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Review: Kaczorowski, B. (2022). *Wojna Salazara. Polityka zagraniczna Portugalii w okresie drugiej wojny światowej*. Kraków–Łódź: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, ss. 410

The book written by Bartosz Kaczorowski depicts Portuguese foreign policy in the period of World War II, silhouetted against the international situation and the ideological rudiments of the Estado Novo. The author presents the goals of Salazar's policy and its methods in this period. This topic, as Kaczorowski shows, was almost unknown not only to Polish historiography, but also did not find an objective and holistic approach neither in Portuguese publications nor in texts by other foreign scholars, even though some aspects of Portuguese foreign policy during World War II have been studied comprehensively (the question of the Azores, relations with the Jewish population). That is why the author was supposed to conduct an extensive query in libraries and archives primarily abroad (the archive of the Portuguese Foreign Office, other archives in Portugal, the US, Spain, Great Britain, France, Italy and Ireland). Thanks to this query was widened significantly the source material known by historians, and the author's thorough and conscientious work is definitely commendable. Another big advantage of the book is the presence of original quotes (mainly in English or Portuguese) in the notes, as they can help understand the text better.

The book consists of an introduction, five chronologically arranged extensive chapters, a conclusion, a bibliography, a list of abbreviations and an index of names.

In the first chapter the author presents the Estado Novo before World War II, referring to key figures of this state and underlining the role and reasons of Portuguese involvement in Spanish Civil War. The author shows not only why Viriatos (Portuguese volunteers) decided to take part in this conflict, but also depicts fears about a possible attack on Portugal, which was an idea present among the radical phalangists' circles in Spain. Seeing the collapse of Czechoslovakia definitely convinced Salazar

that the biggest threat for Portugal was the possibility of German invasion. Then, Kaczorowski shows a difficult way that on 17th March 1939 led to the signing of the Portuguese–Spanish Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression known also as the Iberian Pact, which was crucial in the foreign policy of both countries.

In the second chapter the author writes about Portuguese reactions to events occurring at the beginning of World War II. Salazar openly condemned German aggression and collaboration with the Soviet Union (the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact), emphasizing the fact that German demands seemed to have a habit of mounting progressively and expressed his solidarity with the Polish nation, but also criticised Józef Beck's intransigent policy, which in his opinion led to the internationalization of the conflict. Kaczorowski also shows the methods of German diplomats (especially Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene), who tried to defend the image of Berlin in the eyes of the Portuguese and to weaken the alliance with Great Britain. This chapter also presents Portuguese sympathy for Finland, which was attacked by the Soviet Union. Even though Portugal did not have a diplomat in Helsinki, this country wanted to support Finland in the League of Nations and approved of Finnish resistance to Soviet aggression. Seeing the failure of efforts of the League of Nations, Portugal decided to send to Finland fruit and fish, which were in demand in Helsinki.

The third part of the book is about the period between May 1940 and June 1941, the most precarious period for Portugal because of the increasing aggressiveness of German foreign policy in Western Europe. For example, the chapter mentions the fact that in the beginning of the French campaign the Portuguese government did not know about the poor condition of defenders' army due to messages given by Armindo Monteiro – Portuguese ambassador to the United Kingdom who was ensuring that the Germans “may have made a big mistake”. On the other hand, Armando Ochoa who was the envoy in Paris, correctly described the French defeat. Later on, the scholar depicts the situation after the capitulation of Paris, when Portugal was trying to strengthen the relations with Spain without destroying the alliance with the United Kingdom.

In the fourth part of the book Kaczorowski presents how the Portuguese stance on World War II evolved after 1941. In the beginning of Operation Barbarossa Portuguese governmental circles were strongly criticising British foreign policy based on collaboration with the Soviet Union but, on the other hand, Salazar strongly appreciated the fact that after 22nd June of 1941 the balance of the conflict shifted from Western to Eastern part of Europe. Even though some circles supported the idea of sending some troops or volunteers to aid Germany in the anti-communist crusade, Salazar opposed it and wrote that the Portuguese nation “has to

be ready to fight against the intransigent enemy, but in Portugal, in the end of Occidental Europe". Still, at least 76 Portuguese soldiers fought as members of the Spanish Blue Division. The author presents the complicated situation in East Timor, which caused growing tension in relations with Great Britain. The presence of the Dutch and Australian armed forces in East Timor was taken as an injury to Portuguese pride. Afterwards, Japanese attack on Timor led to deep resentment towards Great Britain, which failed to defend the island, because Japanese occupation of the island was full of terror and caused the death of about 15% of the population. At the same time, since 1942 bilateral relations between Portugal and Spain improved because of the neutrality which started to be underlined in Spanish foreign policy, especially at the beginning of Operation Torch. In the same chapter the author also describes complicated negotiations between Portugal, Great Britain and the United States with regard to using the Azores in 1943 for military goals and underlines the fact of exporting tungsten, an essential raw material in the military industry, to the Reich.

The fifth chapter depicts the situation in Portugal in the last year of the war. At that time, the biggest fear of the Portuguese government was the Soviet Union's growing power, which was dangerous for every conservative authoritarian country. Salazar was strongly convinced that the USSR was a terrible menace to Europe. He was afraid that if the Russians reached Berlin faster than the Western allies the Bolshevism would come sweeping down to the Pyrenees and, consequently, he insisted on creating an Atlantic system serving as a check to the Russian thrust towards the perimeter of Europe. The author also cites the opinions expressed by the Portuguese press about the Warsaw Uprising. The journalists praised Polish soldiers and even caused the tension in relations with Nazi Germany. Also, Portuguese diplomats were opposed to the change of Poland's eastern border and the ambassador to the United Kingdom was trying to persuade Anthony Eden on the pertinence of East Galicia to Poland. Obviously, Portugal was against the installation of the communist regimes also in other countries of East-Central Europe and criticised the agreements made in Yalta. The author also mentions the fact that Portuguese charge d'affaires Alberto Teixeira Branquinho helped a group of about 1000 Hungarian Jews to evacuate to Portugal.

To sum up, not only Polish but also world historiography (I would recommend publishing this book also in Portuguese and English) has acquired a valuable position, revealing the policy of Prime Minister Salazar (who also headed the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs) in the light of multiple sources and, more broadly, the activities of Portuguese diplomats during World War II. Kaczorowski outlines the priorities of

Salazar's wartime diplomacy, which, in the first place, included maintaining independent position in international relations and maintaining all territories of the empire, the means of which was neutrality during the world conflict and flexibility in decision-making. Kaczorowski indicates the motives for his individual decisions, which were adapted to the changing international situation. Their assessment in individual aspects by the author, who tries to maintain objectivity, will probably meet with many polemics in the future, but it cannot be denied that his arguments are reliable and based on source material. Importantly, Kaczorowski emphasizes that Salazar's policy of choosing the peaceful path was related to his inner conviction about the importance of the message of Our Lady of Fatima.

Particularly valuable is Kaczorowski's attention to the importance of Central and Eastern European issues in Salazar's policy (especially the question of Poland and the issue of Polish borders and the regime installed in the country), as well as his consistent anti-communism and opposition to Stalin's policy, leading to some support for the Third Reich in the last phase of the war, as symbolized by flying the flag at half-mast after the news about Hitler's death (Hitler himself did not avoid manifesting his hostility towards Salazar, the US diplomacy was also distrustful towards him). The most important key to understanding Salazar's policy during this period were certainly good relations with Francoist Spain and the alliance with Great Britain, which the author discusses extensively. Salazar also underlined the importance of international law, as he was aware of the consequences of his country's peripheral geographical location and low demographic potential. I have to agree with the author, who concludes that "in its diplomatic struggle to maintain neutrality at the end of the global conflict, Portugal was successful," strengthening its economic and international position (p. 359). Finally, it should be emphasized that the author also managed to show the basic features of Salazar's personality during the main course of the narrative, which additionally enhances the value of the reviewed book. Its publication is certainly an important event not only for Polish but also for foreign historiography dealing with international politics during World War II.

Karol Graff – a student of history and Slavic Philology at Jagiellonian University, a graduate of the 2nd King John III Sobieski High School in Krakow, holder of the Rector of the Jagiellonian University's scholarship; his interests focus on the history of diplomacy and political thought in the 19th and 20th centuries.