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PORTUGAL Marcelo José das Neves Alves CAETANO
Prime Minister

Marcelo Caetano, Portugal's leading authority on administrative law, became Prime Minister in September 1968, succeeding the gravely ill António Salazar. President Américo Thomaz' selection of Caetano brought to an end Salazar's 40-year rule. Described as a reasonable conservative, Caetano has a much more modern outlook than his predecessor.



(PRE 1970)

As one of the principal designers, in the 1940's and 1950's of Portugal's corporate state (*Estado Novo*), Caetano generally supported Salazar's policies. The "corporative system" limits individual participation in governmental bodies to representation through functional bodies--economic, social and cultural.

Caetano's move away from the regime in the late 1950's seems not to have been prompted by any basic disagreement with the principles of the corporate state, but rather by a genuine doubt that Salazar's uncompromising authoritarianism was the right way to administer it. In any event, when the ultra-conservative ruling elite and military establishment called Caetano from the University to become Prime Minister, it was because they were confident that he was a product of the regime and would revitalize rather than destroy it.

Caetano has acted as a balance between the conservative forces and those younger elements within the regime who desire more rapid changes. This balance may reflect a duality in Caetano's own thinking between his belief in social democracy and economic opportunity and his belief in maintaining the authority of the current political structure.

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Caetano Takes Hold

Caetano has softened some of the more repressive policies of the Salazar era, and he has implemented some measures to increase social and economic opportunities. The Constitutional Reforms of the 1970's propose greater educational opportunities for all students, more flexible educational programs, easing of press censorship, an increase in judicial rights for accused persons, and greater autonomy for overseas territories. In addition, Caetano has drafted a law giving women equal voting rights.

Caetano's emergence since 1968 as a popular national leader has been attributed in part to his efforts to bring the executive closer to the people. His periodic television "fireside chats" and his visits around the country have been well received, and his visit to Portuguese Africa in April 1969 apparently enhanced his image. He is regarded as a relaxed and informal leader who is sincerely concerned with the problems of the average citizen.

An able politician, Caetano has also been successful in securing a political base for himself within the government and within the government-controlled and only legal political party, the National Popular Action (ANP). (Until February 1970 this was known as the National Union party.) Since he has been Prime Minister, Caetano has been placing men of his own choice in important positions. He has now practically replaced the leadership of the ANP with men closer to his views. In addition he has been systematically replacing the civil governors, who supervise elections in each district.

The Cabinet changes he made in January 1970 have substantially increased Caetano's freedom to maneuver. He reduced the number of portfolios from 15 to 10, he abolished the position of Minister of State--assuming its coordinating function himself--and he merged several other ministries into "super-ministries" responsible for broad policy areas.

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Furthermore, the men he has selected for his ministries illustrate the importance he attaches to being supported by assistants who are loyal to him personally. Pro-Caetano members also dominate the National Assembly elected in October 1969.

International Political Views

Under Caetano's leadership Portugal has assumed a more active role in international relations. He remains characteristically Portuguese in his approach to problems, but does not advocate the aloof isolationism of Salazar. He has made it clear that he would like to see Portugal more receptive to modern influences and development.

The Prime Minister is a strong backer of NATO, and has indicated that NATO is extremely important to Portugal because it is the only military alliance in which his country participates. This is a change from the lukewarm support Portugal gave NATO under Salazar. Many Portuguese feel that NATO--originally set up to counter Communism in Europe--ought to appreciate more deeply than it does that their provincial wars are in fact a lonely fight against Communism in Africa. Caetano, in a veiled reference to Portuguese Africa, has expressed the same view. He stated that while the NATO alliance has generally gone far beyond its original concept, the vital interests of many members are being threatened in areas outside of the treaty area and that fact is not being fully taken into account.

Caetano is a firm anti-Communist and strong critic of the USSR; however, he permitted the first tourists from the Soviet Union to enter Portugal in April 1969.

Attitude Toward the United States

A desire for improved relations with the United States appears to be a distinct part of Caetano's policy for ending Portugal's isolation. The Prime

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Minister has declared his interest in a "renewal of dialogue" with the United States after some years of what he described as "misunderstandings" between the two governments. (Some Portuguese regard US advocacy of self-determination in Africa as an advance move toward "economic imperialism" -- the takeover of the Portuguese patrimony in Africa by US financial and economic interests.) According to Caetano, the first Portuguese concern is for better US understanding of the Portuguese position both at home and in Africa.

Early Life and Career

Marcelo José das Neves Alves Caetano was born in Lisbon on 17 August 1906 of lower middle class parents; his mother died several years later. His father, a customs official, is thought to have been of partly Goanese extraction. (Goa was a Portuguese enclave in Western India.) Caetano received a law degree with highest honors in 1927 and a doctorate in 1931 from the University of Lisbon.

An early follower of Salazar, Caetano frequently contributed pro-Salazar articles to the daily press. Salazar, who was Minister of Finance from 1928 to 1932, rewarded him with a position as juridical auditor in the Ministry (1929-34).

Appointed a law professor at the University of Lisbon in 1933, Caetano taught administrative law and inaugurated a course on the legal aspects of the Portuguese corporative system. He soon became Salazar's chief adviser on the interpretation of the corporative laws.

Caetano was also charged with drawing up a new administrative code for Portugal, which became operative in 1941 and is still in effect. In connection with his work on the administrative code, Caetano went on a special mission to the Azores and the Madeira Islands and drafted the "Statute of the Autonomous Districts of the Adjacent Islands,"

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which covers the local administration of those areas. From 1940 until 1944 Caetano served as National Commissioner of *Mocidade Portuguesa*, the Portuguese youth movement.

After serving for 3 years as Minister of Colonies (1944-47), Caetano became President of the Executive Committee of the National Union. Feeling this to be a secondary role, he resigned and returned to university life for a short time. From 1950 to 1955 he was President of the Corporative Chamber, in which he had earlier served as a representative of the insurance companies and as Vice President (1942-49).

In 1955 Salazar named Caetano Minister of the Presidency, a post equivalent to that of a Deputy Prime Minister. He dismissed him in 1958. That dismissal was believed to have been prompted by Caetano's alleged association with dissident elements; it is also believed to have been prompted by the rift between Caetano and his chief rival at the time, the extremely conservative Minister of Defense, Fernando dos Santos Costa.

Returning to the academic world, Caetano was named Rector of the Classical University of Lisbon in 1959. He resigned the post in 1962 after police entered the University without his permission to arrest student demonstrators. It is uncertain whether his resignation was a libertarian gesture or simply outrage that he had not been properly consulted by the authorities.

From 1962 until his designation as Prime Minister, Caetano taught administrative law and political science at the University, but held no public office. This was considered politically beneficial when he was being considered as Salazar's successor.

In addition to government service, Caetano devoted himself to scholarly investigation; he has

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written and published many works on his specialties (corporative theory and its application, administrative law, municipal and colonial reform, and finance). He also maintained a lucrative law practice.

Travel

Caetano has traveled extensively throughout Portuguese Africa and Europe, and has visited Brazil. He headed the Portuguese delegation to the funeral of former President Dwight Eisenhower in April 1969. It was not only the first visit of a Portuguese Prime Minister to the United States, but also Caetano's first trip to this country.

Personal Data

Tall and lanky, Caetano has sharp features, thin lips and neatly-combed gray hair, and he wears gold-rimmed glasses. He is hard-working, studious and intellectually inclined. He lives simply and is highly respected for his intellectual integrity, honesty and clean personal life. Although he can be witty and charming, other Portuguese sometimes regard him as having an independent [Redacted] personality. He tends to be withdrawn and formal [Redacted] on first contact, but is very warm toward people in whom he develops confidence. He is said to rely greatly on his friends and to judge them subjectively. He has a reputation from his days at the university of enjoying conversation and the exchange of ideas.

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Fluent in French, Caetano reads and may understand some English, but does not speak it. He is the recipient of several Portuguese and foreign decorations.

Family

The Prime Minister's wife, the former Teresa Elisa de Barros Alves [Redacted]

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[Redacted] died in January 1971. For official functions Caetano's attractive daughter Ana Maria (33) acts as hostess. She reputedly trained as a nurse [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Caetano also has three sons: João, an architect; José Maria, the government's representative on the administrative board of Companhia de Seguros de Creditos; and Miguel, an economist who heads the Division of Regional Planning in the Prime Minister's Technical Secretariat. [Redacted]

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Caetano has 12 grandchildren. [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Rui Alves da Silva Sanches, the Minister of Public Works and Communications, is the Prime Minister's cousin.

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