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## ***COVER FEATURE***

### **Portugal**

**By**  
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Luis Vaz de Camões in his epic poem entitled, "The Lusiads," speaks of Portuguese "heroes who opened a way to Ceylon, and further, across seas no man had ever sailed before." Camões celebrates the bravery and skills of the Portuguese, particularly its seafaring discoverers. His ten cantos about Vasco de Gama's discovery of a sea route to India in 1497-98 reflect Portugal's ties to the Atlantic.

Portugal has a long and proud history—one that is uniquely influenced by its geography. Daniel J. Boorstin says that the Portuguese are propelled by geography to their place in history. Portugal is on the western part of the Iberian Peninsula. Its closest European neighbor is Spain to the East. The country faces the Atlantic to the West with its major cities from north to south located on the coast. The majority of the Portuguese live along the Atlantic coastline. Hemmed in by mountains and a strong and often not friendly neighbor on the east and ready access to the seas gives Portugal its Atlantic orientation.

The purpose of this article is to present a brief discussion of Portugal. The topics covered will be: 1) brief historical perspective, 2) maritime expansion, 3) Treaty of Tordesillas, 4) imperial decline, 5) modern government, 6) foreign relations, 7) U.S. Security Assistance, 8) challenges the country faces in the future, and 9) conclusions. It is impossible to cover all the topics necessary to do justice to a country that has existed as a political entity since 1139 AD. Rather this article will highlight Portugal, a unique European country with a long and interesting history.

#### **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Lusitania is the name of the Iberian region now known as Portugal. The region experienced different waves of conquest and settlement by Iberos, Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Swabians, Visigoths, and Muslims. All of these groups influenced the cultural development of modern Portugal. The Portuguese are basically a homogeneous people formed by a heterogeneous ethnic past. All of these influences can be seen in modern Portugal and among the Portuguese. An abundance of ancient and medieval monuments and buildings, such as the Pena castle and Sintra palaces, the royal residence in Queluz, monasteries of Batalha and Jerónimos, Guimarães castle, and the Mafra convent demonstrate the rich and varied past.

In 1139 AD Afonso Henriques defeated a Muslim army at Ourique, a place in the Alentejo of modern Portugal. This victory sealed his claim as king of Portucalense County, then the name of the region now known as Portugal. His struggle for power and the creation of a separate kingdom began in 1127 with a revolt against his mother the Countess Teresa. Afonso Henriques continued to consolidate his power and establish a kingdom through the middle of the century. In 1179, the pope officially recognized Afonso Henriques as the first king of Portugal. By the end of the 13th century, Portugal had attained its current borders.

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The Portuguese kings that followed King Afonso Henriques asserted their authority over the church and nobility, and gained control of the wealth of the country. They then turned their attention to the economic, cultural, and political development of the kingdom. Noteworthy is King Dinis' decree that all official documents were to be written in the Portuguese vernacular. This is the official beginning of the Portuguese language. King Dinis also founded the University of Coimbra in 1290. Following the reign of Dinis, the Portuguese royalty continued to consolidate its hold on Portugal. This included periods of interdynastic struggle with all the intrigue that only a European monarchy can engender. As the 15th century came to a close, the Portuguese crown had exerted its supremacy over all challengers. In spite of the struggles the royalty faced, Portugal remained a united kingdom for most of the 15th century. This allowed Portugal an opportunity to expand outward toward the seas.

## EXPANSION TO THE SEAS

Portugal's unique location on the southwesternmost edge of Europe facing the Atlantic made it easy to develop both its political and economic power on the seas. The spice trade to the orient throughout Europe was a wealthy enterprise. However, threats to this trade posed by Arabian and Turkish pirates along the various overland routes made the Europeans seek alternate routes. Portugal's geography, political stability, the willingness of its kings to exploit the country's advantages and the quest for alternate routes to the east created the conditions for its maritime expansion. These factors, coupled with the fact that the Portuguese kings were also motivated by the belief of their role in history as standard bearers of Christianity against the Muslims, proved to be a powerful incentive that propelled Portugal onto the world scene.

The struggle against the Muslims had begun several hundred years earlier and continued throughout the Crusades. In 1415, Portugal took Ceuta in northern Morocco (at the Eastern end of the Strait of Gibraltar). Ceuta was a stopover for the spice trade and gave Portugal access and some control over the wealth generated by the traders. The taking of Ceuta proved to be a significant event for the Portuguese because it demonstrated their ability to continue the Christian fight against the encroachment of Islam on the Muslims' home ground. Morocco is just off the southern tip of Portugal. The conquest of Ceuta also gave Portugal a vantage point in the control of the Strait of Gibraltar.

A Portuguese known to many students of history, Prince Henry the Navigator, participated in the campaign against Morocco. In Lisbon at the Monument of the Discoverers, visitors can see Prince Henry pointing the way for Portugal toward the sea. In 1418 he founded a naval school at Sagres in southwestern Portugal. At the school students learned to use the astrolabe and quadrant—navigational instruments perfected by the Portuguese—along with the development of a lateen-rigged caravel, all of which made traveling on the seas a less dangerous endeavor. Being able to sail out farther and faster gave the Portuguese seafarers an advantage over other Europeans. The ability to return to the port of origin allowed the Portuguese to sail out farther with a certain degree of surety that they would see Portugal again. Taken in the context of the time, this was a strong assurance for venturing out. Prince Henry provided the vision and motivation fueled by scientific curiosity and religious fervor for the discoveries made by Portugal.

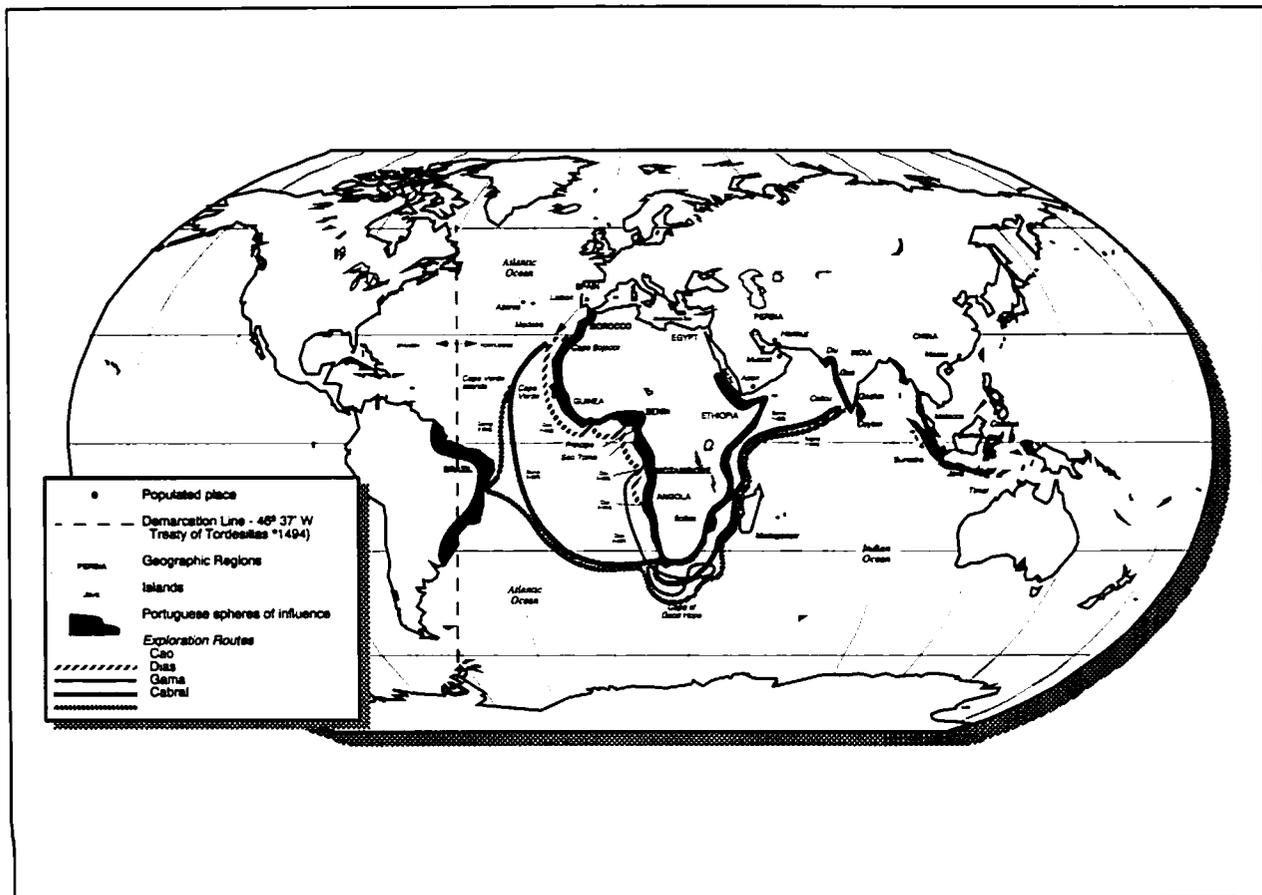
Prince Henry inspired others and was able to organize the resources necessary to initiate the burst of activity in the European discovery of the rest of the world. Gil Eanes was one of the first discoverers inspired by the young prince. After several attempts, he finally sailed around Cape Bojador located in present-day Western Sahara. In the early 15th century, Cape Bojador was thought to be the outer boundary of the world (at least from a European perspective). Gil Eanes and the Portuguese broke a psychological as well as a physical barrier by sailing beyond this cape along the western coast of Africa.

Other explorers followed Eanes along the western coast of Africa. Afonso Baldaia, Nuno Tristão, Dinis Dias, Diogo Cão, and Bartolomeu Dias are the most noteworthy of these explorers that claimed territory along the western African coast for the Portuguese crown. One of the better known explorers is Vasco da Gama. He led an expedition with a mission to sail around Africa and on to the Indian Ocean. His feats of courage and accomplishment inspired Camões to write his epic poem. Vasco de Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, up the eastern coast of Africa, and on to India. He started the voyage in July, 1497 and returned to Portugal in September, 1499.

In March, 1500, Pedro Álvares Cabral commanded a fleet and sailed southwest for a month until they sighted land, present-day Brazil. Other expeditions, solidified Portuguese claims in India and others sailed on to Celebes, Borneo, Java, Timor, and Macau. By the middle of the 16th century, Portugal had explored and claimed over half of the then known world.

### THE TREATY OF TORDESILLAS

At the same time the Portuguese were expanding toward the seas, the Spanish crown was also sending out explorers to seek an alternate route to the east. In an attempt to head off conflict between Portugal and Spain, Pope Alexander VI divided the unexplored world in 1493 between the two countries. Initially, the line of demarcation passed near the Cape Verde Islands giving Spain claim to all lands west of the line and to Portugal all lands to the east. A year after the line was drawn, it was revised by the Treaty of Tordesillas moving the line a thousand miles westward. The revision of the line sanctioned the inclusion of the yet undiscovered land to be known as Brazil in the Portuguese camp. (See map below.)



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## IMPERIAL DECLINE

The expansion of Portugal is truly phenomenal, given its size and population in the 15th and 16th centuries. Portugal ruled an empire that included territories in Africa, India, Brazil, the Malay Archipelago, and Macau in China. It controlled the sea routes to the spice trade in the east, and conquered important ports that serviced shipping along the spice routes. With resources from the colonies, including slavery, Portugal amassed a great fortune. In the late 16th century, a dynastic crisis starting with the demise of the House of Avis led to imperial decline. The Spanish took advantage of the weakness in the Portuguese crown and invaded Portugal. The "Spanish captivity" lasted from 1580 until 1640. During this time, Portugal saw most of the gains from its empire decline. Because of its inclusion into the Spanish Iberian Union, Portugal was also drawn into Spain's wars with other European powers. As a result, the Portuguese lost their monopoly in the markets in the Far East. The imperial decline led to a Spanish invasion and the eventual decline of the Portuguese seaborne empire.

From 1415 until 1580, Portugal had asserted its power throughout the world. The country pursued a policy of seaborne expansion and colonial conquest, amassing a great fortune that enriched its nobility. However this wealth did little to foster economic development in the country. In many ways this colonial fortune hindered the growth of an internal market and a viable economic system within the country. By the end of the 17th century, Portugal's claim as a viable political and economic world power had clearly diminished.

## MODERN GOVERNMENT

After the Spanish were expelled from Portugal in 1640, and following periods of internal struggle for political power, the House of Braganca became the ruling family. From 1640 until 1910 Portugal experienced hundreds of years of monarchic rule. The initial period of Portugal as a republic only lasted for a short time, 1910-1926. Edward H. Fry and Gregory A. Raymond in their book *The Other Western Europe* describe this time as a "brief fling at republican government." In 1926 following a period of intense political rivalry and economic instability, the military took control of Portugal. It named Dr. António Salazar as Finance Minister in 1928 and Prime Minister in 1932. Dr. Salazar ruled Portugal until his death in 1968. He was a fiscally and politically conservative man who ruled Portugal in an authoritative manner, imposing his personal brand of fiscal, political, and social conservatism on the country and people of Portugal. He labeled his regime the "Estado Novo", or the New State. His rule of government continued through his successor, Dr. Marcelo Caetano, until April 25, 1974.

On April 25, 1974 a group of young military officers—inspired by General Antonio de Spínola—known as the "Armed Forces Movement," led a bloodless coup against the Salazarian style of government. A period of political instability continued until November 1975. At this time, military forces under LT COL Antonio Ramalho Eanes, committed to the establishment of a constitutional democracy, made a strong show of force against military units trying to establish left-wing control of the country. On 25 April 1976 Portugal's constitution took effect and popular elections took place to elect a parliamentary Assembly. Later that summer, voters elected Eanes as President. The Socialist Party won a plurality of the vote, allowing their leader Dr. Mário Soares to serve as Prime Minister. After 42 years of dictatorship, Portugal had its first democratic government.

The constitution of 1976 has been revised twice, in 1982 and 1989. Each revision strengthened civilian control of the government and eliminated much of the "Marxist rhetoric" included in the original document.

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The government of Portugal consists of the presidency, the prime minister and Council of Ministers, the Assembly of the Republic (parliament), and the courts. (See Figure 1.) The president is elected by direct popular vote to a 5-year term. He serves as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and wields a number of executive powers that serve as a counter balance to the prime minister and the parliament. The prime minister heads the government and proposes the policies voted on by the parliament.

## **Figure 1**

### **PORTUGUESE POLITICAL SYSTEM**

#### **FORM**

- REPUBLIC
- PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

#### **POLITICS**

- DEMOCRATIC, MULTIPARTY

#### **MAIN NATIONAL ORGANS**

- PRESIDENCY
- PRIME MINISTER AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (GOVERNMENT)
- ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC (PARLIAMENT)
- COURTS

On 1 October 1995, the voters will vote for one of the parties to head the government. Normally, the country is ruled by a coalition government made up of parties receiving the most votes. Currently, Mário Soares of the Socialist Party (PS) is President and Anibal Cavaco Silva of the Socialist Democratic Party (PSD) is Prime Minister. Neither incumbent is running for reelection. The political campaign is underway for a new government with four major parties vying for success at the polls. The policies of the new government, with some nuances given the changing conditions, are expected to continue governing Portugal as before. The parties in power have been moderate, seeking to foster social and economic development. Most of the governments have sought to privatize the economy and make it more efficient. When you consider the condition of the economy in 1974 after 42 years of relative stagnation, Portugal has made considerable strides in economic development. Twenty-five years after the revolution, democracy in Portugal is completely institutionalized and vibrant.

#### **FOREIGN RELATIONS**

Portugal was the first European power to come in contact with the rest of the world. At the height of their power almost 500 years ago, Portugal was one of the eminent world players. Its navy with its superior navigational instruments, armaments, and faster caravels, ruled the high seas. Portugal extended its power far beyond its limited borders. The country benefited from its colonies located from Africa to China, and maintained control of some of its colonies until the mid-1970's. In 1999, Portugal will return Macau, the last of its colonies, to China.

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Following the "Spanish captivity" in 1640, Portugal turned inward to consolidate the power of its monarchy. The nation had to ward off attempts by Spain and France to conquer it. Early on Portugal made a security alliance with the British that has lasted throughout its history. However, Portugal remained isolated from the rest of Europe and European affairs through the end of the 19th century. As for the world at large, Portugal maintained contact with its colonies and former colony of Brazil. The colonial period was a cultural two-way avenue. Portugal benefited primarily from mineral and economic trade going to and coming from the colonies. Contact with the colonies also had an impact on Portuguese culture and society. Portugal left its imprint throughout the world. Portuguese is spoken by over 200 million people, and the culture, mores, and style of the Portuguese can still be seen in the former colonies. Nevertheless, lasting Portuguese influence throughout the world has been more on a cultural and social level rather than on a political level.

Portugal sent troops to fight in World War I, but was neutral in World War II. However, in 1949, it became one of the original members of NATO. It joined the UN and recently, Dr. Freitas do Amaral assumed the presidency of the General Assembly. In his initial speech at the UN, Dr. Freitas do Amaral spoke to all delegates but especially to those from other Lusophone countries. He offered his voice to all Portuguese-speaking countries to raise concern for their interests and issues. In 1986, Portugal joined the European Community, and in 1989 it joined the Western European Union. Portugal had been forced to look toward the rest of Europe if it was to become more politically and economically active in the world. Since 1986, Portugal has opened up its markets to European and other foreign investors. The impact of its joining the European Union is evident to all. Even the untrained eye can see the high level of building construction, availability of consumer goods, new roads, and the large number of cars on the roads. Much of this increased economic activity is a result of EU loans and grants. Portugal is also seeking to play a larger role in EU security arrangements and international involvement. At present the government is willing to send some of its armed forces to Bosnia as part of either a EU or NATO force. The Portuguese also have formed part of UN forces in Angola. On a unilateral basis they are also helping their former African colonies, Angola and Mozambique, rebuild their countries after many years of civil war.

All of this involvement in foreign affairs comes at a price for Portugal. Joining the EU requires the country to open its markets and to cut its subsidies to its farmers, fishermen, and others in its economy. The money provided Portugal will eventually have to be repaid if provided by loans, and grants also have a price. Usually the price is in the form of more cooperation in group policies or more pressure from individual countries asking for support in any number of endeavors. The price of joining international forums like the UN require the country to spend more of its resources to modernize its forces. This allows the country to participate more fully and share more equally in international involvement. But if a country in today's world has a responsibility to stay involved and participate in maintaining the peace it must have the resources and the will to do so.

Portugal is in a transition phase coming out of a long period of isolation, but willing to be a player again on the international scene.

## **U.S. DEFENSE COOPERATION**

The U.S. and Portugal have maintained excellent bilateral relations since the U.S. became an independent nation. Colonel David Humphreys became the first U.S. envoy to Portugal. In 1791, President Washington selected him for the post. The current Ambassador, Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, appointed by President Clinton, maintains the long-standing traditions of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

One of the main elements of the bilateral relations between the two countries is security assistance. The Portuguese government allows the U.S. to maintain a presence at Lajes Air Base in the Azores. Lajes provides the U.S. an ability to project its air power to protect its interests in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Colonel Norman M. Smith in an article in the Winter 1981-82, *DISAM Journal* states, "The Portuguese do not attach a price or a rent for the U.S. use of the facilities at Lajes. Rather, they are looking for assistance which will enable them to perform in an active, effective, and efficient manner in playing a meaningful role . . ." Prime Minister Cavaco Silva expressed this same idea following the signing of the new Lajes Accord with the U.S. on 1 June 1995.

As a result of discussions held between our two governments in late 1988 regarding continued American use of Lajes AB, an agreement was reached whereby the USG would exert its "best efforts" to provide sufficient *grant* funding (nominally \$100M/year through FY 94) to support a Portuguese force modernization program. (The \$100M/year figure was determined by U.S. DoD separately from the discussions. Essentially, it encompassed the total cost of the equipment needed for force modernization divided by the number of fiscal years involved.) Since then, Congress has funded U.S. Security Assistance to Portugal at generally a lower level, and in 1993, all grant funding ceased, with a concessional loan program offered instead. In 1994, a market rate loan was proposed and accepted; however, the 1995 Department of State request to Congress contained no FMF money for Portugal. This change from grant assistance to loans to zero in three years, on the heels of an Economic Support Fund (ESF) account which had been zeroed out in 1992, has been a difficult weaning. (See Figure 2.)

**Figure 2**  
**COMBINED SECURITY ASSISTANCE (\$M)**

FISCAL YEAR	FY89	FY90	FY91	FY92	FY93	FY94	FY95	FY96*
FMS CREDIT/GRANT **	100.0	84.6	100.0	100.0	90.0	81.0	0.0	0.0
IMET	2.5	2.6	2.6	1.8	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.8
ESF	50.0	40.0	42.6	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
COUNTRY TOTAL	152.5	127.2	145.2	141.8	91.0	81.5	0.5	0.8

\* Requested in FY96 Congressional Presentation

\*\* Reflects F-16 Squadron loans; concessional rate 93, market rate 94

The Foreign Affairs Act of 1961 (FAA), as amended, authorizes equipment declared excess to U.S. requirements to be transferred on a *grant* basis to some of NATO's Southern rim countries, i.e., Portugal, Greece, and Turkey. This equipment is given "as is/where is". Responsibility for shipping and handling, upkeep, and any upgrades rest with the gaining country. Portugal has made good use of SRA (Southern Region Amendment) and continues to do so under the terms of the new Lajes Base Accord, signed on 1 June 95 by Secretary of State Christopher and Foreign Affairs Minister Durão Barroso in Lisbon. The new accord commits the U.S. to offering for Portugal's formal acceptance \$173M in excess defense articles (EDA). All SRA offers currently made are against a list submitted by Portugal as part of the Lajes negotiations. The new agreement also commits the U.S. to satisfy both an Airport and Seaport

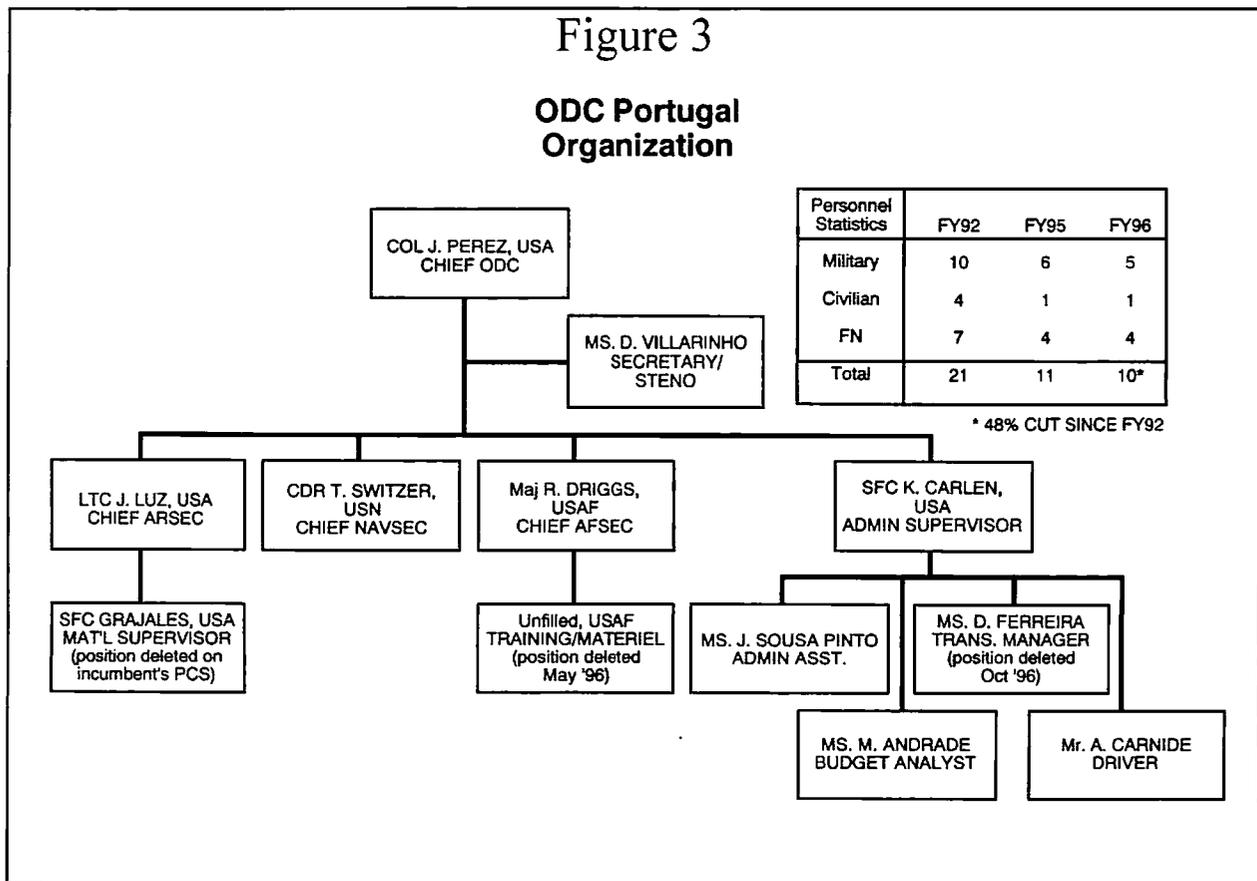
List. The items on the Airport and Seaport Lists will be used to support Portuguese facilities in the Azores. DoD is the responsible agency for fulfilling all three of the "LISTS" mentioned in the Lajes Accord.

Currently the Office of Defense Cooperation-Portugal (ODC) is working on the following formal offers of EDA to Portugal:

- M240 Machine Guns
- M548 Ammunition Carriers
- M578 Recovery Vehicles
- M30 Mortars
- M577 Command Post Vehicles

Pending formal offers is a T-AGOS oceanographic ship and a Newport class LST. We are awaiting word from DSAA and DoD as to when these vessels will be offered to Portugal. The Portuguese are interested in both ships and will probably accept the offer. However, the changing mood in Congress which reflects opposition to a "no-charge" transfer of excess vessels to other countries will have an impact on a formal offer to Portugal.

The U.S. Security Assistance program for Portugal has evolved over the past few years to reflect a more mature relationship. The Office of Defense Cooperation (ODC) is responsible for administering the U.S. Security Assistance program in Portugal. In 1994 the name of the organization changed from Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) to ODC. This reflected the changing nature of our defense relationship with Portugal.



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The Chief, ODC, is responsible to Ambassador Elizabeth Frawley Bagley and is under the command of the U.S. Commander in Chief, Europe (EUCOM) for planning and implementing U.S. Security Assistance in Portugal. The Chief is also designated the U.S. Defense Representative with certain administrative responsibilities for non-combatant military personnel in mainland Portugal, excluding Attaches, Marine Security personnel, and U.S. personnel assigned to NATO.

The ODC administers the military portion of the U.S. Security Assistance program, which includes material and training elements. These functions are carried out through daily contact with military staffs in the U.S., with the EUCOM staff in Germany, and with the Portuguese Armed Forces.

The ODC is staffed with 11 billets: 4 officer, 2 enlisted, 1 U.S. civilian, and 4 Portuguese nationals. It is divided into four programs: Army, Navy, Air Force, and Administration. This staffing level reflects the deletion of 13 billets (48%) over the past three years. Two further cuts will occur over the next two years. Our most recent manpower survey was completed in 1992 by EUCOM. (See Figure 4.)

The ODC administers over 198 security assistance cases in varying states of completion, involving over \$1.2 billion. Highlights include:

- new F16A/B fighter aircraft ("A model is single seat/"B" model is dual). Delivery began in July 1994, completed in December 1994. (Commercial Sale)

- "cascaded" M60A3 tanks as a result of Conventional Forces Europe (CFE) disarmament agreements. Delivery complete.

- "cascaded" M113A2 Armored Personnel Carriers as a result of CFE disarmament agreements. Delivery complete.

- new Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) frigates. Delivery complete with numerous follow-on support cases in being. These ships are actually a European consortium designed hull, with British helicopters aboard. But, the installed weapons systems and the engines are U.S. [Foreign Military Sales (FMS)]

- Frigate Modernization program for older ships in the Portuguese inventory. (FMS)

- Chaparral surface-to-air missile system and associated support for the Portuguese Army. (FMS)

- Stinger missile system for the NATO tasked Portuguese Airborne Brigade. (FMS)

- TOW anti-tank missile system for the Portuguese Army. (FMS)

- A-7P attack aircraft and associated support. (FMS)

- P-3P ASW/surveillance aircraft and associated support. (FMS)

In addition to the training inherent in many of the equipment cases, Portugal is also the beneficiary of one of the largest International Military Education Training Programs (IMET) in the world. In the past, training ranged from undergraduate pilot training and postgraduate education lasting several months, to fiscal responsibility and material acquisition courses of just a few days.

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Although relatively large, the IMET program has also suffered from a shrinking defense dollar. What for Portugal was a \$2.6M budget in 1989 was, in 1994, \$0.5M. The 1995 request to Congress was also \$.5M. The FY 1996 request to Congress is increased to \$.8M. This decrease reflects not only a generally smaller foreign assistance funding package, but is also indicative of the burgeoning clientele for military training in the new democracies of Eastern Europe and Africa.

## **FUTURE CHALLENGES**

Portugal faces many challenges in the future as it completes its transformation from a politically and economically isolated country. As it moves to a more market-oriented economy, the country has to deal with becoming more competitive in the international market. The cost of this increase in competitiveness may create additional unemployment at home by forcing businesses to streamline. This may also cause some businesses to close or drastically change how business is done. Tightening domestic spending as a result of declining budgets will create social pressures on the government to do more. These pressures on the government could cause a reorientation of resources away from defense. Leaders have to convince the voters that a strong defense and the continuation of defense modernization is in the country's best interest. Participation in international affairs will require spending national resources. All of this will apply pressure on limited national resources.

The political system is viable enough to deal with these increased pressures. At the time it appears resilient enough to meet these new challenges.

## **CONCLUSION**

Portugal has traditionally turned to the Atlantic as it ventured out to explore and become involved with the world. It used its natural advantages to build an empire around the world. Political instability at home led to imperial decline. Following a 20th century dictatorship, the country emerged in the mid-70's as a newly constituted European parliamentary democracy. In the last 20 years, Portugal has made great progress. Nevertheless, it is still a country in transition. As it turns to the rest of Europe and the world, its resolve will be tested. However, the country has a long and proud tradition and has overcome many obstacles in the past. Portugal faces the future with optimism.

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