

POINTS RAISED BY MARIA DE LURDES PINTASILGO
IN HER INTERVIEW WITH THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER,
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1. Candidacy to the Presidency of the Republic

- This assumption relies very much upon subjective and objective factors for its success.

The objective factors are:

- clarifying political conditions in running for the elections:
 - o the appearance of campaign candidates who are independent of the political parties, above the parties, i.e. neither being party members nor being proposed by them;
 - o the timing and development of political institutions, i.e. in the still undefined sequence of local government, presidential and legislative elections.
- public opinion polls showing advantages for a non-party candidate, thus going beyond the traditional left-right wing opposition and political rivalities that impedes successfully achieving basic development, which is the people's well-being.

It falls to the President of the Republic (P.R.) to promote understanding so that the country is allowed to develop. In order to do this, it is necessary to have a personality who is fully independent, above the parties, credible, able to resist becoming entangled in party politicking and keeping up a dialogue with them.

A new political culture is demanded, going beyond our historical left and right wing heritage. This is because the left and the right wing are incapable of dealing with existent reality. The majority of the Portuguese people have achieved and now enjoy



their basic freedoms. But they are still lacking in what concerns the level of their economic, social and cultural conditions.

2. Profile of the Presidential Candidate and Fields of Action

- Ethical ability
 - Ability to find the means for assuring national stability (among the parties)
 - Ability to attract the participation of other social, cultural and economic entities (i.e. the ability to revitalize the social fabric. The political parties do not exhaust the social fabric, as society goes beyond the State.
- Politics cannot continue to work along Nineteenth Century lines. A technical and scientific process is needed; one that includes:
 - the production and distribution of wealth;
 - the means of interpreting social relations at State level. Political parties should show themselves capable of attracting these social movements and this deep change.
 - There should be a reassessment of what could be termed non-professional politicking. Each citizen's individual act has a political significance. This means that it is possible to create conditions whereby society produces people capable of managing and making decisions regarding important political matters.
 - The PR elected in 1985, will have to have a concerted relationship with the political parties and will have to promote new inter-party relationships so that the Portuguese State can decide what its position is in foreign affairs, according to:
 - other States and the world;
 - the international division of labour;
 - re-negotiating our foreign debt;
 - the conditions controlling the use of the ocean within the stipulations of the Law of the Sea;
 - a non-subservient position in requesting EEC membership;
 - our role in the Portuguese speaking world.

At home, it is necessary to face the very urgent problem of development.

3. The Plan

The structure and the objectives of the Plan are clearly provided for in the Portuguese Constitution. However, Portuguese economic and social life does not have an economic and social development plan.

The concept of the Market opposing the Plan is out of date these days. The Plan is made up of important options and guidelines and is defined on the basis of all factors intervening in the development process. It is not defined in merely technical terms and behind one's desk.

The Plan cannot only be confined to macro-economic projects. Taking into account new technology, especially programming technology, the Plan cannot be rigid or fixed into a five year period. Instead, its working success has to do with providing scope for change registered within its own referents.

4. Development

Development has not been included in the Government's political programmes and has appeared only as one of the Government's lines of action.

Nevertheless, development has to be a part of all government action, including regionalization, giving local government a new status, overhauling public administration and allowing non-governmental organizations their say. Development also implies sectors that do not have an exclusively economic nature.

- There can be no development while mentalities remain unchanged and while an extremely clear, constantly reinforced cultural pattern is lacking.
- The IMF has helped some countries on the brink of collapse to momentarily save themselves. But the IMF's conditions should not go against national sovereignty. We cannot pay interest mortgages on our debt in the way that it robs us of more than what we earn in foreign currency on our exports.

- Portugal and the next PR must not fail to guarantee national independence and should attempt to bring all political forces into agreement, so that we can re-negotiate our debt. Today, the question of foreign debt is one that concerns the debtor and the creditor at the same time. Our creditors also have an interest in re-examining the conditions of our foreign debt.

5. Regionalization

- Regionalization appears in all the Government's programmes but none has been put into effect up to now.
- Regionalization does not only mean administrative activity. It means action that allows each subject to satisfy his basic needs directly and without excessive red-tape.
- Regionalization cannot merely be activity undertaken by political bodies at the top. One cannot make a clean sweep of anthropological and sociological realities. It has to be a process that involves people.

6. The EEC

- Our impending membership is important to the country's life in what concerns both material and symbolic aspects. I do not agree with either the underlying philosophy or with the way in which our adhesion has been negotiated. Our future as a nation does not depend on our becoming a member.
- Our joining the EEC has been put forward as a political question by our various governments. But it is basically an economic and social question. Even the Community sees itself as an economic and social community. The EEC has not managed to define a common policy either in energy, data processing, bio-technology, communications, armaments, education, culture or in immigration. The EEC does not have a common stand on important international matters and serious conflicts. It has not even managed to share a common perspective on development.



- Concerning development in Portugal, I want to challenge the frequent statement made by various governments to the effect that our social, economic and cultural structures will have to be adapted to the EEC. The EEC has no such pretension and it only means handing over our sovereignty to others. Development depends upon ourselves, not on the EEC.
- Europe works at many different levels and some of them are not through the institutions. Take the big Fairs for example. What I think is paradoxical in Portugal at a time when Europe itself is having to face the question about its own particular presence in the World, is for us to merely want to become a member of a section of Europe without even ^{being} an active part of this reformulation.

7. Social Movements

Two phenomenas prejudice the emergence of true social movements:

- disenchantment regarding the political process of the last ten years, causing a tendency to focus upon the individual
- economic conditions, diminishing wages and the struggle to survive.

It is also a fact that each time a social movement begins to take shape, there is an explosion in the sphere of political power.

8. Abortion

I am against abortion, but I defend democratic and constitutional legality. Laws exist and I respect them.

9. Eanes' Political Party

- I am not the kind of person to become a member of a political party. It is not my way of participating in society.
- Eanes' Party has the possibility of becoming a different sort of Party and will therefore, cause changes on the party political scene.
- I can imagine that this new party will not go behind the scenes to decide on what candidate to support. This is the requirement for a new way of behaviour within a party.

EUROPEAN NEWS

OVERSEAS NEWS

Diana Smith in Lisbon assesses the candidates trying to succeed President Eanes

Portuguese prepare to put the military years behind them

FOR THE FIRST time since the 1920s only civilian candidates will compete for votes in Portugal's Presidential election on Sunday.

This departure from 60 years of military heads of state is in line with Portugal's gradual progress towards fully-fledged parliamentary democracy, but only after the election will it be clear whether that progress will be smooth or bumpy for the next five years.

Lingering discrepancies in the interpretation of democracy remain, with most candidates perceiving the Presidency as only one of many sovereign bodies, with strictly limited powers. One candidate with strong provincial support believes however that the office is a cross between a privileged think tank and a licensing bureau, without whose permission other parts of the body politic cannot function.

The five contenders for office are as varied in personality as in approach.

One candidate, the Communist Mr Angelo Veloso, does not even want to be president. He is on the slate to try to stop pro-Communist voters, about 15 per cent of the electorate of 10m, from backing any of the three candidates who dislike Communist tactics.

The three have formally complained to the authorities about Mr Veloso's use of TV and radio time to promote another candidate, but he continues to appear on television campaigning for "the candidate who represents democratic consensus."

That candidate is Mr Francisco Salgado Zenha, a 61-year-old socialist lawyer who took part in several provisional governments after the 1974 revolution. Mr Zenha has allowed himself to be recruited by the present President Gen Ramalho Eanes, whose search for a handpicked successor to the office he has held for nine years has drawn harsh criticism from all sides.

Mr Zenha's willingness to be used as an Eanes surrogate has angered Socialists and his appeal to the moderate vote appears to have been hurt by the association with the Communists.

Though Mr Zenha denies any pact with the Communists he

has not rejected their support. His cool, somewhat sardonic personality cannot be concealed by marketing methods and his reception has been lukewarm.

Mr Zenha has done consistently badly in the polls and this may act as warning to Gen Eanes that the public as a whole, though it respected him for his serious-minded approach to his office, is not keen to rubber-stamp his dynastic approach to politics.

One of the reasons for Mr Zenha's lack of success appears to be the masses' preference for a woman candidate, Mr Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, a 38-year-old left wing catholic chemical engineer.

Formerly on the right — she was Portugal's Unesco representative during the Salazar regime, and a member of a corporate chamber modelled on Mussolini's Italy — after 1974 she claimed to profess Marxism.

In 1979, Mrs Pintasilgo was briefly prime minister, appointed by General Eanes, the outgoing President, to whom she was an advisor. Her Third World-style anti-party populism shocked the Centre parties, which hastily formed an alliance and won all elections for the next four years, thus reassuring Western opinion.

Most people thought Ms Pintasilgo had faded from politics, forgetting that for four years she has been doggedly building up a constituency among the disenchanted, the needy and the devout, who heed her religious if not her left-wing views. Opinion polls have given her between 15 and 27 per cent of the vote.

No party will back her, which suits her crusading vision of a brave new Portugal where development is planned by those who intellectually grasp such matters and where politicians must sign a pact with the President and accept dismissal if they fail to follow her directives.

Party members and supporters are praying the polls are wrong and that the enthusiastic crowds Ms Pintasilgo has attracted in her campaign are not matched in votes.

As for the fully-fledged candidates: well to the Right of centre is Mr Diogo Freitas do



PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS: (left to right) Mr Francisco Salgado Zenha; Prof Diogo Freitas do Amaral; Ms Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo; and Mr Mario Soares

MACAO AWAITS ITS FATE

PORTUGAL'S PRESIDENTIAL candidates have probably paid scant attention to the interests of the tiny and remote community of voters in Macao on China's southern coast near Hong Kong — yet the fate of this 400,000-strong community hinges particularly heavily on the outcome of the election, writes David Dodwell in Hong Kong.

One of the new President's first jobs will be to appoint a team to negotiate the return of Macao to Chinese sovereignty. Macao has been under Portuguese administration for more than 300 years, but China is likely to take it back at about the same time it resumes sovereignty in Hong Kong in 1997. Peking has said informally that it would like to begin detailed talks in March.

Of the 11,000 people in Macao entitled to vote, no

more than 4,000 are expected to do so. Hardly a number that will influence the outcome, yet the result will have major consequences for them all.

The Governor, Rear-Admiral Vasco de Almeida e Costa, resigned at the beginning of January and left Portugal to campaign for Mr Francisco Salgado Zenha.

The admiral has been in conflict with local political groups since he took office more than four years ago, and has been responsible for a much-resented policy of "importing" civil servants from Portugal.

In contrast, two presidential front-runners, Prof Diogo Freitas do Amaral and Mr Mario Soares, have suggested informally that they will put more power back into the hands of local people.

Amaral, a law professor who looks and acts older than his 44 years. His hair is grey, his bespectacled face solemn, his tone measured and sometimes closer to that of a curate than a politician.

But his calm public stance and record as longtime leader of the Christian Democrat (CDS) party, Portugal's lone post-1974 democratic party of the right, are likely to please at least 40 per cent of the electorate, including many young people seemingly seeking a father figure.

Prof Freitas do Amaral is

confident of Portugal's future as a Western democracy striving for economic progress and political stability. He believes stability cannot be achieved unless the system of proportional representation which makes it hard for a party to win an absolute majority is changed.

He wants something closer to Britain's first-past-the-post system.

He is backed by most of the ruling Social Democrats. This enhances his chances of getting through to the run-off and even winning if moderate voters

rally behind him. Some Social Democrats who rejected their party's choice of conservative candidate are instead supporting the genial, internationally-respected Mr Mario Soares, who has long aimed at the Presidency as the peak of a lifetime spent fighting for democracy in Portugal.

A Prime Minister three times in the last decade, Mr Soares wants to be president of a country truly committed to its new European status, to its Nato allies, to peace and to political stability.

Now in his early 50s he has dropped the militant rhetoric of the 1960s and 70s and has an elder statesman's moderation. He has little urge to be a crusading President, and many voters see him as a sort of glue keeping an unresolved status quo intact rather than spurring governments to make sorely-needed liberalising economic reforms.

Last year Mr Soares was at the bottom of most polls. But he has been prematurely written off more than once in the past, and has struggled back into favour in many parts of the country, helped by the controversial aspects of the other two Left wing candidates.

To many moderates Mr Soares is the lesser of three evils; this could propel him into the February 16 run-off against Prof Freitas do Amaral. But it is not clear who would then win, the man of the Right with a clear natural consistency or the man of the Centre-Left who must catch votes to his Left and Right if he is to make it to the shell-pink Presidential palace on the outskirts of Lisbon.

