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GUIDELINES OF FOREIGN POLICY

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES
MADE BY THE PRIME MINISTER
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MARCELLO CAETANO

**GUIDELINES
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FOREIGN POLICY**

SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA INFORMAÇÃO E TURISMO

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GUIDELINES
OF
FOREIGN POLICY

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There is a crisis of infra-structures in the heart of NATO

In the present emergency everyone is in agreement in pointing out the difficulties of the Atlantic Alliance and in stressing that it is not possible to indicate infallible solutions to set them right. It seems obvious that there is a crisis of infra-structures in the heart of the Alliance, and it seems no less the case that the political philosophy of NATO needs to be thought out again. The problem lies in considering what way we should take, but the decision will largely depend on what we can discover as to the intentions of the Soviet Union and its allies.

The most effective way to prevent a new war

The invasion of Czechoslovakia — are we to consider it an isolated action, the fruit of nervousness and the struggle for power in the heart of the Kremlin, or was it the first step of a policy of force, the logic of which will imply increasingly wider and more brutal actions of the kind? This process of intentions of the Soviet Union is what NATO needs to find out and

organize; on the reply we get will depend much of the future of the Alliance. In any case, and given the worsening of the common danger, I should say that the main remedy is to be found in the strengthening of western solidarity; the latter is to be understood, however, not in the present restricted terms but in wider ones that would ensure real political protection everywhere and of everything that is part of the West. If we prove able to see things by this light, if we can fight free of certain episodic ideas and phrases so that we can merely consider the permanent values and interests of our countries, and if we all accept that the Alliance is not the protective shield of just one policy, then perhaps we shall light on the best means of reinvigorating the Alliance and of preparing it to face the harsh trials that we all foresee for the near future. This may well be the most effective way to prevent a war which, for the second time in thirty years, would plunge the world into a new, even more tragic catastrophe. It is the urgent duty and serious responsibility of us all to prevent such a tragedy from happening and in this task your Association has no small rôle to play. As a Christian and as a leader of a peace-loving nation I hope from my very heart that we can carry out this mission successfully. I hope your meeting in Lisbon will bear fruit and that you will return home, after an excellent journey, feeling the satisfaction of having done your duty.

(In the Palace of S. Bento, on 16 October 1968)

The reunification of the Germany

It has not proved possible to steer a constructive course in matters of disarmament, world economic development and

the stable organization of peace. Many topics vital to the purpose are still open questions, such as the reunification of the German homeland. The Portuguese Government will continue to defend as hitherto the right of the German people to be united within one homeland. It believes that so long as this aim is not achieved there can be little hope of reducing the tension that exists in Europe and even beyond it.

The West is a bloc

Faced with all these dangers and threats, we have continually proclaimed the need to defend the West, and we share the opinion of those who believe that this defence can only be effective through a reinforcement of the solidarity of the countries concerned, and especially the solidarity of the countries of Western Europe.

But this solidarity cannot be limited to a few matters located on the territory of Europe. The West is a bloc. At all times and everywhere, wherever in the world its values or vital interests are threatened, we have the duty of defending them. If Western Europe allows its adversaries to tighten their blockade it will infallibly be stifled. Our friends beyond the Atlantic would not then be able to enjoy the security of their freedom. This is why I venture to state that we Portuguese, in seeking tenaciously to maintain certain important strategic and territorial positions within the zone of influence of the West, have done no small service to the common cause, in spite of the fact that some have misunderstood our motive. Furthermore, in spite of everything, we shall continue to perform this service, because we are obeying an imperative call of our national conscience by so doing.

(In the Palace of Queluz, on 24 October 1968)

Peace-loving co-existence?

Years of precarious co-existence have introduced into our minds the notion that the Soviet Union had renounced any aggressive aims and was only too ready to collaborate in a Europe 'from the Atlantic to the Urals'.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia roused us from this illusion, after it had previously been shaken somewhat by previous intervention in the Mediterranean. The Soviet Union continues to be a super-power with vast imperialist ambitions which it seeks to satisfy with the aid of the expansion of communist ideology. This is a fact that we cannot afford to ignore.

Europe is being surrounded

At a time when the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean is daily growing and when Russia is seeking to set up military bases, and cement alliances, in the Middle East and North Africa, no one can be blind to the importance of Cape Verde if it were in the power of those friendly to Russia. Europe is being surrounded.

Nowadays the security of countries cannot be defended on their frontiers. Nations are integrated into vast blocs, whose common fate they share. The liberty and independence of the countries of Western Europe is at stake both in Europe itself and in Africa. This is why we must defend Guinea: in its own interest, of course, but also on behalf of the West of Europe and even the Americas.

Portugal has no secret alliances

The General Assembly of the United Nations often refers to a secret alliance between Portugal, the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia. I do not need to state that this 'alliance' does not exist between the three countries, whether secret or open. In fact we maintain different racial policies and it is clearly recognized how deeply we are engaged to carry on with and perfect our policy of non-discrimination and thorough collaboration. But at many points our interests in southern Africa coincide, based on the conviction that the progress of that zone of Africa needs the stable presence of the white man, settling there, getting used to it, taking it to his heart, and working with the natives. This is why, for example, we cannot be indifferent to the fate of Rhodesia, whose main sea outlet is through our harbour of Beira. In our interest, in that of southern Africa, and on behalf of world peace, we should truly like to see Rhodesia and Great Britain agree on a formula to permit an honourable agreement which would put an end to the grave present situation.

(Before the National Assembly, on 27 November 1968)

In praise of Eisenhower

The death of General Eisenhower, former President of the United States of America, brought to Washington missions from every country, with the task of signifying to the American Government the deep feelings aroused by the great loss. We are allies of the United States in NATO. Eisenhower was in

command for some time of the Atlantic Alliance forces in Europe, and therefore had had Portuguese troops under his orders. He visited Portugal twice: the first time in his capacity as SHAPE Commander, and the second already as President of the United States, and he always showed his sympathy for our Country. He was a devoted, prudent and just President. We were among those who owed a respectful tribute to his memory, a tribute which I personally went to pay.

(Radio and T.V. talk, on 8 April 1969)

Friendship with Brazil

There is one unalterable constant in Portugal's foreign policy: her friendship with Brazil. This is not the guideline of one system, the programme of one government, or the slogan of one party; it is the deep-rooted and conscious desire of the nation itself, a matter of deep-seated urgency. Whatever happens, in good days and in bad, in tranquillity as in times of trial, Portugal will always be Brazil's friend, and this is the significance of the episode of history to which you have just referred, which occurred at the time of the proclamation of the Portuguese Republic.

Brazil is present wherever Portugal finds herself

Thanks to this intimate closeness of the two peoples Brazil is present wherever Portugal finds herself. Brazil is a great power and a decisive political value in the world and its interests

are world-wide. In Europe, in Africa, in Asia and in Oceania Portugal is the natural ally of such interests. Peace is the basic aim of the foreign policy of Brazil and it is the deep concern of the Portuguese government; the real, just peace for which all Mankind aspires has to be won hour by hour and defended with miraculous serenity and prudence, but also with firmness. We want there to be peace in the world but we are naturally more directly responsible for the areas where we live and work. Brazil and Portugal are Atlantic countries and both have vital interests in the South Atlantic. If the Brazilian coast is one of the essential positions to guarantee the security of the South Atlantic, we must not forget that this security also depends on key positions in Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Angola.

Friendship needs to be cherished and served

It is one thing to define principles, to proclaim one's convictions, to protest one's sincere affection: it is quite another to put into daily practice one's thoughts and desires. Friendship needs to be cherished and served, a service that has its own formulae: some verbal, others ceremonial or sacramental, too, that are to be translated into everyday life. We need all this in the community to which we belong, the Luso-Brazilian Community, which is already an undeniable political and legal reality for our two countries and which needs to be recognized by other powers and to be able to act in the international concert of the nations.

In the debate of the questions which at this time are causing such anguish to Mankind I believe that the Community constitutes a highly constructive force. Our effort to bring about peace does not take the form of invective, nor is it merely Platonic. We have contributed to it with the spirit of fraternal relationship

with all peoples and all races. We do not discriminate among men: we welcome them all in our open societies. We treat them all alike, not merely on the legal plane but also in social life and in our affections.

But it is not only our tradition, our practice and our convictions on the subject of racial equality that makes our countries contribute in a positive manner to peace. We are both horrified at atomic destruction, but we both claim the right to use nuclear energy for pacific purposes. We both accompany with admiration the exploration of space but we both strongly desire the conquest of the cosmos not to be transformed into some detestable means of oppressing the earth. We both call for international trade based on equality and the free access to technological knowledge that will allow acceleration of the development of the non-industrial countries. We both respect the independence of the States and we are against external intervention in all those matters that are proper to the domestic politics of each one of them.

The strength of the Community

Thus the strength of the Luso-Brazilian Community depends on the potential of each country and the co-operation there is between them. This co-operation, in the political order as in the economic and cultural ones, must be constant, for it is the only thing that can smooth out difficulties, clear up misunderstandings, gather and unite our efforts, and discipline competitive effort.

Brazil is a vigorous certainty

Brazil is a vigorous certainty of economic power, cultural progress and political influence. We shall continue to do

everything in Portugal so that we may be a useful ally in the Community. The Portuguese Nation is inspired by a tenacious desire to overcome poverty and to find those paths along which, without selling our souls, without compromising the treasury of human feeling and goodness that are its richest possession, we can reach most rapidly the targets of European development. But neither Brazil nor Portugal can hope to cease to count on the rest of the world, so that to collaborate within the Community is no gesture of isolationism, but rather one phase in an ample, generous, far-reaching form of international collaboration in all things in which the latter represents an effective benefit for the Nations and not the mere appearance, eagerly sought after for empty but dangerous demagogic effects.

(In Brasilia, on 8 July 1969)

The economic power of the Community

More and more the Portuguese, in Brazil as in Portugal, must set up firms, develop markets, create industries. Together with this economic work, the community has made admirable achievements in its associative work, from the smallest regional centre to the big hospital of the Portuguese Welfare Society. This is an example of human solidarity which reveals love of one's birthplace and one's fellow countrymen, shown by the associations founded by Portuguese immigrants which later were thrown open to Brazilians, thus forming in practice an early prototype of a Luso-Brazilian community.

**The Brazilians have always been noted for their spirit
of conciliation and compromise**

Brazil is a traditional market for certain Portuguese products which do not compete with domestic manufactures. Portugal is not only a market for Brazilian products; it could also be a useful bridgehead in Europe for the expansion of its ally's markets. Portuguese imports are no threat to the Brazilian economy. Portugal can conciliate its competitive interests with Brazil's so that valid platforms of collaboration can be found.

I know that the great obstacle that has so far been found to this collaboration is coffee. I am one of those who think that for two countries inspired by a feeling of friendship and goodwill there are no insoluble problems, all the more when it is a matter of soluble coffee ...

I think that the worst thing we could do in this field, which is of vital importance for both our countries, would be to fight. Lowering the price of coffee is of no interest to Portugal, or to Brazil either. We must join our efforts to defend on world markets the price of a product on which the prosperity or ruin of so many citizens of both countries depends. The Brazilians have always been noted for their spirit of conciliation and the same spirit is in us.

**The Community is a feeling; it is a purpose;
it is a policy**

The Community is a feeling; it is a purpose; it is a policy. Now, it depends on the will of the Brazilians and the Portuguese, our power to work and achieve, our efficiency, it depends on

us all, gentlemen, to make the Luso-Brazilian Community a great, powerful, imposing, living and fruitful reality in the world.

(In S. Paulo, on 9 July 1969)

The communion of affection between Brazil and Portugal

Diplomatic formulae and conventions only have any real value to the extent that they translate feelings really felt by nations. This communion of affection does exist between Brazil and Portugal, born of their common origin, their common language, the constant presence of the Portuguese element in the great majority of Brazilian families, that yearning felt deep down in Portuguese families for those relatives who are in Brazil. But we must add to these instinctive and sentimental affinities, and on an ever growing scale, an awareness of the grounds on which the Community is built.

The rôle of intellectuals in consolidating the Community

In a world that longs for peace, one that has roots in the understanding between men, we stand in a privileged position. We were made to understand one another. Nothing deep-lying or consistent separates us; everything calls on us to collaborate and be friends. The great task of the intelligence is to understand and through understanding to unite, so that the intellectuals of both countries should be the priests of the religion of our friendship.

(In Rio de Janeiro, on 11 July 1969)

Brazil is a world that is part of us

Brazil is more than a country, a people or a magnificent extension of our culture on to the world plane: it is a world that is part of us, our way of life and thought, that series of values that make up a collective personality and are distilled therefrom into the soul of each one of us.

We are glad when the Brazilians have reason to be glad; we lament their sorrows as if they were ours. The prestige of its men of science and writers, the triumphs of its artists, the evidence of its progress and its greatness, the happy hours of popular enthusiasm — all these things we feel as if they were ours. The expression of its sensitiveness in the voices of its poets, in the elegance of an Olavo Bilac or the tenderness of a Castro Alves, the delicacy of a Guilherme de Almeida — that most upright intellectual and great friend to Portugal that Brazil now mourns —, in the pages of its writers, in the works of its painters and sculptors, its dances, its songs, its sambas, the sad notes of the guitar in the lands of the North-East, the epic life of the cowboys, all these things thrill us as if they were our own. For the truth is that whether we are completely aware of the fact or not, within the magnificent independence of each one of us, we are the same.

Nowadays we form a Community holding the second position in the world

Nowadays we form a Community holding the second position in the world as regards territorial extent, with over one hundred million people speaking the same tongue, with very vast wealth to be exploited to the benefit of all Mankind and with a clear awareness of the mission it is for us to fulfil.

We Portuguese contribute with over twenty million people and over two million square kilometres of land area, which could house over three hundred million people. Our economic development in some territories is taking place at an explosive rate. In some sectors we are among the major world producers and this fact, rather than making us proud, only encourages us to extend to its fullest extent the range of our contribution to the goods that are necessary to man's life and his social promotion.

(In Rio de Janeiro, on 12 July 1969)

**Portugal and Spain cannot be strangers
to one another**

One of the most important tasks facing our two Governments is to guide the creative capacity and imaginative qualities of Spanish and Portuguese to the discipline of methodical work in organizing and managing productive activities. In an age when science and technical skill dominate, and when there is harsh international competition arising from the abolition of the barriers that were formerly raised against economic relations among the nations, when the dominant concern is to set up vast economic zones, our two countries cannot be strangers to one another or cease to seek out effective ways to close collaboration both in technology and in trade and in industry.

A common desire for social peace and economic progress

Portuguese and Spanish are united by a common desire for social peace and economic progress and they are aware of the importance of their rôle and their positions in the contemporary world. They thus feel the need to maintain and strengthen their solidarity in defending the basic values of the existence of civilized societies.

(In Madrid, on 20 May 1970)

Homelands are deep-rooted facts

In our old, wise Europe homelands are deep-rooted facts which any form of international co-operation has to take into account. But for them to be valuable it is not necessary that they should translate selfishly aggressive and potential hostile positions. It is for the peoples to establish the fraternal contacts that will assure friendly understanding and mutual aid among the nations. It is for individuals to give expression to the virtues of their countries and to bring them together in an embrace of understanding friendship.

Here we stand, under the symbol of Law, in an act of communion. We have sworn to maintain the loyal, constant collaboration between Spain and Portugal. May this promise always be to the benefit of the two nations, united in the defence of a threatened culture and also in the desire for progress in peace, a progress that may take the form of a Christian exaltation of life and not the permanent dread of a world-wide catastrophe!

(In Madrid, on 22 May 1970)

Co-operation between Portugal and South Africa

Our political concepts do not always coincide but this does not prevent us from co-operating and we shall continue to co-operate in so many fields where we have common interests, because they are the interests of Africa, of civilization and of peace in the world.

This long-standing co-operation between Portugal and South Africa is the same, Mr. Prime Minister, that we should like to maintain with all our neighbours in all continents — in Europe, in Africa, in Asia and in Oceania. We have never refused to grasp the hand that was stretched out to us, only provided it expressed the desire to make peace, to contribute to the progress of the territories and above all, to aim at the social promotion and welfare of their inhabitants.

An example of this spirit of collaboration is the existing agreement for the sale of power from Cabora-Bassa. How extraordinary that the achievement of this major project, intended to enrich Africa so greatly, should have been the object of such an enormous campaign of hate and falsehood! The Cabora-Bassa project will make it possible to transform the way of life of a large section of the Zambezi Valley, taking into priority consideration the interests of the native population, who will not only not be sacrificed but will, on the contrary, be benefited to a remarkable degree.

As there is not in Mozambique at the moment a market for the enormous quantities of power that will be produced, the whole project would be impossible if South Africa had not promised to buy the energy which cannot be consumed locally for a long period.

The day will come when Mozambique and its inhabitants will be able to gain full advantage from the Dam now to be built, and which is only possible thanks to the co-operation between the two countries. It will not be long in coming. When a real

impulse is given to progress in lands like those of that region their economic growth and social development take place with a geometrical progression.

What blind hatred inspires our enemies in fighting against a project that contains such vast, generous promises of future results to the good of Africa and its inhabitants! How far can ideological smoke-screens and political passions thus darken a view of problems that should only be approached by the bright, unimpassioned light of pure reason!

(In the Palace of Queluz, on 5 June 1970)

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