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Lisbon, Portugati Will 18, 1947

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MAP DIVISION

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Transmitting Memorandum of Convensation Between British and American Ambassadors, Relative to Portuguese Colonial Problems and Their Influence on the Azores Megotiations

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

.iR-0-0-0<sup>5</sup>IR:

I have the honor to transmit herewith the memorandum of a conversation which Ambassador Wiley had with the British Ambassador, Sir Nigel Ronald, on July 15, 1947, relative to Portuguese colonial problems and their influence on the Azores negotiations.

MH

Respectfully yours.

For the Ambaseador

J. Webb Benton Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure:

Memorandum of Conversation as stated.

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I called on the British Ambassador, Sir Nigel Ronald, this morning at noon and brought him up to date on such events as had taken place in respect of the Azores conversations. I made reference to the rather unfortunate coincidence that the azores conversations should coincide with acute Portuguese amprehension having to do chiefly with Macao and possessions in India. Sir Nigel replied that the Portuguese were very troubled, particularly over Macao and their Indian possessions as well as the Patriarchiat. Some time ago, he said, the Mizan of Hyderabad and the Rajahs of Hysore and Travancore had proposed a plan whereby they would buy out the Fortuguese. The Portuguese Government had replied in the negative but had countered with a proposal having to do with free port facilities at Marmagao. hen this came up to his Government, Sir Nigel went on to say, the Fortuguese and the Indian rulers concerned had been informed that, since their territories were not contiguous, any such proposal would have to be based on a treaty with the Government of India. This apparently acted as a roadblock and no further progress was made.

I mentioned to Sir Nigel that the Foreign Minister had remarked the other day that something like a month ago the Portuguese Government had been obliged to make very urgent representations on the subject of Portuguese colonial possessions. I asked if Sir Nigel knew of these representations, and to whom the representations, if any, had been addressed. Sir Rigel replied first that he knew nothing; then, as an afterthought, he explained: "Yes, I think I know what they are about". He then explained that the Indian Government had caused wild demunciations of the Portuguese Government to be published in the press, calling Gos a blotch on the surface of India, a nonument to bad administration, a haven of refuge for anti-Indian agitators, and all kinds of other charges. Whereupon the Indian Government formulated all the foregoing into representations which were sent to the Portuguese Government through the British Embassy in Lisbon. Sir Nigel explained that he had no discretion in the matter: that his Embassy was acting only as a mailbox. Thereupon the aforesaid note was handed in.

Some time later on the Portuguese Government replied, completely rebutting these exaggerated representations in quite temperate and reasonable terms. Sir Nigel explained that the Indian Government had left itself wide open. However, the Portuguese Government had terminated the note by expressing a certain amount of resentment that the Indian Government had formulated such unfortunate and exaggerated eccusations. Sir Nigel thought that without a great stretch of the imagination the foregoing could be the strong representations to which I had referred.

Sir Nigel then went on to discuss his own problems. He stated that during the short time he had been in Portugal he had greatly altered his opinion with regard to the Portuguese Government. He described the corporate state organization of Portugal as being something utterly different from what had existed in Italy. He found considerable decentralization of authority and not a one-man rule. He spoke of the Government's sensitiveness to public opinion. Sir Nigel made it clear that his opinion of the Portuguese Government had been greatly altered in favor of the Portuguese. He complained that he had to struggle against the "hostile indifference" of the Labor Government towards Portugal. He was determined to leave nothing undone in an endeavor to change this attitude to

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one of "benevolent curiosity". He then quoted to me at length from Chapter KIII of "A History of Western Philosophy" by Bertrand Russell. The extract is attached herewith.

When Sir Nigel makes his first call on Dr. Salasar he will, he told me, make it quite clear that his main object in Portugal will be the accurate representation of things as they are. Sir Nigel lamented the fact that international relations suffered so much from studied misrepresentations.

Lisbon, July 15, 1947.

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EXTRACT FROM CHAPTER XIII OF "A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOFM" BY HERTRAND RUSSELL

"... If he you would bring over to your sentiments be one that examines before he assents, you must give him leave at his leisure to go over the account again, and, recalling what is out of his mind, examine the particulars, to see on which side the advantage lies; and if he will not think over arguments of weight enough to engage him snew in so much pains, it is but what we do often ourselves in the like case; and we should take it amiss if others should prescribe to us what points we should study: and if he be one who wishes to take his opinions upon trust, how can we imagine that he should renounce those tenets which time and custom have so settled in his mind that he thinks them self-evident, and of an unquestionable certainty; or which he takes to be impressions he has received from God himself, or from men sent by him? How can we expect, I say, that opinions thus settled should be given up to the arguments or authority of a stranger or adversary? especially if there be any suspicion of interest or design, as there never fails to be where men find themselves ill-treated. We should do well to commiserate our mutual ignorance, and endeavour to remove it in all the gentle and fair ways of information, and not instantly treat others ill as obstinate and perverse because they will not renounce their own and receive our opinions, or at least those we would force upon them, when it is more than probable that we are no less obstinate in not embracing some of theirs. For where is the man that has uncontestable evidence of the truth of all that he holds, or of the falsehood of all he condemns; or can say, that he has examined to the bottom all his own or other men's opinions? The necessity of believing without knowledge, may often upon very slight grounds, in this fleeting state of action and blindness we are in, should make us more busy and careful to inform ourselves than to restrain others...... There is reason to think, that if men were better instructed themselves, they would be less imposing on others."