

# FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND FINLAND (1917- 1994)

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## **Abstract**

This descriptive paper originally came up as an idea as Finland celebrated its 100<sup>th</sup> year anniversary on December, 6<sup>th</sup> 2017. This fact led me to the intent of studying diplomatic ties and foreign policies between these two countries, Portugal and Finland. In order to achieve this objective, a long research involving hundreds of documents from the Portuguese National Archives (Torre do Tombo) and in the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Ministry was performed and after careful consideration and selection only the documents relevant to the issues at hand were included in this paper. Almost all of these documents have never been academically debated as regards to their importance for an interdisciplinary study of this nature. By bringing these documents to light, one will be able to shed a greater understanding on foreign policy scholarship, particularly between these two countries, European diplomatic history from 1917 until 1994, political science and international relations.

## **Keywords**

Finland, Portugal, foreign policy, diplomatic history, international relations

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## **Introduction**

Portugal and Finland are two countries whose foreign policies have hardly ever been comparatively studied in the academic world.

This study will focus on documents found from the Portuguese National Archives (Torre do Tombo) and at the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, therefore, on several of the past Portuguese governments' views, actions, and debates.

The research question of this study is: *Why were diplomatic and political relations initiated and continued between the different governments of Finland*

*and Portugal from 1917 until 1994 and how were these exchanges observed by Portuguese governmental officials?*

Although some studies in Finnish foreign policy (in Africa and elsewhere) such as the ones from Iina Soiri and Pekka Peltola (1999), Tiilikainen (2005) or from Palosaari (2013) have already researched some of the topics this paper will debate, or, for example, many foreign policy experts or historians in Portugal such as Mattoso (1998), or Nuno Severiano Teixeira (2005, 2010) or Fernando Rosas (1988) have debated the most important and controversial aspects of Portugal's foreign policy through the centuries, our focus on the analysis of these Finnish policies and practices viewed from the perspective of Portuguese governments (and the Estado Novo regime) and the documents left behind is the novelty on which this study relies.

The total number of documents from the records of both Torre do Tombo and the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs reach the thousands, therefore, a careful choice had to be made in order to select those with political, economic, financial, commercial, humanitarian and academic relevance for the objectives of this study.

Official diplomatic relations between these two countries started on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January, 1920, roughly three years after the independence of Finland, when Jorge José Rodrigues dos Santos is sent to Helsinki<sup>1</sup>. He was the 2<sup>nd</sup> Secretary of the Portuguese Legation in Stockholm and was then sent on an "extraordinary public service mission", however, records at the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs exist that attest that indirect relations between Portugal and Finland, under the rule of the Russian Empire, had already existed since the XIX<sup>th</sup> century that were mainly based on commodities' trade and mostly done through the port of Riga.

Portugal's political relationship with Sweden, that also controlled some of the territory of contemporary Finland, is one that dates back to 1641.

Portugal exists since 1143 and has had a diverse foreign policy. One of its first ideals (after the full conquest of the Western part of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors) was the establishment and the protection of its colonial empire which was started in the late 1400's, while developing a political alliance with England (the oldest alliance in the world established in 1386 by the Treaty of Windsor) to secure itself against any European invader.

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<sup>1</sup> No Portuguese Embassy existed in Finland from 1920 until 1971, only Legations. It was only in 1972 that a Portuguese Embassy in Finland was created.

The history of Finnish foreign policy is very different from this one. Being a recent country established in 1917, at the end of World War I, Finland had always been under the influence or effective domain of either Sweden or Russia.

With the approximation of the end of the World War I and most importantly the Russian revolution that overthrew the Tsarist regime in Russia, a path was opened for Finnish independence. Finland was then an independent nation on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December of 1917 working as a parliamentary republic<sup>2</sup>.

Soon after independence, during the first months of 1918, the country was plunged into a civil war between “Reds” (aided by Russia) and the “Whites” (aided by the German empire). This civil war lasted close to 4 months ending with the victory of the “Whites”.

During World War II, Finland’s position was a difficult one as it had to avert a series of attacks by the Soviet Union in 1939 during the Winter War and later the Continuation War. The hostilities ended in September 1944. Finland maintained its independence and sovereignty ceding some territories in the East and North-East, (Petsamo, Salla and parts of the Karjala region) to the Soviet Union and was forced to pay war reparations for the decades to come<sup>3</sup>.

Portugal supported Finland’s independence and its war against the Soviet Union with economic, financial, military, diplomatic, and humanitarian aid being given to this country, as the Portuguese government of the time had cut off diplomatic ties with Russia after the Soviet revolution (Portuguese-Soviet diplomatic ties were cut between 1918 and 1974), consequently, it was in the interest of the Portuguese government of the time to fight against communism.

During World War II, diplomatic and commercial relations between Portugal and Finland increased. During the war years, all of these meetings were made between Francisco de Paula Brito Junior (Head of Division for Economic Affairs), Francisco de Castro Caldas (Vice-President of the Corporative Technical Council for Commerce and Industry) and Fernando de Oliveira (Secretary of the Legation) on the Portuguese side and George Winckelman (Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister) and Tauno Jalanti

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<sup>2</sup> Although the monarchists of 1918 did try to enforce the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century Swedish constitution. Following the resignation of the German king that did not take the throne, an interregnum prevailed after which the republican constitution was passed in July, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> 300 million dollars that were “payable over 8 years from September 19, 1944, in commodities (timber products, paper, cellulose, sea-going and river craft, sundry machinery and other commodities”. This information is available at: [Seen on the 24-03-2018];  
URL:<<http://ahd.mne.pt/nyron/Library/catalog/winlibsrch.aspx?skey=D8F8669B582D44DC8B623D419FAA97A9&pesq=3&cap=&var6=Finl%u00e2ndia&opt6=and&var1=&var2=&var5=&var4=&nohist=true&doc=20489>>.

(Commercial Director in the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs) on the Finnish side. More than 90 million *Markkaa* (in 1940's values) in commodities were negotiated and sold to Finland mainly through the Petsamo-Lisbon route: paper, sardines, cashew, citric acid, turpentine, sugar, coffee, furs, locks, sporting goods, cork, and port wine. There were even other occurrences, such as the desire of the Finnish State to sell Finnish ships stationed in American ports to Portugal as it was a neutral country (Switzerland was also interested in this exchange). These twelve boats with about 30 thousand tonnes could only be used for commercial interests as they could not do business with any country at war with Finland. Interest in the boats "Yldum", "Enja", "Elsa S" and "Anja" is manifested but only "Anja" is sold to Portugal through the "Companhia Colonial de Navegação", a Portuguese shipping company. An unknown number of Finnish boats stationed in the United States was left there. The Swedish government also bought 24 Finnish ships for the price of 75 million Swedish Kroner provided that they did not interfere with British or German interests during the war.

After the end of World War II, the "Treaty of Peace with Finland" of 1947 was signed and stated that peaceful relations with Finland were beneficial and formed the basis for future political and economic relations between the countries of the world<sup>4</sup>. Portugal also had to respect the foundations of this treaty in its post-war relations with Finland.

With the end of World War II, diplomatic relations between Portugal and Finland, became mostly based on commercial transactions (later made within the European Free Trade Association. It was only after the start of the Portuguese colonial wars that new developments in this relationship started to be visible<sup>5</sup>.

During the Cold War, Finland's position was a prudent and meticulous one serving as a bridge between East and West. Urho Kekkonen, the longest serving Finnish President (1956-1982), stated that Finland operates more as "a physician, rather than a judge" in world politics (Palosaari, 2013).

It is argued that Finland did not have complete freedom to pursue its independent foreign policy (Palosaari, 2013) during most of the Cold War as it was unaligned and semi-dependent on Soviet Russia's consent, however, Finland did involve itself in numerous conflicts in Africa either providing medical

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<sup>4</sup> "Traité de paix avec la Finlande"; Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Biblioteca e Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> Marshal Mannerheim, one of the most important Finnish politicians of the time, visited Portugal after the War on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December, 1945 and stayed until at least the 17<sup>th</sup> of December. This information is available at: Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo; "Auxílio Português à Finlândia, durante a Guerra Russo-Finlandesa" Reference code: Cód. Ref.: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/12/12/24, Lisbon, Portugal, pp. 485.

aid or with actual financial and political support of belligerent anti-colonialist movements such as FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) in Mozambique, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in Angola, and others. It is also believed that this assistance may have been started by Finnish civil society, and not the state, however, this allegation is, in our opinion, yet to be proved.

The Portuguese national archives provide us with numerous documents from the period of the Cold War that attest the inherent distrustfulness from Portugal's former regime executives towards the Finnish Government, its foreign policy and diplomats.

In a report from 1963, originally written in Portuguese, it is stated that:

*“Raymond Kunene<sup>6</sup>, representative of the ANC made the following declaration, in September, in Finland:*

- a) Commissions were assigned in all democratic countries with the aim of working against the [Apartheid] Government of the Republic of South Africa. The only exceptions were Austria, Switzerland and Finland;*
- b) A revolution in the Republic of South Africa is inevitable that will surpass in gravity the one in Algeria;*
- c) The hopes of the ANC are based in the Committee of Liberation established in Addis-Ababa.*
- d) An armed struggle is also being prepared in South Rhodesia, Angola and South Africa.*

*Kunene declared that he would return to Finland in November to help in the establishment of a Commission to work against South Africa”<sup>7</sup>.*

Finland's financial and humanitarian actions in Africa involved many fields, agents, personalities and types of activity which did not escape the awareness of the officials of the former Portuguese secret police service PIDE (Polícia de Intervenção e Defesa do Estado / International and State Defense Police).

This Portuguese secret police also stated on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April, 1965, that: *The construction of the Nordic Tanganyika Centre is already in a developed phase, 40 km away from Dar-es-Salam. This centre was sponsored by Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, that have technically and financially contributed with 1.500.000 pounds for its foundation. This centre will include a community space, health centre, agricultural training and a high school. The bonds between the Lutheran churches of several Nordic countries and their missions*

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<sup>6</sup> Raymond Kunene was a poet and an activist against the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

<sup>7</sup> 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. 36.

*and churches in Tanganyika helped founding the centre, initially planned for the time of the visit of [Julius] Nyerere<sup>8</sup> to the Nordic countries<sup>9</sup>.*

*The Director is Swedish, the Dean of the High school is Norwegian and the director of the agricultural centre is Finnish<sup>10</sup>.*

In another report from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, 1968, it is stated that *“In New York, a newspaper has said that Finland decided to contribute with over four thousand pounds for the UN (United Nations) fund for Southwest Africa (Radio Ghana)”<sup>11</sup>.*

Finnish aid towards independentist and anti-colonialist movements in Africa had many fronts, acted in numerous countries, through various ways, either financially, through the building of structures, through meetings with African revolutionaries, activities that had been condemned, observed and debated by the former Portuguese regime, although this regime’s capabilities to undermine these activities were viewed as somewhat unnecessary as they were mostly related to humanitarian aid. Military aid was relatively weak. However, the effective meeting of Finnish governmental representatives with African revolutionaries proves that Finland was at the time a state that politically supported the end of colonial rule in Africa and effectively developed multiple ways to achieve this purpose.

In another report from the 31<sup>st</sup> of October, 1970, it is stated that:

*Marcelino dos Santos<sup>12</sup>, on behalf of the Direction of FRELIMO’s combatants, has sent a telegram to the Presidency of the CMP [understood to be the Communist Party of Finland as the document later says] wishing success in the workings directed towards the consolidation of structures in the struggle of peoples for national independence and social emancipation against colonialism and imperialism<sup>13 14</sup>.*

Numerous Finnish activities in Africa, whether by its different governments or by its civil society, were registered by the former Portuguese regime and its intelligence services.

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<sup>8</sup> Julius Nyerere was a revolutionary and politician from Tanzania (the former Tanganyika).

<sup>9</sup> This document was translated by the author from the original which was written in Portuguese.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Marcelino Dos Santos was a poet and a revolutionary responsible for the creation of FRELIMO in Mozambique.

<sup>13</sup> All of the documents in this study were translated by the author from the original which was written in Portuguese.

<sup>14</sup> 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. 35.

It was also stated on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1971, that “*FRELIMO awaits the arrival of Erkki Liikanen<sup>15</sup> who will discuss the campaign of the Finnish high school students for the development of a better education in the interior of Mozambique. [...] This said Finnish person will stay one week in Tanzania in order to elaborate a budget for education that he will present in Finland [...]*”<sup>16</sup>.

This same gathering of humanitarian aid for education from Finnish high school students continued to be a topic of discussion not only in Finnish newspapers (“*Uusi Suomi*” newspaper) but also amidst Portugal’s authorities in 1972:

*“The products of this collection gathered by Finnish students will be used in products such as shoes, blankets, milk powder, high-protein food and school supplies. All of these products are of Finnish origin.*

*This charity collection will be finished next Friday and the money obtained - calculated at around 900.000 Finnish Marks – will be accounted for before the end of the year and will be put on board and sent to Mozambique. This collection [...] has, as an objective, the maintenance of ten primary schools in the liberated regions of Mozambique. It is the intent of these students to pay for the functioning of these schools for a year. The [Finnish] government exempted this collection from taxation<sup>17</sup>.*

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of August of 1972, the “*Information Centralization and Coordination Services*”<sup>18</sup> in Mozambique recorded other newspaper articles where Finland’s political position seemed to be defined as quite straightforward:

*“Finland’s political parties and certain organizations are demanding direct development co-operation between Finland and the chief liberation organizations in Portugal’s colonies. A letter to this effect was handed to Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa<sup>19</sup> today [21 August]. The parties and organizations require the Finnish Government to adopt a clear stand towards the liberation movements in the spirit of the UN action program concerning development co-operation. This program urges all UN member states to give all moral and material aid to peoples fighting against colonial States. [...] The letter to the Foreign Minister is signed by the 10 Finnish political parties and by: the Defenders of Peace*

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<sup>15</sup> Erkki Liikanen was the leader of the Union of High School Students, which was an important Finnish civil society group involving a great deal of youth politicization. Liikanen became the youngest ever Member of Parliament in Finland in 1972 and was later the Social Democratic party secretary, Minister of Finance, the first Finnish Commissioner in the European Union and has worked as the Head of the Bank of Finland.

<sup>16</sup> 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. 34.

<sup>17</sup> 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. 26.

<sup>18</sup> “*Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações*”.

<sup>19</sup> Kalevi Sorsa was a Prime-Minister in Finland for three mandates in the 70’s and 80’s and also Minister of Foreign Affairs and was part of the Finnish Social Democrats. He was the longest-serving Prime Minister in Finland having lost the election in 1993 to Martti Ahtisaari.

*Committee, the Finnish UN association, the Association of Student's Unions and the Association Secondary School Students. It urges that the liberation organizations in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique be brought within the ambit of Finland's bilateral humanitarian co-operation for development<sup>20</sup>.*

The Portuguese Embassy in Finland also stated that a report was sent to the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs requesting financial aid towards PAIGC<sup>21</sup>, MPLA and FRELIMO in order to answer the appeals launched at the UN level and by the OUA (Organization of Africa Unity/ Organização da Unidade Africana)<sup>22</sup>.

Finland's aid was not just humanitarian or political, it also involved weaponry. As a report from the 19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1973 from the Information Centralization and Coordination Services, that includes a newspaper article from the "Rand Daily Mail" entitled "Finland offers arms" states:

*The Zimbabwe African National Union has been promised aid to step-up its activities in Rhodesia, by Finland.*

*ZANU's publicity chief, Mr. Rugare Gumbo, said the Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs who had made a visit to Zambia just yesterday had promised "military aid", provided ZANU asked for it.*

*The Minister, Dr. Ahti Karjalainen<sup>23</sup>, said in Lusaka that the Finnish Government had about R130000 for "liberation movements" in Southern Africa.*

*He added that ZANU needed more military equipment to launch a heavy offensive against the Rhodesian Government [...]<sup>24</sup>.*

One year before the overthrow of the Portuguese fascist regime on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974, numerous confidential reports by the Information Centralization and Coordination Services discussed visits by African dignitaries such as Mr. Nur Elmi, Ambassador of Somalia, to the Secretariat for the World Peace Council "gathered in Helsinki as to discuss matters of common interest, namely the

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<sup>20</sup> 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. 23.

<sup>21</sup> PAIGC – Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde / African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde is a political movement and party in Guinea-Bissau that has governed Guinea-Bissau on and off since its independence in 1974 after the Carnation revolution. Cape Verde would be independent a year later in 1975.

<sup>22</sup> This Organization was created in 1963 as the precursor of the African Union, originally envisioned to fight against colonialism.

<sup>23</sup> Ahti Karjalainen was a Finnish politician from the Center Party, presently known as "Suomen Keskusta" and served two mandates as Prime-Minister and also served as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was believed to be a possible successor of Kekkonen but was eventually sidelined as being too conccessive to the Soviets.

<sup>24</sup> 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. 12.

*assistance of peoples under colonial rule and the liberation movements in the African continent*<sup>25</sup>.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of February of 1974, less than two months before the Carnation revolution in Portugal that ended with the fascist regime, this same regime was still, through its embassies, reporting on Finnish financial and political aid in Africa.

*[...] According to a communication from the Portuguese Embassy in Helsinki [...] Finland's Foreign Affairs Minister promised, in its trip to Tanzania, more support to the liberation movements.*

*Visiting the headquarters of FRELIMO, he talked with Marcelino dos Santos who asked him for medical aid. Accordingly, the Minister has informed that its state could not concede more than the amount of [in the former Portuguese currency] 3300 "contos" and that that amount was destined to all the "movements"*<sup>26</sup>.

The FRELIMO movement is considered in later reports as a terrorist organization by the Portuguese regime's authorities (due to its anti-colonial political ideals) also stating the apparently public and well-known support that Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Norway) had been providing for refugees and these political movements.

It was actually suggested by the "Arbeiderbladet" newspaper from Oslo that Finland and Sweden would possibly cut diplomatic ties with the Republic of South Africa. "The [Norwegian] Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, Arne Arnesen, however, declared that this news was completely unknown to the Ministry"<sup>27</sup>.

Finnish aid towards these African independentist movements would serve not only political and ideological purposes but also symbolized Finnish attempts at achieving good relations with new African governments as British, American, and French foreign policies were increasingly being driven away from the colonial system.

The Office of Political Affairs from the Portuguese Overseas Ministry (Ministério do Ultramar) stated on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1974 that<sup>28</sup>:

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<sup>25</sup> 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. 19, 20.

<sup>26</sup> 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. 18.

<sup>27</sup> 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. 4.

<sup>28</sup> It is important to note that this report was written on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1974, exactly 12 days after the Carnation revolution in Portugal.

[...] *The trip from the Finnish Minister Karjalainen to some countries in Western Africa, more than having a purely political character is one of a great economic interest.*

*The Finnish economy is searching for markets outside of Europe for non-competitive but high-quality products. The Finnish attempt to make economic planning such as the deal with the Common Market is, in principle, marred with political conditionalisms and Soviet pressure.*

*The same news adds that the deal with COMECON<sup>29</sup> does not offer great development perspectives and hence its understood that Finland, also for economic reasons, plays the “détente” European policy: the possible future negotiations between the Common Market and COMECON would allow Finland to reach a greater proximity with the first. The concession of credits (not a high amount at this time) is the method this country uses to sell, for example, heavy trucks. This method has revealed to be quite good and has assured, as in the case of Peru, future orders and a continuous load of demand of Finnish spare parts.*

*In Finland’s present economic state of affairs, orders in the range of dozens of trucks can be considered as very important<sup>30,31</sup>.*

The documents that were analyzed in the last paragraphs show us that the former Portuguese regime was aware and positioned itself against Finnish humanitarian, financial and military practices and aid in Africa in Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Tanzania/Tanganyika, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. These records also go in line with what Soiri and Peltola (1999) have shown in their studies of the values of financial aid in Finnish *Markkaa*, and the role of Finnish civil society whether by Finnish schools, Finnish religious institutions and at times the Finnish state itself. Soiri and Peltola pose the notion that foreign policy, though mainly dominated by the role of the state and the Finnish Foreign Affairs Ministry cannot be greatly distanced from the role of Finnish civil society, a contention with which this paper agrees.

The Nordic countries (Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway) were in different situations during the Cold War regarding their individual foreign policy. Norway and Denmark (and Portugal) were NATO members since its beginning whereas Finland and Sweden were neutral.

Finland still shares a vast border with the Soviet Union/Russian Federation, therefore, it has been understood that its foreign policy was quite limited, an

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<sup>29</sup> COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) was the Soviet version of central Europe’s Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) the precursor of the European Economic Community.

<sup>30</sup> This document was translated by the author from the original which was written in Portuguese.

<sup>31</sup> 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. 2, 3.

idea shared not only among Portuguese officials but also among other governments of the time. However, one must be aware, that as Soiri and Peltola (1999) state Finnish foreign policy was a sui generis policy different from Sweden and even more apart from Norway and Denmark, that did at first, and right after the end of World War II, base itself as actively neutral with the establishment of the “Paasikivi-Kekkonen” line and later with the pursuit of a more active role in world affairs through the Nordic group, the entrance in EFTA and, additionally, a support for anti-colonialist movements all over Africa.

It is the interpretation of this paper that Kekkonen’s expression of Finland being more “a physician, rather than a judge” must be understood as being said among the vicissitudes and the uncertainties of the historical times in which it was said. From the documents analyzed in this study, one can see that Finnish intervention in various African countries involved meetings with leaders of anti-colonial movements such as Marcelino dos Santos, Raymond Kunene, Julius Nyerere, among others, which required several trips by these same entities being made as well as trips by the former Finnish Foreign Affairs Ministers Karjalainen and Kalevi Sorsa.

Active political support for these movements can be understood as a clear political message coming from the Finnish government of the time. At the same time, numerous humanitarian, financial, and military aid projects were developed and, according to the documents, were effectively accomplished without the former Portuguese authorities of the time being fully able to control them, especially in Mozambique. Therefore, it is the contention of this article that the Finnish foreign policy of the time was not as constrained by the Soviet Union as one would think, even though this perspective is still a valid one. These activities in Africa show Finland as a country searching for new economic alliances since the future of these African states was very uncertain. As Portugal was becoming increasingly isolated in its policies towards Africa and its colonial rule (which was one more reason that eventually led to the revolution of 1974 and the overthrow of the former fascist regime that had begun in 1933), Finland saw this as an opportunity to develop newer diplomatic relations with these African states and, at the same time, develop stronger ties with Portugal either through EFTA, or eventually, as it came to be, the entrance in the EEC and the EU. Finnish “neutrality” seems to appear as a euphemistic macro-concept unable to observe all of the particularities of its foreign policy.

The 1974 Portuguese Carnation revolution mostly ended all of this dissensus as after this event, independence was given to all of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and in the world (except Macau which was only given back to China in 1999). With this development, Finnish actions in Africa were now mostly based, not on helping anti-colonial movements, but on establishing political and economic ties with the new African governments (a position shared

by the post-revolutionary democratic Portuguese governments) (Teixeira, 2010).

Portugal's foreign policy, on the other hand, greatly retreated from African interests and focused more on "democratization; decolonization; development" (Teixeira, 2010, pp. 53) and automatically towards European integration, a country both European and Atlantic in its foreign policy while continuing its participation in NATO. European integration was no longer based on economic and transaction patterns but was a clear political ideal and intent. Portugal delineates the 1972 "Additional Protocol to the Agreement between Portugal and the EEC", enters the Council of Europe in 1976, in 1977 it requests to join the EEC, in 1985 this treaty is signed and in 1986 it was officially made a member of the EEC.

Together with this harsh political transition, a third period between Portugal and Finland's diplomatic and foreign policy had started. Portugal's political situation shifted and its economics and finances needed restructuring, hence a financial assistance package was requested of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1977 and six years later in 1984 which obliged the Portuguese state to restructure its public finances, public administration, budget deficit through structural reforms and currency devaluation, in order for it to be allowed entrance in the customs union of the EEC, the Schengen Space, the EEC, the Common Agricultural Policy and trade policy. At these intermediary times, relations between Portugal and Finland returned to a basis of commercial agreements, exports, imports and tariff negotiations.

Finland did not have a revolution in its recent political history, it did have, as was said, a civil war and the difficult times of World War II. The fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 was a transitional time for Finland though, as its main economic trading partner faced a political upheaval and radical political restructuring which severely affected Finland's economy. It was the end of the Soviet Union that allowed Finland's relationship with the West and the EU to be developed. This political event and the transition into a post-communist Russia allowed the former "neutral" states of Sweden, Finland, and Austria to divert greater attention towards the EU and effectively adhere to this political union in 1994. Finland then joined the EU in 1994, after an initial dissensus on the Common Agricultural Policy and the specifications of the Less Favored Areas in the Finnish geography was settled. Finland, however, did not join NATO, having then originated several studies on the particularities of contemporary Finnish foreign policy and its Europeanization or lack thereof (Palosaari, 2013, Tiilikainen, 2005).

## **Conclusions**

This article brought a number of innovations that shed new light on a number of topics. At first, the main defining lines of Portugal's foreign policy were debated together with those of Finland. After this, a historical research was made on the start of Portuguese-Finnish diplomatic relations dating back to the foundations of Finland in 1917. No other study in Portugal, and only rare ones in Finland has effectively studied these subjects in such detail.

Finnish-Portuguese diplomatic and foreign policy relations were established and developed due to a variety of reasons. The first period would start in 1917, the date of Finnish independence (although official diplomatic relations between these two countries only started in 1920) and end in 1945. This first period can be characterized as a time of political and commercial approximation at the same time as both countries developed consular and diplomatic relations and favored a collective approach against the spread of communism with Finland serving as a front-line combatant in this struggle against the Soviet Union and Portugal as a helper in this endeavor.

The second period would be from 1945 and the end of World War II until 1974. This period was characterized by Finnish attempts at creating deeper economic ties with the West, mainly through EFTA, and the Finnish political, economic, financial, humanitarian, and weapons-related aid towards independentist movements in the former Portuguese colonies and elsewhere in Africa in the 1960's and the 70's. It is in this period that, in the contention of this study, the Finnish "sui generis neutrality" greatly develops itself as it attempted to create economic ties with the West while being a great advocate for human rights, democracy, and anti-colonial rule in Africa, more specifically, in Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Tanganyika/Tanzania, Cape Verde and Rhodesia. The governments of the time did not have significant economic divisions but shared diametrically opposed political beliefs when it came to colonial rule in Africa. The struggle of these African populations was an important matter for Finland due to the fragile and uncertain political developments these African countries were facing which could prove to be useful to increase Finnish commercial ties with these economies. Finland's ability to create economic associations throughout the world was strained due to the Soviet Union during these decades but it was also during these times that Finland was firstly able to do them as an independent nation and at this larger level.

This second period ended with the Carnation revolution of 1974 in Portugal, which made Portugal abandon its colonial rule in Africa, democratize its political system and parties, partially liberalize its economy (although an initial process of post-revolutionary forced nationalization of property was made) and solicit a financial assistance package to the IMF in 1977 and 1984 as a means towards European integration which was effectively completed in 1986 with Portugal's

entrance in the EEC. Finnish-Portuguese relations would return to a commercial and export-import basis from 1974 until 1994. This period would thus come to an end in 1995 when Finland entered the now European Union and both countries were part of this supranational political system automatically starting the third period of Portuguese-Finnish relations: the Europeanization period.

This historical and conceptual division is useful but it is also open for criticism as all of these times and diplomatic exchanges occurred over a number of decades in a continuous manner not subjected to straight and tight divisions.

A continued research from the Portuguese and Finnish national archives could continue to deepen this research, particularly in the “Europeanization” period (or third period), and in which ways the Portuguese and Finnish governments have reached greater consensus or dissensus regarding the specific issue at hand. The period after 2011 and the world financial crisis and even the Corona Crisis would serve as an innovative research topic in the study of Portuguese-Finnish relations but perhaps one that might need additional historical distance for a detailed analysis. It is the expectation of this study that the number of historical and diplomatic records studied, the academic literature reviewed and debated, did serve the political science and international relations, political history, and economic history community of scholars.

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