Preface

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The relationship between Portugal and the United States, a reference though it is in the broad range of Portuguese foreign policy options, has not prompted the systematic study or in-depth analysis that a matter of such unquestioned relevance would seem to merit.

The Institute for Strategic and International Studies, in methodically identifying the various aspects of the bilateral relations between Portugal and the United States, with contributions from experts in the areas of diplomatic history, international security and economic co-operation, is breaking new ground in the task of filling a gap that has for quite a while now been notorious. The merits of the research carried out by private institutes, a creative addition to the institutional action of the State, is thus unequivocally confirmed, concerning the close and independent scrutiny of one of the most note-worthy chapters in the international posture of Portugal, in the comprehensive surveys produced by ambassador Calvet de Magalhães, Álvaro de Vasconcelos and Joaquim Ramos Silva.

Currently, a new structuring pattern is determining the nature and organisation of luso-american relations. In fact, the United States are reinventing their global strategy, most noticeably in the East-West arena and the articulation of interests of the two great powers. The global rôle of the United States is also permeated by a manifold set of priorities, of which "competition/co-operation" with the countries of western Europe and Japan is in an especially prominent place.

In becoming a member of the European Community, and of the Council of Europe and the Western European Union as well, Portugal has thoroughly redefined its terms of reference towards the United States. In a sense, Portugal has become a part of a broad project of self-assertion, tenaciously heading towards

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a single market, economic and monetary union, a social and political space, a political confederation. Portugal has clearly come to see herself as a part of the European identity, self-determination and unity. That instrumental fact will from now on dictate a progressive redefinition of the aims and the tone of the diplomatic dialogue between Lisbon and Washington, and not only in purely commercial matters.

The dichotomous choice – European option versus Atlantic option – as the main driving force of Portuguese foreign policy, surfaces now and then in the political debate. This is a grotesque simplification, besides lacking any geopolitical grounds. Portugal's interests were equally jeopardised by the string of continental and maritime powers. It is also totally unfounded to claim for Portugal, in the peninsular context, the monopoly of "maritimity". It would therefore seem more appropriate to use the concept of Euro-Atlanticity to define the specific rôle of Portugal in the international landscape. European roots *and an Atlantic* posture, *though not exclusively North-Atlantic, synthetise the rôle of Portugal in the world architecture of power relations. This would seem in line, moreover, with the ruling trend that points to the by no means lesser need, in the present situation of rapid international change, for both the reinforcement of the European individuality and the improvement of Atlantic solidarity.*

European roots and Atlantic posture assign Portugal a specific rôle in the relationship with the United States, a rôle that brings to the fore the unique nature of that articulation. In the interests of deriving a greater multiplying factor from diplomatic potential through that relationship, however, it is essential that, on the US side, an increased value be conferred to the Portuguese factor in the peninsular and community process, and also in the international arena (bearing in mind the Portuguese-speaking space). On the Portuguese side, that the vicious circle of "compliancy-agressiveness", one that has painfully characterized a number of protagonists of an all-too-immature relationship between a country like Portugal and the greatest global power, be put to rest once and for all. There is harsh competition among all countries in Europe (or even in the world) to obtain an active relationship with the United States, even when Euro-American emulation sours into conflicting rhetorics for the benefit of public diplomacy. Portugal should count as no exception in enjoying the benefits to be derived by a country in EC Europe building a special and constructive relationship with the United States.

At the outset, our geographical location, implying greater proximity, is an asset in that contention. No less decisive factors, however, are a history free of conflict, the fairly good place accorded to Portugal in the grading-scale Washington uses to rate allies, the presence of working communities on US soil, the projection of the language in Africa and Latin America. These comparative advantages, if correctly valued, will necessarily potentiate interesting results. Nevertheless, if received as a totally unreactive legacy, they are of little or no significance. It is therefore for Portugal to determine what we really want *from our special relationship with the United States.*

In the formulation of Portugal's US foreign policy, the political-diplomatic aspects have a heavy bearing, and these elements, as always, depend to a great

extent on government options and the deeper feelings of those in office. It would seem unquestionable that our main concern, until the turn of the century, should be to stimulate and build upon the points of contact with the American society bearing a greater multiplying effect in the process of economic development of Portugal. Cooperation in the field of education should concentrate on exchanges between universities and on the scientific and technological areas, economic cooperation should privilege investment and trade. Production and financial engineering, management and marketing, the expansion of the tertiary sector, call for a greater presence of Portuguese grantees in the United States, and this will only be adequately productive if the State and the companies combine their efforts to that end, as other countries are doing, with enormous success. Expectations as regards exchange programmes should not be frustrated in the cultural and artistic fields either, if we bear in mind the globalization of the physical back-up of information and communications and the transnational rôle of the United States in our contemporary society.

As international affairs evolve towards the achievement and maintenance of peace, a reappraisal of our current security relationship with the United States, in the light of developments in allied strategy, is fully justified. As a consequence of East-West détente, *Euro-American relations will be extensively modernized. In that light – and bearing in mind a restructuring of the strategic working model in the Iberian region – the fragmentary series of diplomatic instruments regulating the bilateral relationship in such a sensitive sphere should be developed into a new* treaty of cooperation, security and friendship, *one that does not concentrate solely on the military aspects, at the earliest opportunity. The rationale of sector by sector claims with the purpose of dividing up and thereby maximizing assistance should be replaced by a more coherent and balanced approach to national interests in order to define a new concept for the reinforcement of the common security interests. Only when the raison d'Etat comes to prevail over interest groups (corporate or regional) will the security and defence relationship between Portugal and the United States offer a tangible contribution to the permanent mechanisms for coordination among allies in NATO. To strive towards this end for mutual benefit is a stimulating challenge in the light of recent world developments, with diplomacy triumphing over conflict, politics over war.*

In a civilization where computers, communications and the audio-visual media have such an important place, where information – and capital – move faster, by far, than people or goods, the United States emerge as a world country *present everywhere, in one way or the other, and encompassing the participation of all others in its economy and its society. The United States still hold the lead in the great adventure in space. In this context of radical strategic innovation, the key issue for any substantive diplomacy is to be able to manage the relationship with the dinamic world power, with the global country. To fail to grasp this, at a time of profound change, will mean to ignore the essentials and to be caught in the most absurd sluggishness in the face of the challenge of the century.*