

PORTUGAL AND SWEDEN – DIPLOMATIC HISTORY AND BILATERAL FOREIGN POLICY

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Abstract

This paper intends to analyze the foreign policies of Portugal and Sweden and study diplomatic discussions and exchanges from former Portuguese officials in several decades and historical periods. This study will have a greater focus on Portuguese foreign policy and diplomacy, as only documents from the Portuguese National Records (Torre do Tombo) and the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs are analyzed, however, an incisive study and review of Swedish foreign policy and history shall also be performed. Bilateral political negotiations and foreign policy research between these two countries have never been developed using this method. This research will analyze this centuries-old relationship particularly during World War II, the Cold War and the Portuguese Colonial War, and the road towards Europeanization, however, earlier events shall also be mentioned.

Keywords

Sweden, Portugal, foreign policy, diplomatic history

Introduction

Both Portugal and Sweden are countries with an ancient history. The political history of these two countries has often led to bilateral exchanges of political ideas, discussions, missions, diplomatic encounters but also political dissensus and different views on world matters.

Portugal has had many shifts in its foreign policy as Teixeira¹ has contended. The first approach or choice was adopted in the middle ages when this kingdom was fighting the Muslim rulers of the Southern Iberian Peninsula. The main political agenda shared by most Iberian Christian kingdoms was to restore the Visigothic heritage and regain the territory that was lost to the southern invaders.

This foreign policy model (the so-called classical model) disappeared around the 15th century² when Portugal's foreign policy turns to the Atlantic Ocean, at first to Northern Africa and the city of Ceuta, and, shortly after that, to the western coast of Africa, the American continent, and then to the eastern coast of Africa, India, the coast of China, the territory of contemporary Indonesia, and East Timor. Portugal, in time, created one of the biggest land-mass empires in world history, helped to develop world geography, the study of the continents, and the oceans but also one where slavery, lack of human rights, torture, and segregation also coexisted. This empire gradually disappeared, at first with the independence of Brazil in 1822, the independence of Angola, Mozambique and other African colonies in 1974 after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal, and the return of Macau to China in 1999 (among other events) (Rosas, 1988 and Oliveira, 2007).

After 1974 and the Portuguese Carnation Revolution, Portugal's foreign policy was mostly focused on European integration. Achieving an economic, financial, and political situation that was favorable for the inclusion of Portugal in the European Economic Community (EEC) (the future European Union (EU)), became the most important foreign policy ideal (although the Atlantic perspective has, to a certain degree, been developed as well, now under democratic systems, commercial trade, and multilateral emigration, with institutions such as the *Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP)³.

The political situation of Portugal in Europe and the world made countries such as England, France, Spain, Germany, Brazil, India, China or others have a more direct impact on Portugal's foreign policy as compared to Sweden. However, numerous historical events have often forced these two countries of Portugal and Sweden to be engaged in multilateral talks.

Foreign policy literature on Sweden is quite numerous. One of the earliest works was made by Herbert Tingsten⁴, where this defensive approach is greatly debated by analyzing Sweden's view of the United States, the Soviet

¹Teixeira, Nuno Severiano (2010). "Breve Ensaio sobre a Política Externa Portuguesa", *Relações Internacionais*, Nº28, pp. 51-60.

²Teixeira, Nuno Severiano (2000). "O Ultimatum Inglês - Política Externa e Política Interna no Portugal de 1890", Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1990.

³Community of Portuguese Language Countries.

⁴Tingsten, Herbert (1959) "Issues in Swedish Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 474-485.

Union, and their political developments for the pursuit of more human rights (or the lack thereof). There were many academic schools that debated Swedish foreign policy. The work of Jakob Gustavsson⁵ is an example of a scholarly work that debated the conceptual structures and ideas in these schools. Swedish posture was mostly understood as defensive and reactive which was greatly observable in World War II as this paper shall show. This country is understood as lacking in combat and fighting efficiency, organization, and practice⁶.

Swedish posture towards European integration was perceived at times as doubtful due to the distrust towards supranationalization and its security issues that arise from its geographical position (one based on the relative proximity between several world powers (Germany, the United Kingdom, or (Soviet) Russia). This foreign policy ideal changed at the beginning of the 1990s towards a policy of greater proximity to the European Union. In this innovative study, Gustavsson puts forth the argument that the end of the Cold War was not a sufficient reason for this shift in Swedish foreign policy for greater Europeanization. It was the role of Ingvar Carlsson⁷ and Allan Larsson⁸, the fear of further isolation, and a balance of payments problem in 1990 and 1991 that were the main reasons for this shift.

Even though the literature that we approached here does serve as a basis for the understanding of both Portugal's and Sweden's foreign policy, the fact remains that these countries were only analyzed in their individual roles and ideals, they were never analyzed together and how they related to each other. This was possibly the most important reason for the development of this study.

According to the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁹, the first diplomatic exchanges between Portugal and Sweden were made in 1641 under the leadership of Francisco de Sousa Coutinho. In that same year, a treaty was made between both countries that involved free trade between both states, political approximation and friendship, and free religious worship (although the Portuguese Inquisition would not have been as tolerant regarding religious worship). The Portuguese Legation in Stockholm was created in this same year of 1641, and the diplomacy between these two countries has

⁵ Gustavsson, Jakob (1998). "The politics of foreign policy change, Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC membership", Lund University Press.

⁶ Ekengren, Ann-Marie (2011), "How ideas influence decision-making: Olof Palme and Swedish Foreign Policy, 1965-1975, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 36:2, 117-134.

⁷ Ingvar Carlsson was the Prime Minister of Sweden for two mandates (1986-1991 and 1994-1996) under the Swedish Social Democratic Party. He had previously served as a minister in several ministries such as education, housing, and environmental affairs.

⁸ Allan Larsson was the Swedish Minister of Finance from 1990 until 1991, a Swedish Member of Parliament, and a European Commissioner.

⁹ Portal Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros de Portugal (2018): [Accessed on the 05-10-2018]; URL:<<https://www.portaldiplomatico.mne.gov.pt/relacoesbilaterais/paises-geral/suecia>>.

never been interrupted at any time since then (although periods of friction and dissensus have existed at times).

The documents analyzed in this study and varied bibliography can lead us to the conclusion that Portuguese-Swedish relations, foreign policy, and diplomatic history were always quite friendly, despite occasional and minor frictions. No declaration of war has ever been issued by any of these two countries towards each other in several centuries of diplomatic exchanges. Even during the Napoleonic wars, both Portugal and Sweden had occasionally joined coalitions that were opposed to Napoleon and French rule. Additionally, in the entire history of both countries there were no royal weddings between Portuguese and Swedish monarchs and even in 1911, one year after the introduction of the Portuguese Republic and the end of the monarchical system, Sweden's government recognized this new republic.

Diplomatic, political, and historical documents exchanged between these two countries were mostly written during the XXth century.

After these introductory remarks, the research question of this paper is: *Why were Portuguese – Swedish relations and their bilateral foreign policies greatly developed in the course of the XXth century particularly during World War II, the Cold war, and in the path towards Europeanization?*

Research methodologies, the problematic, and research objectives:

This study will, at first, make a brief historical account of the history of these two countries, their involvement in European affairs in the modern and contemporary era, at the same time as the most relevant academic bibliography on this subject is reviewed. After these subjects are scrutinized, the analysis of the documents found in the Portuguese National Records (Torre do Tombo) shall be studied. These documents have never before been studied in academic research and will shed new light on Sweden's (and successive Swedish governments') perception by several Portuguese governments. This paper is thus focused on documents of Portuguese origin and written by Portuguese officials at different times. It is not the objective of this paper to analyze similar documents from Swedish governmental officials or documents of Swedish origin. Nevertheless, after this analysis, both Portuguese and Swedish scholars will be able to have a greater understanding of these bilateral negotiations and foreign policies.

The missing-link on which this study wishes to research is based on the fact that Portuguese-Swedish relations were greatly reinforced during the XXth

century (particularly after 1939), even though they had existed since 1641 and also based on the fact that Portugal and Sweden were not (except in contemporary European Union times) traditional economic or political partners. The foreign policies of each of these two countries were traditionally directed towards different territories and states. The period this paper wishes to study is from 1939 until 1994, even though, earlier periods are also debated.

These methodologies and the understanding of these problems put together will enable this paper to reach its maximum potential and enable it to effectively answer its research question.

Portuguese-Swedish relations in World War II:

The Second World War was a deeply traumatizing and reformative time for Europe as the first German invasions completely changed the exporting and importing sectors of all European countries.

Swedish foreign trade was partially affected by the war. The German occupation of Denmark and Norway made Swedish maritime commercial trade with Western Europe more difficult, and the German invasion of Belgium, the Netherlands, and France accentuated this even more, although some of these problems had already been addressed in the Autumn of 1939 because, as soon as the war started, Sweden had established exporting principles with Britain and Germany that were not opposed by any of the belligerent nations. Neutral countries were expected to continue with their normal commercial relations and trade as a sign of good will to conflicting nations. The fact that the Swedish state and its economic and market situation were partially stable and politically neutral, was positively regarded by Portuguese officials who used these agreements established by Sweden as a system of diplomacy and as a system to foster growth and commercial trade between these two countries. Despite expectable restraints due to war developments, both Portugal and Sweden tried to adapt to wartime economics in peaceful manners and were able to maintain their neutrality during the whole duration of the war.

On Portugal's side, 70% of Portuguese export markets were in Western Europe in 1938 and these were partially lost as the German invasions continued. Occasional losses of Portuguese ships created doubts on whether the northern European markets would be profitable during war times as Portugal was itself suffering from relative isolation. The origin of most Portuguese exports was from the African colonies which were one of the most important factors of its foreign policy that had led the country to

enter World War I and was still determining its political stance in World War II when negotiating with Germany and the western powers. Sweden was progressively seen by Portuguese officials, as the war developed, as a potential market, as the invasions of Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, made trade with these countries more and more difficult¹⁰.

Both Portugal and Sweden were politically neutral during World War II, however, Portugal had, due to a historical alliance established with England in 1386, closer relations with Britain, whereas Sweden was more prone to develop trade and political proximity with Germany due to its geographic proximity. Portugal was nevertheless able to export to Germany products and foodstuffs such as tuna cans, boots and insoles and most importantly wolfram which is a chemical component necessary for the making of armaments. Portugal also did not choose to join in the war against Germany as this country had a powerful market that could be profitable for Portuguese exporters, and the Portuguese government was also a follower of the fascist ideology mostly adopting policies close to Mussolini's ideology. The Portuguese Estado Novo regime thus continued with a policy of neutrality during World War II, contrary to the one adopted in World War I when it joined the Triple Entente led by the English and the French.

Sweden was the only neutral country in the Scandinavian area during World War II. Finland was at war with the Soviet Union ever since the Soviet invasion in the Winter War of 1939-1940 and then the Continuation War until 1944. The United Kingdom also declared war on Finland. Denmark and Norway, on the other hand, were invaded by Nazi Germany and were forced to have its economies and society dictated by German rhetoric. Sweden was then left to negotiate with Nazi Germany while, at the same time, trying to maintain its neutrality with the German, British, American, and Soviet armies.

Germany was the main market for Swedish exports through a clearing system and represented around 428 million Swedish Kroner. It is noteworthy to remember that German export companies received subsidies by the state to increase their exports to Sweden until April 1940. Portugal would import around 315 million Kroner of Swedish commodities but, with war developments, both sides were trying to benefit as much as possible from their position while trying to maintain their neutrality through difficult

¹⁰ 1) Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, (1941), "Política Comercial da Suécia em tempo de guerra", Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/12/20/19.

2) Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, (1942), "Correspondência relativa a conversações com diplomatas da Suécia", Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/3/3/00027.

3) Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, (1943), "Correspondência relativa a conversações com diplomatas da Suécia", Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/3/3/30.

negotiations. Until at least the end of 1941, both Portuguese and Swedish exports to Germany were increasing in numbers and profitability. The most lucrative times were the summer months and the beginning of autumn, not only due to good weather but also because they were times of fastly changing war developments.

Sweden was a nation that was progressively developing (ever since World War I and possibly even before) at a relatively stable pace and increasingly viewed as an interesting and profitable market that was rich on chemical components, wood, armaments, and other commodities.

The Scandinavian markets had relative financial importance for Portugal's exports as they represented around 300 million Swedish Kronor in 1938. The beginning of World War II created a lot of economic competition between European and world states that were trying to maintain a neutral political stance during the war, however, Portugal exported much more to Sweden than what it imported. The value of what Portugal would import from the whole of Scandinavia in 1938 was only 50% of the value of what Portugal exported. Therefore, Portugal would export to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark on the basis of a clearing system where Germany started to intervene after the outbreak of the war, and to Finland on the basis of credit. Portugal exported numerous commodities to Finland as well such as paper, chemical components, tobacco, and many others as Portugal supported Finland in the war against the Soviet Union.

By 1941, this clearing system was the method used for about 70% of Swedish trade that was partially supervised by Germany. The Portuguese officials regarded this clearing system as an overall negative but necessary method in which to develop trade relations during war times¹¹.

With war developments, this value decreased as Portugal would export 200 million kroner but would import 160 million kroner from the Scandinavian countries which amounts to 80% of its exports. Portugal was forced to export more raw materials and chemical components and less manufactured products as the United Kingdom and Nazi Germany would create political pressure systems to neutral countries by controlling boat chartering. Germany is said to have forbidden the chartering of Swedish boats by Portuguese companies as it needed those boats for its own wartime economics. Swedish foreign trade was highly influenced by the Nazi Government during war times. For the duration of the war, both Sweden and Portugal profited economically but they also suffered periods of great commercial and sometimes political isolation as they were trying to

¹¹ Idem.

gain leverage in European and world markets. Sweden and Portugal also negotiated numerous agreements with the Finnish government for the buying of Finnish ships as this country was undergoing war against the Soviet Union and needed foreign commodities, and stable monetary and financial basis. The Swedish Government still bought 24 Finnish ships for the price of 75 million Swedish Kroner.

The analysis of these diplomatic documents in the Portuguese National Records show that communications between Portugal and Sweden were continuous but also filled with numerous problems of communication and interference with diplomats and officials on the German, American, and English side as the war was progressing and the influence of the United States was increasing. Portugal had ended diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union, therefore, its influence in Portuguese affairs was virtually non-existent.

As the war progressed and Germany's power was decreasing, Sweden saw Portugal as an important mediating state in its negotiations with the Allies as many Swedish societal and economic sectors were somewhat resistant to Allied demands and that could further isolate Sweden. In 1944, these naval authorization problems were still existent even when Germany was losing the war. The Swedish "Saturnus" oil tanker was trying to be chartered by the Allies and that was also made difficult by the Nazi officials.

It was American diplomacy that eventually made neutral countries increasingly reluctant to negotiate with Nazi Germany as it no longer created positive economic developments and further negotiations with this state would dampen any positive diplomatic advances with the Allies. Sweden, however, resisted Allied pressure due to its geographical position.

The Swedish Minister Baron Beck Friis would mention that Portugal was the only country for which Sweden would produce armaments. Sweden would also try to export iron, nickel, iron rivets, helmet discs, and tin, although it was always needing a clearance or authorization from Nazi Germany. Swedish officials would also ask of Portuguese officials to discuss with Germany as to allow Swedish boats to go to Portugal and be able to export. "Something was not going well with the [Swedish] merchant navy as it encountered great problems in obtaining authorizations from the German Government for its trips"¹².

¹² Translated from the original Portuguese: in Torre do Tombo, Correspondência Relativa a conversações com Diplomatas da Suécia", page. 265.

The documents show that these two countries had in time developed a close proximity as they were two of the very few countries that were able to maintain their neutrality during the entire duration of the war¹³.

Portuguese-Swedish relations in the Post-War, the Cold War Period and the Path towards Europeanization:

With the end of the war, Portuguese-Swedish relations were maintained and were, in fact, reinforced with an aerial navigation agreement between Portugal and Sweden which was concluded in 1945.

This agreement was made between the Portuguese state and the Swedish company Aktiebolaget Aerotransport (ABA)¹⁴. These Swedish airplanes could land in Lisbon, and use Lisbon as a stopping point for refueling if said airplanes were also on the way to South America. It was an agreement that envisaged passengers, commodities, and mail. Reduced levies existed for the selling of fuel, lubricants, mechanical parts, and other commodities.

This agreement can be understood as one of the first moments of a political openness by these two countries not just towards each other but also to the world at large, that saw their exporting and importing markets highly affected by German incursions in central and Eastern Europe and that needed to readapt to the new post-war political and economic environment.

The fact that Sweden was perhaps slightly more isolated during the war than Portugal, made this agreement profitable for both sides both politically and economically. Portugal would gain other markets for its exports and Sweden would gain a stopping and refueling point for its connections to South America and perhaps Africa.

“The right to embark and disembark in Lisbon is only given to international passenger transit, cargo, and mail that is not destined or is not originated from Spain, France, the United Kingdom, and Northern Ireland for the Stockholm-Lisbon route.¹⁵”

¹³ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (1945), “Refugiados na Suécia. Regresso à Alemanha de Alemães embarcados nos portos mediterrânicos e em Lisboa”, Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/12/20/42.

¹⁴ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, (1945-46), “Acordo de Navegação Aérea com a Suécia”, Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/8/6/6.

¹⁵ This article was translated from the Portuguese version by the author. In: Torre do Tombo, 1945-46, “Acordo de Navegação Aérea com a Suécia”, pg.59.

As it was said, this agreement¹⁶ was made as an attempt to restructure the commercial and political relations of post-war Europe that were completely changed by the cataclysm of World War II. In this political and economic scenario, the Portuguese authorities were discussing the fact that in 1950, import levies might have had to be raised as greater competition was appearing in peace times and a fear existed that Portuguese companies would possibly suffer from such intensifying competition.

These fears of growing competition and the forming of economic blocks as an attempt to secure the access to certain markets was one of the reasons that led to the creation not only of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951, the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 but also the European Free trade Association (EFTA) in 1960 that was, at first, a competitor to the former two. Portugal and Sweden were founding members of EFTA that mutually gained from this European agreement as a continuous elimination of import levies and customs was pursued. EFTA was a competitor to the EEC but built in a completely different system as a country could be part of this system and function under an authoritarian government, as was the case of Portugal.

Even though Portugal and Sweden were economic partners in the first years of post-war Europe, a series of events pushed these two countries to a period of economic partnership mixed with political distance and opposition¹⁷.

The increase in the number of anti-colonialist movements throughout the African continent and the feeling of the ending of European rule in Africa and the world had pushed the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Portugal, and the main European countries with colonial provinces to progressively end this colonial process.

The effect of the Soviet Union in this process is still an issue of great importance. The two biggest nuclear and economic powers of the Cold War, the United States, and the Soviet Union, had regarded the situation of the African continent under great concern. On the one hand, the prospect of the end of colonialism in the African continent and the appearance of new African governments constituted by citizens of African descent, made the Soviet Union send military and financial support for political movements that opposed colonialism and proposed communist ideals. On the other hand, the United States' foreign policy viewed anti-colonialist developments in the African continent as another geography in which to fight communism while

¹⁶ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, (1945-46), "Acordo de Navegação Aérea com a Suécia", Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/8/6/6.

¹⁷ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, 1961, "Interesse da Suécia pela África", Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-N/1/3/31.

not greatly opposing African independence movements that could favor liberal approaches to the economy and a favorable approach to the capitalist west. President Nixon of the USA, who was in office from 1969 until 1974 had already gone to the festivities of Ghana's independence in 1957. Four United States' consulates in Africa had also been created during this time.

The Portuguese position of the Estado Novo Regime (1933-1974), a regime of fascist and corporatist mentality, was built under the assumption that Portuguese colonialism and presence in Africa and the world was different from its European counterparts and was a positive factor for African economic development. African descendants were considered Portuguese and equal citizens and could, in theory, have political positions although that never happened. Therefore, the start of the Portuguese colonial war in 1961 forced the Estado Novo government to bring a greater military presence in Africa particularly in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé e Príncipe.

The American position at the time was that, while the Portuguese situation and the start of the Portuguese colonial war (1961-1974) was troubling, the political situation in Africa and the world were not favorable to the Portuguese side.

The Scandinavian countries of Sweden and Finland were considered neutral during the Cold War due to their need for open economic relations with the Soviet Union while maintaining a relative proximity with the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Denmark and Norway (and also Portugal) were founding members of NATO.

Portugal's position in Africa became increasingly more isolated with fewer partners in both Europe and Africa (only Apartheid South Africa and the Rhodesian governments were supportive of Portuguese presence in Africa). Scandinavian countries were generally opposed to Portuguese presence in this continent and knew that it was only a matter of time for European colonialism to end. This situation meant that Sweden and Finland, and other countries should use these transformative events and times as a start for a renewed foreign policy towards new upcoming African governments.

Scandinavian projects in colonial Africa were numerous. The Nordic Tanganyika Centre (Tanganyika is modern-day Tanzania) which included a school, health center, and agricultural school were financed by Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden¹⁸. Scandinavian churches and civil society were also involved in these projects and were additional motors of change

¹⁸ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, (1963-01-13 until 1974-05-02); "Política em Relação a África – Finlândia" Reference code: PT/TT/SCCIM/A/13/28.

for the gathering of aid for these independentist movements¹⁹. The FRELIMO movement is one of those movements that contended for Mozambican independence that also received great financial and at times military aid from Scandinavian countries, as were the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, the MPLA or Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola / Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and others.

The documents analyzed for this paper that had been written by PIDE officials (Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado / International and State Defense Police), which was the intelligence police of the authoritarian Estado Novo regime, show that this state was concerned about foreign intervention in the African territories. The documents show that occasional events had been recorded where Portuguese citizens were photographed and seen not allowing Swedish commodities to be traded in Portuguese harbors due to the Swedish involvement in the former Portuguese colonial territories²⁰.

As types of aid given by Sweden to former Portuguese colonies were university scholarships given to students of African origin, the presence of military envoys and groups, the training of Swedish and African civilians for the life in the tropics, Swedish and African protestant church activities in various terrains. The Swedish military would also get training from British officials in order to prepare missions in the tropics.

Sweden is understood in these documents as a country with a weak political position in Africa, and due to this situation, its foreign policy was increasingly becoming one of intervention in African affairs propagandizing worker's rights and human rights²¹. Due to the also apparent change in political structures in practically the entire African continent, this country was forced to negotiate with revolutionary, anti-colonialist, and independentist movements as they were proving to be the expectable upcoming governments²². The fact that the Soviet Union was also increasingly intervening in Africa and the neutral countries of Finland and Sweden would try not to create hostilities with Moscow, made these countries adopt a position favoring the end of colonial rule, which was also partially accepted

¹⁹ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo; "Política em Relação a África – Finlândia" Reference code: PT/TT/SCCIM/A/13/28. (1963-01-13 until 1974-05-02), Lisbon, Portugal, pp 8.

²⁰ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (1969), "O cargueiro Alemão "Hermes", transportando carga sueca, que os estivadores do Porto de Lisboa recusaram descarregar, como protesto contra o Governo da Suécia por auxiliar o terrorismo nas nossas províncias ultramarinas", Reference code: PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0191/4129AU.

²¹ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, 1961, "Interesse da Suécia pela África", Reference code: PT/TT/AOS/D-N/1/3/31.

²² Tiilikainen, Teija (2005) "The Nordic Countries and the EU-NATO relationship", in A. Bailes, G. Herolf & B. Sundelius (eds.) The Nordic countries and the ESDP, Oxford, OUP, 2005.

the United States' authorities. This scenario made the Portuguese Estado Novo increasingly more isolated²³.

The isolationist policies of the Estado Novo government and its continuous belief in the positive economic and political effects of the Portuguese intervention in Africa (such as the development of the Cabora-Bassa dam in Mozambique, its trade deals with Apartheid South Africa, and the understanding of African provinces as equal to any other Portuguese territory) which were continued under Marcelo Caetano's prime-ministry; the greater communist upheavals and revolts in mainland Portugal; the increasing lack of support from civil society, the army, and other sectors, eventually led to the revolution of the 25th of April, 1974, and the end of the longest fascist regime in Europe.

One year after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal, in 1975, Sweden rapidly recognized the new democratic and revolutionary government in Portugal under a "Portuguese-Swedish Declaration" that focused on economic development and trade.

This was to be the basis for political and economic development between both countries in the years to come. It took Portuguese society about 2 years to be able to completely recover from the revolution and for communist movements and the Portuguese Communist Party to lose its political momentum, even though numerous private agricultural lands were still nationalized and forced occupations did occur. The first democratic elections occurred on the 25th of April, 1975, and the new Portuguese constitution was then written on the 2nd of April, 1976 under an elected parliament.

With the end of the Estado Novo dictatorship, and the end of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and India (with the exception of Macau in China), Portugal's foreign policy turned towards Central Europe and European integration, namely the EEC. However, Portugal suffered a severe economic crisis following the transformative times of the April revolution and requested IMF financial assistance on two occasions (1977 and 1983, and again several years later in 2011). Portugal would eventually enter the EEC in 1986 together with Spain²⁴.

Sweden did not have to go through any revolution, or any transition towards a democratic government during these times but it had a reformative change

²³ Mattoso, José. (1998). "História de Portugal, O Estado Novo (1926-1974)", Vol. 7, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa; and Torgal, Luís Reis (2009). "Estados Novos, Estado Novo", Coimbra, Imprensa Universidade de Coimbra.

²⁴ Nunes, Ana Bela (2015) "The Portuguese economy in the 1980's: structural change and short-term upheavals", Working paper series, Gabinete de História Económica e Social, Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon.

in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed. Both Finland and Sweden were economically affected by this transformation in a major world player such as the Soviet Union/Russia. A number of events, particularly the end of the Cold War and the ensuing economic crisis, and Ingvar Carlsson and Allan Larsson's vision of a Sweden under communitarian and supranational integration were regarded as necessary as to end the fears of greater isolation. Sweden's foreign policy thus became somewhat Europeanized.

Sweden, Finland, and Austria would join the, now called, European Union in 1995.

At this point, both Portugal and Sweden were part of a supranational political system with a single market operating without borders for either commodities or people (Schengen Zone).

Conclusions

The literature that was analyzed in this paper put forth various interpretations for both Portuguese and Swedish foreign policies.

The conceptual architecture posed by scholars such as Gustavsson and Teixeira²⁵ appears to be applicable when studying these relations on both sides. The, at first, defensive and reactive position of Sweden can be traced back several centuries and had a somewhat similar approach during the Kalmar Union although the feudalist and medieval times of this union demand a different type of approach. Nevertheless, Sweden, has not actively participated in any war since the Napoleonic wars in the XIXth century.

Defensiveness seems to be quite a useful concept for the understanding of earlier Swedish foreign policy. This policy made Sweden have different approaches to the Napoleonic era but it also led this country to neutral positions in both World War I and II.

The diplomatic relations between Portugal and Sweden during World War II were enhanced and were greatly debated in this research. Their intentions and capabilities for the structuring of trade between each other and in the midst of other combating nations were researched. Both Portugal and Sweden were neutral during this global conflict.

²⁵ Teixeira, Nuno Severiano (2005). "Entre África e a Europa: Política Externa Portuguesa, 1890-2000", In António Costa Pinto (coord.), Portugal Contemporâneo. Lisboa: D. Quixote, pp. 87-116.

Both of these countries were trying to benefit from their neutrality policy in the conflict, while also trying to maintain this same neutrality through difficult negotiations with both the Axis forces and the Allied forces.

This neutral position was somehow adapted with the end of the war as Sweden immediately started rebuilding trade relations with Portugal through an aerial route and agreement that included passengers and certain commodities. This adaptation by Sweden continued in the 1960s and 1970s with the beginning of the end of colonialism in Africa and the world. Sweden needed to build a stronger diplomatic presence in Africa and that obliged them to negotiate with European colonial states in Africa such as Portugal, but also with upcoming revolutionary movements in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and with other countries and whose governments were against native-led governments such as Apartheid South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Sweden's policies were based on the economic, financial, and, at times, military support for anti-colonialist movements as soon as the United Kingdom and France gradually began to abandon colonial rule. Portugal's position was getting more and more isolated and that proved to be a reason for Sweden to build greater diplomatic and economic presence in Africa.

After the Portuguese revolution of 1974 and the end of the authoritarian right-wing Estado Novo regime, Portugal underwent a political and economic transition where the Atlantic and the Africanist or colonial views were mostly abandoned and the path for Europeanization was started entering the European Economic Community in 1986.

Sweden had a slightly different path. It was the end of the Cold war, the end of the idea of the "Third Road", and Ingvar Carlsson and Allan Larsson's role that proved to be the main reasons for the shift towards greater Europeanization made by the Swedish government and its foreign policy which was expressed in the Swedish parliament on the 26th of October, 1990.

Even though this study recognizes the fact that outside influences and the appeal of the European single-market and the EEC were present in Portuguese post-revolution discourse, the research performed here preferred to maintain a state-level approach to this issue as European integration had become the only credible exit or, at least, the dominant position in Portuguese foreign policy.

Swedish foreign policy, on the other hand, developed from a defensive and neutral policy to one that was based on military neutrality and non-affiliation with NATO while seeking economic partnership with the EU (but not joining the Euro currency).

It can thus be postulated that it was in the "national interest" of these two countries to have these shifts in their foreign policies. But one can also state that Portuguese foreign policy has had greater and more reformative shifts in its foreign policy that obliged the Portuguese state to radically develop new approaches in short periods of time particularly after 1974.

Sweden also endured periods of great political change in the XXth century but these were mostly based on the adaptation to different economic scenarios derived from the end of the cold war.

This study gathered many aspects that had never been debated in academic terms and, therefore, opens the way for more studies on the politics and diplomacy between these two countries, whether in modern or contemporary times. These two countries had periods of distance and approximation between their foreign policies. It was then the intention of this paper to study the diplomatic and political history between these two countries and how they cooperated, primarily during the XXth century even though earlier events were also mentioned.

This study was focused on Portuguese documents and sources which can later be used by Swedish scholars who can then continue developing this topic of the bilateral negotiations between these two countries and focusing on Swedish sources. Additionally, the issues that have created the most dissensus between the governments of these two countries after European Union accession could be the basis for a future study on Portuguese-Swedish relations.

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