# Biographies of eminent Portuguese politicians (names from M to Z)

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## MACEDO, Jorge Avelino Braga de

Born in Lisbon in 1947 and graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon. Obtained a Master's degree in International Relations from Yale University, USA, and a doctorate in Economics from the same university, in 1979. Lectured in the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon in the period after the 25 April Revolution, at the University of Princeton from 1980 to 1986, and at the *Universidade Nova* and Catholic University of Lisbon after 1986. Worked with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and as a consultant in several institutions such as the Confederation of Portuguese Industry, the World Bank and the United Nations. In 1989, moved to Brussels, where he became Director of National Economies in the DG for Economic and Financial Affairs of the European Commission. Appointed Deputy Director-General of the Budget in the European Commission in August 1991 but left this post in the same year to take up office as Minister for Finance in the 12th Constitutional Government led by Cavaco Silva.

It was while he was in government that Portugal joined the European Monetary System (EMS), on 6 April 1992, and the capital market was liberalised. Faced periods of serious instability on the European exchange markets which were to affect the escudo to the point of causing devaluation in November 1992 and in May 1993. However, made statements in which he defended the need to lower interest rates, which caused some concern to the Bank of Portugal and which led to the removal of the Governor and the former Minister for Finance, Miguel Beleza, in July 1994. Braga de Macedo was then himself removed from government in the reshuffle that took place on 13 December 1993, when he was replaced by Eduardo Catroga. He was appointed to a post in the Development Centre of the OECD, where he worked from 1999 to 2001.

#### **MACHADO, Fernando Manuel Alves**

Chairman of the Committee for Economic Coordination of the Export Development Fund.

#### MACHADO, Vítor António Augusto Nunes de Sá

Born in Cáala, Angola, on 18 November 1933. Graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra in 1957 and completed postgraduate studies at the same university in the following year. After unsuccessful attempts to begin an academic career at the University of Oporto and in the judiciary in Angola, because of less than positive information held by PIDE (Portuguese security police), entered the Gulbenkian Foundation in 1960 at the invitation of Ferrer Correia, becoming a Director of the institution in 1969. Joined the CDS after the 25 April Revolution and was a member of the Constituent Assembly, having been relieved of his duties in the Foundation by the Workers' Committee as a result of the attempted coup on 11 March 1975. In 1978, became Foreign Minister in the Second Constitutional Government, which was led by Mário Soares and was the outcome of the coalition between the PS and the CDS. After the fall of this government, he returned to the Gulbenkian Foundation in 1979. In 1988, he failed in his attempt to be appointed to the post of Director-General of UNESCO. Left the CDS in 1992, the year in which Manuel Monteiro took over leadership of the party and, in December 1998, succeeded Ferrer Correia as President of the Gulbenkian Foundation.

Died on 27 April 2002.

#### MAGALHÃES, José Tomás Cabral Calvet de

Calvet de Magalhães was born in Lisbon in 1915, during the First World War. Graduated from the Faculty of Law in Lisbon in 1940, then trained as a lawyer; in 1941, applied for a post in the Foreign Ministry and was recruited — at this time, Eduardo Brasão and Franco Nogueira also entered the Foreign Ministry. During his career, worked with more than 20 Foreign Ministers.

He began in the Directorate-General for Economic Affairs, an area of diplomacy in which he went on to specialise. In 1945, he served as Vice-Consul in New York and, in the same year, was transferred to Washington. In 1946, was posted to Boston, where he ran the Consulate until mid-1948 when he was



transferred to Canton, returning to Lisbon in 1950. In March 1951, was appointed Secretary to the Embassy in Paris, this time on the diplomatic staff, beginning a career that was both long and distinguished. In May 1951, served on the Portuguese Delegation to the Permanent Council of NATO, a post which he held at the same time as serving as Portugal's representative in COCOM, the committee responsible for the embargo on the export of dual-use products to the Soviet Union and its satellites and to China. It was here that the true European adventure of Calvet de Magalhães began. In January 1956, he was appointed Head of the Permanent Delegation in Paris to the Technical Committee of European Economic Cooperation and Portugal's Permanent Representative to the OEEC, with the title of Second Class Minister Plenipotentiary. On several occasions, accompanied Portuguese representatives to EFTA negotiations and chaired several preparatory EFTA meetings in Stockholm and Saltsjöbaden in 1959. Portugal's Ambassador to the EEC (1962). Vice-Chairman of the Studies Committee on European Economic Integration established by order of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers for Finance, the Economy and Foreign Affairs in March 1970.

## MARQUES, Fernando Manuel da Silva

Born in Oporto on 3 February 1932 and graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon. Served as Consul in Montreal from January 1961. In March 1965, was transferred to the Embassy in Zomba as *chargé d'affaires*. Served as Ambassador in The Hague from February to July 1976 before being transferred to Luanda, presenting his Ambassador's credentials in September 1980. Was appointed Head of the Portuguese Mission to the European Communities on 18 November 1985 and Portugal's representative in Brussels on 1 January 1986. Was posted to Bonn as Ambassador on 14 June 1986.

## MARTINS, Guilherme d'Oliveira

Born in Lisbon in 1952. Graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon, also obtaining a Master's degree from the same university. Was the founder of SEDES before the 25 April Revolution broke out, an organisation where he worked closely with António Guterres and Sousa Franco, having joined the PPD. Was one of the senior members of the JSD, but he was to move away from the orange party in 1978, becoming Chief of Staff for Sousa Franco when the latter worked in the Ministry of Finance during the government of Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo, from 1979 to 1980. In 1979, had founded the *Associação Social-Democrata Independente* (ASDI), subsequently led by Sousa Franco.

In 1986, supported Mário Soares in his first attempt to secure election to the Presidency of the Republic. In 1991, was elected independent member on the PS lists and, after the victory of António Guterres in the legislative elections of 1995, was appointed State Secretary for Educational Administration, rising to the rank of Minister for Education after the departure of Marçal Grilo. Became Minister for the Presidency in September 2000 and Minister for Finance in June 2001, a post which he held until the downfall of the second government of António Guterres. In October 2005, was selected by the government of José Sócrates to be President of the Court of Auditors. Published several articles in the press on European integration at the time when the Constitutional Treaty was being drafted.

#### MATIAS, Marcelo Gonçalves Nunes Duarte

Graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon. Practised law and was deputy to the Republic's State Attorney. Served as Portugal's Consul in Rio de Janeiro and in Athens; Director-General and Secretary-General in the Foreign Ministry. On 30 June 1947, was appointed Portugal's Ambassador in Paris, a post that he held until 1958. Was appointed Foreign Minister on 14 August 1958, a portfolio that he held until 4 May 1961. In the same year, returned to the Portuguese Embassy in Paris, where he remained as Ambassador until 1970.

#### MATTA, José Caeiro da

Jurist, graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra. Member of Parliament during the monarchy (1908–1910). Held the Foreign Affairs portfolio (1933 to 1935) and National Education (1944–1947). From 1941 to 1944, held the post of Portugal's Minister in Vichy. On 5 February 1947, succeeded Oliveira Salazar



as Foreign Minister, a post that he held until 1950.

## MELO, Albano Homem de

Successor to André Navarro, was Under-Secretary of State for Agriculture from 6 September 1944 to 4 February 1947. His mandate was extended after the departure of Supico Pinto until October 1947.

## MIRANDA, Pedro Pires de

Born in Leiria. Graduated in Mathematics from the *Instituto Superior Técnico*. Once he had completed his course, settled in London, where he worked in a construction and planning firm, but returned to Portugal two years later, in 1957, to join the management of Portuguese BP. Returned to the UK in 1967, still as a Manager for BP. In 1971, already back in Portugal, joined Petrosul and, one year later, Sonap. Left for Brazil as a result of the attempted coup on 1 March 1975 and remained there for another year, working for the Ipiranga oil company. Having again returned to Portugal, was invited by the Prime Minister, Alfredo Nobre da Costa, first to join the administration of Petrogal and then to serve in the Ministry of Trade and Tourism of the Third Constitutional Government. In 1979, chaired the Committee for European Integration and, in 1980, became Chairman of Petrogal. In 1980, was appointed Roving Ambassador for oil affairs by the government led by Sá Carneiro. Was Foreign Minister in the 10th Constitutional Government, led by Cavaco Silva. In the early 1990s, was appointed Director of the Luso-American Foundation for Development and became Curator of the Orient Foundation.

## **MONTEIRO, António Victor Martins**

Born in Nova Sintra (now Catabola), Angola, on 22 January 1944. Graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon and began a diplomatic career after passing the entrance examination in 1967. First posted abroad in 1971 to Zaïre (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), where he was in charge of Portuguese affairs in Portugal's Embassy in Zaïre. He was in Zaïre in 1974, the year of the 25 April Revolution, where he became *chargé d'affaires* in the Kinshasa Embassy, later becoming the First Secretary at this Embassy. In 1976, moved to Rome, where he carried out the same duties as in Kinshasa. At the same time, represented Portugal in international organisations from March 1978, in particular the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN (FAO). Returned to Lisbon in the following year to the post of Deputy Head of Protocol in the Foreign Ministry.

After 1981, served on Portugal's Permanent Mission to the United Nations. Returned to Portugal in 1987, where he became Chief of Staff in the office of the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the post then occupied by Durão Barroso. Rose to fame as a member of the team of mediators in the peace process in Angola, first in negotiating the Bicesse Agreements in May 1991, which led to peace between the MPLA and UNITA, later heading Portugal's Temporary Mission to the Joint Political-Military Commission, a body whose task it was to monitor compliance with the peace agreements in Angola. Appointed Ambassador in 1994 and, in 1997, moved once again to New York, where he was Portugal's Permanent Representative to the UN, chairing the Security Council during the period when Portugal held a seat as a non-permanent member from 1997 to 1998. His time in New York as Ambassador coincided with the period of instability in East Timor in September 1999, following the referendum that determined the independence of that Indonesian province. Was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the government led by Pedro Santana Lopes.

#### MONTEIRO, Manuel Fernando da Silva

Born in Lisbon in 1962. Joined the CDS at the age of 13 when he was still a pupil at the Passos Manuel Grammar School, joining the Executive Committee of the Centrist Youth Movement in 1981 and becoming its Chairman in 1990. With the support of Adriano Moreira, took over the leadership of the CDS at a Congress held in Lisbon in March 1992, defeating Basílio Horta. He was then aged 29. During his leadership, the name PP, the acronym of the Popular Party, was added to the acronym CDS. Pursued a policy that broke with the way in which previous generations had managed the party's affairs, with



particular regard to European issues. Came out openly against federalism and in favour of a Europe of Nations in which the sovereignty of each state would be protected. Rejected the Maastricht Treaty and Economic and Monetary Union, arguing that Member States should be able to adopt, at their own discretion, policies defined jointly.

Argued that a referendum should be held on the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty and encouraged an internal debate on the Treaty on European Union at the end of which the Treaty was rejected by 90 % of the membership. Following these results, Freitas do Amaral resigned from the party, as did two MEPs, Luís Beiroco and Carvalho Raposo. Was elected a Member of the European Parliament in the 1994 European elections. Left party management and was replaced by Paulo Portas who was elected to the vacant post in 1998. Three years earlier, the differences between Manuel Monteiro and his successor were already known. Manuel Monteiro left the CDS-PP in February 2003 and founded a new party known as New Democracy.

## MORAIS, António Trigo de

Senior Inspector of Engineering, and Director-General of JAOHA (in November 1949, JAOHA became part of the DG for Hydraulic Services, and Trigo de Morais headed the DGHS), and formerly an overseas official. Portugal's Delegate to the Colonial Committee of the OEEC. He was appointed a permanent member of the Technical Committee of European Economic Cooperation as the representative of MOP; went on to become Chairman of the Division for agricultural, industrial and transport equipment of the Technical Committee of European Economic Cooperation.

## **MOREIRA, Adriano José Alves**

Born in Grijó, a suburb of Macedo de Cavaleiros, on 15 September 1922. Graduated in Historical and Legal Sciences from the University of Lisbon, in 1947 entering the General Archives of the Criminal and Police Records Office, where he was section head. At the same time, worked with the *Instituto da Conferência da Ordem dos Advogados*. Obtained a doctorate from the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina* (ISCSPU) and from the *Universidade Complutense*, in Madrid. Also practised law and, as a lawyer, was on the staff of Standard Electric. Was imprisoned by the PIDE (Portuguese security police) in the late 1940s, having been a witness for the family of General Godinho in the proceedings that they brought against the State, as a result of the death of that adversary of the Minister for Defence, Santos Costa, in Trafaria Prison. From 1950, lectured in the *Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos*. Served on several UN committees from 1955 to 1960.

Was appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Overseas Territories in March 1960 and then promoted to Minister for the Overseas Territories after the Júlio Botelho Moniz coup, in April 1961. Withdrew from government, realising that it was impossible to carry forward his project for the gradual autonomy of the colonies after the Statute on Native Labour was abolished and the Rural Labour Code drawn up. Remained in the ISCSPU and continued to work for Standard Electric throughout the 1960s but was removed from the management of the Institute, during the period when Marcelo Caetano was in power, after a misunderstanding with the then Minister for Education, José Hermano Saraiva. Also during the 1960s, was a member and Chairman of the European Documentation and Information Centre. Following the 25 April Revolution, his civil rights were cancelled, and he went into exile in Brazil, where he was a lecturer at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. After returning to Portugal, was invited to join the CDS, becoming leader of the party from 1986 to 1988.

In discussions in Portugal on federalism, Adriano Moreira claimed, in a speech to the CDS Congress held in Póvoa do Varzim in January 1992, that there need be no fear of the word 'federalism' because it would lead to greater interdependence among the European countries as regards defence. However, he did emphasise the fact that there was a need among peoples for mutual support and that there was no hierarchy of States in Europe. Important among his many publications is *A Europa em Formação*, published in 1974 and based on his doctoral thesis presented to the *Universidade Complutense* in Madrid.

#### MOURA, Francisco José Cruz Pereira de



Born in Lisbon on 17 April 1925. Graduated in Finance and Economics from the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Financeiras* and lectured at the *Instituto Superior de Serviço Social*, Lisbon, from 1957 to 1968. Secretary-General of the Second Portuguese Industry Congress in 1957, attorney to the Corporative Council from 1957 to 1965 and Director of the Centre for the Study of Applied Economics of the Portuguese Industrial Association from 1958 to 1967, Pereira de Moura stood for Parliament on the lists of the *Comissão Democrática Eleitoral (Movimento Democrático Português)* in 1969.

In 1973, was appointed Professor at the *Instituto Superior de Economia* but was dismissed by the government following his attendance in the Rato Chapel for the Peace Day celebrations. The author of several works on the development of the Portuguese economy, Pereira de Moura had a decisive role to play in disseminating Keynesian theories in Portugal.

After the 25 April 1974 Revolution, Francisco Pereira de Moura returned to the *Instituto Superior de Economia*.

Died in Lisbon in 1998.

#### MOURA, Joaquim Augusto Nunes de Pina

Born in Loriga, a suburb of Seia, on 22 February 1952. Entered the University of Oporto, where he studied Mechanical Engineering, and it was there that he joined the PCP, becoming the leader of the Communist Students' Union. He was one of the participants at the Congress of the Democratic Opposition held in Aveiro in 1973. After the 25 April Revolution, he rose through the ranks of the structure of the PCP and was elected to the Central Committee in the 1980s. Graduated in Economics in the 1980s from the *Instituto Superior de Economia*. Left the PCP in 1991 when the party split over the Eastern bloc countries moving to a multiparty system. In the following year, began his approach to the PS. In 1995, joined the government as State Secretary for the Presidency, rising to the rank of Minister for the Economy, a post that he added to that of Minister for Finance from 1999 to 2001, the year in which he left government. In 2004, became Chairman of Iberdrola in Portugal and, from there, moved to the Board of GALP, since the Spanish company held shares in the national oil company.

#### MOURA, Maria Teresa Quintela Pinto Bessa Pereira de

Born on 30 August 1948 in Paço d'Arcos. Graduated in Economics from the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Financeiras* and, following the 25 April Revolution, joined the Technical Secretariat of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. Was a member of the Secretariat for European Integration, where he worked with António Marta. In the 1980s, he moved to the DG for Community Affairs, of which he became Assistant Director from 1984. In 1998, assumed full responsibility for the DG for International Relations in the Ministry of the Economy, moving in 2000 to the DG for European Affairs and International Relations in the Ministry of Finance. Replaced Francisco Seixas da Costa in the State Secretary's Office for European Affairs in March 2001, the post which he held until the Guterres Government resigned in 2002.

#### MURTEIRA, Mário

Graduated in Economics from the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Financeiras* (ISCEF) in 1956. Was an assistant at the *Instituto Nacional de Investigação Industrial* [National Institute for Industrial Research] for four years and lectured at the ISCEF from 1961 to 1962, resigning from his post as assistant during the academic crisis of 1962. Worked with the *Fundo de Fomento de Mão-de-Obra* and was one of the founders of the Pragma Cooperative, which he directed. Was also a member of the Steering Council of the journal *O Tempo e o Modo* during the early years of its publication. A member of the Management Council of the *Companhia Portuguesa de Caminhos de Ferro* (CP) from 1969 to 1973. In 1970, presented the thesis for his doctorate and, in 1973, was appointed Professor at the *Universidade Nova* in Lisbon. Following the 25 April Revolution, was appointed Minister for Social Affairs in the First Provisional Government led by Palma Carlos. Returned to government on 26 March 1975 as Minister for Planning and



Economic Coordination in the government led by Vasco Gonçalves, moving to the Ministry of the Economy in May 1975. Was also appointed Deputy Governor of the Bank of Portugal on 14 March 1975. His time in government was marked by the nationalisation of banks and of what were considered strategic industrial and services companies, implemented following the attempted coup on 11 March 1975. Became a member of the Leftist Union for Social Democracy in 1976.

## NEVES, Carlos Henrique da Costa

Born in Angra do Heroísmo, Azores, on 16 June 1954. Graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon. Was elected to the Regional Legislative Assembly in 1980 and, in the following year, to the Regional Secretariat for Social Affairs. Still in the 1980s, held government posts as Regional Secretary for Health and Social Affairs and Internal Administration. From 1992 to 1994, headed the regional airline SATA. In 1997, became leader of the PSD/Azores when this party was in opposition in the islands, after being elected an MEP. In 2002, was selected as State Secretary for European Affairs in the Durão Barroso Government and rose to the rank of Minister for Agriculture in the government led by Pedro Santana Lopes.

## NEVES, Fernando de Mendonça d'Oliveira

Born in Lisbon on 25 January 1947 and graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon. Began his professional career as a diplomat in 1975, joining the department responsible for negotiating Portugal's accession to the EEC. Was Secretary of the Permanent Mission to the UN from 1978 to 1981, going on to become Chief of Staff of the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, where he remained until 1982. After serving at the Embassy in Washington as Secretary, from 1982 to 1986, took up the same duties in the Portuguese Permanent Representation to the European Union in Brussels until 1990. A member of the working party that prepared the logistics for the Portuguese Presidency of the European Union and of the Management Committee of the Belém Cultural Centre in 1990. Director of the Institute for Economic Cooperation from 1992 to 1994, in the same year moving to the post of Head of the Unit for Common Foreign and Security Policy in the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers of the European Union. Involved in the Mauber cause when in charge of the Mission on the Timor issue between 1997 and 1999. Was appointed Spokesman during the second Portuguese Presidency of the European Union in 2000 and Ambassador in Luanda, Dublin and The Hague from 2001 to 2005. When the 17th Government, led by José Socrates, was formed, was appointed State Secretary for European Affairs, a post that he held until July 2006.

## NOGUEIRA, Alberto Marciano Gorjão Franco

Born in Vila Franca de Xira on 17 September 1918. Graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon in 1940 and, while still a student, became Secretary of the Administrative Committee for the Students' Association established in 1938 by the Minister for Education, Carneiro Pacheco. In 1941, applied for the post of Legation Attaché in the Foreign Ministry and, once appointed, left for Tokyo in October 1945.

Franco Nogueira was the very last Foreign Minister to serve under Salazar. He was appointed in May 1961, in the wake of the Botelho Moniz coup. Both in the National Assembly and outside it, he was a firm defender of Salazar's colonial policy, relentlessly arguing that Portugal must keep its possessions in Africa at any cost.

Known as the head of the 'anti-European' wing of the regime, he would accept only limited agreements on European issues and never any kind of unification.

Died in Lisbon on 14 March 1993.

## OLIVEIRA, José Gonçalo da Cunha Sotto-Mayor Correia de

A graduate in Legal Sciences from the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon in 1944, beginning his career as a CTC specialist. In 1948, became the Manager of the CTC's Studies Office and, in the following



year, became Vice-Chairman of the CTC Board. See J. M. Brandão de Brito, *Oliveira, José Gonçalo da Cunha Sotto-Mayor Correia de* in DHEN, pp. 685–687, and Manuel de Lucena, *Oliveira, José Gonçalo da Cunha Sottomayor Correia de* in DHP, pp. 631–639.

## OLIVEIRA, Luís Francisco Valente de

Born in São João da Madeira in 1937. Graduated in Civil Engineering in 1961 from the University of Oporto, where he was awarded his doctorate in 1973. Went on to receive a Diploma in Planning and Regional Development from the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague in 1969 and, two years later, obtained an MSc in Transport from Imperial College in the University of London. Managed the Technical Office of the Planning Committee of the Northern Region from 1973 to 1975 and became a lecturer at Oporto University in 1975. Continued his professional career in the Coordinating Committee of the Northern Region, where he was Director from 1979 to 1985. Acquired his first experience in government from 1978 to 1979 and was invited by Prime Minister Carlos Mota Pinto to join the Ministry of Education and Scientific Development in the Fourth Constitutional Government.

Was Minister for Planning and Territorial Administration from 1985 to 1995 in the 10th, 11th and 12th Constitutional Governments, led by Cavaco Silva, and in charge of negotiations, in Brussels, for aid from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). In 2002, joined the 15th Constitutional Government, led by Durão Barroso, as Minister for Public Works and Transport, a post that he left in April 2003. His CV also includes representational responsibilities at the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and in the Council of Europe as well as time serving on the Board of Directors of the Serralves Foundation.

## PATRÍCIO, Rui Manuel Medeiros d'Espiney

Born in Lisbon, in 1955 he graduated in Law from the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon with an average mark of 18 and, in the following year, completed the complementary course in Philosophy and Economics with the same average mark. In the following year, went to work in the Overseas Office (1956–1957). From 1958 to 1964, lectured at the Faculty of Law of Lisbon University in political economics, finance, tax law, corporation law, constitutional law and public international law. Subsequently went on to lecture on the organisation and administration of companies at the Institute for Social Studies. Member of Working Group 8 dealing with funding for the Coordinating Committee for Provincial Planning Services and Economic Integration. Also participated in the establishment of the section devoted to the Overseas Sector of the Interim Development Plan.

In 1961, served on the national delegation sent to the International Chambers of Commerce Congress, held in Denmark, and, two years later, to the World Oil Congress, held in Germany. In 1964, was a national representative in Paris and, on behalf of the Ministry of National Education, attended the OECD Conference devoted to a discussion of funding for education. From 1965 to 1970, was the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and later went on to become Minister for Foreign Affairs on 15 January 1970.

Was awarded the Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ; Grand Officer of the Military Order of Christ; Grand Cross of the Order of the Oak Crown, Luxembourg; Grand Cross of the Order of Isabel the Catholic (Spain); Grand Cross of the Order of the Southern Cross (Brazil); Grand Officer of the Order of Merit (Federal Republic of Germany).

#### PEREIRA, André Roberto Delaunay Gonçalves

Born in Lisbon on 26 July 1936. Completed his law studies at the University of Lisbon in 1958, and took his doctorate four years later at the same university, beginning his academic career there as well. Was Portugal's delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations from 1959 to 1966. Played the same role in other bodies such as the General Assembly of UNESCO and at the Conferences of the Governors of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. A specialist in international and constitutional law, areas in which he had works published. Was appointed Foreign



Minister in the Seventh and Eighth Constitutional Governments, both led by Francisco Pinto Balsemão. In 1995, was appointed as personal representative of the Foreign Minister, Durão Barroso, in the group making preparations for the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) responsible for revising the Treaty on European Union.

## PEREIRA, Pedro Teotónio (1902–1972)

Graduated in Mathematics from the University of Lisbon. Under-Secretary of State for Corporations and Social Welfare from 11 April 1933 to 3 January 1936. In June 1933, headed the Portuguese Delegation to Geneva to attend the International Labour Conference. From 18 January 1936 to 13 December 1937, took on the Trade and Industry portfolio. Was subsequently appointed special agent of the Portuguese Government to General Franco and, on 11 June 1938, was appointed Portugal's Ambassador to Spain. Still as a diplomat, on 19 October 1945, was transferred from Spain to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. In June 1947, became Head of the Portuguese diplomatic representation in Washington [during the Truman Presidency]. Remained in Washington until 1949, when he returned to Portugal. Director of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation until November 1972.

## PEREIRA, Vasco Luís Caldeira Coelho Futscher

Born in Lisbon on 3 February 1922. Graduated in History and Philosophy from the University of Coimbra and then embarked on a diplomatic career. Was Portugal's Consul in Morocco and, subsequently, in Zaïre and San Francisco. Was Ambassador in Bonn at the time when the 25 April Revolution broke out and was the first diplomat to express his support for the Armed Forces Movement (AFM) and to seek recognition for the new regime from the German Government. Was posted to Brazil in the midst of the revolutionary period and seconded to the United Nations in 1978, where he was one of those working to have Portugal elected to the Security Council, which he chaired for two terms of office. Was appointed Portugal's Ambassador in New York and, later, in Washington. Became Foreign Minister in 1982 in the Eighth Constitutional Government at the invitation of Pinto Balsemão and in place of André Gonçalves Pereira.

Died in Lisbon on 20 August 1984.

## PESSOA, Albino Cabral

Member of the OEEC, expert in banking affairs, Secretary of the Technical Committee for Foreign Economic Cooperation; in October 1959, appointed by Portugal's Embassy in Washington as observer at the IMF and World Bank meeting.

## PINTASILGO, Maria de Lurdes Ruivo da Silva Matos

Born in Abrantes on 18 January 1930. Graduated in Chemical and Industrial Engineering from the *Instituto Superior Técnico* in 1953 and was invited, the following year, to work in the project management division of CUF's Studies and Projects Department. Throughout the 1950s, played a relevant role in several Catholic movements: chaired Pax Romana in 1955, joined the International Movement of Catholic Students in 1956 and, in Portugal, was the promoter of the Graal Movement in 1957. In 1969, was appointed attorney for the Corporative Chamber, where she remained until 25 April 1974. Her life was also linked to defending the status of women — in 1970, chaired the International Commission on Social Policy for Women.

Following the 25 April Revolution, was appointed State Secretary for Social Security in the First Provisional Government led by Palma Carlos. Was appointed Minister for Social Affairs in the Second and Third Provisional Governments, led by Vasco Gonçalves, also holding the post of State Secretary for Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research from May 1974 to March 1975. Was co-author of the Economic and Social Development Plan. In the following year, was appointed Portugal's Ambassador to UNESCO, in Paris. Led the Fifth Constitutional Government, on the initiative of the President of the Republic, from 1979 to 1980. In 1986, stood as an independent candidate in the presidential elections but was defeated in the second round. In the following year, was elected an MEP in the first elections to the European Parliament held in Portugal.



In the late 1980s and in the 1990s, was invited to serve on several European and international bodies, among them the European Commission's Committee of Wise Men in 1995, the Club of Rome in 1996 and the Independent Commission for Social Development and Quality of Life in 1997. In the following year, joined the Ethical Council for the Life Sciences.

Died in Lisbon on 9 July 2004.

## PINTO, Carlos Alberto da Mota

Born in Pombal on 25 July 1936. Graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra in 1958 and began his academic career as an assistant lecturer in the same university. Obtained his doctorate in 1970. Served as Deputy Rector of the University of Coimbra from May 1974 to January 1975, after having founded the PPD in 1974. Took a seat as a Member of the Constituent Assembly between June 1975 and April 1976. In the previous year, left the PPD during the Aveiro Congress, having been appointed Minister for Trade and Tourism in the First Constitutional Government, led by Mário Soares, in March 1977. Led the Fourth Constitutional Government, on the initiative of the President, from 1978 to 1979. Was elected to Parliament as Member for Coimbra in the legislative elections of 1983 and went on to become leader of the PSD one year later at the 11th Party Congress held in Braga. Once the Ninth Constitutional Government was formed, based on a coalition of the PS with the PSD and led by Mário Soares, Pinto became Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence. Gave up the leadership of the PSD, with the arrival of Cavaco Silva, at the Party Congress in Figueira da Foz, in 1985.

Died on 7 May 1985 in Coimbra.

#### PINTO, Clotário Luís Supico Ribeiro

Minister for the Economy from 6 September 1944 to 4 February 1947. Graduated in Law from the University of Lisbon, Member of the National Assembly during the Second Legislature, Vice-Chairman of the Technical Corporative Council for Trade and Industry from 1936 to 1940. On 28 August 1940, was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Finance and remained in this post until 1944, when he replaced Rafael Duque as Minister for the Economy. Remained in charge of the economy until the ministerial reshuffle in February 1947. The nomination of Supico Pinto for the post of Foreign Minister in February 1947 was 'vetoed' by Santos Costa (Franco Nogueira, Salazar. Vol. IV — *O Ataque (1945–1958)*, Livraria Civilização Editora, Oporto, 3rd ed., 1986, pp. 61–67). Did not return to government, although he remained very close to Oliveira Salazar. His political career continued within the CC (Corporative Chamber) and the União Nacional.

#### **PIRES, Francisco Lucas**

Born in Coimbra in 1944. Graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra. Joined the CDS in 1975, at the suggestion of Freitas do Amaral, having sympathised, while still at university, with groups on the extreme right. Was elected to Parliament for the first time in 1976 and became Vice-Chairman of the party in 1978, after the third CDS Congress. Was one of those advocating the uniting of the right-wing parties that led to the formation of the Democratic Alliance in 1979. In 1981, became Minister for Culture and Scientific Coordination in the Eighth Constitutional Government, led by Francisco Balsemão. Rose to become Party Chairman of the CDS after Freitas do Amaral resigned, but a poor showing in the 1985 legislative elections led to his giving up the leadership.

After leaving the party leadership, entered the European Parliament, where he was able to develop a more structured view of the European ideal, so much so that he was seen as one of the most enthusiastic defenders of European development and integration. In an interview with the *Expresso* on 8 May 1993, he defended the Treaty on European Union as the continuation of the struggle for freedom, democracy, development and security. He became a Vice-President of the European Parliament in 1986 and, in 1987, stood for the first elections to the European Parliament held in Portugal as head of the CDS list. However, he ran as an independent for the PSD in the 1994 European elections, after leaving the CDS in November 1992 because



he disagreed with the sceptical opinions of Manuel Monteiro in relation to Europe as expressed, for example, in his rejection of the Treaty of Maastricht. On 26 January 1997, announced, after a long courtship, that he would join the PSD. In the same year was elected once again, unanimously, as a Vice-President of the European Parliament.

Died on 22 May 1998.

The works he published on Portugal and Europe include titles such as *Portugal e o futuro da União Europeia* and *Amsterdão: do Mercado à Sociedade Europeia*, published posthumously.

## PORTAS, Paulo Sacadura Cabral

Born in Lisbon on 12 September 1962. Began his political life early when he joined the JSD at the age of 13, later joining the PSD, where he remained until 1963. Besides being a political militant, became a writer for various newspapers such as *Jornal Novo*, *A Tarde* and *Semanário*. In the interim, graduated in Law from the Catholic University. With Miguel Esteves Cardoso, founded the newspaper *Independente*, the first edition of which appeared in May 1988 and which became famous for its headlines denouncing alleged cases of corruption involving members of Cavaco Silva's Government. Knew Manuel Monteiro, future leader of the CDS, with whom he shared the same political ideals, which included seriously contesting the European project and the place that Portugal occupied within it.

Left the Board of the *Independente* to embark on his political career in 1995, joining the CDS, led by Manuel Monteiro, and standing as a candidate for the Portuguese Parliament in the legislative elections in the same year. Disagreed with Manuel Monteiro and succeeded him as leader of the CDS, then renamed the Partido Popular (PP), at the Congress held in March 1998 in Braga, thereby opening the way to an understanding with the PSD, then led by Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. The *Alternativa Democrática* (AD) [Democratic Alternative] took shape, only to collapse one year later in March 1999. Paulo Portas, who, hitherto, had vehemently expressed serious reservations about the European project, headed the list of the PP for the European elections in 1999 and was elected an MEP.

The defeat of the PS in the local elections in 2002 and the announcement that António Guterres was to resign forced early elections that were won, without an absolute majority, by the PSD of Durão Barroso. The PSD and the CDS-PP agreed to form a coalition government in which Paulo Portas was Minister of State and for National Defence, a portfolio that he retained in the government of Pedro Santana Lopes, formed after the departure of Durão Barroso for the European Commission.

## RAMALHO, Alfredo Magalhães

Director of the Vasco da Gama Aquarium — Marine Biology Station (which, on 1 January 1951, became the Institute of Marine Biology). According to evidence, the objective of the mission was essentially to visit and obtain a direct understanding of matters related to fisheries not from the economic, technological or industrial point of view but purely from the scientific angle (biological and oceanographic) of the California Cooperative Sardine Research Program (ACTCEE 3472, microfilm 326, band 1, letter from Magalhães Ramalho to Tovar de Lemos, 22 October 1952), which was sponsored by several American institutions (California Academy of Sciences, California Division of Fish and Game, Scripps Institution of Oceanography of the University of California and US Fish and Wildlife Service) under the supervision of the Marine Research Committee.

## RUIVO, Mário João de Oliveira

Born in Campo Mayor in 1927, graduated in Biology from the University of Lisbon in 1950, specialising in the biology of fish species and marine ecology. The wish to pursue his studies and the need to escape from the *Estado Novo* (he was imprisoned for belonging to the MUD-J youth movement) led him abroad. Won a scholarship to the Italian Institute of Hydrobiology in Pallanza and began studying there in 1951, and then went on to work in the National Centre for Scientific Research of the University of Paris. After returning to



Portugal in 1958, occupied prominent positions in national institutions dedicated to the study of marine biology, such as the Institute of Marine Biology and the Portuguese Natural Sciences Society. Joined the Patriotic Front for National Liberation.

Returning abroad, took up a post with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN (FAO) and became a member of the Scientific Council of the Institute for Marine Biology in Venice in 1972. Was the representative selected by the FAO for the UN Conference on the Environment. Joined the First Provisional Government of Palma Carlos, as State Secretary for Fisheries and remained in this post until the Fourth Provisional Government, becoming Foreign Minister in the Fifth Provisional Government led by Vasco Gonçalves. After leaving government, became a senior official in the authorities in Portugal dealing with fisheries and the sea, returning to UNESCO in 1985, where he was Secretary of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission. Was jointly responsible with António Mega Ferreira for the choice of the oceans as the theme of Expo '98. In 2004, chaired the Portuguese Committee for UNESCO's Intergovernmental Commission, of which he was also the Vice-Chairman.

## SAMPAIO, Jorge Fernando Branco

Born in Lisbon on 18 September 1939. Was studying Law at the University of Lisbon during the academic crisis in the early 1960s, a period during which he played an important role on being elected President of the Academic Association of the Faculty of Law in 1960 and Secretary-General of the Inter-Associations Meeting in 1961 and 1962. After graduating, practised law, distinguishing himself in defending eminent persons opposing the *Estado Novo*. Defended those accused of being involved in the 'Revolt of the Beja Barracks', the 'Rato Chapel' and the 'Students' Case'. Stood as a CDE candidate for Parliament in the 1969 elections.

Following the fall of the *Estado Novo*, helped create the *Movimento de Esquerda Socialista* (MES) [Socialist Left Movement], but never joined it. Took part in the Socialist intervention movement known as GIS. Was State Secretary for Foreign Cooperation in the Fourth Provisional Government, led by Vasco Gonçalves. Joined the PS in 1978 and was elected to Parliament in 1979. Returned to Parliament in 1987 and was elected Secretary-General of the PS in 1989, the year in which he stood for and won elections to the Lisbon City Council, at the head of a coalition of Socialists and Communists. Was re-elected in 1993. Two years before, had resigned from the position of Secretary-General of the PS following defeat in the legislative elections. Ran against António Guterres for leadership of the party, but Guterres succeeded him as leader of the PS. In 1995, stood for election as President of the Republic, defeating Aníbal Cavaco Silva in the elections in January 1986, and was returned to this office in 2001.

#### SANTOS, Fernando Teixeira dos

Born in Oporto in 1951. Graduated in Economics from the University of Oporto and obtained his doctorate, also in Economics, at the University of Southern Carolina in 1986. As soon as he had graduated, took up teaching in the University of Oporto, becoming the President of the Scientific Council and of the Steering Council of the University in the 1990s. Chaired the Stock Market Commission from 2000 to 2005. Had previously been State Secretary for Finance and the Treasury from 1995 to 1999, in the 13th Constitutional Government led by António Guterres. In July 2005, was appointed Minister for Finance in the Government of José Sócrates.

#### SARMENTO, Albano do Carmo Rodrigues

Under-Secretary of State for Trade and Industry from 6 September 1944 to 11 February 1946; his successor, Francisco Teixeira de Queirós de Castro Caldas, held the post from 11 February 1946 to 4 February 1947.

#### SILVA, Aníbal António Cavaco

Born in Boliqueime on 15 July 1939. Graduated in Finance from the *Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Financeiras* (ISCEF) in 1964 and, after military service in Mozambique, began a university



career as lecturer at the ISCEF. Obtained a doctorate from the University of York, United Kingdom, in 1973. In 1974, returned to the ISCEF and began lecturing at the Catholic University in 1975. Entered the Studies Office of the Bank of Portugal, of which he was Director, and was one of the co-founders, in 1979, of the Faculty of Economics of the *Universidade Nova*, Lisbon. Joined the PPD in 1974. Was Minister for Finance in the Sixth Constitutional Government supported by the Democratic Alliance and led by Sá Carneiro, a post which he left in 1980 after the death of the Prime Minister. In 1985, won the leadership of the PSD at the Congress held in Figueira da Foz and withdrew the party's support from the Central Bloc of the government, formed in coalition with the PS, forcing new legislative elections to be called. Winning the elections without an absolute majority, the PSD formed the 10th Constitutional Government, led by Cavaco Silva. A motion of censure tabled by the PRD in Parliament defeated this minority government, bringing forward new legislative elections to 1987, won once again by the PSD, this time with an absolute majority.

Cavaco Silva's rise to power coincided with the first few years after Portugal's accession to the EEC which were marked by an enormous inflow of Community funds for use in modernising the Portuguese economy and its infrastructure. The legislative elections in 1991 were won, once again, by the PSD and again with absolute majority, and Cavaco Silva once again formed a government, this time the 12th Constitutional Government. This government oversaw ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht and the entry of the escudo to the Exchange Rate Mechanism of the European Monetary System. In the first half of 1992, for the first time, the government held the rotating Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the European Union. In 1995, Cavaco Silva announced his intention not to remain at the head of the PSD in future legislative elections. The PS won the elections held in October 1995 and formed a government, and Cavaco Silva lost the presidential elections to Jorge Sampaio in January 1996.

## SOARES, Mário Alberto Nobre Lopes

Son of the teacher and politician, João Lopes Soares, born in Lisbon on 7 December 1924. In 1951, graduated in History and Philosophy from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Lisbon, becoming a teacher and Director of the *Colégio Moderno*, founded by his father. In opposition to the *Estado Novo*, became a member of the *Movimento de Unidade Nacional Anti-Fascista* (MUNAF) [Movement for Anti-Fascist Unity] in 1943, joined the leadership of the *Movimento de Unidade Democrática* (MUD) [Movement of Democratic Unity] and was involved in the origins of the MUD-J youth movement in 1946.

Secretary of the Central Committee for the Candidacy of Norton de Matos in 1949, was also part of the Social-Democrat leadership team in 1955 and supported Humberto Delgado in the elections for President of the Republic in 1958. In 1957, graduated in Law, once again from the University of Lisbon, and practised law in the following years, devoting his time to the defence of political prisoners in the Supreme Court and in the Special Military Court. Was detained several times by the PIDE (Portuguese security police) because of his activities against the regime and was finally deported to São Tomé in 1968, going into exile in France in 1970. During his exile, he lectured at the University of Vincennes (Paris VIII), the Sorbonne (Paris IV), and also in the Faculty of Arts in the Université de Haute-Bretagne, in Rennes.

In 1973, was elected Secretary-General of the Socialist Party (PS), set up after the Congress for Portuguese Socialist Action held in Germany in 1973.

Returned to Portugal following the Revolution of 25 April 1974, taking up the post of Foreign Minister in the first three Provisional Governments and holding the post of Minister without Portfolio in the Fourth Provisional Government, from which he resigned in protest against the 'República case'.

Was appointed Prime Minister of the First Constitutional Government in 1976 and remained in office until 1978. This period saw Portugal contracting a financial loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with a view to stabilising Portuguese economic activity, the accommodation of Portuguese nationals returning from the former colonies and the first legislative elections for the new democratic structure laid down in the Constitution approved in 1976.

Led the Ninth Constitutional Government (PS/PSD Coalition) from 1983 to 1985. During this period, the



final negotiations were completed for Portugal's accession to the EEC and the Accession Treaty was signed in 1985. After the split in the government coalition, Soares stood for and won the presidential elections in February 1986, becoming the first civilian President of the Republic under a democratic regime after the 25 April Revolution. In 1991, was once again elected for a further five-year term of office.

## SOUSA, José Sócrates Carvalho Pinto de

Born in Vilar de Maçada, a suburb of Alijó, on 6 September 1957. Spent a short time with the JSD, in the period after the 25 April Revolution, joining the PS in 1981, and was elected as a PS Member of Parliament in the 1987 legislative elections. Graduated in Civil Engineering from the *Universidade Independente*. When the PS formed the government in 1995, led by António Guterres, the latter made José Sócrates Sousa State Secretary for the Environment, and he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister in 1997, after António Vitorino left the government. In 1999, after the second victory of the PS in the legislative elections, became Minister for the Environment, taking over the Social Facilities portfolio when Ferro Rodrigues left the government of António Guterres in 2002. In September 2004, was elected Secretary-General of the PS in elections in which Manuel Alegre and João Soares were defeated. In February 2005, led the PS to the first absolute majority in legislative elections and was appointed Prime Minister of the 17th Constitutional Government.

## SPÍNOLA, António Sebastião Ribeiro de

Born in Estremoz on 11 April 1910. Began his training at the Military College and took the Cavalry Course at the Military Academy. Rose to the rank of Second Lieutenant in 1933. In 1945, after being promoted to Captain, saw service with the Army General Staff in the Azores. Besides his military career, began his career in the civil and industrial sector on the Board of Directors of *Siderurgia Nacional* [National Steel Industry] in the 1950s. In 1961, the year in which the colonial war broke out, Spínola left for Angola as a volunteer and returned in 1964. In 1968, the then Brigadier was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in Guinea-Bissau. Here, he tried to defeat the PAIGC, not restricting his activities to military action but, above all, acting on a social and political level with local communities in an attempt to undermine the popular support that this nationalist movement enjoyed. The use of this strategy did not prevent him from launching an attack on Guinea-Conakry, the sanctuary that sheltered the guerrilla forces, in November 1970. Faced by the inability to attain the objective for which he was aiming, and conscious of a lack of support for his initiatives from the Government in Lisbon, he turned down the permanent post in Guinea-Bissau that was offered to him in September 1973.

On returning to Portugal, published the book *Portugal e o futuro*, which suggested a political outcome to the colonial question including a proposal that federal status be granted to the provinces and gradual self-determination. That led to his removal from his post as Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. Following the 25 April Revolution, became a member of the *Junta de Salvação Nacional* and President of the Republic, a post from which he withdrew on 30 September 1974, following the attempted coup of 28 September. In exile, commanded military movements that resulted in the attempted coup of 11 March 1975 and, in July, established the *Movimento Democrático de Libertação de Portugal* [Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal], a military organisation dissolved following the attempted coup on 25 November. Returned from exile in August 1976 and was imprisoned for two days.

Was promoted to the rank of Marshal in 1982 and died on 13 August 1996.

## TOMÁS, Américo de Deus Rodrigues

Held the Navy portfolio from 6 September 1944 to 10 May 1958, succeeding Manuel Ortins de Bettencourt (Minister from 18 January 1936 to 6 September 1944), whom he had served as Chief of Staff.

## VILAÇA, José Luís da Cruz

Born in Braga. Graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra and pursued postgraduate studies in Political and Economic Sciences and Tax Law. Obtained his doctorate in International Economics at the



University of Paris and was the founder and Director of the Institute of European Studies of the Lusíada University. A member of the CDS, was State Secretary for Home Affairs in 1980 in the government led by Sá Carneiro and, in the following year, was State Secretary for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in the government led by Pinto Balsemão. Advocate General at the Court of Justice of the European Communities; in 1989, was appointed President of the Court of First Instance of the EEC.

## VITORINO, António Manuel de Carvalho Ferreira

Born in Lisbon on 12 January 1957. Became a member of the PS shortly after the 25 April 1974 Revolution while still a pupil at Camões Secondary School in Lisbon. Enrolled in the Faculty of Law of Lisbon University and joined several left-wing political groups, such as the *Frente Socialista Popular*, of which he was a founder in 1975, the *Movimento Socialista Unificado* in1976 and the *União de Esquerda para a Democracia e Socialismo* (UEDS). Having completed his studies, became an assistant lecturer in the Faculty of Law. Was elected a Member of Parliament for the Republican and Socialist Front, which included the PS, UEDS and the *Associação Social-Democrata Independente* (ASDI). In 1983, entered the Central Bloc Government as State Secretary for Parliamentary Affairs and left the UEDS, finally joining the PS in 1985. In 1986, was invited by the President of the Republic, Mário Soares, to take up the Home Affairs portfolio in the Government of Macao, a post that he was to hold for 18 months. In 1989, was elected a Constitutional Court judge and, in 1994, headed the PS list for the elections to the European Parliament after the rejection of Vítor Constâncio. With the Socialist victory in the legislative elections in 1995, took over the Presidency and Defence portfolios.

#### ZENHA, Francisco Salgado

Born in Braga on 2 May 1923 and graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra. Began his political career by opposing the *Estado Novo* in 1940 and joining the Communist Party. In 1944, was elected President of the *Associação Académica de Coimbra* (AAC) [Academic Association of Coimbra]. Was dismissed from this position after complying with a decision of the *Assembleia Magna*, which rejected an invitation from the Rector for students to go to Lisbon as a way of thanking Salazar for Portuguese neutrality in the Second World War. Chaired the Coimbra organisation of the Federation of Young Communists of Coimbra and was involved in the early years of the MUD-J youth movement established in 1946.

Was imprisoned by the PIDE (Portuguese security police) in 1947 and again in 1949, this second time being tried, sentenced to a term of imprisonment and finally released in 1958. Left the PCP and joined the Republican and Socialist Resistance, founded by Mário Soares in 1955. Became involved in the establishment of the Patriotic Front for National Liberation and was important as a defence counsel for political prisoners. He was once again imprisoned by the PIDE in 1962. Stood in the 1969 elections on the CEUD lists and was part of the group of founders of the PS who met in Bad Münstereifel, in Germany, in 1973.

On the fall of the *Estado Novo*, joined the First Provisional Government as Minister for Justice, a post which he retained in the governments led by Vasco Gonçalves until August 1975. Was involved in the revision of the *Concordata* between Portugal and the Holy See, signed in 1975, and fought against a single workers' union. Disagreed with Mário Soares over the support given by the PS for the re-election of Ramalho Eanes in the 1980 presidential elections, support with which Soares disagreed, and for this reason temporarily left the leadership of the PS. The discord between the obstinate pair became marked in the 1986 presidential elections, when Zenha decided to stand with the support of the PRD and the PCP, although he did not make it to the second round.

Died on 1 November 1993.

