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Rte
cc Sir P.C. ✓

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 April 1984

Following our conversation the other day, you may like to know that the Prime Minister read with considerable interest the historical note provided by Research Department for her visit to Portugal, and told me this morning that she thought it excellent.

A. J. COLES

Sir Antony Acland, KCMG, KCVO.

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PRIME MINISTER

PORTUGAL

I attach the briefing.

There is ~~also~~ a useful memorandum on the historical background prepared by Dr. Richard Robinson of the University of Birmingham. But I also think the historical note in Brief 2(c), prepared by the Foreign Office Research Department, is excellent.

The main speech has been sent to Lisbon for translation. We can look at it on the 'plane. But I attach a copy in case you wish to refresh your memory of it before you do the media interviews on Portugal on Monday.

I also attach the speech to the British Portuguese Chamber of Trade. Since this is very much in line with an earlier draft, I have told them to get on with the translation of it too. But we can of course adjust it if you wish.

The third speech - to the Oporto Industrial Associations - is less far advanced. But I attach it nevertheless.

A.S.C.

13 April 1984



April 9, 1984

My dear John,

Prime Minister.

I enclose a copy of the
historical note prepared on my
request by Dr. Richard Robinson,
University of Birmingham
(dept. of history).

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Yrs. ever

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

(requested by the Chairman of the Centre for Policy Studies)

ON ASPECTS OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO HER VISIT TO PORTUGAL.

The purposes of this memorandum are: firstly, to draw attention to those aspects of the history of the Anglo-Portuguese relationship of which educated Portuguese are likely to be conscious; and, secondly, to venture a few brief observations on the present political system. It may be noted at the outset that the inhabitants of that small country are proud - sometimes inordinately so - of their historical achievements, as if these were some compensation for their present reduced circumstances. Consequently, commemorations can still play an important contemporary role, and the immediate goodwill of Portuguese may often easily and economically be gained by some recognition of their historical greatness.

THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE, 1386-1986?

The Alliance is now largely a sentimental matter, but still of considerable symbolic significance: it was described by Churchill as a relationship "without parallel in world history" when he announced the cautious concession of bases in the Azores to the Allies by neutral Portugal in 1943. The effective demise of the Alliance came with the divergence of interest between the two partners over the Indian seizure of Goa in 1961 and, coincidentally, since then American, West-German and French influence in Portugal seems to have increased at the expense of British.

The effort to breathe new life into the Alliance in 1973 (six-hundredth anniversary of the first treaty between the English and Portuguese Crowns) founded because of the unpopularity of Portugal's authoritarian regime and colonial wars. However, the opportunity for symbolic resuscitation of the old relationship is

now at hand: 17 May 1986 will be the six-hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Windsor, a more important treaty than that of 1373. In the context of the entry of a democratic Portugal into the EEC, it may well be thought that some joint public commemoration of the treaty of 1386 and some strengthening of cultural contacts could revive the now rapidly fading memory of the Alliance among the populations of both countries and signal a common approach to many issues. In this respect, the following points concerning the historical legacy may be useful:-

THE ALLIANCE AND BRITISH STRATEGIC INTEREST:

While the immediate origins of the treaties of alliance of 1373 and 1386 lay in the dynastic ambitions of the time and the furtherance of commerce, the fundamental reason for the longevity of the Alliance has been strategic. Portugal needed a convenient ally in preserving its independence against the encroachments of its neighbour, Castile/Spain. England/Great Britain, as her commercial and global interests grew, found in the existence of an independent and friendly Portugal, possessing the Azores, Madeira and Cape Verde Islands, a measure of security for her sea-routes. Clearly, inside or outside a NATO context, the Portuguese 'strategic triangle' (Mainland Portugal, Azores, Madeira) remains important in safe-guarding sea and air routes.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ALLIANCE: MINIMAL HISTORICAL ESSENTIALS:

Although the Crown of Portugal had received English help earlier (English crusaders helped take Lisbon from the Moors in 1147 and Gilbert of Hastings was first bishop of Lisbon), the treaties of 1373 and 1386 were by-products, from the English point of view, of the need to counter French influence in the Peninsula during the Hundred Years' War. More specifically, John of Gaunt hoped to use Portugal in his struggle to win the Crown of Castile. On the death of King Ferdinand of Portugal, signatory of the treaty of 1373,

the Castilian ruler moved to incorporate Portugal into his territories, but this was forestalled by the Revolution of 1383, an anti-Castilian riot in Lisbon which brought in a new dynasty with John of Avis. A Castilian invasion was repulsed by Nun'Álvares (The Holy Constable, a national hero) with the aid of a contingent of English archers at the battle of Aljubarrota of 1385, an event hailed as crucial for maintaining Portugal's independent existence. The mutual-aid treaty of Windsor followed (1386), cemented by the marriage of Philippa of Lancaster (daughter of John of Gaunt) to John of Avis; one of their children was Prince Henry the Navigator. The Alliance was thus, from the Portuguese point of view, associated with the struggle for independence.

THE ALLIANCE AND SPAIN: PORTUGUESE SENSITIVITY:

In general, both partners invoked or forgot about the Alliance as suited their perceived interests, but absorption into Spain has been a recurring fear of Portuguese. The period 1580-1640, when the Spanish Habsburgs ruled Portugal after the extinction of the Avis dynasty, is still known as the "Spanish Captivity" or the "Castilian Usurpation" and British military assistance was most welcome in the 1660s and 1700s against Spain and later against the Napoleonic invaders (Peninsular War). 'Iberian unity' in any sense other than an equal partnership of sovereign powers has never been, and is not, a popular idea in Portugal.

From the British point of view, Portugal has been a useful counter against Spain. Although the option of sacrificing Portugal on the altar of Anglo-Spanish friendship has been mooted (e.g. by Churchill in World War I), continued Portuguese independence has been thought best to suit British interests.

Although popular feeling against Spaniards has diminished somewhat recently, Portuguese are still hypersensitive about their international

standing vis-à-vis Spain and they much resent being considered or treated as if they were a mere appendage of their stronger and larger neighbour. In the contexts of their entry into the EEC and Spain's possible further integration into NATO, they will wish to emphasise their national identity, historically forged in resistance to Spain.

THE ALLIANCE AND THE IMPERIAL LEGACY: PORTUGUESE SENSITIVITY:

Apart from the East-Timor question and retention of Macau, the great cycle of imperial expansion begun by Henry the Navigator over five centuries ago has run its course. However, Portuguese minds still dwell on past glories, however interpreted, as if to reinforce the sense of national identity. The historical achievement of this tiny nation is undoubtedly great: more people speak Portuguese as their first language than do French or German, and Portugal's claim to have pioneered European overseas discoveries and expansion is valid.

Although until c.1580 its global maritime empire made it the stronger partner in the Alliance, from the seventeenth century Portugal ruled in Brazil and Africa essentially on British sufferance. Brazil's separation from Portugal owed much to British economic interest, while her African territories were limited in extent by Salisbury's famous ultimatum of 1890 preventing the linking of Angola and Mozambique, were considered fair game for partition in the event of a general Anglo-German settlement and were exploited largely by British capital. Portugal was eager to enter World War I lest it lose its colonies to the victors.

When these pieces of history are combined with the still widespread belief among Portuguese that British economic domination on the Mainland from the eighteenth century kept Portugal poor (the Methuen treaty of 1703 is often cited as 'evidence'), one can understand the strain of resentment present among the otherwise friendly feelings of Portuguese towards Britain. Portuguese, who generally cherish the myth that they are more successful at race relations than other

Europeans, tend to be sensitive about the relations of other Powers with Lusophone countries and doubtless exaggerate their usefulness as middlemen between Europe and Lusophone Africa or Brazil.

NOTE ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL SYSTEM

The military coup of 25 April 1974 resulted in rapid decolonisation and, after a dizzying period of domestic instability, the creation of the first genuinely democratic regime in Portuguese history. Although its beginnings coincided with a certain post-imperial crisis of national identity, with world economic recession and continued military interest in politics, the constitutional system inaugurated in 1976 has survived well. Fairly consistent voting patterns for four major parties, none approaching a majority, under a p.r. system, have resulted in much governmental instability. Lasting coalition arrangements have up to now proved difficult in a small country where the smallness of the elite and the operation of networks of patronage accentuate personal animosities and disagreements which, outside the Communist Party, are more important than ideologies or programmes; the well-developed collective sensitivities of the Portuguese seem often to be matched by family and personal hypersensitivity.

If governments are short-lived, the regime has become more firmly rooted: the Communists are contained and military influence on politics has been removed and may definitively disappear at the end of General Eanes's Presidential term. It is well known that the three major democratic parties have gambled a great deal on the scenario of entry into the EEC. While the highest expectations of entry have been scaled down, Portugal's failure to enter would have serious political consequences for the regime, possibly boosting Communist prestige in the short term and making military intervention in politics more likely in the medium or long term.



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April 3, 1984

My dear John.

I send a note about the historical background to Portugal.

I think (A) on p. 1 may be a useful quotation: evidence if needed.

As to general points:

- (1) I do not think that there is any other country in Europe except for Sweden & Greece with whom we have not been at war at least once in the last 250 years: & Greece is fairly new as a modern state. (Norway was part of Denmark when we were at war in Nelson's Day;
- (2) The revolution of 1974 led to a complete collapse of all ordered authority, yet practically no one was killed. It shows how self-disciplined the Portuguese are. (A Spaniard at the time assured me that if the police & army in Spain were ever to collapse in that way there wd be a 100,000 dead in ~~the~~ his country in no time).

(I have not embarked on a speech
specifically but ~~cd.~~ do so.

My friend Dr. Rich^d. Robinson of
the U. of Birmingham will be writing a
modern historical memo. of about ~~the~~
four pages.

The enclosed memo. seems to me to be
the kind of background wh. the Prime
Minister really might like to know \rightarrow
is a visit to such an interesting country.

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PORTUGAL

The great achievement of this tiny country was to pioneer in the fifteenth century the European journeys of discovery: William Bosman, author of an account of West Africa in the seventeenth century, described the role of the Portuguese as that of

(A) "setting dogs to spring the game which, as soon as they had done, was seized by others" - the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French and ourselves.

It is one of history's conundrums why this tiny sliver of a country should have been so much in the forefront of colonial adventure. Probably the reason is that almost alone of Western European countries Portugal escaped debilitating civil wars in that century. It may also be that Portugal was a nation founded by commoners, not noblemen (though that had been two centuries before), and that the feudal system there was easily dominated by merchants. These latter combined, in an effective way, such nautical innovations as the stern post rudder¹ (devised by the Chinese), the astrolabe² (originally Persian), the magnetic compass³ (also Chinese), and the sea quadrant⁴ in their new ships, the carrack and the galleon⁵, which were able for the first time to sail into the 'ocean sea', instead of hug the coasts. (Doubtless capital, obtained from Venice and Genoa, was important too - indeed the role of Italian capital, captains and designers in the discovery of the New World should never be underestimated).

¹ This enabled a helmsman to manage the ship from the rear of the vessel, not the centre.

² An instrument which enabled the ship's position to be determined from calculating the height of the sun.

These great journeys of the Portuguese began with the career of Henry the Navigator - himself a stay-at-home - who sent out numerous expeditions after 1418 to Africa. The Portuguese motives were partly the propagation of religion; partly the idea of turning the western flank of Islam; ^{2/}perhaps a pure spirit of adventure which caused men to seek a sea route to Ethiopia. Before 1434, no European had rounded the Cape Bojador with its very high winds. Afterwards, it happened every year. In 1444 Nuño Tristam reached the River Senegal and brought back slaves from there - another turning point in European history. In 1445 Dinis Di~~is~~ rounded Cape Verde. In the 1470s, the Guinea coasts and the Gold Coast (Ghana) were reached, and the Portuguese established their famous trading fortress at El Mina. Bartolmeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope and, in 1498, Vasco de Gama established the sea route round that promontory to India.

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- 3 Its needle was originally floating on a straw - later just a pivot.
- 4 This allows the sailor to measure the pole star's elevation and so to sail at night.
- 5 These were the characteristic sailing ships of the age of discovery. About 400 tons.

Within the next ten years the Portuguese established a commercial empire by smashing the Muslim monopoly of trade in the Indian ocean, after their victory off Diu in 1509 - a ^{great} victory obtained by the use of light sailing ships, manned with guns, which easily overwhelmed the old Moorish galleys, powered by oarsmen. Portuguese forts were set up in Mozambique, Goa, Malacca and Hormuz (1515), giving Portugal control of the Persian Gulf, the South China Sea and the Java Sea ^(as well as the Indian Ocean) and giving them control over the trade in Indonesian spices (cloves, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg). Portugal reached Canton in 1513 and Japan in 1542, a fort being founded at Nagasaki. Meantime in the New World, Cabral had landed in Brazil ^(probably by mistake) in 1500 and began a trade in red dyewood - brazilwood - which led to the establishment of that nation.

These journeys and the conquests changed the world. The Portuguese conquerors shifted their administrators back and forth, from Goa to Africa to Brazil, and, for a generation or two, dominated the sea routes to two and, even, three or four continents. In the end, the effort seems to have exhausted Portugal. The ruling house died out in 1580 and, for 60 years, the country was merged with Spain. The Dutch conquered nearly everywhere where the Portuguese had established themselves. In the late seventeenth century, Portugal was left with little more than Brazil, a few islets of small scale commerce (Goa and Macao), plus the coastlines of Mozambique and Angola. But this empire was still a rich one till the late eighteenth century, the great viceroyalty of Brazil contributing vast hoards of gold after the discovery of that metal at Ouro Preto in 1694. About two million Portuguese emigrated between 1700 and 1900. After Brazilian independence in 1822, the Portuguese shrunk to their present level of poverty and poor

economic development. But perhaps because of recent decline, the memory of their past colossal achievements is in the background of the mind of all intelligent Portuguese. I do not think many Portuguese even now doubt that they brought culture, Christianity and commerce to many backward or unhappy peoples.

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A HISTORY OF PORTUGAL: ANGLO-PORTUGUESE CONTACTS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The Birth of Portugal

"If there is one slice of Christendom, one portion of Europe which was made by the sea more than another, Portugal is that slice ... Portugal was made by the Atlantic" (Hilaire Belloc).

1. The traditional date for Portugal's birth as an independent kingdom is 1139. Since the unification of Spain was not completed until 1512, Portugal can claim to be the older of the two states.

2. The name Portugal is derived from "Portucale", the name of a Roman settlement on the site of present-day Oporto. "Portucale" meant the port or ferry of Cale, by which travellers crossed from Roman Lusitania into the North-Western province of Callaecia or Galicia.

The Middle Ages

3. When Alfonso Henriques assumed the title of King of Portugal in 1139, his territory reached no further south than Coimbra (the southern half of present day Portugal then formed part of the Muslim territory of Al-Andalus). Alfonso embarked on a campaign to expand his kingdom and in 1147 engaged the support of a band of Anglo-Norman and German crusaders in a successful attempt to recapture Lisbon from the Moors. After the reconquest of Lisbon one of the English participants (Gilbert of Hastings) was appointed Bishop of the new See. The reconquest of Portugal continued under Alfonso's successors and was complete by the mid 13th century.




4. Portugal has always been a sea-faring nation with the history of the Portuguese navy going back to the time of Alfonso Henriques. One of his successors, Dom Dinis (Denis in English) (1279-1325), ordered the plantation of a great pine forest at Leiria known as the Pinnal de'l Rei, for producing timber for ship building. Dom Dinis had many claims to fame. He was an outstanding poet and he founded Portugal's first university. He was also known as the "farmer king" because of his interest in agriculture. His wife Queen Isabel was canonised. Anglo-Portuguese trade flourished under Dom Dinis and the letters exchanged between him and England's Edward II spoke of the warm friendship which existed between the two realms.

5. The 14th century saw a rapid expansion in Portuguese trade and with it the consolidation of the alliance with England, reflected in a treaty signed between the merchants of Lisbon and Oporto and King Edward III in 1353. The 14th century was also a period of dynastic conflict in the Iberian Peninsula. It was largely as a result of Portuguese and English involvement in the struggle for the Castilian succession that the first full Treaty of Alliance between the two crowns was signed in St Paul's Cathedral in London on 16 June 1373.

6. Portuguese independence, put in jeopardy by the dynastic struggles with Spain, was secured for almost two centuries at the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385). This battle confirmed the establishment of the new Portuguese royal house of Avis, in the person of Dom Joao II (John), and guaranteed the future of the merchant classes of Lisbon and Oporto who had supported him. Dom Joao's request for military assistance against Castile (a small force of English archers fought at Aljubarrota), and Richard II's

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desire to help Portugal against a mutual enemy, led to the Treaty of Windsor (1386). It was stipulated that the Treaty should be confirmed by all future Kings of England and Portugal; this was faithfully observed throughout the 15th century.

7. The Portuguese word for alliance "aliança" also means a wedding ring, and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was cemented in February 1387 by the marriage of the Duke of Lancaster's (John of Gaunt's) daughter Philippa to Dom Joao. Their third son is one which every British schoolboy knows - Henry the Navigator, the great patron of the Portuguese voyages of discovery. There were marriages in the opposite direction too, for Queen Philippa saw to it that Dom Joao's natural daughter Beatriz married Thomas Fitz Alan, the Earl of Arundel.

8. During the 14th century English merchants enjoyed a privileged position in Portugal. One of the privileges they valued most was the right, bestowed on them in 1367, to be tried only by the judge of the Lisbon customs house, the conservador. In this case the word conservador, which usually means "conservative", means "conservator".

The Voyages of Exploration

9. The voyages of exploration in the 15th century and early 16th century led to the formation of Portugal's great trading empire. By Henry the Navigator's death in 1460 the Portuguese had explored the African coast as far south as Sierra Leone and, by 1488, Bartolomeu Dias had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope and along the East African coast. The seaway to India lay ahead. Vasco da Gama led

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the first expedition to India in 1497 and in 1500 Pedro Alvares Cabral reached the coast of Brazil. In June 1494 Spain and Portugal reached an agreement - the Treaty of Tordesillas - by which they defined their respective spheres of exploration, and effectively divided the New World between them. Whereas Spain embarked on a deliberate policy of conquest and settlement the Portuguese empire was based on trade. By developing a network of trading posts and strongholds the Portuguese also monopolised the spice trade of the Orient until the 17th century.

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

10. On the death in 1580 of the Cardinal King Dom Henrique (Henry) the Portuguese throne passed to the Spanish monarch Philip II, who became Philip I of Portugal. Philip's promise to respect Portuguese autonomy was neglected by his successors. After two abortive insurrections the Spanish were finally driven out of Portugal in 1640, and the Duke of Bragança was crowned king. However, hostilities continued and Spain did not finally recognise Portuguese independence until 1668.

11. The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, which suffered severe strains in the 16th century on account of the two countries' religious differences and conflicting trading interests, underwent a further series of ups and downs in the 17th century as a result of the English Civil War and the demise of the English monarchy. In April 1660 however, the signature of the Treaty of Westminster entitled the King of Portugal to raise troops in Great Britain for service against Spain. Although not ratified within the time stipulated,

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owing to the restoration of Charles II in May 1660, it was confirmed by the Treaty of 1661 on the occasion of the marriage of Charles II and the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Bragança.

12. The second great marriage of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was not a happy one. Britain, however, derived substantial benefit from it, for Catherine brought her husband Tangier and Bombay as part of her dowry. The acquisition of Bombay marked the beginning of British interest in India.

The Port Trade

13. One of the closest bonds between Britain and Portugal has been the port trade. "The Portuguese and the English have always been the best of friends because we can't get no Port Wine anywhere else". (Captain Marryat, Peter Simple). Britain's struggles with the French in the 1690s had made it well nigh impossible to buy French wine and, as a result, English consumption of Portuguese wine soared.

14. The recent establishment of a Portuguese cloth industry had led to Portugal restricting cloth imports. Our economists were quick to see the chance of getting round this restriction. The negotiations led by John Methuen produced three Treaties in 1703. The first two were political in nature, but the third, the so-called "Methuen Treaty" of 27 December 1703, re-opened the Portuguese market to English goods. It specifically provided that English woollen goods should be freely admitted to Portugal on condition that port wines were brought into England at one third the duty levied on French wines.




15. The word "Port" has its origins in the name of Portugal's second city "O Porto" which means simply "the port". British wine merchants are believed to have settled first in Viano do Castelo, in the Minho district, towards the end of the 16th century. The wines they shipped, usually referred to as "Red Portugal" and probably not of particularly good quality, were reinforced with brandy to enable them to travel. By 1678 some of the merchants had moved to Oporto and begun to ship the heavier Douro wines in response to the British demand for fuller-bodied higher-strength wines.

16. Through its English community the port trade has left a permanent mark on Oporto. The "Factory House" of Oporto, was built in 1786 in what was then called the Rua Nova Dos Ingleses (New Street of the English). "Factory" originally had the sense of a group or guild of traders carrying on business in a foreign country and Factory Houses were the buildings they used as their headquarters or simply as warehouses. They have since acquired a more social purpose and it is believed that today's Factory House at Oporto was built purely as a social club. It is still renowned for its splendid lunches for which the president for the current year supplies his best port. As Dr Johnson once said "Claret is the liquor for boys; port for men", and the Oporto Factory House is still almost entirely a male preserve. Ladies were invited to dine at the Factory House for the first time as late as 1843, and even today they only rarely attend dinners and lunches.

The Peninsular Wars and the Fall of the Monarchy

17. The 19th century proved an unhappy and unsettled period for the Portuguese. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau (27 October 1807) Napoleon and the King of Spain agreed upon a partition of Portugal and a French army invaded the country. Britain secretly advised the royal family to flee Portugal, and the Portuguese court sailed under a British escort to Rio de Janeiro, where it was to remain for 14 years. After the victories of the Duke of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) at Roliça and Vimeiro, the French army was allowed to evacuate Portugal in accordance with the Convention of Sintra. When the French invaded again in 1809 Wellesley returned to Portugal from whence he entered Spain and won the victory of Talavera, after which he was made Duke of Wellington. He then returned to Portugal to await a third French onslaught. After his victory at Bussaco in September 1810 Wellesley withdrew to a prepared position in the hilly region around Torres Vedras; this proved strong enough to withstand the French who began their final retreat in November 1810. As a result of his victories in the Peninsular Wars Wellesley acquired the title of Marquis of Douro, a title which is now borne by his eldest son.

18. When the Portuguese King Joao VI died in 1826, his heir Pedro (Emperor of Brazil) renounced the Portuguese throne in favour of his 7 year old daughter Maria and granted Portugal a constitution. The opposition of Pedro's absolutist brother Miguel led to a civil war known as the "War of the Two Brothers" which was only ended in 1834 with Miguel's exile and Pedro's death.



19. In 1834 Britain, which had sent a force to help secure the throne for Dona Maria, signed the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance (Portugal, Spain, France and England) which provided for assistance in expelling Miguel from Portugal. The aid of the Quadruple Alliance was sought again in 1846 when Dona Maria asked for help in combatting internal disorders.

20. The latter part of the 19th century was marked by the growth of republicanism in Portugal, with an attempted republican revolt in Oporto in 1891. In February 1908 King Carlos I and the Crown Prince were assassinated while travelling through Lisbon in an open carriage. Carlos I's second son Manuel only managed to hold the throne for another 2½ years, being forced to flee to Gibraltar and thence to England in the wake of the republican rising of October 1910. Thereafter Manuel lived peacefully in Twickenham until his death in 1932.

21. The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance underwent severe strains in the 1880s and 1890s as a result of Portugal's attempts at expansion in Africa. This was, however, offset by the warm relationship between the British and Portuguese royal families. The Portuguese King Dom Carlos made state visits to Britain in 1895 and 1904, and was invested with the Order of the Garter at Balmoral. This was followed by the State visit of King Dom Manuel in 1909. King Edward, who had visited Portugal as Prince of Wales in 1876, chose Lisbon for his first State visit as King in 1903. While there he opened the Edward VII park which bears his name.


The Twentieth Century

22. The 10 years between 1918 and formation of the "New State" in 1928 were distinguished by a worsening economic situation and increasing political chaos. The "New State" was consolidated under an able Professor of Economics Antonio Salazar who became Prime Minister in 1932, a position which he held until incapacitated by a stroke in 1968. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Marcello Caetano who attempted to embark on some very limited reforms. However, these proved too slow and too cautious. The 13 years of colonial wars in Africa took their toll and 25 April 1974 saw the start of the Revolution of the Flowers.

23. Portugal entered World War I in 1916 on the side of the Allies after seeking initially to remain neutral. At the outbreak of World War II Portugal once again adopted a neutral stance, while reaffirming her loyalty to the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. In 1943 the British Government decided to invoke the Alliance, in order to ask the Portuguese Government to accord Britain military facilities in the Azores. The Portuguese Government agreed. The Azores Agreement was signed on 17 August 1943 and, on 12 October, Mr Churchill announced it to the House of Commons, saying

"I have an announcement to make to the House arising out of the treaty signed between this country and Portugal in the year 1373 between King Edward III and King Ferdinand and Queen Eleanor ... This engagement has lasted now for nearly six hundred years and is without parallel in world history. I have now to announce its latest application ... His Majesty's

/Government



Government in the United Kingdom, basing themselves upon this ancient alliance, have now requested the Portuguese to accord them certain facilities in the Azores which will enable better protection to be provided for merchant shipping in the Atlantic ... in the view of His Majesty's Government this agreement should give new life and vigour to the alliance which has so long existed between the United Kingdom and Portugal to their mutual advantage".

24. In October 1955 President Craveiro Lopes made a State visit to Britain. This was returned by Queen Elizabeth in 1957. The 600th anniversary of the first Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of Alliance was marked by the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Portugal in June 1973. President Eanes made a state visit to Britain in 1978.

Literary Visitors

25. Among the many Britons who have visited Portugal there are a number of distinguished writers. The novelist Henry Fielding (author of Tom Jones etc) died in Lisbon in 1754 at the age of 47 and is buried in the English Cemetery. Lord Byron spent time in and around Cintra in 1809. He wrote of Cintra that "It unites in itself all the wildness of the Western Highlands with the verdure of the South of France". While in Portugal Byron apparently swam the Tagus from Belem to the southern shore. H G Wells clearly found Portugal to his taste; he wrote in 1925 that "Wet or fine the air of Portugal has a natural happiness in it, and the people of the country should be as happy and prosperous as any people in the world".

April 1984

Research Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office