in the towns and in the villages. But the fact is that the number of accidents is far too high, and that their consequences are very often tragic and irremediable. Foreseeable causes continue to be the same, especially the complete lack of civility on the part of many drivers, the aversion to discipline, which drivers should, in their own interests, invariably respect, the lack of skill of many of them which leads to the suspicion that licences are issued too freely, among others. Another contribution to the situation arises from the lack of adequate check-ups, and the same could be said of other sectors. So I take the liberty of insisting on the urgent need to increase highways check-ups and drastic action, at least at the beginning, against law-breakers, for,

unhappily, it is only in this way that we can reduce the number of lives so miserably lost and the number of those permanently disabled.

On reaching the end of this message I realize that I have not managed to show optimism but I should not like only the pessimistic impression you may have got from it to be the sole impression it leaves behind. Not everything is lost or irremediable, of course. But if anything truly effective and lasting is to be built up, men must show their humanity, must become truly understanding, for co-operation to construct a better future can only rest on mutual understanding, never on violence.

As for the Portuguese, young and old, we must improve our qualities as far as lies within us and reduce as far as we can our shortcomings, without, in so doing, losing our special characteristics for it is the latter, as I believe I have said before, that have ensured our national survival down the centuries and are now the surest guarantee for our future. We shall not let ourselves be contaminated by false notions just because

they happen to be the fashion. Fashions change and are almost always expensive. Political fashions, apart from their costliness, almost always leave behind irreparable harm and disastrous consequences.

We must all seek to be at once deeply humane and thoroughly Portuguese. Our Homeland is entitled to ask us all to unite once more, for we must form a unity so solid and firm that there shall be no waves, internal or from outside, however high and menacing, capable of shaking us.

May this new year bring, in spite of all the forecasts, Men all over the world to understand one another. May each one respect the rights of others and have his own respected. There can be no peace without understanding or discipline; peace can only become permanent when mankind moves close to that state of perfection from which it is at present very far removed.

