

Meeting Salazar: Irish dignitaries and diplomats in Portugal, 1942—1960

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Meeting Salazar: Irish dignitaries and diplomats in Portugal, 1942–1960

Born in April 1889, António de Oliveira Salazar entered the Portuguese government as Finance Minister in 1926, lasting only a few days in the position. He returned to the Ministry of Finance for a second time almost exactly thirty-nine years after his birth. He would only retire from the cabinet, due to illness, in 1968. From a relatively humble family, Salazar was raised in the hamlet of Vimiero, close to the town of Santa Comba Dão, in central Portugal. His prospects were transformed first by the family's decision to provide him with more than just a primary education (he attended the seminary at the district capital of Viseu) and then by his personal decision not to enter the priesthood but, instead, to study Law at the University of Coimbra. The beginning of his studies at Coimbra coincided with the overthrow of the Portuguese Monarchy and the proclamation of a Republic in October 1910. A brilliant student who was earmarked for acceptance into the teaching faculty from an early stage in his career, Salazar also played an important role in student Catholic politics, in close partnership with a young priest studying Arts – the future Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon, Manuel Cerejeira.

Salazar specialized in Public Finance, and his progression from student to professor was swift. His commitment to Catholic politics deepened at this time, and he made the transition from the student-based Christian Democrat Academic Centre to the Catholic Centre, Portugal's confessional political party. The Catholic Centre was willing to work with the Republic – even if the regime viewed the Church with great distrust – and Salazar, as one of its leading lights, stood for parliament on a number of occasions, being elected once, in 1921. This legislature did not, however, last long, being dissolved in the wake of a violent revolt which gripped Lisbon in October of that same year. This was not an isolated incident in the life of the Portuguese Republic, whose institutional existence was marked by political violence, constant instability, and fraudulent elections. The Portuguese army, its divorce from the regime sealed by Portugal's unfortunate participation in the First World War, moved to topple the Republic on 28 May 1926. Casting about for civilian experts, the leaders of this 'National Revolution', as the coup styled itself, invited a number of Coimbra professors to aid them. Salazar was one of them, but this experience of government was short-lived: the situation was too fluid and uncertain for the cautious Salazar. Knowing that his prospects were improving every

day, Salazar played a duplicitous hand, helping the military dictatorship by heading a commission to review taxation, but also criticizing its financial policies (or lack of them) in a series of very accessible articles published in a Catholic daily, *Novidades*. Two years later, in April 1928, and in the face of mounting concern about the financial state of Portugal, he was again invited to head the Ministry of Finance, this time being able to impose a number of stringent conditions that bound other Ministers to his will.

Between 1928 and 1932, and even as he balanced the country's books, Salazar not only undermined the military dictatorship in which he was inserted but also saw off the challenge of those factions which sought only to reform the Republic, purge it, and return the country to a democratic footing. For Salazar, who had already amassed an enormous political capital, and who had secured the support of the key figure in military life (and President of the Republic), General Óscar Fragoso Carmona, this was not enough. Portugal needed a New State – a regime which, he claimed, would be in tune with the character of its people and with national traditions and customs, being thus better placed to resolve organically the problems of the age. In 1932 Salazar was invited by Carmona to form a government (becoming President of the Council of Ministers), and in 1933 his proposed Constitution was approved by plebiscite: Portugal was set on a road to institutionalized nationalism, corporativism, and authoritarianism. Political pluralism was done away with, as was a free trade-union movement; the press was heavily regulated; and a secret police grew in strength and ambition. Only the army remained outside Salazar's immediate control – but Carmona's influence ensured its loyalty.

While Salazar was undoubtedly a dictator, the true nature of his regime, and the extent of his personal power within it, was shielded by the new Constitution, which enumerated the rights of Portuguese citizens, by the promise of a working corporative structure, and, of course, by the President of the Council's academic background, which made it easy to characterize him as inherently different to men like Mussolini, Hitler and, later, Franco. One of the most emblematic State bodies at the time was the *Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda*, entrusted to far-right journalist António Ferro. Among the SPN's many functions were the provision of pro-government copy for the domestic press and, crucially, the dissemination abroad of a positive image of the Portuguese regime and its leader. One of the countries where this propaganda was most successful was Ireland. There was a significant current in Ireland which longed to see a new brand of politics in place, one which was distinctly Irish (that is, different from the parliamentary system inherited from Britain), in accordance with Catholic principles, and capable of containing any revolutionary threat that might arrive from abroad or develop domestically. Salazar, a Catholic Professor who had come to power through peaceful means, and who had restored his country's financial standing, became the centre of attention for this

current. Many in Ireland accepted unquestioningly the claims made on Salazar's behalf by a number of Irish authors, religious and secular, who wrote on the basis of information supplied, above all, by the SPN.

An Irish Legation began operating in Lisbon in 1942, as a result of the political and economic upheaval caused by the Second World War. The first Irish minister in the Portuguese capital was Colman O'Donovan, who had already served in Washington DC, Berlin, London and the Holy See. O'Donovan's ideas about Portugal, the New State, and Salazar were based on the goodwill towards these subjects which prevailed in Ireland. Over the course of his stay in the Portuguese capital, however, O'Donovan would change his mind. The first three documents presented below detail O'Donovan's first meeting with Salazar, who received the Irish envoy in his capacity as Foreign Minister, a position he had held since 1936. It is worth noting that already in the third document a word of caution had been sounded by one of O'Donovan's first interlocutors, a religious figure, whose warnings the Irish diplomat took seriously. O'Donovan's prognosis about the regime's future, set out in document 4, written as he left Lisbon, after three difficult years, was pessimistic (and, as it turns out, wrong).

Once the war ended, Lisbon's importance as a diplomatic posting declined for Ireland, as did the interest in alternatives to the existing parliamentary system. Whatever they thought about the Portuguese New State, Irish diplomats nevertheless retained their admiration for Salazar, regularly expressing doubts about the viability of any alternative to his government. Eamon de Valera's private visit to Portugal in September 1953, part of a religious pilgrimage that took him to France and Spain, occurred at this time; it is a pity that the contents of the Salazar–de Valera conversation are lost to us, given both the repeated expressions of interest in just such a meeting made by both men over the course of the preceding years and an undoubted similarity in outlook. The details of the meeting are not described in Count O'Kelly de Gallagh's account of the trip to Portugal (document 9), or by Salazar in his diary. Salazar's increased isolation, as well as his reputation for aloofness, is reflected in the many references to the fact that he had interrupted his holidays to meet with de Valera.

By the late 1950s, however, there could be no disguising that the two countries were drifting apart, and the reason was obvious to all: Portugal's intransigent defence of its colonial empire. For Salazar, 'overseas Portugal' represented both the key to Portugal's future prosperity and a guarantee of its continued independence. For Ireland, which had entered the United Nations at the same time as Portugal, decolonization was a moral imperative. Ireland increasingly saw itself, because of its history, as a point of contact between Europe and the nationalist groups emerging in the colonial world, and it was with the latter, whenever disputes arose, that its sympathies lay. Over time – and especially after 1961, when fighting broke out in Angola – the gap separating Portugal and Ireland would continue

to grow; the Salazar–Lemass meeting, in 1960, a summary of which is reprinted below (once again Salazar interrupted his holidays, this time making less of a journey to meet An Taoiseach, who was on his way to the independence celebrations in Nigeria), showed two countries about to part company, meaningful communication between them no longer possible.

Document

1. LISBON, 26 FEBRUARY 1942¹

Telegram, Legation in Lisbon to DEA

13 Presented credentials to Salazar this evening. Reception most cordial. He appeared to be genuinely glad at establishment of Legation, and said that they would fully reciprocate as soon as possible.

He sent warm greetings to the Minister and said he followed his work with great interest and sympathy. He said that he has heard of his intention to visit the Shrine of Our Lady of Fatima, and twice during the interview he begged me to tell him that visit would be most welcome.

When repeating this at the end of the interview, he said – “Even on a private visit, he would be most welcome whenever he would consider it opportune”.

Continuation follows shortly.

2. LISBON, 26 FEBRUARY 1942²

Telegram, Legation in Lisbon to DEA

14 Despa. Continuation of my telegram 13.

Salazar asked about our relations with Britain and America and asked how we managed to make certain whether Britain accepts our remaining out of the war.

With reference to our representation in the Far East, he said the request would be examined with great good will and sympathy, but he did not know whether matters might not be complicated or made inopportune; most strongly urged Timor which was still under discussion with Japan. I also gathered that he wishes to find out how the British would regard it.

3. LISBON, 4 MARCH 1942³

Chargé d’Affaires in Lisbon to Secretary, DEA

My contacts with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs have been marked by the greatest goodwill and friendliness on the part of all whom I have met. I get the impression that decisions on all matters, even of no special importance, are made at the top. My reception by Dr. Salazar was most cordial. He said he welcomed the establishment of the Legation because it would enable closer relations to be created between the two countries, and that they

1 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, 317/40, Appointment of a Chargé d’Affaires in Lisbon.

2 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, 317/40, Appointment of a Chargé d’Affaires in Lisbon.

3 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs 219/81 Confidential Reports from Lisbon, 1942-1945.

would reciprocate fully as soon as possible. He referred to the Taoiseach as a fine Catholic, and when I indicated the Taoiseach's interest in his reforms in the financial and social spheres he assured me that I could count on all the Departments concerned to provide me with any facts or information which I might require for my reports. In reply to his question I told him that our relations with the British and the American Governments were very friendly and were perhaps better at the present moment owing to assurances given by the latter in regard to American troops in the North. I referred to the question of the North as being the only one in the way of complete understanding with the British. He was particularly pressing in his questions as to how we succeeded in getting the British to accept our non-participation in the war. My answer that the British realised that opinion in the country was practically unanimous against entry into the war did not appear to make much impression and he proceeded to enquire if there was much pro-German feeling to which I replied that the feeling of most of the extreme elements was not pro-German but rather anti-British. It was only when I said that participation would inevitably produce civil war that he registered enlightenment. On the subject of the difficulties which the war created for us I mentioned the shortage of wheat as being the most serious and said that in regard to some other things such as petrol and coal I thought that the British were making available to us as much as we could expect in view of their own difficulties.

It is well known that Dr. Salazar does not give much of his time to the Diplomatic Corps and I have been told that some of my colleagues have never met him. Even the British Ambassador regretted to me that he could not see him more often. It was therefore the more gratifying, and not, I think, due to a national affability, that he appeared to be interested in our interview which came to an end on my initiative after I had been with him nearly twenty minutes. I had been told that he had aged very much recently, but he appeared to me to be very well-preserved, spruce and alert though his hair was greyer than I had expected from his photographs.

It is of course not possible to attempt at this early stage a report on the situation here but first impressions have perhaps enough value to be worth recording. Well-wishers of the regime, and these are by far the most numerous among the contacts I have so far made, praise Salazar and excuse failures and shortcomings as due to the times and to the difficulties of his task in a very backward country. Others maintain reserve, whilst still others are disapproving. When I remarked to a Reverend confrere of the Archbishop to whom His Grace had given me a letter of introduction before I left Dublin, that we were very interested in what was being attempted here, he replied that we had nothing to learn here, that there was no country in the world where there was so much poverty, and more in that strain even including derogatory references to Salazar. I understand however that he was the reputation of being a bit of a crank on the subject.

When I made the same remark to the Nuncio he gave me no reaction though he did say at another point in our conversation, and with evident approval, that he thought there were many points of resemblance between Salazar and the Taoiseach. This has also been said to me by a dozen people since I came here and is also very much my own opinion. The Nuncio is a great friend of Ireland and showed himself to be very well informed on the subject during my interview of three-quarters of an hour with him.

[...]

Colman O'Donovan

4. LISBON, 22 FEBRUARY 1945⁴

Memorandum – Secret

1 Visit to Dr. Salazar

At my farewell interview with Dr. Salazar on the 1st February I referred to the commission on vocational organization which has recently presented its Report and Recommendations and said I was sure that Mr. de Valera would ask me many questions about the practical workings of the corporative system in Portugal which I was afraid I would be unable to answer. He referred to the various official reports that had been issued and I said that I thought I had read most of them but that I had been too much taken up with the day-to-day work of the Legation to be able to move around the country as much as I should have wished and to observe and study things for myself. Risking an indiscretion and presuming on Dr. Salazar's known and expressed regard for the Taoiseach, I said that what Mr. de Valera would wish to know from me was how the system was working out and whether it was fulfilling the hopes with which it had been founded. Dr. Salazar then said that the corporative organisations had been set up with certain aims but that owing to the war they had to pursue other aims and that the two sets of aims had often been harmful to each other. It became a question of living rather than of living in a particular way. They had not made as much progress as they had hoped and as they would have were it not for the war. They had not, for instance, yet reached the stage of setting up the corporations which were to be the 'crowning' of the edifice. Speaking in a low voice he said: 'we continue in the conviction that the present system is the best (I am not sure if he said 'the only one') for our country. A regime of liberty would mean Bolshevism and chaos.' I could not but feel that his manner lacked enthusiasm.

I thanked Dr. Salazar for his exposé and said that although there was no question of setting up a Corporative State in Ireland where the people and the Government were attached to the democratic idea, great interest was

4 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, 313/11 Confidential reports from Lisbon Legation, 1945.

taken in the possibilities of organisation on vocational lines and I knew that Mr. de Valera would be particularly interested to learn what had been the main difficulties encountered in the working of such organisations in Portugal. Dr. Salazar asked me to repeat my question and then said: 'The greatest danger we have encountered has been the monopolistic tendency of the organisations.' I cannot quote the exact words in which he continued from here but the sense of them was that they had found the corporative organisations to be actuated by selfish aims and a desire to exclude or obstruct new competing enterprises and to hamper other initiatives aimed at the general good. It was evident from the way he spoke that he was talking of something that was very serious, and it will be observed that he spoke of 'danger' when the word I used was 'difficulties'.

Before taking leave of him I told Dr. Salazar about the requisitioning last year of our 508 tones of palm kernels [...] when saying goodbye he asked me to convey his sincerest compliments to Mr. de Valera and again expressed the hope that he would find it possible to visit Portugal and the shrine of Our Lady of Fatima. I am afraid that neither now or when he first expressed this wish on my arrival here did I note the exact words so that it will be necessary when the time comes to find out what kind of visit he has in mind.

2 Visit to Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon

The Cardinal Patriarch was a fellow professor of Dr. Salazar at Coimbra University and is held in the highest popular affection and esteem. They have always been close friends though I gather two years or so ago from a colleague that a coolness has developed between them owing to the absence of measures to relieve the miserable condition of the poor. I have had no confirmation of this from any other quarter but certainly the Cardinal did not give me the impression of being satisfied with the existing state of affairs in Portugal. I had no difficulty in getting him to talk, which he did very earnestly and choosing his words with slow deliberation. He said: 'There is grave discontent in the country – you know it.' I said that I had heard that that was the case. Laying emphasis on the opening words he continued: 'To a large extent it is due to the war.' Speaking very gravely he repeated the words 'to a large extent' in such a way as to convey that to a considerable extent it was due to something else. He said that economically conditions were worse and prices higher during the last war, but my own reading and hearing of those days of the chaotic Republican regime show this to be faint praise indeed. He said: 'It is charged that corruption is widespread – you know it, but how much if this is due to dishonest individuals in the organisations I cannot say'. It was clear that he implied that the trouble might be inherent in the system. He then went on to say: 'When he was introducing the system Dr. Salazar told me that his idea was that the state should not dominate everything but that it should have to

intervene until such time as the corporative organisations learned to stand on their own legs.' He paused and repeated: 'that was his idea (*sa pensée*)', and it was clear that he was implying that the reality was far otherwise, as undoubtedly it is. He said that one great difficulty was the absence of trained officials. I asked 'How does one surmount such a difficulty: the organisations cannot work well without trained officials, but how to train officials until the organisations are there?' The Cardinal replied 'that is the problem'.

When I was leaving the Cardinal asked me to convey his respectful homage to Mr. de Valera whom he referred to as 'a fine Christian Statesman'.

3 Visit to the Apostolic Nuncio

The Nuncio has adopted the policy of keeping much to himself during the war and the only serious conversations I have had with him were two of about an hour's duration each on my arrival and on my departure. Though he is frequently criticised for cutting himself off from everybody in this way I cannot but think that he has been wise in doing so as he is a man of very outspoken mind. In my first conversation with him he did not say much about the regime in Portugal though it was evident that he was not enamoured of it. In our second conversation he spoke very plainly and more than once reminded me that he was speaking in the strictest confidence. He was moved to do so I think because of our interest in the subject of vocational organisation. He regarded the position of Portugal as desperate and said that the only hope for the country was that the British would intervene before it was too late and somebody else (Moscow) did so. He did not exclude intervention in support of Salazar, but I cannot imagine a person like Dr. Salazar in such a role. He regarded the corporative state in Portugal as a camouflage and an imposture and holds out that it will collapse without Salazar. It had not 'caught on' with the people, on whom it was imposed by force. It had nothing in common with the ideals behind the encyclicals though great propaganda had been made of them to put it over, and most of the men around Salazar were anti-clericals. It was only Salazar's personal prestige which kept the regime afloat. 'Dr. Salazar is the best of the Portuguese', he said, 'but he is an old Portuguese'. At the door when I was leaving he said 'If you wish to help Portugal, I'll give you an address:- the Foreign Office, London'.

4 *Visit to the British Ambassador*

I saw the British Ambassador before I left and thanked him for the friendly assistance which I had always received from his Embassy and consular officers whenever I had needed it and said that I would not fail to mention this to Mr. de Valera on my return to Dublin [...]

5 *My Personal Impressions*

I leave Portugal with a definite opinion that the present regime will not last. It may be that under any system government in Portugal would be inefficient and corrupt but it seems clear that the present over-organised and bureaucratic system lends itself particularly to the spread of these evils. There is already talk of a peaceful change-over to a democratic regime though of course such views are not expressed openly. Nevertheless public feeling against the *Gremios*⁵ has recently become so strong that a certain amount of criticism has had to be allowed in the Press. Within the past month a son of Antonio Ferro, the propaganda chief of the regime, confessed to a priest friend of mine that a change-over was inevitable as there would be no place for the present system in an anti-Fascist world.

The condition of the poor is miserable beyond description and nothing effective is being done about it. Although seventeen years have passed since Dr. Salazar came into power a start has not yet been made in the immense problem of illiteracy. Neither has the problem of improving hospitals been tackled, whereas vast sums have been spent on making magnificent roads and public buildings, stadiums, centres of higher education and a host of other spectacular monuments to the regime. The ration of bread, which is the staple food of the working man, is 300 grams whereas his normal consumption would be 1 kilo per day, and many cases have occurred of men leaving their work or slowing down in protest. There have been during the past two years three serious outbreaks of strikes which were put down only by strong military and police action, arrests, deportation etc. Within the past two months discontent in the Army led to a demarche amounting almost to an ultimatum to Salazar. I understand that it was made in an orderly and disciplined way, not by a deputation but by a single spokesman, a General who is a staunch friend of Dr. Salazar's and of General Carmona. As a result of this a further increase of up to 15% in the pay of the Army and Civil Service was granted (there had already been a 20% increase about a year ago.) Although bread, olive oil and a few other items on the poor man's diet have been rationed, life continues to be very easy for those who have money. Anyone who can afford to pay for them can get half-a-dozen suits of clothes at a time and the shops are full of luxury goods at exorbitant prices. About six months ago a Government order decreed that the prices of all goods were to be marked on them,

5 Grémios [Guilds]: Associations of producers, part of the country's corporative structure.

but before long the Police were to be found requesting shopkeepers to withdraw the price tickets in the case of certain highly-priced articles as they were being found to be a provocation to the poor.

The war is of course the great alibi of the authorities in regard to everything that is amiss but I think that it cannot be doubted that a very large part of the difficulties arises from the system. In my own official business I have found that several different organisms are concerned in almost every question and that each takes a different view about it, so that endless time is lost in conferences and arguments and nothing is done. Public officials are so badly paid that they have no interest in their work and are prone to accept bribes which the public have got into the habit of paying in order to reduce the unconscionable delays that would otherwise ensue or to obtain some other advantage. The number of prosecutions for irregularities is enormous and these are not confined to traders but include officials, many of them highly placed, of the Gremios and other organisations and public departments.

In the course of my term in Portugal I have heard much praise of Dr. Salazar but not of his collaborators nor of the regime as such. It does not appear to have taken root as one might expect it to have after ten years of trial if it was a healthy plant. It is the State which is strong, and the corporative organisations are sustained not by their own strength but by the strength of the State. The Corporative Chamber which is the national consultative body (not very often consulted) is composed mostly of professors, lawyers and members of the learned professions, doubtless with some acquaintance with the various branches of industry etc, rather than of craftsmen and experts directly chose by the branches they represent.

My impression on leaving Portugal is that Dr. Salazar's position at the present moment is very insecure and that already the minds of thoughtful Portuguese are concerned about finding other men and other methods. I cannot say whether any particular person, such as the late Ambassador to London, snr. Monteiro, is in view for such a task or whether an actual movement can be said to exist, but I have heard on many sides that unless a peaceful change-over can be brought about in the near future there will inevitably be a very violent revolution in the country.

Colman O'Donovan

5. LISBON, 21 DECEMBER 1945⁶
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim to Secretary
Ref 5/18

I enclose herewith a note on my interview with Dr. Salazar on the 17th inst.

As I mentioned at an earlier stage (my telegram 106 of the 24th July) I told the Head of Protocol when I presented the letter enclosed with your minute (217/53) of the 28th June last, that I would like to be received by Dr. Salazar. Dr. Viana asked me if I had any special question to raise at an interview and, on my replying in the negative, said that the Minister was extremely busy. In the circumstances I could not very well insist although I felt at the time and subsequently that this was a very casual way of treating my request especially as the Foreign Ministry was then (and still is) so constituted that there is no-one except Dr. Salazar above the heads of the various sections, and also because I was bound to meet people here who would expect and assume that I had, as a matter of course, met him. I had frequently thought of raising the question with the Protocol again but felt it was not worth risking another refusal. A good friend of mine in the Ministry suggested, however, when I showed him a few weeks ago the sets of coins received with D.C. circular N.7/45 that it might be interesting to present a set to his Minister and that I should ignore the Protocol and go through Dr. Matias of the political section. I, therefore, mentioned the matter to the latter at the beginning of the month and was informed last Saturday (15th) that I would be received at 5 p.m. on Monday. Dr. Salazar received me punctually at that hour.

My impression of Dr. Salazar was quite different from that of an aloof and rather cold personality which one might form from the current photographs of him and perhaps the rather severe style of his writings and speeches. He struck me as a reflective and friendly person with none of the bustle about him which one might expect from what Ministry officials say about his being always extraordinarily busy; but then, of course, his tendency to work long hours is rather unusual in Portugal and does not characterise his own Ministry with a few exceptions.

In connection with Dr. Salazar's reference to the greater difficulty for us, as compared with Portugal, of preserving neutrality, I might mention that an almost exactly similar remark was made to me a week previously by one of the assistant chiefs of the Information Secretariat (Sr Pereira de Carvalho). You will note that he seemed to be impressed by the fact of a big number of Irishmen having been in the British forces during the war. I do not know what significance he attaches to this fact, but you are aware that since the war ended the Portuguese Government have taken every

6 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, 313/11A Confidential Reports from Lisbon Legation, 1946-1951.

opportunity to stress their contribution to an allied victory, and considerable publicity has been given here to a few individual cases of Portuguese who served in the British and American forces.

C.C. Cremin

NOTE

Dr. Salazar said he was glad to see me, and that he had not had the occasion to do so already. I replied that I had asked to see him shortly after I came but had been told he was very busy and that I had not, therefore, insisted. He seemed to think that the excuse that he was busy as a reason for not granting an interview was a poor one. He then asked me when the Taoiseach was going to come to Portugal, stating that he had told him (Dr. Salazar) that he would do so after the war to visit Fatima. I said that I had no information but felt sure the Taoiseach would be very glad to have an opportunity of coming to Portugal both to visit Fatima and also because of the admiration in Ireland for Dr. Salazar's achievements as well as for sentimental reasons because of our long-standing relations with the country as illustrated concretely by the old Dominican foundation here.

Dr. Salazar next enquired about the present state of communications between Portugal and Ireland. When I mentioned that for the past few days the possibility again existed of going directly there by plane he asked me what was the position about maritime communications and whether we had a merchant fleet sufficient for all our needs. I replied that we had not but that the Government intended to pursue the policy adopted during the war of seeing to it that we had an adequate merchant marine of our own. He next referred to our neutrality in the war and said that the Taoiseach 'who is very much admired here' must be a very able man to have succeeded in keeping us out of the conflict; that Portugal was, of course, also neutral but that her task in that respect was much less difficult than that of Ireland because of her geographical position and 'as a member of the Commonwealth'. He added that he understood that there had been quite a number of Irishmen as volunteers in the British forces. I said that this was so but that I had not seen any official figures although I had heard the number put at from 100,000 to 150,000. This fact (of the presence of Irishmen in the British forces) seemed to impress him very much. He then said he believed we speak our own language and that this must be a handicap to our people when they go abroad. I told him that the efforts made in the past with the direct object of suppressing the language had had a considerable success, but that Irish is still spoken exclusively in certain areas, that it has been a consistent policy of the Irish Government to revive it and that it was taught in all the schools while in many schools all the teaching is through Irish. At this stage I handed him the case of Irish coins which I had brought with me saying that I thought they might interest him as the designs are rather unusual on coinage nowadays. He

examined each one with considerable attention and went through the representations in each (I had put in the case a sheet of paper containing in French a description of the metal of each coin and of the reverse designs.) When he had looked at the obverse of several of the coins he asked me what the letters on them were – ‘Eire’ which he had not clearly deciphered. I explained that it was the old and present name of the country, occurs in the more commonly known form of Ireland, and that I understand that a similar word occurs in Portuguese (meaning ‘further away’). He said that it is quite possible there may be certain similarities between Irish and Portuguese as there is also a celtic stratum here but that he supposed that no celtic language is nowadays widely spoken: I mentioned the case of Welsh. I also handed him the Note by the Department of Finance on the coinage and the text of the lecture by Professor Bodhin (who lectured here a couple of years ago). He glanced through the letter and read part of one paragraph quite correctly but with a rather pronounced accent – his spoken knowledge of English is obviously much less good than of French.

I took my leave at this stage: as he escorted me to the door Dr. Salazar asked me not to fail to send his cordial greetings to the Taoiseach.

The interview lasted twenty minutes.

Lisbon, 18th December 1945.

6. LISBON, 25 MARCH 1946⁷

Chargé d’Affaires ad interim to Secretary

I have the honour to inform you that Dr. Salazar, whose neighbour I was at the dinner given in honour of General Carmona at the British Embassy on the 22nd inst., mentioned that he had heard that the Taoiseach might be going to Geneva for the League of Nations meeting next month and said that he wondered, if that were so, whether the Taoiseach might not go to Lisbon. He again referred to the Taoiseach’s ‘promise’ to visit Portugal (see enclosure to my minute 5/18 of 21st December last) adding that he himself would be very pleased to have an opportunity of meeting him. I replied that I felt sure that the Taoiseach would very much like to be able to visit Portugal and to meet Dr. Salazar but that I doubted whether he could manage to come here on this occasion both because of the lack of rapid transport from here to Switzerland and because the present unsettled international situation might make a long absence from Ireland difficult. Dr. Salazar agreed that the international situation is rather uneasy and asked me about the absence of air communications with Switzerland, a point in which I was able to give him some information on the lines of my minute 6/8 of the 4th January. His comment was that Portugal was

7 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, Embassy Lisbon, 6/5 Portuguese neutrality in the Second World War 1945–1960

the ‘innocent victim’, in this matter of transport, of French/Spanish differences. In this course of further conversation Dr. Salazar again expressed his admiration for the Taoiseach and mentioned the difficulties he must have encountered in preserving our neutrality. I asked him if he had seen Randolph Churchill’s recent article suggesting a resemblance between the two men. He said that he had and I formed the impression that he was pleased with the comparison.

I assume that it is unlikely that the Taoiseach would consider coming through Lisbon on his way to or from the League meeting (if he is to attend it) especially as it is due to take place in a fortnight’s time. I have no doubt that he would be accorded an outstanding reception in Portugal, but it would, I think, be wise, if a visit should be anticipated in the future, to leave at least a few weeks for arrangements to be made especially as it is possible that the Taoiseach would find it interesting to see many things in Lisbon, and visit various parts of the country, of religious, historical and architectural interest.

C.C. Cremin

7. LISBON, 14 NOVEMBER 1947⁸
Chargé d’Affaires ad interim to Secretary
Ref 3/7

I have the honour to state for your information that the Most Reverend Dr. Browne, Bishop of Galway, arrived here from Spain on 6th instant and left yesterday by air for London. On arrival he was met by the Very Reverend Father Enda McVeigh O.P. and myself [...]

His Lordship stayed at the Dominican House at Corpo Santo. He spent two days at Fatima and on Wednesday 13th, was received by Dr. Salazar – an interview which, I am happy to say, I was able to have arranged at Dr. Browne’s special request.

I accompanied His Lordship to Dr. Salazar’s residence with the intention of waiting to conduct him back to Corpo Santo. Dr. Salazar, however, came through the ante-room where I was seated, greeted me most warmly and brought me in to be present at the interview.

Dr. Salazar had been made aware of the Bishop’s interest and knowledge of the development of the various vocational organisations in Portugal and the conversation flowed easily on the subject for about forty minutes. Dr. Salazar answered questions put to him by Dr. Browne on the Gremios and other matters and in turn made enquiries about vocational organisations in Ireland. The Minister enquired particularly about our fishermen and expressed surprise at the difficulties standing in the way of organising

8 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, 313/11A Confidential reports from Lisbon Legation, 1946–1951.

them in Ireland. The organisation of the fishing community is one of the outstanding successes in Portugal. The conversation then drifted on to an explanation by the Bishop of the relationship between the Church and State in Ireland, the system of education of clerical students and the functions of Maynooth College. The Minister was deeply interested in the matters and gave an outline of the system obtaining in Portugal.

Dr. Browne has expressed himself as greatly impressed by the warmth of his welcome by Dr. Salazar, the modesty he displayed when replying to questions about his own country and his sincere interest in Ireland. Before the interview terminated Dr. Salazar enquired about the Taoiseach and requested the Bishop to convey to him his 'most respectful greetings'.

On leaving Dr. Salazar helped Dr. Browne to put on his coat and accompanied him to the hall. Calling me aside he asked if he could provide us with a car to bring us home (we had one waiting in the roadway). On shaking hands he thanked me for having arranged the interview and said he was delighted with the opportunity of meeting His Lordship.⁹

P.J. O'Byrne

8. LISBON, 20 AUGUST 1948¹⁰

Chargé d'Affaires to Secretary

I presented my letter of credence yesterday at 6 o'clock to Dr. Salazar, acting Foreign Minister. There was no ceremonial attached to the act [...]

I arrived at 5.55 and was at once ushered into Dr. Salazar's waiting room whence, after two or three minutes delay, I was brought by a member of the President's cabinet into the President's room. The latter received me very cordially. He took the letter which I handed him but did not even open it, saying that he would hand it to Dr. da Matta on the latter's return from Vettel. He then questioned me about Ireland at considerable length, two points seeming to retain his special interest – A) the Ulster problem and B) our relations with the Commonwealth. He seemed certainly well informed concerning recent parliamentary debates on those subjects, though obviously more than a little puzzled concerning the facts and the historical background. I explained the position as fully as I could. Our conversations lasted from 20 to 25 minutes. On leaving I was introduced in the ante-room to the Spanish Ambassador, who as you know is General Franco's brother. Indeed he is exceedingly like him physically.

With reference to the elections which are due here next year I noted a

9 According to Salazar's diary, the meeting occurred on Wednesday 13 November 1947. It reads, '18. Enc. Neg. da Irlanda e Bispo de Galway (M. Browne). Visita a Portugal – acerca da organização corporativa – relação entre o Estado e a Igreja – organização de estudos religiosos'. Salazar's diary can be consulted at ttonline.dgarq.gov.pt.

10 National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, 317/40 Appointment of a Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, 1941–1948.

certain unease in the Foreign Office circles that I have met concerning their outcome. I gathered that everything in the garden was not so lovely and that the dissatisfaction caused by the high cost of living might react unfavourably, in which case 'on courrait à l'aventure'. On the other hand I had a conversation the day before yesterday with Dr. Augusto Vasconcelos, former Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, who represented Portugal at the League of Nations the year we were elected to the Council. He is an old man now, though exceedingly alert, and very much the elder statesman. I have heard it said that he was one of the very few Portuguese statesmen who was sincerely republican. I have known him on and off for nearly 25 years. Questioned concerning the outcome of the elections he expressed confidence in the Government's victory, adding that the elections would be like all dictatorship elections. He said this with evident satisfaction, not compatible, perhaps, with the purest republican doctrinaire, but probably a fair statement of an old man's desire for stability and of his opinion that any change from the Salazar regime would be a change for the worse.
O'Kelly de Gallagher

9. LISBON, 15 SEPTEMBER 1953¹¹
Chargé d'Affaires to Secretary

[...]

The Authorities here, from Dr. Salazar down, did everything in their power to make the visit pleasant, Dr. Salazar actually postponing his annual holiday at Santa Comba in order to be able to receive the Taoiseach in Lisbon, and the Foreign Minister, who was himself absent, putting his car at the Taoiseach's disposal during the whole of his stay.

Having finally come to agreement in all the arrangements I left Lisbon by car on the morning of Thursday the 10th to arrange for dinner at Tomar on the 12th and to check the lodging arrangements at Fatima for that same night. From Fatima I drove on to Coimbra to call on the Archbishop with a view to obtaining for the Taoiseach an audience next day with sister Lucia, the last survivor of the Fatima children. The Archbishop was absent, but his secretary promised to see him last night and to let me know early next morning what his decision might be. From Coimbra I drove on to Bussaco, quite close to Luco [*sic*] Station, where it had been arranged that the Taoiseach and his party would leave the train and proceed to Lisbon by road via Coimbra. Next morning early I phoned Coimbra and learned that the Archbishop had consented.

The Sud Express was late at Luco at 14:16 hours on Friday the 11th. It

¹¹ National Archives, Dublin, Department of External Affairs, 313/11B Confidential reports from Lisbon Legation, 1952–1954. Copy of this report can be found as well in the Eamon de Valera Papers, at the University College Dublin Archive.

was half an hour late. At the station was the Foreign Minister's car with the chauffeur, inspector of police in mufti, and a traffic policeman on a motor cycle. Immediately the train arrived the party alighted and within five minutes we were off for Coimbra. The Taoiseach was in excellent form. Arriving in Coimbra we drove straight to the Carmelite convent where we were introduced into the parlour. In due course Sister Lucia (who speaks only Portuguese) accompanied by the Reverend Mother (who speaks English) appeared behind the grill. After a short exchange of salutations, all the company retired with the exception of the Taoiseach, who remained with Sister Lucia privately, the Reverend Mother acting as interpreter.

I should add that in the Archbishop's absence we were received by his secretary who handed us two letters from the Archbishop – one for the Taoiseach, which I passed on to him, and one for myself – excusing himself for not being present in person.

After the Taoiseach's interview with Sister Lucia – approximately 15 minutes – we got into the car again and headed for Lisbon, stopping twice en route – once to visit Batalha, and again to have tea at a wayside inn near Alcobaça.

We reached Lisbon about 8.45. There the press and the photographers were in force and the Taoiseach had to face many cameras and answer many questions. I would stress straight away that the press coverage was excellent and that the reception given to the Taoiseach in the papers was all that could be desired, though some of the photographs taken in Fatima were in more than doubtful taste. I enclose herewith such press cuttings as I have received to date.

On Saturday the 12th, at 10 o'clock we called on Dr. Salazar at his official residence adjoining the National Assembly building. The interview lasted about an hour. On arriving, the Taoiseach's party was presented to Dr. Salazar who put them in the hands of an English-speaking official of the Portuguese F.O. – Sr Vasco Pinto – who showed them round the garden while he – Dr. Salazar – conversed with the Taoiseach in one of the ground floor reception rooms. I acted as interpreter.

After the interview the Taoiseach's party again shook hands with Dr. Salazar, photographs were taken and we drove off to call on the President of the Republic at Belem. After signing the book we next visited the Irish Dominican convent at Bom Sucesso where the nuns, and, incidentally, all the Fathers of Corpo Santo received the Taoiseach with great enthusiasm. The visit lasted about half an hour. It was followed by a visit to the famous Lisbon coach museum and by a call to the Chancery of the Legation, where the existing staff – Mr Mascarenhas – was presented. (Madame Martins, as I have informed you in a previous letter, is in hospital, for an operation in the course of which they removed some 230 stones from various internal organs. And that is reason why I am sending you this letter in manuscript).

From the Chancery we drove to the Legation for lunch, followed by numerous press interviews.

About 5 o'clock we left for Fatima by car, dining en route at Tomar. We reached Fatima about 10 o'clock, and after taking up the quarters I had prepared at the two Dominican establishments there joined the procession that was just about to start around the esplanade in front of the basilica which concluded with benediction from the dais at the head of the basilica steps. We got to bed about 2 o'clock. On Sunday morning the 13th we heard Mass and received Holy Communion at the Shrine. Mass was celebrated by Fr O'Doherty at 8:20, this being the only time I had been able to book when making the advance arrangements. After Mass breakfast at the Dominican nuns' hostel, followed at 10:30 by procession around the esplanade. Then *Missa Cantata* by the Bishop of Evora on the dais in front of the Basilica. We were placed in the porch of the Basilica, with our backs to the Church – consequently behind the open air altar – with the Bishop of Leiria, who is 82 years old and infirm, in a bath [?] chair in the front row, facing outward. There was a sermon of which I did not understand much. At the end of Mass, there was Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the monstrance used being that presented by Ireland some three years ago. At the end the Blessed Sacrament was borne solemnly round among the numerous sick and infirm lined up at the foot of the steps of the Basilica. Doctor de Valera carried the white and gold umbrella used in lieu of a canopy. The Taoiseach was invited to come in front of the altar and the sign of the cross was made over him with the monstrance. Afterwards the Bishop of Leiria, still in his chair, addressed the Congregation – estimated at about 100,000 – spoke about the Taoiseach in moving terms and concluded by offering up three Hail Marys for Ireland.

The procession carrying the statue of Our Lady – which had opened the ceremonial – reformed – and finally reached the Shrine where the statue was replaced on its pedestal. The Taoiseach and his party followed immediately after the Bishop of Leiria. After a few moments of silent prayer the ceremony closed and the Congregation dispersed. Our party walked across to the hostel at the left of the esplanade (facing the Basilica) where the Bishop of Leiria entertained us to lunch. I should add that His Lordship manifested very great good-will in being present at all in Fatima – his residence in Leiria is some 24 kilometres away – and his action a very real tribute to the Taoiseach.

Immediately after lunch we went to visit the parents of the Fatima children. They live quite close by. I had already met them at a previous visit to Fatima. After that we headed for home, where we arrived, after a short break for tea, at about 7 o'clock. Waiting for the Taoiseach at the Legation was King Humberto [*sic*] of Italy, the American Ambassador and Mrs. Juggwhine, and Mr. Pulido Garcia, head of the Lisbon Municipal Gardens. King Humberto and the American Ambassador had both

expressed a desire to meet the Taoiseach and Mr. Garcia was invited so as to make arrangements for visiting parts of Lisbon the next day. Dinner at the Legation.

Monday 14th

The morning was spent visiting the Estufa Fria and the Castelo San [sic] Jorge under the guidance of Mr. Garcia. We all lunched at the Legation together with the Corpo Santo Fathers. After lunch the Taoiseach received a delegation of the Holy Ghost Fathers, while I took Dr. and Mrs de Valera Junior downtown to do some shopping. The rest of the afternoon was spent quietly until we left for the airport about 7.30 where we were met by a representative of Mr. Salazar and a representative of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. There were further press interviews, photographs and a farewell message by the Taoiseach on the National Radio. Also telegrams were sent by the Taoiseach to Dr. Salazar and to the Foreign Minister thanking them all for all the kindness shown. The Taoiseach and his party finally boarded the plane at 8.45 and it immediately took off.

Next morning I wrote letters of appreciation and thanks to the Archbishop of Coimbra, the Bishop of Leiria and to the Very Reverend Father Sylvari, Vicar-General of the Dominicans in Portugal, who was a veritable tower of strength to the party in Fatima.

I must apologise for sending you this letter in manuscript, but, owing to the sickness of Madame Martins, I have nobody to type it for me. The present position in the Chancery is chaotic and I fear it will be long before it ceases to be so.

O'Kelly de Gallagher

10. TELEGRAM¹²

10103 Lisbon Airport 160 14 2026

BEFORE LEAVING PORTUGAL I WANT TO EXPRESS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY OUR VERY DEEP APPRECIATION OF YOUR COURTESY IN RECEIVING US AND OF YOUR KINDNESS IN POSTPONING YOUR HOLIDAY TO DO SO. WE HAVE ENJOYED OUR SHORT VISIT VERY MUCH AND OUR ONE REGRET IS THAT IT HAS BEEN SO SHORT. YOU KNOW THAT WE WISH WELL TO THE PORTUGUESE NATION AND OUR PRAYER IS THAT IT MAY CONTINUE TO ADVANCE AND PROSPER AND THAT YOU MAY LONG BE SPARED TO GUIDE ITS DESTINY
EAMON DE VALERA

12 Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Arquivo Oliveira Salazar, Correspondência Particular 272.

11. PORTUGUESE LEGATION IN DUBLIN³

Proc.12

No. 136

Dublin, 14 September 1953
Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Excellency:

Prime Minister De Valera's visit to his Excellency the President of the Council was given great press prominence here. In official circles – I was told by the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs and the former Head of Protocol, now head of the Political affairs bureau – it was known, and greatly appreciated, that Dr Oliveira Salazar had interrupted his sole month of holidays to receive the Irish head of Government. One can feel the gratitude of the Irish, whose past so full of humiliations, makes them especially appreciative in the present of all such acts of deference towards them.

The prestige of the President of the Council, already much admired and respected here, has, at the present moment, doubled.

For the Good of the Nation,

Ed. Brazão

Chargé d'Affaires⁴

13 Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Arquivo Oliveira Salazar, Correspondência Oficial, Negócios Estrangeiros 18.

14 Legação de Portugal em Dublin

Proc.12, No. 136

Dublin, 14 de Setembro de 1953

Senhor Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros,

Excelência

A visita do Primeiro Ministro De Valera a Sua Excelencia o Presidente do Conselho foi aqui iada em relevo. Nos círculos oficiais – disse-me o Secretário Geral do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros e o antigo Chefe do Protocolo, hoje Chefe da Repartição dos Negócios Políticos – foi conhecido e altamente apreciado o facto do Senhor Doutor Oliveira Salazar ter interrompido o seu unico mês de férias para receber o chefe do governo irlandês. Sente-se gratidão pelo facto da parte dos irlandeses cujo passado de humilhações lhes faz no presente apreciar duma forma especial todos os actos de atenção para com eles.

Se os Sr. Presidente do Conselho já aqui era tão admirado e respeitado, a sua posição de prestígio neste país deve ter redobrado neste momento.

A Bem da Nação,

Ed. Brazão

Encarregado de Negócios

12. PORTUGUESE LEGATION IN DUBLIN¹⁵

File 12, No. 163

Dublin, 3 November 1953
Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Excellency:

I would like to mention the conversation I had recently with President De Valera during the conferring of a doctorate *honoris causa* on Cardinal Spellman, on the 28th of the last month.

After my greeting, Mr De Valera held me back in order to tell me that it had been his intention to summon me, but that he had been prevented from doing so by his intense political duties in the run-up to the opening of Parliament.

He wanted to tell me how much he had appreciated his stay in Portugal where the authorities and everyone he had met had been truly welcoming; that he had retained the highest impression of our country and its leaders; and that the conversation with the President of the Council had delighted him – and he asked me to convey once more to His Excellency the esteem in which he held him and how much he had enjoyed meeting him in person.

De Valera also mentioned his visit to sites and monuments in Portugal, stressing that he had come to know of the existence, in a church close to the Irish Legation in Lisbon (the one at Lumiar) of a precious relic of St Brigid, patron saint, along with St Patrick, of this country.

For the Good of the Nation,

Ed. Brazão

Chargé d'Affaires¹⁶

15 Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Arquivo Oliveira Salazar, Correspondência Oficial, Negócios Estrangeiros 4G.

16 Dublin, 3 de Novembro de 1953

Processo 12, No. 163

Senhor Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros,

Excelência:

Não quero deixar de mencionar a recente conversa que tive com o Presidente De Valera durante a cerimónia do doutoramento *honoris causa* do Cardeal Spellman, a 28 do mês passado.

O Sr. De Valera no momento de eu o cumprimentar, reteve-me para me dizer que desde a sua chegada tinha intenção de me chamar, mas que os seus afazeres políticos antes da abertura do Parlamento e nestas primeiras semanas da sua actividade tinham sido absorventes.

Queria-me dizer quanto tinha apreciado a sua estadia em Portugal onde as autoridades e toda a gente que conhecera haviam sido verdadeiramente acolhedoras. Que ficara do nosso país e dos seus governantes com a mais alta ideia. Que a sua conversa com o Sr. Presidente do Conselho o encantara, desejando que mais uma vez fizesse saber a S.Exa o apreço em que o tinha e como estimara conhecê-lo pessoalmente.

De Valera ainda me falou das suas visitas a sítios e monumentos em Portugal frizando-me que soubera da existência, em igreja próxima da Legação irlandesa em Lisboa (a do Lumiar), de relíquia preciosa de Santa Brígida, padroeira, com S. Patrício, deste país.

A Bem da Nação, Ed. Brazão

Encarregado de Negócios

13. CONFIDENTIAL. CONVERSATION BETWEEN TAOISEACH AND DR. SALAZAR¹⁷

(Bussaco, 5.30-8 p.m., 23rd September, 1960)

The following is the substance of the conversation between the Taoiseach and Dr. Salazar which took place in the Palace Hotel at Bussaco from 5.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. on Friday, 23rd September, 1960, Mrs. Lemass, the Minister to Portugal and Mrs. Biggar, and Mr. Cremin, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, being present.

2. The conversation opened with an enquiry by Dr. Salazar about President de Valera. He recalled that the President had, as Taoiseach, visited him in Lisbon in 1953. The Taoiseach told Dr. Salazar that the President is in very good form and that he wished the Taoiseach to convey his good wishes to Dr. Salazar.
3. The Taoiseach thanked Dr. Salazar for Portuguese support for Mr. Boland's election as President of the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Dr. Salazar said that he was very glad that the Presidency is in the hands of such a capable person as Mr. Boland, but that he thinks that he will have quite a task, especially as the United Nations is in an awkward position. The Taoiseach remarked that we have a great trust in the United Nations and were glad to see it affront the task represented by events in the Congo. Dr. Salazar seemed rather sceptical about the prospects of securing any lasting outcome of value in the Congo. Generally speaking, he argued, and returned to this point frequently, that the situation in Africa is not being approached properly by the European States. He maintained that the African countries are neither nations nor states, but rest on a tribal social system. It is therefore a mistake, in his view, to apply western conceptions and ideas to the African scene.
4. In reply to a query from the Taoiseach about the prospects of an arrangement between the Six and the Seven, Dr. Salazar expressed his conviction that an arrangement will be found in time. He declared that the *raison d'être* for the EFTA and the reason Portugal belongs to it is to facilitate an arrangement with the E.E.C. He regards a permanent breach between the two groups as 'intolerable' and likewise improbable. The fact, for instance, that Germany sells more to EFTA than to the other members of the Six is, in his opinion, a decisive reason why such a breach cannot last. He feels that 'immense efforts' will be made over the next year or two to bring the two groups together. It is, however, essential that Britain stand firmly with the other members of EFTA as, apart from Sweden, she is the only member of the group which is industrially strong.
5. To a query from the Taoiseach as to whether Portugal fears adverse effects

¹⁷ National Archive, Dublin, Department of the Taoiseach, S16892A, Nigeria: Independence, 6 August-7 October 1960.

for her economy from the lowering of the tariffs, Dr. Salazar replied that he hopes that such effects will not result and that the Portuguese industrial programme will not be compromised. He mentioned in this connection that Portugal has a long time in which to bring about the elimination of tariffs – 20 years.

6. On the question of foreign investment in Portugal, Dr. Salazar said that there is some evidence of a tendency on the part of members of both the Six and the Seven to look in that direction. For this purpose, Portugal offers certain advantages – relatively low taxation, low salaries and wages, and a social service system that is much less onerous than in some other countries, e.g. France.
7. On the subject of Africa generally, Dr. Salazar made a number of observations which may be summarised as follows:
8. He thinks that the idea of 'Africanism', or Pan-Africanism, is dangerous as there is no fundamental common factor linking the various parts of the continent. In his view, the black peoples, in contra-distinction with the white races, have no urge or sense of obligation to work. The Portuguese find that the natives in their African colonies only work to a degree which enables them to secure the minimum sufficient for their requirements and that they spend without any sense of prudence. There is, Dr. Salazar mentioned, a certain current of emigration of workers from Mozambique to the South African mines. Having worked in the mines for a year or two, these will return home with all their earnings spent. Unless some steps were taken to counter this tendency they would thus return home empty-handed. For that reason Portugal had made an arrangement with the South African Government whereby a certain proportion of the wages earned by the Mozambique migrants is retained, paid over to the Portuguese authorities and made available by them to the worker (and his family).
9. The Taoiseach wondered whether Dr. Salazar was not a little severe on the capacity or willingness of the black African to work. He pointed out that it is a common experience that primary producers tend to aim at a fixed target in output and income and, once they have attained these, are disinclined to make further profit. Dr. Salazar conceded the validity of this point, but nevertheless insisted that their experience in Africa justifies the opinions he had expressed.
10. Dr. Salazar expressed himself as particularly uneasy about the trend of the American philosophy of life. He feels that it rests much too much on materialism – that the average American tends to think solely of, and in terms of, dollars. The Taoiseach conceded that there is a strong materialist element in the American philosophy, but he suggested that moral factors likewise play a significant role in the life of the nation as can be seen by the efforts made by candidates standing for election to demonstrate that their personal conduct conforms to a certain moral code.

11. Dr. Salazar expressed his anxiety about the 'vacuum of power' which the American electoral system creates for a longish period every four years: this vacuum exists for six months before and six months after the Presidential election and means in practice the U.S.A. has no real policy during that time. This is, in his view, especially dangerous for the West, of which the U.S.A. is the natural leader.
12. In an exchange of views on the subject of emigration, Dr. Salazar said that there is still a fair volume of regular emigration from Portugal. The bulk goes to Brazil (about 30,000 p.a.) and a much smaller proportion (3,000-5,000) to Angola and Mozambique. The Portuguese Government would like to give this surplus manpower employment at home, or alternatively to direct it to the African territories. In this connection he mentioned that large-scale enterprises give very little employment, which is to be found mainly in small transforming industries. He is often struck, he said, by misunderstandings on this point and mentioned, in particular, the disappointment of Mr. Nehru about the employment-giving possibilities of his first Five-Year Plan. The Taoiseach agreed generally with Dr. Salazar's observations under this head and quoted as an illustration our experience in the 1955-56 recession. At that time production suffered more than employment, whereas in both 1959 and 1960 production has been growing faster than employment. He also mentioned in connection with Dr. Salazar's reference to Mr. Nehru the possibility of the Indian leader having made a not uncommon mistake and having tended to regard the achievement of independence as an end in itself, whereas it should be regarded by emerging states as primarily a means to a further end, viz. to give the people concerned the opportunity to work and develop their economy for their own benefit.
13. It was suggested in the course of the exchange of views under these points that one might, perhaps, overcome the tendency towards inertia of the peoples (African or other) by stimulating demand. Dr. Salazar, however, seemed to think that the artificial creation of demand is not a good thing as it generally rests on what is in the long-term an unsound basis.
14. Other points covered in the course of the conversation were our position in relation to the Commonwealth and the situation in regard to the Six Counties. Dr. Salazar enquired in some detail about the status of Irish citizens in Britain and their treatment as non-alien. As regards the Six Counties he seemed to have a fairly good grasp of the subject. The Taoiseach gave him a brief account of the history of the problem and its evolution.
15. At the conclusion of the conversation, the Taoiseach expressed his thanks to Dr. Salazar for having come to Bussaco to meet him and for the hospitality shown to himself, Mrs. Lemass and his party. He also

expressed his pleasure at having met Dr. Salazar and having had an opportunity of such a long conversation. Dr. Salazar, on his side, said that he was very happy to meet the Taoiseach and that he particularly appreciated the Taoiseach's readiness to come as far as Bussaco. He would, he intimated, have been quite ready to have gone to Fatima if the Taoiseach had chosen this (Fatima is somewhat over half-way between Lisbon and Bussaco).

15 October 1960