

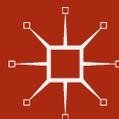
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media



Media and the Portuguese Empire

Edited by

José Luís Garcia, Chandrika Kaul,
Filipa Subtil and Alexandra Santos



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Media and the Portuguese Empire

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*José Luís Garcia, Filipa Subtil and Alexandra Santos dedicate this
book to Hermínio Martins, to whom they owe so much
Chandrika Kaul dedicates this book, with love, to her mother,
Minoti Chakravarty-Kaul*

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Lisbon

This has been an exciting project for me and I would like to thank all my Portuguese colleagues and collaborators for going on this journey with me. The idea for the Lisbon conference was first mooted to me by Filipa during a chance meeting at the biannual media history conference

organised by the Centre for Media History in Aberystwyth in 2012. I am humbled and delighted that the conceptual approach and ideas addressed in my book on *Media and the British Empire* have been taken forward so enthusiastically to explore the Portuguese imperial world.

Finally, my co-editors and I are very grateful for the continuing support and patience of the History Editor at Palgrave Macmillan, Emily Russell, ably assisted by Carmel Kennedy.

St Andrews

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The Portuguese Empire: An Introduction

*José Luís Garcia, Chandrika Kaul, Filipa Subtil
and Alexandra Santos*

Modern empires and communication have influenced each other in complex ways. This mutual influence forms the theoretical and empirical background to this book, which is dedicated to the Portuguese empire, the first of the European empires to be established and the last to be dismantled. Positioned in this way as the backbone of this book, communication is something more important than a mere historical source. This work argues that communication processes constitute culture, and that culture constitutes, rather than merely reflects, society. Communication, which here means above all the

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printed press, radio, iconography and literature, is seen as a factor in the process whereby human communities create, maintain and change the culture of the social and political world in which they live. More than content, records or even historically based archives, communication processes are, to borrow from James W. Carey, 'representations of reality' and 'representations for reality'.¹ They are multiple maps which represent that which is not present, and which produce acts when the real stimulus to them may also not be present. This is why Harold A. Innis was able to reflect on empires and their means of communication in order to explore and investigate the media as actors having a specific influence on history.²

The subject matter of the essays which make up the book is basically confined to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a period during which modern media systems became entwined with society. It is not a work of synthesis. Rather, it brings together studies from different academic fields having in common the fact that they uncover interpretations of the Portuguese imperial experience which incorporate the media as actors or agents in cultural, political and social struggles. In order to understand this cross-fertilisation of Portuguese empire and media in the modern era, it is necessary to situate it in the dynamics of its own time. But it is also necessary to know its origins, an essential requisite for understanding both the importance of the imperial configuration in the Portuguese imaginary and its culture and politics, and how widely dispersed it was in geographical terms. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese empire extended from the enclave of Macau on the coast of China to the Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde, Bijagós and S. Tomé and Príncipe, and included the island of Timor, next to the Molucca, and a series of enclaves on the Indian coast, as well as fortresses and significant portions of coastal territory in East and West Africa and their respective hinterlands, covering lands which today are part of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. While it should not be forgotten that the word 'empire' has its own history, which is important for historiography, and its own conceptual definition, the primary purpose of this introduction is to describe the contexts of the modern Portuguese imperial dynamic. It therefore examines the circumstances, events, episodes and processes which marked both the so-called Discoveries and the Portuguese expansion into the seas of Asia and into Brazil and Africa,³ until its collapse in 1974 in the wake of the 'carnation revolution'. Recent English-language summary works enable us to avoid analysing this topic in greater depth and providing exhaustive bibliographical references, which would be an impossible task given the huge volume of historiography produced on this topic.⁴ The effort made in this book to conduct historical observation on the basis of

connections, communications and the relationship between information and power, in line with social scientific approaches to historiography, relies on a theoretical foundation which is open to new concepts and issues but retains critical capability and analytical rigour regarding the Portuguese imperial past.

A PORTUGUESE EMPIRE IN THE SEAS OF ASIA

While other European countries—France, Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Belgium, Spain—had empires, it is important to note that the Portuguese empire provided continuity with an earlier ‘seaborne empire’, the origins of which go back to the Renaissance.⁵ Historians see the military expedition to Ceuta in 1415, which led to the seizure and occupation of that North African town, as the starting point of that series of initiatives which together would lead, long-term, to Portugal becoming an established maritime power with military and commercial capability in vast areas of the globe.⁶ Efforts to understand how a small and relatively weak body politic achieved this focus on a variety of motives, both internal and external, in which ideological, economic, military, social and religious components were all involved.⁷ The drive to expansion, first made manifest in the military conquest of various cities in the kingdom of Fez, led over the course of the fifteenth century to the discovery, settlement and economic exploitation of several Atlantic islands (the archipelagos of Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde, S. Tomé and Príncipe, the islands of Fernando Pó and St Helena), as well as to the founding of trading posts along the African coast, in the regions of Senegambia, the Gulf of Guinea and the Congo.⁸

The arrivals of Portuguese navigators in India in 1498, under the command of Vasco da Gama, and in Brazil in 1500, under Pedro Álvares Cabral, were also major events. This dual undertaking was the result of the ongoing commitment, over nearly a century, first of Prince Henry (‘the Navigator’), and later of Kings Afonso V and D. João II, to pushing the *caravelas*—ships suited to navigating the oceans—ever further south, in the hope of finding the passage from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.⁹ It was a coherent plan, over almost a century, to reach India. The complexity of these voyages of exploration demanded the surveying and mapping of the African coast and the South Atlantic, in search of islands which might provide the logistical support which the ships required, and it is this which led them to the coast of Brazil.¹⁰ Taking advantage of its control of the South Atlantic, the Portuguese crown also

became a military and commercial power in the Indian Ocean, thanks to its superior naval and armaments capabilities and aggressive policy. In the sixteenth century, the Estado da Índia (Portuguese State of India), with Goa as its capital, was a great naval power in the seas of Asia, occupying key cities like Malacca, a centre for trading between India, China and the spice trade of the Molucca Islands; Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, which controlled the main spice route to Europe; and Macau, which would become the major trading post with China and Japan.¹¹

For Portugal, the discovery of the sea route to India, rounding the African continent, was the start of a century of encounters, exchanges, battles, defeats, diplomacy, conquests, conversions, shipwrecks, sacrifices, betrayals and trade which is held in the collective memory as a Golden Age, amply lauded by chroniclers and poets, the greatest exponent of which is Luís Vaz de Camões in his epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiads). Information on these events began to circulate immediately, in the form of written accounts, despite a significant amount of the knowledge obtained through the voyages of discovery, like letters, maps and guides, not having been published, because its circulation was restricted and often secret.¹² While the number of printed information pamphlets and maps in other European countries was growing and multiplying, in Portugal manuscript documents were essential for the dissemination of news on the discoveries, on account of the restrictions imposed by the organised censorship dominated by the Catholic Church.¹³ Thanks to the spread of typography, which helped to disseminate written culture, at the same time as the Portuguese ships were reaching India and the South American coast, the typographical centres of Venice, Cologne, Basel and Lisbon were catering to public curiosity about the lands discovered by the voyages. They contributed to world knowledge by recovering classics such as Ptolemy's *Geographia*, Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de Sphaera*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and Pomponius Mela's *Chorographia*.¹⁴

In the mid-sixteenth century, at the same time as the Portuguese crown was expanding eastwards, it did not neglect its possessions in the West, and even started a shift of its activities from the markets of Morocco and the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic.¹⁵ This change in direction in terms of economic sustainability and geopolitical positioning became irreversible after the British, and the Dutch of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Company—VOC), reached the seas of Asia *en masse* at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Portugal having become the enemy of the VOC as a result of the

merging of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns.¹⁶ The loss of most of the strongholds which controlled the vast trading network of the State of India ended the seafaring hegemony which the Portuguese crown had held onto for almost a century. From the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Dutch took on the mantle of hegemonic sea power in the seas of Asia, even though a few territories remained under Portuguese control until the twentieth century, namely Diu, Daman and Goa (until 1960), East Timor (until 1975) and Macau (until 1999).¹⁷ These were particles which have correctly been given the suggestive name ‘the confetti of the Empire’.¹⁸

A PORTUGUESE EMPIRE IN THE ATLANTIC

At the same time as Portugal’s maritime hegemony in the Indian Ocean was in decline, the Portuguese crown was also losing its hegemony in the South Atlantic, on account of competition from the French, the Dutch and the British, but this did not prevent it from strengthening its occupation of territory on both sides of that ocean. Representative examples of the re-centring of the Portuguese empire in the Atlantic were the foundation of two cities which coincidentally were given the same name: São Paulo de Piratininga, founded by Portuguese in inland Brazil (1554) and São Paulo d’Assumpção (S. Paulo de Loanda), at the mouth of the Kwanza river in Angola (1576). The former became the main base from which expeditions known as the *bandeiras* (flags) started out—to explore and take the inland regions of Brazil from the indigenous peoples. The second, Luanda, while not being the first Portuguese incursion on the southern African coast—the kingdom of the Congo, at the mouth of the river with the same name, was the target of early diplomatic moves in the area, as well as of the first efforts at missionary activity and attempts at enculturation—quickly became the main Portuguese possession on the west coast and a fundamental part of the Brazilian economy itself.

In the seventeenth century Portugal consolidated, in Brazil above all, a new imperial dynamic which it had tried out in the Atlantic islands, based on territorial occupation, establishing settlements, extensive and intensive cultivation of products much sought after in the European and world markets, like sugar and tobacco, and the exploitation of slave labour. While less appealing to the nobility than the State of India, because it was less favourable to feats of arms and had fewer prestigious military posts, the economic exploitation model based on the plantation

encouraged a stream of merchants, military men and adventurers to move to Brazil, where the sugar plantations and mills prospered, especially in the coastal regions of Bahia and Pernambuco, and brought other crops and industries in their wake.¹⁹ Parallel moves towards commercial penetration of the African wilderness, extending out from Luanda and Benguela in particular, supported both this coastal exploitation and the conquest of the Brazilian interior, because it was from the so-called *pumbos* and *feiras*—trading posts for dealing with the inland kingdoms—that men, women and children were taken to the coast to be enslaved and traded, their labour sustaining the growth of the Brazilian colonies. The interdependence of the two Atlantic coasts led to talk of Luanda being ‘the hinterland of Bahia’.²⁰

The discovery, from 1680 onwards, of gold and diamonds far from the coast, in the region which came to be known as Minas Gerais, and later in Goiás and Mato Grosso, increased the movement of settlers into the interior of the South American continent and led to the founding of settlements far beyond the longitudinal line known as the Tordesillas meridian. The discovery of large gold reserves profoundly affected the development of Brazil, the capital of which was moved in 1763 from São Salvador da Bahia, in the centre of the sugar-producing region, to Rio de Janeiro, a port further south which controlled trade with the gold-producing region.²¹ It also had a decisive effect on Portugal which, after a decade of economic stagnation, embarked on a new gold cycle (after the gold of Mina and Monomotapa) which would last for the whole of the first half of the eighteenth century, with its consequent wastage in ostentation and disinvestment from industry. And it also changed the configuration of empire, which was becoming ever more Luso-Brazilian, at the same time as the links between its different parts were becoming stronger, whether through the metropolitan press, the travels of the top royal officials and families, or through a trading economy which mostly bypassed Lisbon.²² The Portuguese monarchy controlled widely dispersed territories connected by ships which transported people, messages and commodities. Some historical approaches, like that of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, have labelled the dynamics of these inter-imperial connections ‘a networked empire’.²³ It is no doubt essential to give due importance to the connections and movement of people, objects and information, and to the organisational logic of communications, and the idea of the network is attractive for this purpose. But other power and control dynamics of the monarchy need

to be kept in view above all, operating as they did in more hierarchically organised form. Nor should the role of violence be overlooked, against those who might be called ‘the radically excluded from history’—in particular, the peoples that were enslaved and traded.

While the Portuguese empire was consolidating in the Atlantic, in the East the State of India was attempting to rebuild as a political and economic unit. At times, this meant defending its positions at high cost. At other times, it meant forging alliances with local potentates like the Maratha, the Mughal empire, the Sultanate of Oman or the British of the East India Company, which had its headquarters in Bombay from 1678 onwards, after the city had been ceded by the Portuguese crown as the dowry of the *Infanta* Catherine of Bragança for her marriage to Charles II of England. With loss of control of the ocean routes, here too came a preference for territorial occupation. The Portuguese were no longer like crabs, unable to move away from the tideline, as Brazil’s pioneering historian, the Franciscan Father Vicente of Salvador, had described them in 1627.²⁴ The territoriality model prevailed throughout the empire, an example of this trend being the colonisation of the valley of the Zambezi, in Mozambique, through the system of *prazos* (long-term leases) granted by the Portuguese crown.²⁵

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE UNDER THE FRENCH INVASIONS

Relations between the diverse and remote territories which made up the Portuguese imperial mesh, and between that network and the mother country, necessarily underwent change as a result of the transfer of King D. João VI, the royal family and the whole Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1808, as a result of the invasion of Portugal by French troops following the refusal to take part in the continental blockade of Britain decreed by Napoleon.²⁶ The manifold consequences of Brazil becoming the seat of the monarchy and court society moving to Rio de Janeiro included the development of the Brazilian press²⁷ and the growth of an independence movement. Within a few years Brazil would demand independence, which was proclaimed in 1822.²⁸

In Europe, the three invasions of Portugal over the short period of four years constituted a period of extreme violence, with some 300,000 Portuguese being killed, representing 6–9% of the population, as a direct or indirect result of the actions of the Napoleonic troops. In the absence

of the king and his court, the Portuguese drove out the French and the English who, under the command of Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, had helped to fight them. The turbulence resulting from the invasions and the Portuguese reaction to the invaders was reflected in Portuguese journalism, with various dailies being founded and their readership expanding. At the same time, constitutional liberalism, which accelerated the bumpy process of building a modern state in Portugal, was gaining ground in the country.²⁹

In 1820, against a backdrop of events favourable to liberal ideas in France, Spain and Italy, discontent with the continuing presence of the British army, and the king's removal to Brazil, a wing of the army made a *pronunciamento* which was the first move in the long process of championing liberalism. This military revolt heralded a new and durable state of affairs in modern Portuguese history, in which the military were to play an important part in bringing about various changes of regime and other more minor interventions. This phase, marked by the politicisation of the army, and its reverse, the militarisation of politics, would last over a century and a half, at least until November 1975, a key date in the consolidation of democratic parliamentary government in Portugal, or even until the end of General Ramalho Eanes' second term as President of the Republic under parliamentary democracy, in 1986. This prolonged trend towards military intervention in politics, which at certain times produced one military coup after another, was not characteristic of only Portugal in Europe, as the cases of Greece and Spain demonstrate.

As in other southern European countries, the establishment of the liberal constitutional state, its institutions, and the economy as the basis of state power, and the beginning of a more open and pluralistic age in terms of communication and culture, characteristic of what certain political scientists call the 'first wave' of democratisation,³⁰ came up against the power of the absolutist state, the aristocracy and the Church. Nevertheless, and despite the internal upheavals which shook the liberal regime, the right to vote was extended and, for the first time in Portugal, press freedom was enshrined in the liberal constitution of 1822, thus enabling an opinion press to develop. From that time on, political authority was increasingly faced with the 'immense pressure'—Alexis de Tocqueville's words—of currents of opinion, which it had either to rely on or get around, or manipulate by means of censorship or propaganda. The dynamics of opinion became a significant element in the political struggle in Portugal, particularly in the country's two principal cities

of Lisbon and Oporto, under the influence of a press which, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, effectively became an industry.³¹ Distancing itself from the prior literary and political roots of journalism, the Portuguese press would follow a pattern of media development characteristic of southern Europe, in which can be observed organisational problems in maintaining the status of media as autonomous entities. They showed a strong propensity to become ideological and political vehicles, were based on a weak market for newspapers, and remained highly dependent on the state, the parties and the Church.³²

A PORTUGUESE EMPIRE IN AFRICA

The liberal movement which started in Portugal in 1820 and its institutions faced great difficulties and reversals. The stability of the regime and the Portuguese imperial system were profoundly shaken by the independence of Brazil, which meant the end of the Luso-Brazilian empire and an enormous loss for Portugal.³³ The blow to external trade which followed aggravated the state's financial crisis and generated a climate of instability which encouraged the growth of speculation in connection with the public debt. Portuguese emigration and investment were heavily concentrated in Brazil, and the taxes imposed on its exports were a major source of income for the treasury. Much of the trade with the imperial territories in Africa and the Indian Ocean depended not only on Brazilian products, but also on Brazilian traders themselves—who, moreover, retained their already established trading networks, particularly in Angola, where they continued to buy slaves, despite British pressure to abolish that trade.³⁴ On the other hand, or perhaps as a consequence, the liberal regime was disrupted by absolutist forces, and the struggle between these two movements led to a civil war which lasted from 1828 to 1834. It was in this broad context that the drive to development of the press expanded from the mother country to other parts of the Portuguese empire.

In a climate of violence following the French invasions, struggling with serious internal disputes, an impoverished Portugal responded to the loss of Brazil and the resulting internal problems by reviving its imperial plans. On the African continent, it maintained control of the archipelagos of S. Tomé and Cape Verde, of the Angolan territories between Luanda and Benguela, and of lands along the lower Kwanza and Zambezi rivers, as well as enclaves around Cacheu, Lourenço Marques,

Quelimane and Ilha de Moçambique—genuine ‘trading posts in enemy territory’³⁵—and had empirical knowledge of the hinterland which could be reached from those places. It was not a great deal, but it served as the basis on which the Portuguese empire was re-imagined. The empire’s centre of gravity, which had shifted from Africa and Asia to America before 1600, came back to Africa in the 1820s.³⁶

It was under these circumstances, in the midst of a full-blown political, economic and social crisis, that from 1821 onwards proposals and reports began to circulate suggesting the creation of a ‘new Brazil’ in Angola, the best known of these produced by the Visconde de Sá da Bandeira. In 1836 he argued for the end of the slave trade and the channelling of the African workforce into development of the local economy, including cultivation of colonial species and starting up industry. The local elites vetoed these plans, because they were heavily dependent on the profits of the slave trade. Portugal also lacked the economic and military capability to carry them out, and it was necessary to wait until the 1870s for development measures to be implemented.³⁷ It was also only in the final two decades of the nineteenth century that cartographers consolidated their empirical knowledge of territories under Portuguese influence. Exploration of the African interior, sponsored by the Sociedade de Geographia (Geographical Society), generated a wave of enthusiasm in Portugal. A good example of this was the public reaction to the voyage of the explorers Capelo and Ivens, recounted in the bestseller *De Angola à Contra-Costa* (From Angola to the Opposite Coast), which was published in 1886 and reprinted many times.³⁸ While sustaining the imperial mystique, such books sought to counter the harsh criticisms levelled at Portuguese colonialism by the international press. These criticisms were now reaching Portugal by train and telegraph, and being reproduced in the national press.³⁹ Lisbon had had a direct rail link to Europe through Spain since 1865, an international land telegraph service via Badajoz in Spain from 1857 and, from 1870, a submarine link to Falmouth in England, as part of a framework of dependency on Great Britain and other powers for establishing an effective communications network with, and within, the empire.⁴⁰

It was also towards the end of the nineteenth century that Portugal embarked on the systematic military conquest of its African territories, following agreements with the United Kingdom and Germany on frontier demarcation, and this continued until 1920.⁴¹ Settlements were established in the subjugated territories, agricultural products, mainly

coffee, cotton and cocoa, were grown for export, and the first steps were taken towards legal and administrative assimilation, based on the logic of the centralised modern state. This is a key historical turning point in the internationalisation and transnationalisation of imperial and colonial issues, and it produced a new normative framework for 'imperial civilization'.⁴² War, the state and economic exploitation formed a durable triad in maintaining the supremacy of a power which openly assumed the role of coloniser, both in territorial and economic terms and in forms of social classification which laid claim to universality. In the empire, the African inhabitants became directly involved in the political and economic changes associated with modernisation, the industrial revolution and the scientific and technological awakening which had begun in Europe. This situation redefined political, moral and racial-ethnic categories, producing realignments which generated conflicts, reported on and sometimes even encouraged by the colonial press.⁴³

Despite the development measures, the African territories continued to play only a minor role in the overall economic context of empire, their significance in the collective imagination being far greater. Portugal, with its role in European expansion, was undoubtedly part of the cult of imperial patriotism which took hold in the nations of Europe, this expansion being regarded as the alpha and omega of world history.⁴⁴ As in other countries, rather than leading to universal citizenship, liberal and democratic expectations came together in belligerent nationalisms, which manifested in the exercise of power and influence in far-away overseas lands (and in proxy confrontations with other imperial powers), before their eruption into violence in Europe itself in 1914.

The above outline explains the ideas and plans which emerged in Portugal in the third quarter of the nineteenth century regarding the African territories. It is revealing that Portugal's symbolic and political aspirations at that time were expressed in a map which projected on paper a dream of Portuguese dominion over lands running from the Angolan coast to the coast of Mozambique on the Indian Ocean.⁴⁵ This Rose-Coloured Map, which was published in the press, fixed in the Portuguese collective imagination the idea that Portugal effectively controlled a vast land area. When this claim was disregarded at the Conference of Berlin in 1884–1885, Portuguese public opinion, in a long-running vein of hypersensitivity to imperial failures,⁴⁶ saw in the frontiers marked out for Angola and Mozambique a theft of what it felt to be its legitimate aspirations.

THE AFRICAN EMPIRE UNDER THE FIRST REPUBLIC AND THE *ESTADO NOVO*

At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, the last years of the Portuguese monarchy were dominated by budget deficits, intense popular dissatisfaction, governmental instability, nationalist frenzies, republican insurrections and military confrontations in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, a scenario which was generally accompanied by repressive measures against the press.⁴⁷ On 5 October 1910 a revolt by the navy and part of the army overthrew the Portuguese monarchy, whose eight centuries of existence had made it one of the oldest in Europe and whose history had been an integral part of the story of the nation and the state, bringing into being the first European republic to be established in the twentieth century. In the first two decades of the new century, Portugal was a poorly diversified and underdeveloped economy, with most of the population working in agriculture and living outside the towns and cities, 61% of them illiterate. These characteristics give a good idea of the reasons for the climate of perpetual conflict which endured during the first liberal republic, as reflected especially in the periodic press both in the mother country and the overseas territories. Even though there was press censorship, and despite the high degree of illiteracy, new periodicals flourished at this time and the press became the prime battleground for the political struggle, given that long periods without political freedom had stifled the development of organised political parties.⁴⁸

In the troubled aftermath of World War I, in which Portugal took part, the republican government was able neither to overcome its economic and financial problems, nor to deal with the turmoil of social and political conflict. On 28 May 1926, only 16 years after it had been established, the liberal republic was overthrown and the parliamentary system with its institutions disappeared, once again as a result of a military revolt conducted by a section of the army, whose officer corps had never been truly loyal to the First Republic. A six-year period of military dictatorship followed, part of the same wave of authoritarianism which emerged after the Great War in Europe, culminating in the creation of the so-called *Estado Novo* (New State), under which the authoritarian form of government, organic nationalism, corporatism and traditional values governed all aspects of political, economic, social and cultural life. This regime lasted from 1932 to 1974, first under the leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar and

later Marcello Caetano. It may be regarded, using the criteria adopted in a recent work by Michael Mann, as a corporatist dictatorship inspired by fascist organisation and ideology, although not having the characteristics of a ‘movement’, nor of ‘paramilitarism’ from ‘below’.⁴⁹ Police violence, based more on an ‘optimal terror coefficient’⁵⁰ than on maximum terror, prior censorship of the press—the durability of which was surpassed in Europe only by the Soviet Union—, and an apparatus of enculturation and socialisation involving information management which ranged from imperial propaganda to mobilisation for the colonial war, were the key tools used to maintain the dominance of the *Estado Novo*.

In the African overseas possessions, where organised popular military resistance was finally overcome, the Salazar regime took up the imperial plans of the republicans, who had themselves closely followed those of the monarchy. At the heart of the Portuguese nationalism adopted by Salazar—the heir to the ‘imagined community’ emerging from the British Ultimatum crisis of 1890—was the notion that the Portuguese nation could not be thought of separately from the imperial epic and its colonial patrimony. This idea was ‘cultivated’—to use the concept developed by the sociologist George Gerbner—by means as varied as the education system, the press, architecture, landscaping, statues, place names, cinema and radio, both at home and in the colonies.⁵¹ Any moves to question Portugal’s imperial vocation were fiercely resisted, to the point that Portugal became the last imperial redoubt in Europe.

THE END OF THE IMPERIAL CYCLE

The ‘winds of change’ which had been blowing against European colonial dominion since the end of the 1950s were sufficiently strong to overcome the old imperial powers, sometimes even in colonies where there had been no armed conflict. This drive behind the decolonisation of most European empires can be seen as part of a broader process of re-democratisation of many European countries. This was a process which, although modern, saw the establishment of communist and other dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia and Africa, one which political science has interpreted as a ‘second wave’ of democratisation in modern history.⁵² Despite the strong popular movements fighting to restore democratic government in Portugal, and notwithstanding the negotiating efforts of independence movements in the Portuguese overseas possessions, this wave of democratisation failed in Portugal.

The Salazar regime held onto power, even falsifying electoral results in 1958 and having the political police murder the main opponent of the regime, the pro-American general Humberto Delgado. The Salazar government also opposed any form of negotiation with nationalist movements in the colonies and remained impervious to international pressure for full decolonisation, having decided, in time with the Cold War, to unleash a colonial war in 1961. This was an *annus horribilis* for the regime, starting with the outbreak of war in Angola and ending with the loss of its territorial possessions in India, but one which also enabled it to achieve ideological recovery based on reactionary nationalism in a context of imperialist war.

In Angola, on 4 February 1961, against a backdrop of a brutally suppressed cotton workers' revolt in the Cassange region, there took place the so-called Luanda uprising, a series of attacks by Angolan activists on prisons, police stations and a local radio station, which subsequently led to retaliation by enraged whites who attacked the black neighbourhoods of the city. The censors sought by all means at their disposal to force the national and international media into an interpretation of these events which would favour the government. However, they were unable to prevent these acts of retaliation, which presaged the war, from destroying the *Estado Novo's* attempted representations of racial harmony in its overseas domains.⁵³ While the regime prepared for war, in April of the same year the Minister of Defence in the Salazar government, General Botelho Moniz, with the knowledge of the US embassy, attempted an ultimately unsuccessful coup to depose Salazar and shift the government's colonial policy to a more malleable and an internationally more acceptable position. It was following these events that Salazar announced the beginning of the war and the sending of troops to Angola *en masse*. On 18 December 1961, the Indian Union began a military assault which destroyed any opposition by the Portuguese security contingent in Portuguese India. The Indian occupation led to reprimands and remarks against Nehru in the Western press and to expressions of displeasure in the UN Security Council, but within a short time the issue had disappeared off the international agenda. The war in the African territories spread to Guinea-Bissau in 1963 and to Mozambique in 1964.

The end-result of independence in the Portuguese colonial possessions, whether or not there had been guerrilla movements or organisations and whatever negotiations might or might not have taken place, seemed the most plausible outcome when one takes into account the

comparative end-of-empire contexts in other European countries' African colonies (before the colonial war which the *Estado Novo* decided to launch on various fronts). Portugal's titanic war effort to keep the African colonies—it is estimated that some 800,000 men were mobilised for Africa—included having to face the guerrilla movements and their 'prolonged wars', to use the Mao Ze Dong quote which inspired the guerrillas. The recently deceased Oxford scholar, Hermínio Martins, put forward the notion of 'unwinnable war' to describe the conflict with various liberation movements in the three territories of the African continent. Such a conflict is unwinnable in strictly military terms, because in the type of war in question—and in this observation Martins draws on Carl Schmitt—'third elements' count for more than the military capability on each side. Those third elements range from the complex of geopolitical factors associated with the distribution of power on a world scale during the Cold War, to world public opinion as presented by the international media and international organisations.⁵⁴

Finding itself in a situation of self-imposed isolation in the diplomatic, political and moral fields, and worn down by the colonial war, after 13 years Portugal underwent another change of regime on 25 April 1974, in a triumphant coup headed by 'the usual suspects'—a wing of the military which overthrew the *Estado Novo* in under 24 hours. Backed by some key army leaders, rebel officers who wanted to end an overseas war in which the armed forces had been involved for over a decade became convinced it was necessary not only to bring about a change within the regime, but to make a complete break with it—a unique situation of radical regime change in Europe. The so-called 'carnation revolution' signalled a political and institutional break with the past which led, despite the upheavals of 1974–1975, to the establishment of a government based on the free election of political leaders, universal suffrage, the right to stand for elected office, freedom of expression and association, and the availability of alternative sources of information. These characteristics, which Robert Dahl defined as the characteristics of modern democracies, were accompanied by profound economic and social changes, by new forms of cultural life, and by accelerated change in mentalities and values.⁵⁵

The revolution of 25 April 1974 brought the cycle of empire to an end. It was not just a milestone in modern Portuguese history, but also brought in a new pattern in the country's history. The drive for democracy in Portugal in 1974, followed by Greece (1975) and Spain (1977),