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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 which is silhouetted against the international situation and the ideological rudiments of 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 nor in Portuguese publications, nor in texts of other foreign scholars. Even though, some aspects of Portuguese foreign policy during World War II have their comprehensive studies (the question of the Azores, relations with the Jewish population). That is why the author was supposed to conduct the extensive query in libraries and archives primarily abroad (the archive of Portuguese Foreign Office, other archives in Portugal, USA, Spain, Great Britain, France, Italy and Ireland). Thanks to this query was completed significantly the source material known by historians and thorough and conscientious work of the author is definitely commendable. The big advantage of the book is also the presence of original quotes (mainly in English or Portuguese) in the notes, because they can help in better understanding of the text.

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

In the first chapter the author presents the Estado Novo before World War II, presenting most important 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 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 treat for Portugal is the possibility of German attack. 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 on events occurring at the beginning of World War II. Salazar openly condemned German aggression and collaboration with Soviet Union (the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact), underlining the fact that German demands seemed to have a habit of mounting progressively and expressed his solidarity with the Polish nation, but also criticised intransigent policy of Józef Beck which in his opinion led to the internationalization of the conflict. Kaczorowski shows also methods of German diplomacy (especially Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene) that tried to defend the image of Berlin in Portuguese eyes and to weaken the alliance with Great Britain. In this chapter is also presented Portuguese sympathy for Finland which was attacked by Soviet Union. Even though Portugal did not have a diplomat in Helsinki this country wanted to support Finland in League of Nation and approved Finnish resistance to Soviet aggression. Seeing the failure of efforts of League of Nations Portugal decided to send to Finland fruits and fish, which were demanded by Helsinki.

The third part of the book is about the period enter May of 1940 and June of 1941, which was the most dangerous period for Portugal because of increasing aggression in German foreign policy in Western Europe. In this chapter is presented for example the fact that in the beginning of French campaign Portuguese government did not know about bad condition of defenders' army because of messages given by Armindo Monteiro – Portuguese ambassador to United Kingdom who was ensuring that Germans “maybe had committed a huge error”. On the other hand, Armando Ochoa who was the envoy in Paris was correctly describing French defeat. Then, 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 United Kingdom.

In the fourth part of the book author presents how the Portuguese stance about World War II evolved after 1941. In the beginning of Barbarossa operation Portuguese governmental circles were strongly criticising British foreign policy based on collaboration with Soviet Union, but on the other hand Salazar strongly appreciated the fact that after 22nd June of 1941 balance point of the conflict moved from Western to Eastern part of Europe. Even though, in some circles was present the idea of sending some troops or volunteers to help Germany in the anti-communist crusade, Salazar did not want to do it and wrote that Portuguese nation “has

to be ready to fight against the intransigent enemy, but in Portugal, in the end of occidental Europe". Even though, at least 76 Portuguese soldiers fought as members of Spanish Blue Division. Then, the author presents complicated situation in East Timor, which caused a growth of tension in relations with Great Britain. The presence of Dutch and Australian armed forces in East Timor was taken as an injury to Portuguese pride. Afterwards, Japanese attack on Timor led to feeling deep resentment towards Great Britain that did not defend the island, because Japanese occupation of the island was full of terror and caused death of about 15% of the population. At the same time, since 1942 bilateral relations between Portugal and Spain improved, because of the neutrality that started to be underlined in Spanish foreign policy, especially at the beginning of the Torch operation. In the same chapter the author also presents complicated negotiations between Portugal, Great Britain and the United States about using the Azores in 1943 for military goals and underlines the fact of exporting wolfram, which was one of crucial raw materials in military industry, to the Reich.

In the fifth chapter is depicted the situation in Portugal in the last year of the war. In this time the biggest fear of Portuguese government was increasing position of Soviet Union which was dangerous for every conservative authoritarian country. Salazar was strongly convicted that USSR was a terrible menace to Europe. He was afraid that if the Russians had got to Berlin faster than Western allies the Bolshevism would have come sweeping down to the Pyrenees and that is why he insisted on creating an Atlantic system serving as a check to the Russian thrust towards the perimeter of Europe. The author presents also voices of the Portuguese press about the Warsaw uprising, which were very positive towards Polish soldiers and even caused the tension in relations with Nazi Germany. Also, Portugues diplomats opposed to the change of Polish eastern borders and the ambassador to United Kingdom was trying to persuade Anthony Eden on the pertinence of East Galicia to Poland. Portugal of course was against the installation of the communist regimes also in other countries of Central-Eastern Europe and criticised the agreements from Yalta. The author also mentions the fact that Portuguese charge d'affaires Alberto Teixeira Branquinho helped a group of about 1000 of Hungarian Jews to evacuate to Portugal.

To sum up, not only Polish but also world historiography (I would recommend to publish this book also in Portuguese and English) has acquired a valuable position, which shows in the light of lots of sources the policy of Prime Minister Salazar (who also headed the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and, more broadly, the activities of Portuguese diplomacy during World War II. The author shows the priorities of Salazar's

diplomacy during the war, 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 no one can deny 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 Polish question and the issue of Polish borders and regime), as well as his consistent anti-communism and opposition to Stalin's policy, which resulted in some support for the Third Reich in the last phase of the war, which can be symbolized in lowering the flag to half-mast after the information 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, because he was aware of the consequences of his country's peripheral geographical location and small demographic potential. I have to agree with the Author, who in the conclusion stated "In its diplomatic struggle to maintain neutrality in the end of the global conflict, Portugal has been fully 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 increases 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 the Jagiellonian University, a graduate of the 2nd King John III Sobieski High School in Krakow, a Rector of the Jagiellonian University scholarship holder; his interests focus on the history of diplomacy and political thought in the 19th and 20th centuries.