

Portugal's Protector

Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar's reluctant yet faithful public service gave his homeland 40 years of stability and growth.

by Fr. James Thornton

António de Oliveira Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal from 1932 to 1968, was one of the most extraordinary men of our age. Austere, cultured, self-effacing, indifferent to public adulation, and more scholar than politician or government functionary, Salazar rose to high position in Portugal only with reluctance, after spending a night in prayer, seeking guidance from God. His place as a true hero of the 20th century is assured, since he delivered his country from anarchy and totalitarianism, giving it 40 years of stability and growth, and made significant contributions to the slowing of the disintegration of Christian civilization.

Salazar was born April 28, 1889 in the village of Vimieiro, only a few miles north of Coimbra, one of the great university towns of Portugal. His father, António de Oliveira, owner of a small farm, was noted for his loving devotion to his family, while his mother, Maria do Resgate Salazar, was an intelligent and intensely practical woman, and very religious in her outlook. Both parents were by nature tradition-minded, members of the poor but conservative peasant class.

Young Salazar attended local schools and, at age 11, entered a religious seminary, as was the custom for brighter Portuguese boys in the predominantly Catholic country. From there he was admitted to the ancient University of Coimbra, where he centered his studies on law, political science, and economics, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1914 and doctorate in political economics in 1918.

In 1910, shortly after Salazar began his university studies, Portugal was convulsed by a revolution of ultra-left political factions which overthrew the constitutional monarchy and established a democratic republic, somewhat on the model of the French revolutionary republics. That revolution was the offspring not only of the atheistic left, but of violently anti-religious, secret societies that had conspired for several centuries



throughout continental Europe to overthrow all governments founded on Christianity and the Law of God.

Consequently, the most outstanding attribute of this revolutionary government was its bitter hostility to God and religion. Among its first acts was the expropriation of all Catholic Church property and the outlawing of the teaching of religion, and of religious morals and values, in public schools. The wearing of religious clothing was proscribed in public places, and monasteries and convents were secularized, their members thrown into the streets. Bequests to the Church were forbidden by law, and even small weekly donations taxed. Prominent Church leaders were expelled from the country. The mentality of the regime was best expressed by Afonso Costa, Minister of Justice in the first republican government and later prime minister, who boasted that in three generations religion would be eradicated from Portugal.

The second outstanding attribute of the revolutionary regime was utter incompetence. Like the French regimes of the First through the Fourth Republics, new prime ministers arrived and departed as through a revolving door. Instability, corruption, scandals, and continuous shifts in policies were endemic; riots, strikes, political murders, and a general state of confusion reigned supreme. The national budget deficit soared as taxes rose and economic activity languished. By the mid-1920s, the cost of living had climbed to more than 30 times its pre-World War I level, though wages increased by only one-third of that rate. Inflation consumed savings, devastated the relatively small middle class, and thrust the poorer classes more deeply into poverty.

Meanwhile, the small clique of opportunists behind Portuguese "democracy" grew ever richer. Michael Derrick, author of the definitive work, *The Portugal of Salazar*, observes that in Portugal parliamentary government "has always meant a chaos of *camarillas*..., corruption, rotativism and revolution; it has meant the creation of a class of professional politicians preying on the people: a travesty of democracy screening the machinations of profiteers."

Obviously, such disorder produced conservative opposition, yet the revolutionaries were determined to survive at all costs. Political opponents of the radical regime, and even potential opponents, were consigned to prisons where, according to revolutionary law, they could be held for two years without trial. The trials themselves, when they finally took place, were typically revolutionary. The accused were accorded few rights, and mobs were encouraged to shout and jeer. Prison food was appalling, overcrowding omnipresent, cells filthy and damp, tuberculosis and other fatal diseases rampant, and medical services nearly nonexistent. Flogging and solitary confinement were commonplace punishments, even for minor infractions.

Typical of the prisoners was Dona Constança Telles de Gama, famed throughout Portugal, especially among the poor, for her philanthropic work. That she founded a charitable organization to provide relief for political prisoners and their destitute families was considered criminal by the revolutionaries, and so she too was imprisoned.

General (later President) António Carmona complained openly in the mid-1920s of the humiliation felt by honest Portuguese over the depredations of its anarcho-terrorist government, declaring that although the "authors of the evils from which the country is suffering" lived comfortably and traveled abroad in luxury, inside the country "men of ... great civic virtue are branded as criminals." "There must be something wrong," he insisted, "the country is sick..." Since the patience of every stratum of Portuguese society was wearing thin, it was clear to anyone with even a modicum of intelligence that the republic was a failure, in fact a failure of immense proportions, and that it would soon be superseded by some other political form. The only question was what shape this new political form would take. Would it be Communism? Fascism? Socialism? Or a sane and patriotic government?

Marshal Manuel Gomes da Costa, realizing that his nation stood at the very

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edge of calamity, issued a proclamation to his countrymen in May 1926: "Men of Portugal! To men of dignity and honor the present situation of the country is intolerable. The prey of a corrupt and tyrannical minority, the nation, filled with shame, feels that it is dying.... Let men of courage and of worth come to me in arms, if, with me, they are prepared to conquer or die. Portugal, to arms!" Several days later, Gomes da Costa stated that what Portugal needed was a bonafide republic — not one run by political gangsters. He would, he stated, "hand over this sick country to a government able to confront her internal enemies" with a spirit of "fighting heroism." The leftist government collapsed and Gomes da Costa took over.

During the whole of the period of the radical republic, Dr. Salazar remained at the University of Coimbra, first as a student and subsequently as Professor of Economics. The revolutionaries suspected, quite correctly, that he was hostile to their government, and at one point even had him suspended from his teaching duties. Generally, however, they left him alone, since he had been little involved in open political activity. Once, in the early 1920s, he overcame his repugnance towards politics and was elected deputy to the national legislature for his district. So disgusted was he by the tawdriness of political life — by unscrupulous deals, demagoguery, scheming, and compromises — that he resigned after only a few days

and returned to his beloved university.

Although Salazar remained aloof from the political maelstrom, he established a considerable reputation by his writings, especially his critiques of a decade and a half of economic recklessness. His expertise in economics having attracted the attention of the new conservative government, Salazar was asked in June 1926 to serve as Finance Minister. Salazar, in a quandary over the offer, had no real inclination to accept. He questioned his mother as to what she thought he should do, and received a response that was simple and to the point: "If they have come for you it is because they need you. Accept. The country's rights come before ours. Leave the rest to God."

Salazar accepted, but remained in office for only a week. He found the new government in disarray, lacking a mastery of the details requisite to governing. Salazar required that his proposals for economic revitalization be accepted unconditionally. He knew what was needed; his fellow ministers did not. He would not serve in a post in which he could not carry through his program, and he did not want to accept blame for dubious economic strategies over which he had no control. The government refused to give Salazar the *carte blanche* he demanded, and so he returned to Coimbra.

Some months later Salazar delivered a speech which lifted him to national prominence. Entitled "Two Economies," it contrasted two prevailing, but in Salazar's opinion insolvent, economic views. One insisted that financial success was the overriding purpose for human life, while the other claimed to detest the acquisition of wealth, confounding poverty with virtue. Both views, stated Dr. Salazar, were in error.

In his view, the creation of wealth was the result of hard work, whereas easily acquired wealth, the "something for nothing" mentality in other words, corrupted the nation. Consumption should not be the primary criterion of national life since unrestrained consumption would lead to further national corruption.



Political thinker: Salazar, shown above with his two adopted daughters, believed that the state exists for society, not society for the state.

Worse yet, consumption at the cost of gigantic deficits was catastrophic, leading to national bankruptcy. Portugal, Salazar insisted, could correct the wrongs of the radical republican period by thrift, hard work, and self-control. Insofar as government programs were concerned, flashy prestige projects should be avoided, but programs for improving the essentials, the national infrastructure, without which there could be no economic revival, should proceed, but for the most part on a pay-as-you-go basis.

The Salazar proposals for national revival were thus made public, and were made increasingly attractive by Portugal's economic distress. By early 1928 the slide into chaos had reached the point where there was no place left to turn; Portugal stood at the brink. Salazar was again asked to serve, this time with assurances that he could have the free hand he needed. After spending part of the night on his knees in prayer, he agreed to join the government to save his country.

At his installation on April 27, 1928, the eve of his 39th birthday, he gave a public address that erased all doubts about his program. First, he said that his service as Minister of Finance was a sacrifice, taking him away from the life he loved most, that of a scholar and teacher

at the university. This sacrifice he considered so great, that he could make it for no human being. However, he added, "it is a sacrifice which I am willing to make for my country." Then he set forth his conditions:

- Each government department must organize its activities to assure that it spends no more than the amount authorized by the Ministry of Finance.
- The Ministry of Finance must approve any government measure affecting government revenue or expenditure.
- The Ministry of Finance may veto all increases in government expenditure and any new government borrowing.
- The Ministry of Finance will collaborate with other government departments in the reduction of expenditures.

Dr. Salazar prescribed a set of concrete regulations to back up his installation address two weeks after assuming office. Cardinal among these was that all ordinary expenditure must be covered by ordinary revenue; there would be no deficit spending. Heads of government departments were to be accountable, *under civil and criminal law*, for any expenditures over those legally authorized. The government was forbidden to finance any private enterprises, and the hated value-added tax was ended, since it had a deleterious effect on economic life. Thus it was that Dr. Salazar's first service to his people was a balanced budget, the first which Portugal had experienced in two decades, and the first in a series of balanced budgets which Salazar would insist upon over the next 40 years.

These and other of Dr. Salazar's decrees were quietly implemented, though they were for some difficult pills to swallow. They meant an end to the binge of public spending that had characterized Portugal since 1910, an end to politicians buying popularity with the people's money, and a definite belt-tightening for all classes of the Portuguese people. Yet the people were so weary of the corruption, inefficiency, and

ineptitude of the politicians — and of inflation, economic stagnation, falling standards of living, and unemployment — that there could be no question of going back. The rewards of Salazar's frugality were not long in coming. Though a poor country, Portugal remained largely immune from the world economic depression of the '30s. The external and internal national debts were drastically reduced. The country returned to the gold standard in 1931, making Portugal's currency, the escudo, one of the hardest currencies in Europe.

The National Savings Bank, the *Caixa Geral de Depositos*, whose lending capital had previously been absorbed by government deficits, was reorganized and thereafter the amount of bank resources that could be lent to government was limited by law to 22 percent, opening the way for private borrowing and economic development. During the first six years of the Salazar program, confidence in national institutions rose to such heights that deposits in the *Caixa* increased dramatically. Salazar's popularity increased too; he was the man of ideas, *practical* ideas, and he dominated the course of events from the moment he became Finance Minister.

The conspirators against Christian Portugal — the revolutionary republicans, socialists, and Communists — had not disappeared, however. In 1931 a united front of the old, discredited parties staged an uprising in Lisbon in which 40 people died. It failed miserably since the people of Portugal had no desire to return to the anarchy of the past. The following year, President Carmona decided to formalize that which was already, informally, a reality. On July 5, 1932, Dr. Salazar was sworn in as Prime Minister of Portugal, an office he would hold for the next 36 years. Portugal had been made economically secure, but economics are not the sole basis of life. Portugal required something more; it required a social and political renewal that would permeate the whole of national life.

A few months after he became Prime Minister, Salazar published a draft of a constitution, which, he believed, would

bring stability to Portugal, mend the tears in the national fabric, and prevent a return to the radicalism and irreligion that had brought so much unhappiness. In March of the following year a national plebiscite gave the new constitution overwhelming approval. It was from that time that the Salazar era in Portugal came to be called the *Estado Novo*, literally the "New State," but perhaps better translated as "New-Style Government," the new distinguished from the old by its honesty, integrity, responsibility, and patriotism.

Article V of the Constitution of 1933 defined the *Estado Novo* as "a unitary and corporative republic, founded on the equality of its citizens before the law, on the free access of all classes to the benefits of civilization, and on the participation of all the elements that make up the nation in the administrative life and in the enactment of its laws." As Michael Derrick writes, "the word 'Corporative' means that the nation is regarded as an organic whole, and not as an accidental agglomeration of individuals," as liberal theory would have it.

Economically, the *Estado Novo* proposed a "corporative" system. It is useful before we proceed further to explore this concept. First, it must be emphasized that "corporativism" is distinct from the "corporate state" of Mussolini's Fascist Italy. Corporativism is compatible with Christianity, especially Christian social teaching, while Fascist corporatism, founded on an exaggerated glorification of the state, possessed a decidedly pagan flavor. As Derrick points out, Italian Fascism created a *State Corporatism*, where, in contrast, Dr. Salazar — rejecting statism in all its forms — proposed a *Corporativism of Association*. This means that the corporative institutions of Salazar's Portugal were self-governing, while in Italy the corresponding institutions were organs of the government and the Fascist Party, under the direct control of Mussolini and his ministers. To Mussolini the power of government was theoretically limitless, but for Dr. Salazar the limits of power were strictly circumscribed by law, both statutory and moral.

Why did Dr. Salazar seek this economic path and not turn instead to *laissez-faire* capitalism? Let us seek to define our terms carefully before we attempt to answer that question. We have become accustomed, especially since the days of the Cold War, to think in terms of the dichotomy "capitalism versus socialism" or "capitalism versus Communism." Capitalism is a word we have been taught to consider synonymous with personal freedom and private ownership of property, and we forget that personal freedom and private ownership existed long before modern capitalism was developed. What we call "capitalism" Dr. Salazar would have called "private enterprise" and agreed that it indeed signifies economic freedom.

However, the predatory, monopolistic, internationalistic kind of capitalism, the sort that knows no national loyalties and respects no national boundaries, and is based especially on the machinations of international high finance and on brutal competition, Salazar opposed. It is private in a sense, but it permits private ownership to pass into the hands of a tiny minority who then use economic power to control and manipulate government and society, thereby augmenting their own power and control both politically and economically. Derrick notes that private ownership of property was "a fundamental fact in the Portugal of Salazar." The right to own, he says, is fundamental to human existence, and was "defined as fundamental at the beginning of the Constitution [of 1933].... It is a right that has been denied equally by Capitalism and by Socialism, which is the logical conclusion of Capitalism. Capitalism means the concentration of ownership in the hands of a few, and therefore denies men the natural right of ownership; Socialism seeks to remedy the state of affairs so produced by withdrawing ownership even from the few. Salazar would restore ownership to many."

Interestingly, viewed from this standpoint, monopolistic capitalism and socialism are actually similar entities. And one may add that the American experience in the 20th century seems to confirm

this, since transnational capitalism and Big Government have entered into an enduring alliance for the economic socialization of America and the other Western "democracies."

Family life received notable recognition in the Constitution of the *Estado Novo*. The entire third section of the Constitution concerned itself with the role of the family in Portuguese life. The family was lauded as the "source and development" of the Portuguese people, and the government committed to its protection. Moreover, the family was seen "as the primary foundation of education and of social discipline and harmony, and as a fundamental of political and administrative order..."

Article XIV required both national and local government authorities to encourage the establishment of separate homes under healthy conditions, to protect maternity, and to establish taxation in accordance with the legitimate expenses of the family, promoting too the adoption of the family wage. It also mandated that authorities assist parents in the discharge of their duty of instructing and educating their children and take all effective precautions to guard against the corruption of morals. Derrick comments that "to define constitutionally that taxation must consider preeminently the necessity of providing the family with adequate means of subsistence is an excellent application of the principle that the State exists for society, and not society for the State." Obviously, under such a constitution, abortion, pornography, anti-family propaganda, and the like were strictly prohibited (as they once were in America).

Salazar's views on education, codified in the new Constitution, are enlightening. "The family, and not the State-owned and compulsory school, is the natural milieu of the [Portuguese] child," explains Derrick, and "... every child is bound to receive at least an elementary education. But every parent is free to decide whether his child shall receive that education at home, in a private school, or in a State school; and the home is considered the normal place."

In short, Dr. Salazar's *Estado Novo* sought to constitute society in such a manner as to be immune from the blandishments of class war and Communism. Portugal was a tinderbox of social jealousies and class hatreds under the old regime. Salazar strove to replace all of that with the perception that all classes were Portuguese first and foremost, all were necessary to a healthy society, and all must work together to create a nation of order, justice, and freedom. Author Hugh Kay, in his book *Salazar and Modern Portugal*, comments that Salazar saw the nation as "a family which achieves its aims and solves its disputes at a round table, not an aggregate of conflicting interests seeking a compromise through tensions across the table." Yet, in all of this Salazar was a cautious man, the opposite of an ideologue, proceeding with his plans slowly. He was loath to upset traditional patterns of life or to plunge his people into some unexpected vortex.

Very soon after Salazar's assumption of duties as head of government, grave international crises began to shake Europe to its foundations. Had the government of Portugal been in the hands of a man less insightful, less patient, and perhaps more impetuous and prone to adventurism, the Portuguese people might have been thrust into the cauldron of revolution, war, and catastrophe. The wisdom of Dr. Salazar, however, repeatedly saved his nation from the blood-soaked tragedies into which most of the other nations of Europe had immersed themselves.

The first of these external crises was the Spanish Civil War. From the very beginning of this conflict, which was in truth a struggle to the death between Stalin's world-menacing Bolshevik terror, on the one hand, and the Christian Spain of General Franco on the other, Dr. Salazar made very plain where his sympathies rested. While so much of the world was beguiled by gibberish about Spanish "democracy," the Portuguese Prime Minister remained cognizant of the mortal peril that his nation, and even the world, faced should General Franco fail

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— Dr. Salazar

to win. Salazar had, after all, read the words of Francisco Largo Caballero, Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic, in which the Spanish Communist boasted: "A union of Iberian Soviet republics — that is our aim. The Iberian peninsula will again be one country. Portugal will come in, peaceably we hope, but by force if necessary.... Lenin declared Spain would be the second Soviet Republic in Europe. Lenin's prophecy will come true. I shall be the second Lenin who shall make it come true."

Despite pressure from England and France to remain neutral in the Spanish conflict, Salazar reckoned it a matter of life and death that the war end in victory for Franco; the choice was simply Franco or the abyss. Moreover, from the standpoint of the world, Salazar understood that if Stalin established a base encompassing the whole of the Iberian peninsula, he would control access to the Mediterranean and threaten shipping routes far into the Atlantic. One can only speculate how changed the map of the world might be today had Franco failed.

The outbreak of World War II, coming immediately on the heels of the Spanish Civil War, was the next crisis faced by Salazar. Portugal celebrated the 790th anniversary of its alliance with England in 1937. Dr. Salazar, who actively disliked the regime of Adolf Hitler, decided at the outbreak of war in 1939 that Portugal would strive for three objectives: to remain out of active participation in the

conflict; to help England in whatever ways possible; and to maintain national honor and sovereignty untarnished. In the middle years of the war, after the German assault on the USSR, he privately expressed hope that neither Germany nor the Soviet Union would come out on top, but that the two regimes would exhaust one another so that neither could be a significant factor in the post-war world. Readers may recall that ex-President Herbert Hoover expressed himself similarly at the time.

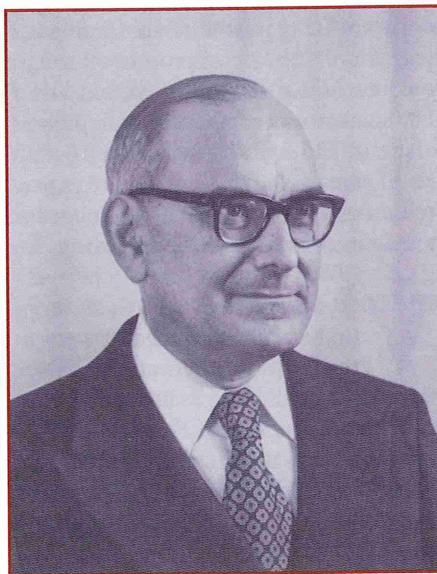
Salazar never believed that Germany could prevail in its struggle against Great Britain. After the fall of France in the spring of 1940, some of Salazar's advisors sought to influence him in a pro-German direction, calculating that Germany had won. Salazar not only refused to be tempted, he insisted that England was not beaten and used his prestige to buttress Spain in its neutrality, thereby keeping the Mediterranean open to Allied shipping.

Critics have castigated Salazar for continuing to trade with the Axis, most importantly for selling Germany large quantities of wolfram, a mineral used in the manufacture of explosives. Wolfram is one of the few mineral resources of Portugal, one which is found in greater abundance there than anywhere else in Europe. However, as Salazar informed his British allies, if he did not supply wolfram to the Axis, Germany, which stood triumphant over nearly the whole of the European continent, would simply take it by force. Salazar therefore supplied Germany, but arranged that Britain receive significantly larger supplies than her opponent.

For a decade and a half after the war, Portugal enjoyed peace and a rising level of prosperity. However, in the 1960s, trouble again appeared on the horizon, this time from the United Nations. With increased third-world participation in that body after the dissolution of the French, British, Dutch, and Belgian empires, Portugal faced heavy pressures to go the same route and give independence to its own overseas territories.

Salazar rejected these demands for

several reasons. First, these territories were regarded by him as the business of Portugal and no one else; Salazar was uncompromising on the subject of national sovereignty. Second, most of Portugal's territories were not "colonies" but had been legally integrated into the Portuguese nation; they were "Portugal Overseas," a part of Portugal itself, much as Alaska and Hawaii are integral parts of the United States. Third, Salazar was opposed to turning over the native peoples of these territories — peoples who had absorbed much of the Portuguese culture, language, and religion — to the butchery



Red intrigue: Marcello Caetano, Salazar's successor, fell prey to a Marxist coup.

and mismanagement of socialist and Communist regimes. The pressure on the government of Portugal grew intense, and armed terrorist movements — trained, financed, and supplied by the Soviet Union — were let loose, especially in Portuguese Angola.

These armed gangsters were not liberators, but operatives of Marxism's Murder Incorporated. Salazar, indignant at the blindness and hypocrisy of the West, exclaimed: "When armed gangs of terrorists, the majority of whom were found not to be Portuguese, go from outside into Northern Angola, attack undefended populations, destroy farms and property, in a few days kill some fifteen hundred

men, women, and children, white, black, and mixed, with the depths of savagery which they boastfully admit; and when we in self-defense, send security forces to the affected areas, the United Nations — with the support of the American delegates, by the way — accuse us of barbarous repression and demand that we allow the massacres to continue."

When Portuguese soldiers had to be sent to defend Portugal Overseas, Dr. Salazar commented in a national broadcast in these words: "Are they fighting and dying for the present government? What a thought! Will they fight tomorrow for democracy? What an illusion! They fight and will continue to fight, under this or any other government, to defend the nation, the tangible reality which the common folk, unaffected by the twisted philosophy of intellectuals, clearly feel through their pure patriotic instinct."

Polished diplomats from Washington and London gasped in disbelief and clucked their tongues, but could do little in the face of Dr. Salazar's defiant stance that Portuguese sovereignty was *not* negotiable. How the liberals and Marxists around the world must have detested this man, who dared speak the unvarnished truth about their conspiracies, schemes, and deception. How his honesty, goodness, and decency must have embarrassed them.

Portugal, in fact, was spending huge sums to transform Portugal Overseas and lift the living standards and cultural level of the native peoples through development and education. The liberals and Marxists proffered slogans, terror, and discredited economic theories. Portugal offered *results*. Hugh Kay, discussing the Angola and Mozambique of the 1950s, noted: "New roads, bridges, hydro-electric schemes, railways, factories, ports, airfields, and farming settlements appeared, and exports boomed. The lower Limpopo Valley was reclaimed from swamp, and a plan to irrigate 250,000 acres (ultimately for 10,000 families) was put into operation. As other African countries broke out in frenetic revolt, Angola and Mozambique seemed like oases of quiet, with much talk of a new Brazil."

No one can accuse the United Nations, or the powers that dominate it, of consistency, or of anything approaching a fair and impartial application of its rules and processes. At that very time that Portugal was being pilloried in pious tones by the "world community," the USSR and Red China maintained, through sheer terror, the largest empires in the world, and not so much as the tiniest squeak was heard at the UN demanding their dismemberment.

Human life and health are fragile, momentary things, whatever station in life a man occupies. In September 1968, Dr. Salazar was rushed to the Red Cross Hospital in Lisbon, suffering from an intracranial subdural hematoma. It was discovered that, several weeks before, he had accidentally fallen, but had forbidden those who had witnessed it to mention it to anyone. An operation was performed that removed the clot but left the Prime Minister physically impaired. President Americo Tomás, upon hearing this news, addressed the nation, announcing that Dr. Salazar had "served the nation with genius and with unflagging dedication for more than forty years," but was no longer able to serve.

The new government was headed by Professor Marcello Caetano, a supporter of the *Estado Novo* who had served Portugal as a government minister, as President of the Corporative Chamber, as Rector of Lisbon University, and in many other capacities. In his first speech Caetano declared: "The nation has for long accustomed itself to being led by a man of genius; from today it must adapt itself to government by men like other men." Caetano, although largely faithful to Salazar's ideas, allowed some measure of liberalization. Salazar, who lived on for a time in retirement, passed away on July 27, 1970.

Professor Caetano was an intelligent man, and dedicated to continuing the Salazar program, in which he wholeheartedly believed. Yet he was not as vigilant as his predecessor, trusting the men around him too much and naive in his understanding of his enemies, perhaps

imagining that they wished him well and that they wished Portugal well. Lowering his guard, he failed to grasp the malevolence and venomous spite that smoldered in the breasts of the opponents of Christian Portugal. Caetano was thus unprepared for the leftist coup that forced him from office in April 1974.

Portugal suffered political and economic upheavals throughout the '70s, and only barely escaped the terrors of full-blown Sovietization, as a Communist-socialist coalition seized control but then failed to complete its revolution. Perhaps it was Dr. Salazar who saved Portugal again, for although he was gone, memo-



Man of honor: Even after 40 years of public service, friends and foes alike considered Salazar incorruptible.

ry of him was still strong in the minds of ordinary Portuguese. Many of these people had not forgotten his warning that "liberty in the hands of the barbarians of our modern times serves only to undermine the foundations of our civilization."

They remembered also the forces Salazar had struggled against. "We are opposed," he had told them, "to all of the internationalisms, opposed to communism, to socialism, to libertarian syndicalism; we are opposed to all that disintegrates, divides, or dissolves the family; we are opposed to the class struggle. We are against those who know no country and no God; against the bondage of the workers, against the purely materialist conception of life, against the idea that might is right."

Doubtless many of them remembered

the sense of pride he had restored to Portugal, and the sense of duty and community he had instilled. "We do not ask for much," he once said, "only an understanding and consciousness of your country and of national unity; of the family, the primary social unit; of authority and of obedience to authority; of the spiritual values of life and of the respect that is owing to man; of the obligation to work; of virtue and of the sacred nature of religion — that is what is essential in the mental and moral foundation of a citizen of the *Estado Novo*."

Dr. Salazar was a genuine hero of our century, saving and restoring his nation, upholding traditional Christian ideals, and inspiring men of good will around the world. He never sought personal enrichment, but lived a life of simplicity, dying a poor man after 40 years of public service. Both his friends and enemies considered him incorruptible, for good reason. Power he regarded as a terrible responsibility, "an arduous public duty which he would greatly prefer to repudiate," says Michael Derrick.

One day in 1937 a Communist would-be assassin threw a bomb at Salazar as the latter was about to enter a chapel for Mass. The bomb exploded nearby, but amazingly Salazar was uninjured. Remaining perfectly calm, he continued along to Mass and was surprised, when the service ended, that a crowd of ordinary citizens had gathered to cheer him on his escape. Salazar commented to them that "it is evidently not God's will that I should die, and so I am returning to work." He added, in a quiet voice, "I thank you, not for myself, since I have no concern for vanity and glory, but for the comforting conviction that you give me that our work will never die."

In that he was right, for while many of the institutions created by Dr. Salazar have disappeared, the principles which gave them substance and meaning spring from universal and absolute truths, and therefore cannot be extinguished. In that sense, at least, Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar's work will never die. ■