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## **Neither forgiven nor forgotten:**

The analysis of the memory of the Portuguese colonial past  
evoked in Portuguese political discourse from 1990 to 2020

Maria Basto Viana  
Student number: 6946712  
Supervisor: Dr. Liesbeth Rosen  
Jacobson  
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## Abstract

According to scholars, the dissolution of the Portuguese empire having been simultaneous with the end of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship should provoke a stronger cultural impact in Portuguese society than it actually did. This research focuses on the study of the memory of the Portuguese colonial past conceived by Portuguese politicians from 1990 to 2020. It discerns which elements of this colonial past are glorified and which elements are hidden in Portuguese political rhetoric in a postcolonial era. The theoretical concepts of ‘colonial aphasia’, ‘imperial debris’ and ‘ruination’ developed by anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler are applied to this research to better comprehend the characteristics of the memory of the Portuguese colonial past evoked by politicians during this time-span. The main findings of this study allow to conclude that there is an endurance of colonial values, so called ‘imperial debris’, in Portuguese political rhetoric from 1990 to 2020. These ‘imperial debris’ provoke a general lack of discussion amongst politicians on the most violent and traumatic episodes harboured in the Portuguese colonial past. A lack of discussion which has only been strongly objected to by politicians from 2017 onwards. There is an antagonism towards the *Estado Novo* regime which leads to the assumption that the colonial past is resolved and does not need to be further discussed. However, the remnants of this past are too visible to ignore, being present in the uncritical evocation of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’, the *lusotropicalist* value of Portuguese ‘universalism’, and the ‘fraternal’ past shared between Portugal and its former colonies, under the aegis of the Portuguese language.

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## Introduction

### Introductory note: context and relevance of this research

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of April of 2021, the President of the Portuguese Republic Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa addressed the *Assembleia da República* with a speech about the country's colonial and authoritarian past and the divisive historical memory that surrounds it. In doing so, the President proved that the discussion on how the Portuguese colonial past should be remembered had officially become a topic of debate amongst politicians and a matter of political concern.<sup>1</sup> Deeply connected to the country's identity, this crucial aspect of Portugal's national narrative seems to be unresolved, and remnants of the Portuguese colonial history still have impact in political discourse today. Even after the formal dissolution of an almost 500-year-old colonial empire that once stretched across South America, Africa and South-East Asia, the remembrance of a multi-secular presence in the overseas remains strongly embedded in the Portuguese postcolonial imaginary.<sup>2</sup>

In the Portuguese case, democratization and decolonization were simultaneous and interrelated processes<sup>3</sup>: after the military coup known as *Revolução dos Cravos* on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April of 1974, the dissolution of the Portuguese colonial empire was a consequence of the official emancipation of the country from the dictatorial rule of the *Estado Novo* regime<sup>4</sup> and the ending of the long and draining colonial wars. The imperial mythology projected by the *Estado Novo* regime, in order to justify the existence of a colonial empire in a time when other colonial powers had already formally dissolved theirs, is an aspect that should not be overlooked. The Portuguese *Ultramar*<sup>5</sup> in the late

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.presidencia.pt/atualidade/toda-a-atualidade/2021/04/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-na-sessao-solene-comemorativa-do-47-o-aniversario-do-25-de-abril/> (Accessed on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 2021).

<sup>2</sup> Yves Léonard, "As Ligações a África e ao Brasil" [The ties to Africa and Brazil], in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. V (Último Império e Recentramento, 1930-1998), ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 1999), 422.

<sup>3</sup> António Costa Pinto, "O fim do império colonial português" [The end of the Portuguese colonial empire], *Público*, January 22, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Founded and led by António de Oliveira Salazar, the *Estado Novo* regime followed the military dictatorship of 1926. This authoritarian and autocratic political regime ruled in Portugal for 41 uninterrupted years, from the approval of the Constitution in 1933 until its overthrow by the Revolution of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April, in 1974.

<sup>5</sup> The term '*Ultramar*' (translated to: Overseas) was first introduced in the public sphere in 1951, when the 'Colonial Act', created in 1930 to establish how relations should be between the Metropole and the colonies, was revoked. In the 1951 revision of the Portuguese Constitution, the word 'colonies' or 'colonial possessions' were replaced by 'overseas provinces', or *províncias ultramarinas*, in an attempt to distance Portugal from the image of 'colonizer'. Colonies were formally seen as an extension of the metropole; they were the *Ultramar*.

colonial period was considered an inalienable and indivisible part of Portugal, as if this country were geographically larger than it actually was, and, therefore, indispensable to the country's identity. In contrast to the predominant anticolonial tendencies of the time, the Portuguese colonial empire prevailed against all odds.

Deconstructing the *Estado Novo*'s imperial mythology is crucial to understand the evolution of postcolonial political discourse surrounding the Portuguese colonial past. The set of values that make up this imperial mythology include the *lusotropicalist* doctrine and the national remembrance of the 'Portuguese Discoveries'. The *lusotropicalist* doctrine, developed by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre and adopted by the *Estado Novo* regime in the 1950's was meant to justify the exceptional ability of the Portuguese to adapt to the 'tropics' through miscegenation and cultural interpenetration with the 'discovered' indigenous peoples. Portuguese academic Cláudia Castelo, whose research in 1998 focused on *luso-tropicalismo*, reflected on the endurance of the *lusotropicalist* doctrine in the postcolonial era in Portugal. She identified that there was still a "discourse which accentuates the 'immunity' of the Portuguese to racism, their predisposition to get along with other peoples and communities and their 'universalist vocation'".<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the public remembrance of the 'Portuguese Discoveries' is encompassed in this imperial mythology projected by the *Estado Novo*. This was a crucial element of the Portuguese national identity, since it was deeply celebrated during the *Estado Novo* regime and was evoked as proof of the natural inclination of the Portuguese to explore, and build an "old multicultural nation", known for its 'pluralism' and 'ecumenism'.<sup>7</sup>

This research aims to verify if and how the *lusotropicalist* doctrine and the glorification of the 'Portuguese Discoveries' are present in the Portuguese postcolonial political discourse. To that end, I will also explore the ideas of some academics whose research has focused on these themes, studied through the optic of the global postcolonial epistemological currents. Anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler's theoretical concepts of 'imperial debris', 'colonial aphasia' and 'ruination' will also be studied in my

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<sup>6</sup> Cláudia Castelo, *O modo Português de estar no mundo. O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933-1961)* [The Portuguese way of being in the world. Luso-tropicalismo and the Portuguese colonial ideology (1933-1961)], (Biblioteca das Ciências do Homem: Edições Afrontamento, 1999), 14. [my translation].

<sup>7</sup> Miguel Cardina, "O Passado Colonial: do trajeto histórico às configurações da memória" [The Colonial Past: from the historical path to the configurations of memory], in *O Século XX Português: Política, Economia, Sociedade, Cultura, Império*, ed. Fernando Rosas, Francisco Louçã, João Teixeira Lopes, Andrea Peniche, Luís Trindade, Miguel Cardina (Lisboa: Tinta da China Edições, 2020), 388.

investigation. The aim is to identify any remnants of this imperial mythology in the postcolonial era, and better understand the lack of political discussion on the violent episodes perpetrated during the era of Portuguese colonialism. This study will explore the memory of the Portuguese colonial legacy in political discourse between 1990 and 2020. This time period was chosen for two main reasons. First of all, it is important to analyse the memory of the Portuguese colonial past with as much temporal distance as possible from the dissolution of the empire. And, secondly, due to the ‘memory boom’<sup>8</sup> in social studies in the late twentieth century, historians have only recently started to treat ‘memory’ as a conceptual field, therefore allowing the public debate on the characteristics of the Portuguese colonial memory to blossom in the last decades.

### **Research questions**

The main analytical focus of this research is to interpret the discursive interventions made by the Portuguese formal political sphere,<sup>9</sup> between 1990 and 2020. The aim of this thesis is to construct a coherent and diachronic narrative on how the Portuguese colonial legacy is remembered in Portuguese political discourse, from 1990 to 2020. This investigation will also take into account the academic debate surrounding the memory of the Portuguese colonial past.

The main question of this thesis is:

*How have Portuguese politicians evoked the memory of the Portuguese colonial past in their political discourse, from 1990 to 2020, and how can that be explained?*<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> David Blight, “The Memory Boom: Why and Why Now?”, in *Memory in Mind and Culture*, ed. P. Boyer & J. Wertsch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 238-251.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Formal political sphere’ means here the political arena that is comprised by members who were elected to be in Government, in Parliament or to represent the country by occupying the position of President of the Republic. The Portuguese democratic state has a semi-presidentialist regime, enacted by the ‘Constitution of the Portuguese Republic’ adopted in 1976 and last amended in 2005. This Constitution declares that the President of the Republic is elected by universal suffrage for a five-year mandate and has the power to dissolve Parliament, and formally nominate the Prime-minister and his or her government. The Government is led by the prime-minister, who is usually the leader of the most voted political party in the parliamentary elections, which happen on a four-year basis. The Parliament is elected in the same parliamentary elections – the number of members will depend on the votes that each registered political party receives. Source: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc21/portugal/democracia>. (Accessed on the 28th of July 2021).

<sup>10</sup> It will be taken into account that all individual agents in question had a certain political agenda, and engaging or not engaging in the discussion is a political choice within itself. The purpose of this study is to identify and interpret all representations of the colonial past that have been produced in the political arena. Therefore, political ideology does influence the object of study, but it will remain a secondary aspect to this research.

The Portuguese colonial past, in the context of this research, will refer to actions of the Portuguese empire which involved cultural, economic and political subjugation of other territories, deemed necessary for the capitalist growth of the metropole, or actions that were inserted within that historical context.<sup>11</sup> Understanding how this past is remembered will hopefully uncover how the imperial imaginary was rejected or assimilated by the Portuguese democratic political class from 1990 to 2020. In order to obtain an answer to my main question, I have elaborated three subquestions which will guide me throughout this research.

Chapter I will approach my first subquestion: *How has academia tackled the study of the memory of the Portuguese colonial past after the fall of the empire?*

Chapter II will provide the needed analysis to answer my second subquestion: *How have Portuguese politicians evoked the memory of the Portuguese colonial past in their political discourse from 1990 to 1999 and how can that be explained?*

Chapter III will tackle the following subquestion: *How have Portuguese politicians evoked the memory of the Portuguese colonial past in their political discourse in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and how can that be explained?*

In Chapters II and III a diachronic analysis of political interventions from 1990 to 2020 will be made, and the theoretical framework developed by Ann Laura Stoler will be applied to better interpret my findings.

### **Relevant theoretical concepts for this analysis**

How politicians portray the past in their discursive interventions is part of public memory. Public memory is not hegemonic and multiple perceptions can coexist in the same “privileged arena of symbolic struggle between groups”.<sup>12</sup> The concept of ‘memory’ will be applied as defined by Jan Assmann. Stemming from the pioneering work of Maurice Halbwachs on memory studies, Assmann acknowledges that memory can be a social construct, “an image or narrative we construe and carry with us ... which we build up in communication with others.”<sup>13</sup> Surpassing the autobiographical and personal,

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<sup>11</sup> Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998), 21-26.

<sup>12</sup> Rosa Cabecinhas, “Luso(A)fonias. Memórias cruzadas sobre o colonialismo português” [Luso(A)fonias. Crossed memories about Portuguese colonialism], *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, 45 (2019): 2, Porto Alegre, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Jan Assmann, “Communicative and cultural memory”, in *The theoretical foundations of Hungarian 'lieux de mémoire' studies*, ed. Pál S. Varga; Karl Katschthaler; Donald E. Morse; Miklós Takács. (Debrecen University Press, 2013), 36.

memory has a collective aspect to it, and becomes a crucial tool for the construction of an identity, “which allows human beings ... to orient themselves in time”.<sup>14</sup> Even if it is not possible to fully ascertain if the manifestations of memory produced in the formal political discourse actually represent the Portuguese ‘collective memory’ - since there is the possibility that material and discursive representations of the past might be disregarded by the audience they are presented to - they can still be considered as part of the Portuguese public memory.<sup>15</sup> Although the members of the state do not embody the Portuguese collective in its entirety, their remarks wield power: the representations produced by their discourse can impose categorizations that might be recognized by others.<sup>16</sup> The interventions in analysis are efforts by the political class to build their own meaning of the past and to disseminate or impose it on other members of society.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, the following theoretical concepts elaborated by Stoler will be applied to this analysis: ‘imperial debris’, ‘colonial aphasia’ and ‘ruination’. The urge to understand the effects of the colonial past in the societies of today has compelled this researcher to further reflect on the ‘structures of dominance’ that remain even after the formal dissolution of colonial empires. These ‘structures of dominance’ can be seen as ‘imperial debris’. These ‘imperial debris’, mentioned by Stoler also as ‘ruins’, refer to consequences provoked by an imperial rule that are still felt even after the formal collapse of that empire. These ‘debris’ or ‘ruins’ ultimately lead to ‘ruination’, a term also used by Stoler as a way to portray an ongoing situation which still negatively affects the countries formerly impacted by colonialism. Although the author’s scope of analysis goes beyond discourse and memory, since she acknowledges the material and social impact of “structures, sensibilities, and things” that survive “the aftershocks of empire”,<sup>18</sup> her studies become relevant to this analysis because she recognizes that some structures perpetuated by colonialism (them being material or discursive) endure in present times. Stoler questions if we truly live in a postcolonial era or if societies which harbour this type of past are just “newly configured terrains” with racialized thinking and imperial

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Wulf Kansteiner, *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television, and Politics after Auschwitz*, (Ohio University Press, 2006), 21.

<sup>16</sup> Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, *Critical Inquiry*, 8 (1982): 4, University of Chicago, 777-795.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Ned Lebow, “The Memory of Politics in Postwar Europe”, in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, ed. Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner and Claudio Fogu, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 13.

<sup>18</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination”, *Cultural Anthropology*, 23 (2008): 2, 193-196.

configurations that have persisted through time.<sup>19</sup> Stemming from the importance she gives to the certain usage of terms within discourse (“language choice is key”)<sup>20</sup>, Stoler goes even further and proposes the concept of ‘colonial aphasia’. The analysis of both political and academic discourse in contemporary France about the country’s colonial past impelled her to recognize that there is a “dissociation”, “an inability to recognize and name appropriately” the racialized and colonial structures still present in that discourse. This ‘aphasia’ harbours both concealment and historical denial by the political and intellectual elites in French society and translates a difficulty to associate phenomena of colonial violence to a colonial past that is “safely sequestered on the distant fringes of national narratives”.<sup>21</sup> Focusing on the Portuguese colonial experience and its remembrance, the same question is bound to be asked: are there any detectable ‘imperial debris’ or ‘aphasic’ moments when politicians describe a certain memory of the Portuguese colonial past and how can that be explained?

### **Historiography and literature review**

Scholars during the democratic and postcolonial era have produced some relevant studies worth mentioning on the public remembrance of the colonial past. Extensive and recent literature has been written on the cultural impact of the colonial wars and decolonization in postcolonial Portugal and, therefore, these themes will not be given as much attention to in this study.<sup>22</sup>

Concerning the colonial past and how its memory is managed in the public sphere, authors in recent years have focused their researches on studying the weight the Portuguese public sphere gives to the legacies of colonial violence, such as slaver practices and other forms of violent exploitation which occurred during the Portuguese colonialist period. Rosa Cabecinhas contributed to this academic debate when she concluded that there was a ‘mismatch’ of memories about the “common past”, when

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<sup>19</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress, Imperial Durabilities in Our Times*, (Duke University Press, 2016), 337.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 338.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 122.

<sup>22</sup> Take as examples, Mário Artur Machaqueiro, “Memórias em Conflito ou o Mal-Estar da Descolonização”, in *O Adeus ao Império: 40 anos de descolonização Portuguesa*, ed. Fernando Rosas, Mário Machaqueiro and Pedro Oliveira, (Lisboa: Nova Vega e Autores, 2017), 227-245; Elsa Peralta, “The return from Africa: Illegitimacy, concealment, and the non-memory of Portugal’s imperial collapse”, *Memory Studies: SAGE Journals*, (2019), 1-18; Miguel Cardina, “A deserção à guerra colonial: história, memória e política” [The desertion to the colonial war: history, memory, and politics], *Revista de História das Ideias*, 38 (2020): 2, 181-204.

interviewing university students from countries of the former Portuguese empire. While the Portuguese students emphasized the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’, the Angolan participants, for example, highlighted slavery and the massacres, which means that both sides favour different elements of the same past (taking into account their countries played different roles).<sup>23</sup> Associated to this idea, other academics have delved into the strong connection between the memory of the colonial past and the Portuguese national identity and have reached important conclusions. Miguel Cardina, for example, argues that the most violent elements of Portuguese colonialism are overshadowed by the public hyperglorification of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’.<sup>24</sup> Allied to this, the idea that there is a continuity of *lusotropicalist* values in the postcolonial era gained strength after the abovementioned study conducted by Cláudia Castelo, and identifying them in postcolonial discourse has become practice amongst some scholars.<sup>25</sup>

This research was inspired by the work of Miguel Cardina, particularly by his analysis of official interventions from former President Aníbal Cavaco Silva between 2006 and 2014, in which he identified that some aspects of the Portuguese colonial past were glorified and the most violent aspects of the same past were often silenced.<sup>26</sup> My analysis will take one step further and investigate in a diachronic manner not only speeches produced by the President, but also interventions produced by elected members of Parliament (MPs) and other relevant policy documents in a bigger time-span, from 1990 to 2020. The novel aspect of this study stems on the acknowledgment that academic debate has had a role to play in influencing the discourse of politicians, dedicating, therefore, Chapter I to the analysis of some of the academic debates on the topic in a postcolonial era. The application of Stoler’s theoretical framework is still, I believe, a novel approach on the study of colonial memory in the Portuguese case. This framework will shed light on which characteristics of political discourse can be considered ‘imperial debris’ and/or ‘colonial aphasia’. However, to this specific case-study, the ‘ruinations’ that might be here identified will all be discursive, linking it more to the Foucauldian aspect of Stoler’s view on colonialism and its contemporary effects.

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<sup>23</sup> Rosa Cabecinhas, “Luso(A)fonias”, 16-25.

<sup>24</sup> Miguel Cardina, “O Passado Colonial”, 396.

<sup>25</sup> Take, as an example: Bruno C. Reis & Pedro A. Oliveira, “The Power and Limits of Cultural Myths in Portugal’s search for a Post-Imperial Role”, *The International History Review*, 40 (2018): 3, 631-653.

<sup>26</sup> Miguel Cardina, “O lugar do colonial nos discursos de Aníbal Cavaco Silva” [The colonial aspect of Aníbal Cavaco Silva’s speeches], in *IX Edição do Congresso Ibérico de Estudos Africanos – VOLUME I*, (Centro de Estudos Sociais, 2016), 49-55.

## Methodology and choice of sources

The question of how to deal with the study of memory needs, however, to be raised. The theorization of how the past is remembered by different sectors of society has found a place in both collective memory and cultural history studies – and the subjectivity surrounding this epistemological field has been acknowledged by some scholars.<sup>27</sup> The issue in methodology concerning the study of ‘collective memory’ and its history has already been extensively questioned by researchers such as Alon Confino, who points out the “lack of focus” that some of these studies may fall into when it comes to choosing the correct sources for analysis.<sup>28</sup>

In my study, the interpretation of the most prominent academic debates on the topic will be followed by an empirical analysis of discursive interventions produced by politicians and other relevant policy documents stored in the digital archive of the Portuguese parliament – the *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*<sup>29</sup>, the Government’s digital historical archive – *Arquivo Histórico*<sup>30</sup>, the *Arquivo Jorge Sampaio*<sup>31</sup> and also media outlets such as the newspaper *Expresso* and radio station *AfroLis*.<sup>32</sup> The obvious limitations in the choice of sources for analysis must be emphasised, since it is impossible to cover all available material. Due to the extensive information stored in these archives, I have established a set of key-words to guide me through the selection process of primary sources, such as ‘Discoveries’ and *lusotropicalismo*.

In order to provide further context to the decades in analysis, the programmes of each Constitutional Government from 1991 to 2019, retrieved from the *Arquivo Histórico*, will be taken into account, as a way to understand which were the main policy goals of each government to project the country internationally and domestically during the decades in analysis. For this research I have selected statements from MPs, the Presidents of the Portuguese Republic and other relevant policy documents produced in political contexts in which Portugal’s national past was mentioned to affirm the country

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<sup>27</sup> Take, as an example: Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, *Writing the History of Memory*, (Bloomsbury: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

<sup>28</sup> Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method”, *The American Historical Review*, 102 (1997): 5, 1387.

<sup>29</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República* - <https://debates.parlamento.pt/>

<sup>30</sup> *Arquivo Histórico* - <https://www.historico.portugal.gov.pt/pt/o-governo/arquivo-historico.aspx>

<sup>31</sup> *Arquivo Jorge Sampaio* - <https://jorgesampaio.arquivo.presidencia.pt/pt/main.html>

<sup>32</sup> It is taken into account in this study that media outlets, depending on who owns them, have specific agendas, which can lead to favoring particular news sources over others.

both externally and internally. This encompasses foreign policy goals and occasions in which Portuguese state officials had to address other politicians from countries which were former Portuguese colonies. Furthermore, political interventions made in contexts of national affirmation will be also considered, such as Presidential speeches produced on occasion of the annual celebration of the *Revolução dos Cravos* on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April and on occasion of the *Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas* on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June throughout the decades in analysis. In total, 34 documents from the three abovementioned archives will be analysed, jointly with 1 article and 1 radio interview from the aforementioned media outlets.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> In the analysis of primary sources and of the secondary literature which is originally in Portuguese, all translations from Portuguese to English have been done by me.

## Chapter I: The study of the memory of the Portuguese colonial past in academia

Many scholars have questioned the cultural impact of the Portuguese colonial empire in a newly-democratic society, which has lost an empire and a dictatorship simultaneously. Essayist Eduardo Lourenço (1923-2020) problematized the real collective impact of such definitive episodes in national history. He came to the conclusion that the cultural impact in Portugal upon the dissolution of the Portuguese empire was inconspicuous and unspoken: “*Este espantoso silêncio esconde a aventura colonial, a mais pura de toda a história. Tão pura que hesitamos chamá-la colonialista.*”<sup>34 35</sup> Lourenço’s works in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were efforts to dissect the imperial mythology that persisted in Portugal even after decolonization. They have been a source of inspiration for other authors to engage in scientific researches on Portuguese postcolonialism. When dealing with the memory of colonialism in postcolonial Portugal, authors have engaged in scientific researches which are often interdisciplinary and touch upon different aspects of Portuguese culture. The deep connection between Portuguese colonialism and the imperial mythology created by the *Estado Novo* to uphold it is often taken into account by scholars, who themselves focus their studies in understanding in what ways the *Estado Novo* ideological values can still be discerned in postcoloniality.

The *Estado Novo* used the perception of Portugal as a country which expanded across the globe to fulfil its "universal destiny"<sup>36</sup> as a political tool. This was meant to uphold the empire with the establishment of the *Ultramar*. Already in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, researchers Maria Isabel João and Margarida Calafate Ribeiro point out that the prevailing nationalist tendency of rejecting Portugal as being ‘peripheral’ and ‘small’ could stem, in fact, from a nostalgic feeling of a lost imperial ‘grandeur’. In the postcolonial era, these researchers have gathered that politicians make an effort to portray the Portuguese nation

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<sup>34</sup> Eduardo Lourenço, *Do colonialismo como nosso impensado*, (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2014).

<sup>35</sup> *This astounding silence hides the [Portuguese] colonial adventure, the purest of all history. So pure that we even hesitate to call it colonialist.* (my translation)

<sup>36</sup> Vítor de Sousa & Moisés Lemos Martins, “A ‘portugalidade’ no discurso parlamentar português: Assembleia Nacional (1935-1974) e Assembleia da República (1976-2012)” [‘portugalidade’ in Portuguese parliamentary speech: Assembleia Nacional (1935-1974) e Assembleia da República (1976-2012)], in *Comunicação e Cultura: II Jornada de Doutorandos em Ciências da Comunicação e Estudos Culturais*, (Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade: Universidade do Minho, 2013), 94-95.

as being pluricontinental, in which its presence extends to other territories, now through the Portuguese language and the emigrant diaspora.<sup>37</sup>

In 2002, Ribeiro discerned that Portuguese nationalism had been shaped by the interplay between literature and politics. The remembrance of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ became a myth, not only during the *Estado Novo* regime, but even in previous regimes. She emphasizes the cultural impact of works such as *Os Lusíadas* by Luís Vaz de Camões<sup>38</sup>, which projects the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ as a “mythical Golden Age”<sup>39</sup>, and the *Fifth Empire* myth created by Jesuit missionary António Vieira, who argued that the great success of the Portuguese navigations was proof that the Portuguese were the elected people to expand the Kingdom of God and Christianity.<sup>40</sup> In a sense, these literary myths narrate “a Portugal constructed through voyages”<sup>41</sup>, led by a nation pre-destined to ‘give new worlds to the world’.<sup>42</sup>

In academic debate, researchers have focused on discerning in what ways the postcolonial glorification of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ can be seen as a colonial remnant of the *Estado Novo* regime. In 1999, Francisco Bethencourt points out that this mythicized past goes beyond literature and also has its place in the country’s toponymy. He problematizes the endurance of the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* in Lisbon as a colonial remnant in a postcolonial era. This monument was first shown during the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940 – an exhibition meant to showcase the colonial ventures of the *Estado Novo* regime – and was officially implemented in 1960.<sup>43</sup> The monument, as seen below in Figure 1, is a “kind of compendium of the heroes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries”<sup>44</sup>, having 32 statues in total: “kings, navigators,

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<sup>37</sup> Maria Isabel João and translated from Portuguese by Richard Correll, “The Invention of the Dia de Portugal”, *Portuguese Studies*, 31 (2015): 1, 77.

<sup>38</sup> The ‘Discoveries’ became first canonized through *Os Lusíadas*, the poem written in Homeric fashion by Luís Vaz de Camões and first published in 1572. *Os Lusíadas* glorifies the actions of the ‘heroic’ sailors, who sailed the sea to confront the unknown and in search of immortality.

<sup>39</sup> Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, “Empire, Colonial Wars and Post-colonialism in the Portuguese Contemporary Imagination”, *Portuguese Studies*, 18 (2002), 143.

<sup>40</sup> Jesuit missionary António Vieira, who created the *Quinto Império* prophecy (the Fifth Empire myth) in 1659, consolidated the Portuguese ‘messianism’.

<sup>41</sup> Ribeiro, “Empire, Colonial Wars and Post-colonialism”, 184.

<sup>42</sup> The expression ‘*dar novos mundos ao mundo*’, which was translated in the text by me, is colloquially used and is an adaptation of a verse of *Os Lusíadas*, Canto II, estrofe 45.

<sup>43</sup> Francisco Bethencourt, “A memória da Expansão” [The memory of the Expansion], in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. V (Último Império e Recentramento, 1930-1998), ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), 445-447.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 445-447.

missionaries, intellectuals, colonisers and artists”, led by Henry the Navigator (*Infante D. Henrique*) and all facing the banks of the river Tagus.<sup>45</sup>



Figure 1: A photograph of the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*, next to the *Torre de Belém*, in Lisbon.

The colonial exhibition of 1940, in connection to scholar criticism towards the postcolonial glorification of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’, was once more alluded by scholars on occasion of the EXPO’98, another Portugal World Exhibition which occurred in 1998 in Lisbon under the theme “The Oceans: A Heritage for the Future”. The EXPO’98 was subject to scholar criticism due to its similarities to the colonial exhibitions during the period of the *Estado Novo* regime.<sup>46</sup> Stemming from his writings of 1998<sup>47</sup>, researcher Michel Cahen acknowledges again in 2013 that, although the EXPO’98 did not explicitly celebrate the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’, amongst the political class “not even the far left noticed that a pavilion was missing at the Expo, one dedicated to slavery and the slave trade.”<sup>48</sup> Later in 2019, Mariana Selister Gomes would also compare the narrative portrayed in the colonial exhibition of 1940 to the narratives of two Portuguese

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<sup>45</sup> <https://padraodosdescobrimientos.pt/en/monument-to-the-discoveries/> (Accessed on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 2021).

<sup>46</sup> Take as an example, Marcus Power & James D. Sidaway, “Deconstructing twinned towers: Lisbon’s Expo ’98 and the occluded geographies of discovery”, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6 (2005): 6, 865-833.

<sup>47</sup> Michel Cahen, “Éditorial. L’Expo 98, le nationalisme et nous” [Editorial. Expo 98, nationalism and us], in *Des protestantismes en lusophonie catholique*, special issue, *Lusotopie*, 5 (1998), 11-19.

<sup>48</sup> Michel Cahen, “‘Portugal is in the Sky’: Conceptual Considerations on Communities, Lusitanity, and Lusophony”, in *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World*, ed. Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 299.

Discoveries museums of the postcolonial era. It led her to conclude that there is an enduring dissociation between the memory of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ and the memory of the violence perpetrated by Portuguese colonization.<sup>49</sup> Miguel Cardina<sup>50</sup> and Rosa Cabecinhas,<sup>51</sup> who published their last studies on the topic of colonial memory in 2020 and 2019, respectively, also point out that this historical period is often mythicized and not sufficiently questioned. This promotes, therefore, a lack of discussion on the weight of the violent episodes encompassed in this colonial past.

In parallel with these studies on the glorification of the ‘Discoveries’ and the dissociation that this same glorification provokes, it is increasingly recurrent for researchers to mention the *lusotropicalist* doctrine as another colonial value that insisted on enduring. Cláudia Castelo’s 1998 study is referenced in multiple academic works, particularly in recent years. Her work enabled the better understanding of how *lusotropicalismo* was actually adapted to the *Estado Novo*’s rhetoric after the repeal of the Colonial Act in 1951. Gilberto Freyre’s *lusotropicalist* doctrine concluded that there was a ‘Portuguese way of being in the world’, in which Portuguese colonizers had an exceptional ability to civilize and miscegenate in comparison to other European colonizers. This uniqueness stemmed from a set of elements which were only inherent to the Portuguese, such as the ‘acclimatability’ of the Portuguese to the ‘tropics’, due to Portugal’s temperate weather; their aptitude for ‘mobility’ and to expand their presence overseas; and their exceptional ‘fraternal’ character, able to transform and adapt European values, such as the Portuguese language and Christianity, to ‘tropical environments’.<sup>52</sup> Because they were predominantly Catholic, the Portuguese were also considered to be ecumenic and tolerant. Moreover, Brazil is seen by Freyre as the ultimate example of a successful product of the unique ‘Portuguese way of being in the world’ of miscegenation and cultural exchange, and proof that the contact of the Portuguese with other peoples was absent of any assumption of racial superiority. This absence of racial superiority went against the 1940’s policy of the *Estado Novo* and that is why the doctrine was not adopted

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<sup>49</sup> Mariana Selister Gomes, “Dos Museus dos Descobrimentos às Exposições do Império: o Corpo Colonial em Portugal” [From the Museums of the Discoveries to the Exhibitions of the Empire: the Colonial Body in Portugal], *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 27 (2019): 3, Florianópolis, 1-15.

<sup>50</sup> Cardina, “O Passado Colonial”, 357-411.

<sup>51</sup> Cabecinhas, “Luso(A)fonias”, 16-25.

<sup>52</sup> Castelo, *O modo Português*, 30-38.

sooner. *Luso-tropicalismo* only became advantageous later on, to justify the existence of the Portuguese colonial empire in a time when other powers were decolonizing.<sup>53</sup>

Recognizing that there is a persistence of *lusotropicalist* values in political and civil discourse in Portugal has been one of the major criticisms made by intellectuals in the 2010's. Rosa Cabecinhas mention that there is a generalized assumption in Portuguese society that the Portuguese colonial actions were benevolent when comparing to other colonialisms, due to an erroneous belief that the Portuguese are naturally more tolerant than others.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, researchers Bruno Reis and Pedro Oliveira concluded, in 2018, that Portuguese politicians followed a "*lusotropicalist script*", in which they would address African leaders from Portuguese former colonies, as 'brothers' or 'friends'. The aim, according to Reis and Oliveira, was to place the shared and 'fraternal' cultural experience - which deeply prioritizes the Portuguese language as a binding element - at the centre of Portuguese postcolonial foreign policy.<sup>55</sup> Colonial values were "only partly refashioned" but not abandoned, in order to better manage interests in postcolonial diplomatic relations.<sup>56</sup> Due to the continuation of a *lusotropicalist* approach, decolonization did not mean a definitive cut between Portugal and its former colonies, but rather a continuity of the Portuguese presence in those foreign territories through the "Portuguese language, affection and cooperation".<sup>57</sup>

This brief revision on some of the works elaborated throughout these last three decades, particularly from the end of the 1990's onwards, will enable to answer the first subquestion of this thesis: *how has academia tackled the study of the memory of the Portuguese colonial past after the fall of the empire?* Portuguese nationalism is indissociable from the memory of the Portuguese colonial past. In conclusion to this chapter, the cited scholars have provided in their research on their various subjects of study (which include literature, material representations of the past, politics of national affirmation and diplomatic relations with the former colonies) valuable insight into the Portuguese identity itself. To the endurance of colonial values of the past authors propose

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<sup>53</sup> Cláudia Castelo, "A mensagem Luso-tropical do colonialismo Português tardio: o papel da propaganda e da censura" [The luso-tropical message of late Portuguese colonialism: the role of propaganda and censorship], in *Lusofonia e interculturalidade: promessa e travessia*, ed. Moisés de Lemos e Martins, (Famalicão: Húmus, 2015), 451-470.

<sup>54</sup> Cabecinhas, "Luso(A)fonias", 16-25.

<sup>55</sup> Bruno C. Reis and Pedro A. Oliveira, "Limits of Cultural Myths", 642.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, 636.

<sup>57</sup> Rui Ramos, "'O Império que nunca existiu': A Cultura da Descolonização em Portugal C.1960-C.1980" ["The Empire that never existed": the decolonization culture in Portugal 1960-1980], *Revista de História das Ideias*, 28 (2007), 476.

various hypotheses. For one, there is the apparent lack of cultural impact upon decolonization, as stated by Eduardo Lourenço. And, secondly, values of the colonial past persist in a postcolonial era, as shown with the endurance of *luso-tropicalismo* in postcolonial diplomatic relations with former colonies. The attempt to be more attentive to the perspective of the former colonized and others who suffered during the colonial era has been particularly more apparent after the editorial surge in memory and postcolonial studies in Portugal in the 2010's. This evolution might be explained by the most recent developments of the epistemological currents of both postcolonial and memory studies. Authors have been committed to identify all possible remnants of the past, which, in this case, can be perceived as 'imperial debris' from the *Estado Novo* and the situations of 'colonial aphasia' that these 'debris' can actually provoke. The next chapter will engage in an empirical analysis to discern which characteristics in political discourse can be identified and explained under Stoler's theoretical framework.

## **Chapter II: The evocation of the Portuguese colonial past in Portuguese politics in the 1990's**

This second chapter will provide an analysis of some relevant political interventions made by MPs and by the 18th President of the Portuguese Republic Jorge Sampaio (1996-2006), as well as other policy documents crucial to understand the political trends concerning the memory of Portuguese colonialism from 1990 to 1999. The analysis of these sources will attempt to provide an answer to the second subquestion of this thesis: *How have Portuguese politicians evoked the memory of the Portuguese colonial past in their political discourse from 1990 to 1999 and how can that be explained?*

### **Using national history to establish Portugal as a ‘universalist’ country in the first half of the 1990's**

At the beginning of the 1990's, the government aimed to establish Portugal as a democratic power, and ensure a political distancing from the dictatorial, isolationist and colonial past, which had officially placed the country at the periphery of Europe until 1974. The following excerpt of the *Grandes Opções do Plano para 1991* policy document translates the main priorities set out by the Portuguese government in order to reaffirm Portugal as a democratic and ‘universalist’ power in 1991:

Portugal is going through a decisive moment in its collective existence. The Portuguese are faced with the double challenge of deepening their own vocation and national identity, valuing the heritage of eight centuries of history and making the universalistic opening to the exterior - centred on the European project, and extending into the Atlantic and the Portuguese-speaking space.<sup>58</sup>

In accordance to the political goals established in the abovementioned document, the priorities of the 12<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government, in effect from 1991 to 1995, would strive to project Portugal as a European country endowed with an Atlantic ‘vocation’, fully fit to be a member of the European Union (EEC/EU). Valuing the country's historical heritage included publicly celebrating the “most famous and decisive

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<sup>58</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of October 17th 1990, Suplemento, V Legislatura, sessão 4, N°001, page 2.

achievement of the Portuguese”<sup>59</sup> - the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’. In the first years of the 1990’s, the ruling government believed that publicly evoking the memory of this historical period had “unique potential for strengthening Portugal’s role in Europe and in the rest of the world” and would “... allow the broadening of Portugal’s contacts” internationally, since, to this leading political class, it was proof of the Portuguese nation’s tolerant, universalist and ecumenical character.<sup>60</sup> The ‘Discoveries’ are used by this particular government to battle the assumption that Portugal is peripheral in comparison to the rest of Europe. MP Filipe Abreu (PSD) would mention that, despite being “numerically small”, the Portuguese people had spread “throughout the immense new worlds” and were “tolerant, multiracial and multi-continental”, expanding, therefore, their influence internationally.<sup>61</sup>

For Portuguese national politics, the memory of the ‘Discoveries’ was imbued with a mythological significance. MPs of different political ideologies evoked the ‘Discoveries’ as a way to encourage the Portuguese to look upon the heroes of this glorious past and learn from their example. This evocation was a result of the importance given to the memory of this time period during the first half of the 1990’s. Formally, the promotion of the ‘Discoveries’ is explicitly mentioned in the Programme of the 12<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government. This programme puts particular emphasis on the preparations for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries as a continuation of the efforts already carried out in previous years by the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries<sup>62</sup>. The section of this policy document specifically dedicated to the ‘Discoveries’ inaugurates a decade of preparations for multiple events of national affirmation, including the Fifth Centenary of the Treaty of Tordesillas<sup>63</sup>, the Portugal’s World Exhibition (EXPO ’98) - which would take place on the occasion of the Fifth Centenary of Vasco da Gama’s arrival to India in 1998 - and the Fifth Centenary of Pedro Álvares Cabral’s arrival to Brazil, in 2000. Aligned with the priorities of his government, prime-minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva, would reiterate the

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<sup>59</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of February 21st 1990, Suplemento, V Legislatura, sessão 3, N°019, page 8.

<sup>60</sup> *Arquivo Histórico*, Programa do XII Governo Constitucional, pages 73 and 74.

<sup>61</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of January 27th 1993, Reunião plenária de 26 de Janeiro 1993, VI Legislatura, sessão 2, N°033, page 1200.

<sup>62</sup> The National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries was a public organism established in 1986 to prepare, organize and coordinate the celebrations of the Portuguese Discoveries.

<sup>63</sup> The Treaty of Tordesillas was signed in 1494 by the Crown of Castille and the Portuguese Empire to divide the lands they had found overseas.

national importance of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ when speaking in Parliament in 1993, describing them as an “example of what we [the Portuguese] are capable of and what we can aim for”. According to the prime-minister, the Portuguese collective had been able to “surpass the traumas of the past” and show the world a renewed national identity stemming from a positive view of its maritime legacy. Preparing the EXPO ’98 would be the “highest point of this decade of celebrations” and an opportunity “to express the cultural might and the capacity for achievement of a modern Portugal”.<sup>64</sup>

Externally, the triumphalist remembrance of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ plays a pertinent role in the maintenance of postcolonial diplomatic relations with countries that are, in some way or another, connected to the Portuguese colonial past. Particularly in 1990, the past is explicitly used as a political strategy to affirm Portugal’s position within the international scene. Evoking this glorious past is seen by politicians as an encouragement to promote fruitful cultural and economic relations with former colonies, as well as to ensure the continuation of the Portuguese symbolic and cultural presence in territories that are historically linked to the Portuguese empire. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April of 1990, on occasion of the official state visit of the President of the Republic of India Ramaswami Venkataraman to Portugal, President of the Assembly Vítor Crespo would allude to the epic poem *Os Lusíadas*, and the capacity of the Portuguese “to maintain ecumenical and multicultural dialogues and relationships [for over five centuries, with those who crossed paths with the Portuguese]” in order to encourage a diplomatic future that “broadens the channels of economic and cultural exchange” and “recover the common cultural heritage” between Portugal and India.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, upon the approval of the final text of the revised *Estatuto Orgânico de Macau – EOM* in 1990, which endowed Macao<sup>66</sup> more political freedoms under Portuguese administration, MPs Rui Silva (PRD) and Carlos Brito (PCP), in spite of belonging to different political affiliations, agreed that, even with the progressive political separation of Portugal from Macao, the Portuguese presence would still be felt in the territory, and the “fruitful dialogue” should be “continued and renewed”. In Carlos Brito’s words, the revised EOM was the “... best contribution to perpetuating the Portuguese presence in the territory of

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<sup>64</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of July 2<sup>nd</sup> 1993, Reunião plenária de 1 de Julho 1993, VI Legislatura, sessão 2, N°091, page 2988.

<sup>65</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1990, Reunião plenária de 2 de Abril 1993, V Legislatura, sessão 3, N°060, page 2073.

<sup>66</sup> After the *Revolução dos Cravos*, negotiations took place to redefine Macao's status as a "Chinese territory under Portuguese administration" and the handover of Macao to the People's Republic of China was scheduled for December 20<sup>th</sup> 1999.

Macao, a living memory of the Discoveries, inextricably linked to the name of Camões and *Os Lusíadas*.”<sup>67</sup> From the analysis of these interventions, it can be discerned that the Portuguese foreign policy goals did not envision a total cut with the former colonies, striving to still assert Portugal’s cultural presence in these territories, even after the end of political domination.

In addition to the recurrent evocation of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ as a political tool for national affirmation, *lusotropicalist* values were explicitly mentioned by some MPs during the same period. MP João Granja da Fonseca (PSD), in 1993, argued that the Portuguese were capable of successfully integrating the European Community due to their ecumenic and universalist character. This MP defends that integrating the European Community is fulfilling the Portuguese universalist destiny. In order to convey these ideas, he stated that: “By ‘giving new worlds to the world’, ‘by giving a large part of the world to God’, by being part of the European Community, Portugal is fulfilling a destiny, its destiny: universality”.<sup>68</sup> In the same political intervention, when alluding to the celebrations of the Fifth Centenary of the Portuguese Discoveries, this MP refers to the unique character of the Portuguese – he alludes to “our way [the Portuguese way] of being in the world in contact with new peoples (...)” in which the period of missioning the ‘discovered’ peoples was also encompassed.<sup>69</sup> This MP outlines the importance Portuguese Christian missionaries in civilizing other peoples as evidence of the ecumenic character of the Portuguese. Generally, it can be discerned a certain naiveness when looking upon Portuguese colonialism and what it truly encompassed in this particular intervention. The violent colonial elements are described in euphemisms and are almost dismissed. The following quote this MP chose to mention better illustrates this argument:<sup>70</sup>

“It was thanks to the quest of the Discoveries and to the work of the Portuguese, with their pages of glory and their shadows of self-destruction and of others, that the unification of the globe took place; that many people adapted to the most diverse climates and the most diverse customs; that a more or less profound assimilation of the most heterogeneous cultures took place; In contact with other peoples and other races, there has been an absence, if not a total absence, at least

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<sup>67</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of April 18th 1990, Reunião plenária de 17 de Abril 1990, V Legislatura, sessão 3, N°064, pages 2211 and 2212.

<sup>68</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of January 6th 1993, Reunião plenária de 5 de Janeiro 1993, VI Legislatura, sessão 1, N°025, pages 398 and 399.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> This specific excerpt is shown in the original document in quotation marks, although it is not mentioned who this MP was actually quoting it from.

a marked absence of racial prejudice, in sharp contrast with other peoples who have followed in our wake along the routes of the globe.”<sup>71</sup>

This particular intervention demonstrates that Portuguese colonialism was perceived by some politicians as having been exceptional, due to its benevolence in comparison to other colonialisms. In a sense, Portuguese ‘universalism’ had been linked by this politician to the alleged tolerance of the Portuguese towards other ethnicities. In 1991, MP Narana Coissoró (CDS-PP) projected this same idea in Parliament, implying as well that Portuguese ‘universalism’ stemmed from miscegenation and was inaugurated by the maritime adventure:

It is worth noting the fact, precisely in a decade in which we are beginning the celebrations of the Discoveries and the ecumenical tradition of Portugal's presence in the world. ... Only the Portuguese have the unique title of honour of being the true citizens of the world, regardless of colour.<sup>72</sup>

Looking upon the Portuguese ‘universalism’ and historical miscegenation as the antidote for racism and discrimination occurred once more in 1995, with an intervention made in Parliament by MP Manuel Alegre (PS). Upon the assassination of Alcindo Monteiro - Portuguese of Cape-Verdean descent - and the several attacks on other victims perpetrated by a neo-nazi group in Lisbon on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June of 1995, MPs of different political parties pondered on this violent act, which had the intention of glorifying the Portuguese ‘race’ on the *Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas*. MP Manuel Alegre urged to look into the past with a critical eye and question the heritage authoritarianism left in postcolonial society. However, at the same time, he alluded to the supposed Portuguese exceptional tolerance:

Racist and fascist violence always begins in the misrepresentation of history and the inversion of values. ... it goes on excusing and rehabilitating the institutionalized violence that was the *Estado Novo*. ... They [the neo-nazi group] don't know, because no one has explained it to them, that if there is something specific and truly significant in Portuguese culture it is this capacity to understand the other, to admire difference and even to love and mix with it.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of January 6th 1993, Reunião plenária de 5 de Janeiro 1993, pages 398 and 399.

<sup>72</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of March 9th 1991, Reunião plenária de 8 de Março 1991, V Legislatura, sessão 4, N°052, page 1696.

<sup>73</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of June 16th 1995, Reunião plenária de 14 de Junho 1995, VI Legislatura, sessão 4, N°087, pages 2866 to 2868.

Throughout the first years of the 1990's, there were, however, some political interventions that deviated from the celebratory official political discourse concerning the memory of the 'Portuguese Discoveries'. Explicit objections to the triumphalist view on the Portuguese historical achievements are voiced by members of the political opposition, as it will be seen with the analysis of two statements of 1991.

With the objective of criticizing the cultural policy led by the government, Miguel Urbano Rodrigues (PCP), reflected on this occasion upon the use of history promoted by the elected majority in order to project a renewed national identity of the country. In doing so, this MP perceives the government's memory of the past as an unresolved remnant of authoritarianism, since it adopted an ethnocentric view on the 'Portuguese Discoveries'. In his words, the weight of the heritage that "fascism" had left was still being felt in Portuguese society: during the *Estado Novo* regime, "five generations" had been "influenced in schools, universities and daily life by a distorted, aberrant treatment of History" in which the "official books hid from the youth the real past of the Portuguese and invented another, a myriad ...".<sup>74</sup> Having been a historian himself, this politician brought to the formal political sphere a deeper questioning on how the 'Portuguese Discoveries' should actually be remembered and defined, contrasting with the predominant political rhetoric of the time. Concerning the usage of the term "Discoveries" to describe what he perceived as the "big, wonderful Portuguese adventure through the paths of the sea", this MP qualified it as being a "stubborn persistence", and a "patronising" way of depicting what had been an encounter of cultures, "separated by the immensity of the oceans".<sup>75</sup>

Moreover, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February of the same year, when objecting to the construction of the *Centro Cultural de Belém* (CCB), a cultural centre originally conceived to become the headquarters of the Portuguese presidency of the European Community in 1992, MP António Barreto (PS) would label it as the "pathetic neighbour of another absurd monument: the *salazarengo* Padrão dos Descobrimentos."<sup>76</sup> By describing the Padrão dos Descobrimentos as *salazarengo* - which stems from the word 'Salazar' with a negative connotation - this MP alludes to the historical origin of this monument, as a product of the *Estado Novo* regime's colonial exhibition. Its placement,

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<sup>74</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of June 19th 1991, Reunião plenária de 18 de Junho 1991, V Legislatura, sessão 4, N°094, pages 3184-3186.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of February 15th 1991, Reunião plenária de 14 de Fevereiro de 1991, V Legislatura, sessão 4, N°042, page 1349.

now next to the CCB, occupied the same space where the abovementioned exhibition had two of its pavilions: "*Portugueses no Mundo*" and the "*Aldeias Portuguesas*". Embedded in imperial nostalgia, the Padrão dos Descobrimentos, according to him, did not belong in the country's postcolonial toponomy.

In spite of having been produced in different political contexts with divergent political purposes, both MPs recognize that there was a certain continuity of the way national history was being portrayed between the government at the time and the ideological rhetoric of the *Estado Novo* regime. These interventions are proof that there were some political pleads to critically look upon this triumphalist past, even if they did not represent the political views shared by the 12<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government.

### **Moving away from the triumphalist past of the 'Discoveries' and investing in *lusofonia***

The programme of the 13<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government - which came into office on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October of 1995 and lasted until 1999 - no longer outlined the 'Discoveries' as a primordial goal to assert Portugal's position within an international context. Instead, the goals of the new Government focused on the strengthening of diplomatic ties with the countries which shared "ties of History, language and culture" with Portugal. The celebratory discourse of the previous government was replaced by a less enthusiastic rhetoric which recognized that the Portuguese government "felt the historical responsibility to cooperate with the lusophone African countries."<sup>77</sup> In none of the Constitutional Government's programmes that followed the 12<sup>th</sup> programme was explicitly mentioned the celebration of the 'Portuguese Discoveries' as a political priority. *Lusofonia* is introduced as the binding element that connects Portugal to its former colonies, replacing the 'Portuguese Discoveries' as a relevant motif for Portuguese governments to promote cordial relations with former colonies. *Lusofonia* is a symbolic space that integrates all Portuguese speaking countries because of the shared Portuguese language, pertaining to the shared cultural heritage of its members. The formal embodiment of the Portuguese postcolonial project of building *lusofonia* occurred with the formal establishment of the CPLP (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*)<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> *Arquivo Histórico*, Programa do XIII Governo Constitucional, pages 54 and 55.

<sup>78</sup> The CPLP project "whose foundation is the Portuguese language, a historical bond and common heritage of the Nine", encompasses Angola, Brazil, Cape-Verde, East Timor, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau,

in 1996. However, it is important to outline that the word *lusofonia* was not mentioned in the formal constitutive declaration of the CPLP, even if its presence was deeply implied. This political choice demonstrates how the members of this community received this concept with ambiguity.<sup>79</sup>

In July of 1996, Portuguese President Jorge Sampaio would speak at the opening ceremony of the CPLP, conveying the great interest of the Portuguese state to promote cooperation with its former colonies. He evoked a shared cultural heritage through the Portuguese language. However, this speech already demonstrates the dubiety that is inherent to this diplomatic initiative. At times, Jorge Sampaio's message is contradictory. On the one hand he warns of the dangers of "hegemonic temptations", and defends equality and mutual respect between all members. On the other hand, he assumes that universalism (verified here before as an element commonly associated to the Portuguese identity) extends itself to all other countries of official Portuguese language: "Not forgetting that this community is characterized by *our* way of perceiving universalism" [my italics]. Once more, the exceptional ability of Portuguese to be universalist and tolerant towards multiracialism is evoked, in order to upkeep good diplomatic relations between ex-metropole and ex-colonies during the postcolonial era. In addition to this, the ruinous effects of Portuguese colonialism are somehow downplayed because of the great importance given to the positive historical heritage between members, which is translated by a linkage of shared culture, cooperation and affection.

We have updated a centuries-old coexistence, which has had its lights and shadows, but which today we can fully assume without complexes. The common language, the mutual understanding, and the affection that unites and makes understanding so easy have remained from this long relationship.<sup>80</sup>

Whether *lusofonia* can be seen as an 'imperial debris' or not, when perceiving it as a factor which leads to 'ruination', carries ambiguity. On the one hand, the political strategy of prioritizing the Portuguese language as a 'fraternal' bond between countries has been, particularly in recent years, connected to the endurance of the *lusotropicalist*

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Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé e Príncipe. Source: <https://www.cplp.org/id-2752.aspx> (Accessed on the 27th of July 2021).

<sup>79</sup> Vítor Manuel Fernandes Oliveira de Sousa, "Da 'portugalidade' à lusofonia", (PhD thesis in Ciências da Comunicação Especialidade em Teoria da Cultura, Instituto de Ciências Sociais Universidade do Minho, 2015), 387 – 400.

<sup>80</sup> *Arquivo Jorge Sampaio*, Sessão Solene de Abertura da Cimeira Constitutiva da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, Centro Cultural de Belém, July 17th 1996.

myth.<sup>81</sup> Criticism has been made on how reducing the shared colonial past between members to a mere affective relationship built on language is “merely a continuation of the imperial imaginary”, as Michel Cahen points out.<sup>82</sup> According to Cahen, the CPLP presumes that the members of this community merely speak Portuguese, as if the language was the only spoken language in these countries. The acronym does not specify that these countries are merely of official Portuguese language, demonstrating, therefore, a hegemonic tendency in the concept of the CPLP itself.<sup>83</sup> *Lusofonia* and the CPLP project still refer to a Portuguese centrality in relation to the other countries that make up this community. However, on the other hand, authors such as Bruno Reis and Pedro Oliveira recognize that the “dominance of the Portuguese language” amongst former Portuguese colonies, even if deeply impacted by colonial history, is also an “option made by post-independence local elites”.<sup>84</sup> Vítor de Sousa adds that the consolidation of *lusofonia* as a diplomatic effort is valid, if it is free of any cultural impositions. An effort should be made to not culturally privilege Portugal in these diplomatic relations between ex-metropole and ex-colonized, ultimately striving for an equal intercultural dynamic.<sup>85</sup>

Moving towards the end of the decade, President Jorge Sampaio adopted a more nuanced approach on the celebrations of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’. However, he still acknowledged the characteristics that endow this historical period to be mythicized and considered a symbol of Portuguese nationalism. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of June of 1998, in the amidst of the commemorative session in Parliament of the Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of the Sea route to India, Jorge Sampaio would use its remembrance as an encouragement for the Portuguese not to settle and to always continue working for a better future. He reminded that the Portuguese are universalist and pluralist: the ‘Discoveries’ were “[t]he result of a collective and long-lasting effort ... that involved the plural and committed participation of Portuguese people from various backgrounds”.<sup>86</sup>

As Jorge Sampaio mentioned in the inauguration speech of the EXPO ’98, the renewed identity of Portugal was based on its ‘universalism’, which propelled the country beyond its periphery to other corners of the world due to the culture it shares with other countries:

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<sup>81</sup> Castelo, “A mensagem luso-tropical”, 451.

<sup>82</sup> Cahen, “Portugal is in the Sky”, 308.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 297.

<sup>84</sup> Bruno C. Reis and Pedro A. Oliveira, “Limits of Cultural Myths”, 644-645.

<sup>85</sup> Vítor de Sousa, “Da ‘portugalidade’ à lusofonia”, 484.

<sup>86</sup> *Arquivo Jorge Sampaio*, Sessão comemorativa do V Centenário do Descobrimento do Caminho Marítimo para a Índia, Assembleia da República, June 15th 1998.

A European, Atlantic and universalist country, with a language spoken by 200 million human beings and a cultural memory present in every corner of the Earth, Portugal rediscovered democracy and a sense of openness, modernity and innovation with the Revolution of April 25th 1974. It also rediscovered the characteristic that best defines its history and culture: that is universalism, openness to the outside, communication with others. This Exhibition is also inspired by these values.<sup>87</sup>

Moving towards the end of the millennium, the choice of adopting a less enthusiastic rhetoric about the past was carried out both by the government and the President. Progressively abandoning the triumphalist view on the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ and investing in *lusofonia*, contributed to this general change in discourse. A real debate on Portugal’s historical responsibility, as mentioned in the 13<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government’s programme, was hindered by the ongoing undisputed positive views on the Portuguese maritime legacy. Furthermore, the promotion of diplomatic relations with the former colonies under the aegis of a historical fraternal bond deterred the possibility of a real discussion on the violent elements of Portuguese colonialism.

In different commemorative occasions in 1998, this President seizes the opportunity to urge the Portuguese to face history with a critical eye, in order to avoid ethnocentric points of view of the past. In this way, the president aimed to distance the democratic regime from the authoritarianism of the *Estado Novo*. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of June of 1998, the President would declare that the ongoing celebrations were:

[a]n opportunity for Portuguese society to review a unique moment in its history. ... The regime of the dictatorship tried to use the Discoveries to legitimise the concept of colonial empire. It constructed a unique interpretation of history that it intended to fix forever. ... We have turned a page in our history. We have gone from being an underdeveloped, colonialist, isolated country to a more modern country, respected internationally ... in the time span of two decades. This is a victory for the Portuguese, for democracy, and for freedom.<sup>88</sup>

This antagonism towards the *Estado Novo* regime had already been explicitly mentioned by the President in his inauguration speech of the EXPO ’98, in May of 1998.

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<sup>87</sup> *Arquivo Jorge Sampaio*, Discurso de Abertura da EXPO 98, May 22nd 1998.

<sup>88</sup> *Arquivo Jorge Sampaio*, Sessão Solene comemorativa do Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas, June 10th 1998.

This idea that Portugal had officially and completely abandoned its colonial past due to the fall of the regime was also mentioned by prime-minister Cavaco Silva, in 1993. Cavaco Silva declared that Portugal had surpassed all traumas of the past, even if the real discussion of these same traumas was not that apparent. In both these interventions, the end of authoritarianism and colonialism are indissociable: colonialism and its impact in Portugal ended with the collapse of the authoritarian regime and, therefore, politicians were ready to close that chapter of national history without debating it properly.

### **Linking Stoler's concepts to this analysis**

Politicians throughout the 1990's, particularly in the first half of this decade, privileged the evocation of the most glorious side of the Portuguese colonial past without focusing particularly on debating the most violent episodes of this same past. When applying Stoler's views on the enduring effects of colonialism to the empirical analysis conducted in this chapter, some interesting conclusions can be drawn. Committed to distance Portugal as much as possible from its isolationist and dictatorial past, politicians in this decade antagonized the *Estado Novo* regime but, at the same time, promoted some values that the *Estado Novo* regime itself evoked during its period, particularly *lusotropicalist* values. When speaking about the colonial past, aphasic moments are discernible when politicians refer to the nefarious side of colonialism only implicitly or by euphemisms – as if the right words to define the episodes of colonial violence could not be found. This prolonged general 'aphasia' during this decade might be explained by a set of factors.

Firstly, due to having been a decade of public commemorations of the 'Portuguese Discoveries', the remembrance of this historical period as a strong symbol of Portuguese nationalism was often used for multiple political purposes, both of national and external affirmation. Its glorification has been a common practice long before democracy and, therefore, it has become an undisputed myth, deeply ingrained in Portugal's national identity throughout different regimes. Politicians across the political spectrum perceived, throughout this decade, the 'Portuguese Discoveries' as a real maritime adventure which helped the Portuguese connect with the rest of the world. In a way, its public glorification is an 'imperial debris', a 'ruin' of a now collapsed empire. However, this imperial 'ruin' does not necessarily lead to 'ruination', when adopting a critical stance towards this

episode in Portuguese history - as some politicians throughout the 1990's have done. Its celebration only becomes nefarious when its hyperglorification leads to an ethnocentric view of the past. When, for example, politicians perceived it as the landmark that enabled the Portuguese to 'give new worlds to the world', disregarding the violent aspect of that action.

Secondly, a *lusotropicalist* approach to the colonial past is perceptible across the political spectrum. Its values were readapted to fit into the domestic and foreign policy goals of a country committed to distance itself from an authoritarian past and establish itself as a European, Atlantic and modern democracy. In some interventions, the *lusotropicalist* myth is explicitly mentioned to portray Portuguese colonialism as having been more benevolent than other colonialisms, promoting, once more, an aphasic moment concerning the real violence perpetrated during this period. Although an 'imperial debris', *lusotropicalismo* was used throughout this decade as a political tool to renew Portugal's image to a postcolonial era. When associating the political discourse of the 1990's with the *lusotropicalist* rhetoric, the political appeal to Portuguese 'universalism' becomes an element that needs to be mentioned. In order to reject the assumption that Portugal is peripheral, this value is recurrently evoked. 'Universalism' is mentioned as an antidote for racism and xenophobia, as well as proof that Portugal is a tolerant nation, scattered across the world. Mentioned across the political spectrum, 'universalism' seems to be a fundamental characteristic of Portuguese nationalism of the 1990's, alluded in a positive manner by all politicians. This 'universalism', according to the analysed interventions, stemmed from the historical background of the Portuguese as navigators, and enabled them to spread a common language and bind different parts of the world through the process of miscegenation. However, once more, assuming that Portugal is a naturally tolerant country projects a certain immunity of the Portuguese to racism. For this reason, although commonly evoked as a way to combat xenophobia and racial discrimination, mentioning this value could lead to 'ruination', if it promoted lenient views on racism in Portugal.

Lastly, the introduction of *lusofonia* promoted a more nuanced discourse and prepared the Portuguese diplomatic relations with its former colonies for a new millennium. There was a cut with the dictatorial past, because politicians antagonized the *Estado Novo* regime but, at the same time, there was a *lusotropicalist* renewal of the postcolonial relations that Portugal had with its former colonies. Assuming that the connection between Portugal and its former colonies is merely affective and 'fraternal'

does not allow for a more serious discussion concerning the violent legacy of colonialism and, therefore, the aphasia is perpetuated.

### **Chapter III: The evocation of the Portuguese colonial past in 21<sup>st</sup> century Portuguese politics**

Chapter III will provide an analysis of relevant political interventions made by MPs and by the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Presidents of the Republic of Portugal [Jorge Sampaio (1996-2006), Aníbal Cavaco Silva (2006-2016) and Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa (2016-)], as well as other official policy documents crucial to understand the political trends concerning the memory of Portuguese colonialism throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century, from 2000 to 2020. However, some sources which were not directly produced within the formal political sphere will be taken into account in this chapter, such as statements produced by academics and a member of civil society, Beatriz Gomes Dias, not an elected MP at the time of the intervention. These statements will be included in this chapter because they are vital to understand the changes in political discourse, from 2000 to 2020. The development of the academic debate on the cultural impact of the Portuguese colonial past on Portuguese society, already dissected by secondary literature in Chapter I, will be here taken into particular consideration, as a guiding tool for this empirical analysis. The aim is to attempt to provide an answer to the third subquestion of this thesis: *how have Portuguese politicians evoked the memory of the Portuguese colonial past in their political discourse in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and how can that be explained?*

#### **Upkeeping the rhetoric of the late 1990's with minor changes**

The year 2000 saw the official visit of the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, to Portugal, to celebrate the Fifth Centenary of Pedro Álvares Cabral's arrival to Brazil. During that visit, President Jorge Sampaio would end the decade of celebrations of the 'Discoveries' with a heavier emphasis on the future, in detriment of the past: "In this reunion of 500 years of history, let us now look at ourselves as we are, in our present and in the great possibilities of our future." In this intervention, the President strived to be more conscientious of the difficulties experienced by former Portuguese colonies in their transition to a postcolonial reality - particularly Mozambique, Angola, and East Timor. Sampaio aimed to distance Portugal from the alleged ownership that critics attribute to it with regard to the Portuguese language: "We are all responsible for our language ... which neither of us owns". Albeit having chosen a more attentive approach on the historical process of the construction of Brazil as a country, the

Portuguese President did not fail to imply that Brazilian society was exceptionally tolerant, a characteristic attributed as well to the Portuguese, therefore highlighting the influence of the *lusotropicalist* doctrine in Portuguese democratic political discourse:

A multiple and fascinating construction, for sure, made of many contributions throughout the centuries, composed of many different people and achieved throughout a historical process that was based on blood as well as on dreams, on passion as well as on violence. The result of this construction was a society that, however unfair it may have been - and was -, proved to be more adept at the difficult art of creating unity out of differences than most other nations in the world!<sup>89</sup>

The extinction of the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, in 2002,<sup>90</sup> was proof that the Portuguese governments were refocusing on the defence and affirmation of the Portuguese language and culture as a “national aspiration”, in particular to the countries which comprised the lusophone space.<sup>91</sup>

Externally, the Portuguese governments’ priority towards its former colonies meant upholding the Portuguese language as a binding element to maintain cordial diplomatic relations. Although diplomatic relations remained enveloped in the idea of closeness and cooperation between countries with a shared colonial past, moments of explicit historical awareness started to arise. This greater sense of historical awareness started to show after a decade which mainly focused on the greatness of the national past and overlooked its less glorious side. In 2004, President of the Assembly João Mota Amaral explicitly mentioned that Portugal was not indifferent to what was happening in the former Portuguese colonies in postcoloniality - as President of the Republic Jorge Sampaio had already made clear in the year 2000. When addressing in Parliament the President of the Republic of Mozambique Joaquim Chissano, the President of the Assembly did not turn to euphemisms when describing the shared existence between Mozambique and Portugal:

Not everything turned out well in this encounter of peoples and cultures: the subjugation of the strongest over the weakest, the appropriation of native riches

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<sup>89</sup> *Arquivo Jorge Sampaio*, Cerimónia com o Presidente da República Federativa do Brasil, Torre de Belém, March 8th 2000.

<sup>90</sup> Decreto-Lei n.º 252/2002, Diário da República n.º 270/2002, Série I-A de 2002-11-22 <https://data.dre.pt/eli/dec-lei/252/2002/11/22/p/dre/pt/html> (Accessed on the 30th of July 2021).

<sup>91</sup> *Arquivo Histórico*, Programa do XV Governo Constitucional, page 28.

by the newcomers, endowed with the knowledge of modern techniques, the horrendous crimes of slavery, violently imposed to so many innocents, and the transatlantic slave trade of which, by the moral standards of today, we will never regret it enough, the brutal repression of insurrections of the indigenous peoples, in which one can discern the beginnings of the Mozambican national consciousness, here are some of the saddest pages of our shared path.<sup>92</sup>

Explicitly enumerating the phenomena of colonial violence contradicts the generalized tendency of ‘aphasia’ that seemed to characterize the diplomatic relations between Portugal and its former colonies in previous years. However, in order to empathize with Mozambique’s experience as a former colony, João Mota Amaral, as others politicians had done before him, antagonizes the *Estado Novo* regime, implying that both Portuguese and Mozambicans had a common perpetrator. In his words, “[t]he fascist and colonialist regime ... denied the Portuguese people the same freedoms as the colonized peoples.”<sup>93</sup> In a sense, choosing this approach was a way of distancing the democratic Portuguese government from having to take responsibility for the colonial actions of the previous regime. There was an increasing difficulty for politicians to officially assume historical responsibility for the acts committed during Portuguese colonialism. This can be attributed to the practical impossibility to hold accountable a dictatorship which no longer exists. Antagonizing a regime which no longer exists and blaming it for all the atrocities perpetrated during Portuguese colonialism impelled politicians to close this chapter in national history, without openly discussing its violent side.

In the programme of the 16<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government, designed for 2004 and 2005, the priority was to maintain the “bonds of friendship and cooperation”<sup>94</sup> with the official Portuguese-speaking countries under the aegis of the CPLP, due to the Portuguese “universalist vocation”.<sup>95</sup> Referring to the ‘Discoveries’ became a way for Portuguese politicians to encourage the economic exploration of the Portuguese exclusive economic zone (EEZ). The conscious attempt to use the ‘Discoveries’ as an aid for political discourse was further evidenced by the section of the programme dedicated to the economic exploitation of the Portuguese EEZ under the name of “matters of the Sea”. It

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<sup>92</sup>*Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of October 16th 2004, Sessão Solene de Boas-Vindas a Sua Excelência o Presidente da República de Moçambique Joaquim Chissano, IX Legislatura, sessão 3, N°013, page 663.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Arquivo Histórico*, Programa do XVI Governo Constitucional, page 11.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

would impel politicians in the following years to use the ‘Discoveries’ to also allude to the sea and its economic potential:

The Sea has meant, in Portugal's history, a condition for freedom and independence. The Sea should also mean, in the future of Portugal, an extraordinary opportunity to create wealth.<sup>96</sup>

From 2004 onwards, political discourse also focuses on the aptitude of the Portuguese to exploit the resources of the sea to their advantage, and not only the alleged adaptability of the Portuguese when encountering other cultures, as it happened in the previous decade. For example, the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ are evoked in Parliament by MP Alberto Antunes (PS) in 2006 to appeal to the modernization of Portugal’s maritime policies. In other words, to modernize and make the Portuguese ports more competitive when facing globalization.<sup>97</sup> However, this slight shift in discourse did not mean that Portuguese ‘universalism’ stopped being evoked by politicians. External factors such as the great financial instability that struck the country in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century compelled politicians to allude to the most patriotic traits of the Portuguese as well as their most renowned achievements, as a means of encouragement. Interventions produced by different MPs would demonstrate a continuation of associating the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ as an example of the first globalization and a stimulus to deepen economic activity sectors related to the sea. It was a way to keep affirming Portugal in Europe and in the world. A *lusotropicalist* discourse was maintained to both motivate the Portuguese to face the difficulties of the present and still affirm Portugal as a developed nation to Europe and the world. MP Luís Montenegro (PSD) alludes to the natural ability of the Portuguese to explore:

This adaptation to change, this unyielding will to succeed, this spirit of conquest and discovery is, in fact, in our genetic code. Today, as 600 years ago, we have to face new challenges, we have to seek new opportunities, we have to overcome storms.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>97</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of June 22nd 2006, Reunião plenária de 21 de Junho 2006, X Legislatura, sessão 1, N°137, page 6251.

<sup>98</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of October 31st 2012, Reunião plenária de 30 de Outubro 2012, XII Legislatura, sessão 2, N°018, pages 65 and 66.

While MP Guilherme Silva (PSD) when speaking to the Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) on October of the same year refers to the Portuguese exceptional ability to be ‘universalist’:

History attributes to the Portuguese Discoveries, in the 500's era (*Quinhentos*), the first globalization, which allowed to give ‘new worlds to the world’ and to definitively mark our culture with a universalist sense and understanding of the peoples, which still today is expressed in the CPLP.<sup>99</sup>

In the meantime, President Aníbal Cavaco Silva, successor of Jorge Sampaio, would perpetuate the idea of Portuguese ‘universalism’ in his official interventions throughout his mandate by evoking the exceptional nature of the Portuguese to spread across the globe and interact with others. Praising the historical tolerant nature of the Portuguese overshadowed, once more, the discussion on the violent episodes of Portuguese colonialism – since they were never explicitly mentioned in these same interventions.<sup>100</sup> The following excerpt from Cavaco Silva’s official speech on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April of 2010 demonstrates how ‘universalism’, deeply connected to the nation’s historical connection to the sea, was used as an incentive for the Portuguese to surpass more difficult times:

In a single century, we have revealed to Europe two thirds of the planet, traveling the coasts of all the continents ... and we have created a universal language. ... Portugal and the Portuguese need objectives that give them more cohesion, more self-esteem and more purpose to exist. The sea is certainly one of them.<sup>101</sup>

When looking into these political interventions, it is discernible that there were only slight changes in discourse when comparing to the prior decade. The programme of the 21<sup>st</sup> Constitutional Government (2015-2019) upheld the guidelines of the previous governments and maintained the promotion of the Portuguese language, in collaboration with the other members of the CPLP, as a foreign policy priority.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, the remembrance of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ continued to be less enthusiastic and now more often connected to the “matters of the Sea”. Hints of Portugal’s historical

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<sup>99</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Assembleia da União Interparlamentar (UIP) em Québec, de 21 a 26 de outubro 2012.

<sup>100</sup> Cardina, “O lugar do colonial”, 51-52.

<sup>101</sup> [https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/politica/cavaco-silva-os-discursos-de-abril\\_n822760](https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/politica/cavaco-silva-os-discursos-de-abril_n822760) (Accessed on the 27th of July 2021).

<sup>102</sup> *Arquivo Histórico*, Programa do XXI Governo Constitucional, page 246.

responsibility were given, but the explicit debate on how Portugal should politically deal with the legacies of its colonial past was not yet perceptible. The idea of ‘universalism’ was still used as a political tool to affirm the country both externally and domestically, and, therefore, the *lusotropicalist* mysticism that comes with it endured.

### **A promising start to accept the past in all its entirety**

Moving towards the end of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the public debate on the memory of the colonial past begins to take shape in a way which had never been done before. Some politicians start to explicitly urge that the episodes of colonial violence perpetrated in the past should be discussed, contradicting, therefore, the euphemisms often used by the political class in years prior. In a sense, the debate on the Portuguese colonial memory, which was already mature within academia, was progressively being transferred into the political formal sphere. This phenomenon might have multiple explanations. Firstly, there has been in recent years progressive attention given by media outlets to academics, through interviews, opinion articles and news pieces dedicated to historical themes. Secondly, some academics have become real political agents themselves, as elected MPs or participating in the preparation of official policy documents. This research cannot prove the influence of external factors in this change, but it remains a plausible possibility that, now that the major economic difficulties which had afflicted the country for years were dissipating, Portuguese society could now better devote itself to discussing the national past and what remained unacknowledged and unresolved.

The years of 2017 and 2018 harbour impactful occasions in which members of the formal political sphere were subject of scrutiny by vocal academics and members of antiracist civil society groups. The general lack of discussion amongst the political class towards the Portuguese empire’s role in slavery practices and the uncritical political remembrance of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ were now being questioned by other societal actors. Media coverage in Portugal on the topic of historical responsibility and the memory of Portuguese colonialism itself is apparent, in a time when, both domestically and internationally, the point of view of the colonized was now being given more attention to.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> For example, President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa’s 2017 visit to the *Maison des Esclaves* in Gorée Island, in Senegal, was subject of scrutiny by journalists and historians, who defended that the President

In 2017, mayor of Lisbon Fernando Medina (PS) proposes in his electoral programme the construction of a *Museu da Descoberta* which would contribute to the “reflection on that historical period in its multiple approaches, of an economic, scientific, cultural nature, in its more and less positive aspects, including a section dedicated to the theme of slavery”.<sup>104</sup> This proposition was soon countered in 2018 with an ‘open letter’, co-signed by more than 80 academics from different universities worldwide, contesting the use of the designation ‘Museum of Discoveries’, which they deemed to be historically incorrect, to name a museological project of this nature.<sup>105</sup> In this letter, scholars emphasize that the word ‘Discoveries’ is a remnant of the *Estado Novo*’s ideology and using it perpetuates an unnecessary mythification of this historical period. Furthermore, they point out to the eurocentrism underlying this term. The act of being ‘discovered’, for non-Europeans, is problematic: it reduces the alleged ‘discovered’ to “the role of being an object of the Portuguese discovering action, which was often violent”.<sup>106</sup> In their perspective, besides being outdated and ignoring the richness and complexity of the most recent academic debates concerning this historical period, it also merely values the Portuguese point of view of an action which encompassed the interaction of different peoples besides the Portuguese.

In this time period, politicians, academicians and members of civil society groups explicitly establish a connection between structural racism in Portuguese society and how Portuguese colonialism is remembered not only by the political class, but also by the rest of Portuguese society. In 2017, president of the civil society group *Djass (Associação de Afrodescendentes)* Beatriz Gomes Dias who - in 2019 - would be elected MP to represent the BE political party, also counters, in a sense, Fernando Medina’s project of building a *Museu da Descoberta* by proposing the construction of a *Memorial de homenagem às pessoas escravizadas* in Lisbon. This memorial envisioned to remember and pay homage to the victims of slavery practices. In an interview to *AfroLis* radio<sup>107</sup>, Beatriz Dias

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outlined the efforts of Portuguese historical figures to end slavery without publicly acknowledging the Portuguese empire’s centuries-long role in the Atlantic slave trade, choosing not to openly discuss this episode of great colonial violence. Examples of media coverage debating this issue are: Lucinda Canelas, “A memória da escravatura é ‘dolorosa de se ver’ e não cabe numa vitrine”, *Público*, April 29, 2017; Lusa, “Portugal reconheceu injustiça da escravatura quando a aboliu em 1761, diz Marcelo”, *Público*, April 13, 2017.

<sup>104</sup> Programa de governo da cidade de Lisboa 2017-2021, page 100.

<sup>105</sup> The letter can be seen in *Expresso* via this link: <https://expresso.pt/cultura/2018-04-12-A-controversia-sobre-um-Museu-que-ainda-nao-existe.-Descobertas-ou-Expansao-> (Accessed on the 28th of July 2021).

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> The interview can be heard in: <https://soundcloud.com/r-dio-afrolis/audio-169-memorial-as-vitimas-da-escravatura-em-lisboa> (Accessed on the 27th of July 2021).

explained that the discussion on racism in Portugal would be deepened if politicians explicitly identified the continuities of colonialism in the postcolonial period. She outlines that this project was not proposed by the Portuguese state, which “denies racism”. In her words, “as there is no racism, there is also no recognition, no reparation”. The triumphalist side of 'giving new worlds to the world' still supersedes the conversation about the oppression and violence of Portuguese colonialism. To defend her claim, Beatriz Gomes Dias mentions how there are innumerable monuments paying homage to the “golden age of the Discoveries” but there still does not exist memorials to the victims of colonial slavery in the Portuguese postcolonial toponomy.

In 2019, the most critical ideas from academia are officially transferred to the Portuguese political sphere. Colonial continuities identified by academics in years prior, such as the permeability of the *lusotropicalist* doctrine in postcoloniality and the generalized silences in political discourse concerning the issue of colonial violence were explicitly mentioned by MPs in at least two occasions. MP Isabel Alves Moreira (PS), when speaking in Parliament about structural racism in Portuguese society, would firstly criticize, in an implied manner, the assumption that the Portuguese are exceptionally tolerant:

If there is one thing that has been globalized it is racism. The championship of which society is more or less racist makes no sense; all societies that participated in the colonial process or benefited from it are. It is structural and historical. The problem is the old official discourse of denial.<sup>108</sup>

Moreover, when mentioning the endurance of *luso-tropicalismo*, she establishes the explicit connection between structural racism and the endurances of the colonial past:

We have a history with a recent colonial past that obviously has its consequences, with a propaganda that still has today its repercussions, ... of *luso-tropicalismo*, with a past of forced labour that ended legally in 1961 but ended much later - we have reflections of all this ...<sup>109</sup>

The parliamentary report created by the *Subcomissão para a Igualdade e Não Discriminação*<sup>110</sup> on the impact and sources of racism, xenophobia and ethnic

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<sup>108</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of March 14th 2019, Reunião plenária de 13 de Março 2019, XIII Legislatura, sessão 4, N°061, page 46.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, page 50.

<sup>110</sup> The *Subcomissão para a Igualdade e Não Discriminação* is a subcommittee to the *Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias*, which is a committee from the *Assembleia da*

discrimination in Portugal, formally materialized the real influence the ideas from academia had on the discourse of the formal political sphere, due to the active participation of scholars in its elaboration. The creation of this report was possible due to a series of hearings with anti-racist civil society groups, scholars and MPs, who particularly emphasized that systemic racism is a long-lasting legacy of Portuguese colonialism. According to this document, two of the most targeted communities in Portugal are the afro-descendant community, in which “its history is strongly linked to Portuguese colonialism”, and the Brazilian community, which shares with Portugal “a deep historical link”.<sup>111</sup> Throughout different hearings, participants urge for historical acknowledgement of the colonial past and its postcolonial repercussions, not only by the political class, but also by the rest of Portuguese society. Both scholars and MPs propose a set of possible measures, which involve the development of a more inclusive point of view on the history of the Portuguese colonial past in both school curriculums and in the agendas of political parties, taking into account different perspectives other than the Portuguese. MPs Beatriz Gomes Dias (BE) and João Costa (PS) called for a different approach from the curricular point of view about the interaction of the Portuguese with other peoples. According to João Costa, the history of the “discoveries” should be told as well “from the [the peoples that were] allegedly discovered”<sup>112</sup>, an idea which had been already publicly outlined by scholars in 2018. Moreover, anthropologist and former MP Miguel Vale de Almeida argued that Portuguese society needs to abandon “the legacy of the dictatorship in the way we think about racism”<sup>113</sup>, in which the uniqueness of Portuguese colonialism is still defended. Already in this report, it is explicit that, within the formal political sphere, some politicians perceive the *lusotropicalist* discourse as an endurance which needs to be erased in postcoloniality.

In 2020, MP Joacine Katar Moreira (*N insc.*)<sup>114</sup>, when proposing a renewal of the “antiracist pact in Portuguese society”, addresses researcher Cláudia Castelo’s work and

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*República*. The subcommittee which elaborated this report was active between December 18, 2015 to October, 2019. <https://www.parlamento.pt/sites/COM/XIVLeg/1CACDLG/Paginas/Subcomissoes.aspx> (Accessed on the 9<sup>th</sup> of August 2021).

<sup>111</sup> *Catálogos Gerais da Assembleia da República, Relatório sobre Racismo, Xenofobia e Discriminação Étnico-racial em Portugal*, Assembleia da República, Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias, Subcomissão para a Igualdade e Não Discriminação, 16<sup>th</sup> of July 2019, page 5.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, 91.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, 52.

<sup>114</sup> This MP did not represent any political party in Parliament.

uses this research to justify the connection between the *lusotropicalist* doctrine and the existent lenient views on racism in Portuguese society:

In Portugal, the mythology of a supposed exceptionalism of Portuguese colonialism, allegedly with a special humanist, spiritual and universal vocation, was ... constructed ... Not even the 25th of April, which was also the consequence of a violent colonial war, and despite political decolonization, managed to overcome this ideological consensus of a supposed colonialism where all races would live together in peace. Even today, the *lusotropicalist* legacy persists.<sup>115</sup>

In the summer of 2020, the debate on the memory of the Portuguese colonial past developed once more within the formal political sphere, which was strongly influenced by external factors and the pressure of other actors within the public sphere. Civil movements throughout Europe deemed anti-racist and anti-colonialist were defacing material representations which glorified national pasts and all that they encompassed. In Portugal, questioning enduring material representations which were either built before democracy or represented controversial figures of the colonial past became more recurrent in the public sphere. Amongst the political class, an intervention in response to the development of this debate arose and was voiced by MP André Ventura (CH), who defends that these symbols are inherent to the Portuguese national identity or, in his words, to the “Portuguese material heritage”.<sup>116</sup> This MP explicitly associates those who question the colonial endurances present in the Portuguese postcolonial toponomy with a “left who insists on erasing the Portuguese past and rewrite it under its own optics”.<sup>117</sup> The attempt to polarize this debate within the political sphere adds one more layer to its development, which should be further analysed in the future. This intervention only comes to show that, in fact, the colonial past is intrinsic to Portuguese nationalism and the country’s identity, and exposing the ‘ruinations’ its colonial endurances can provoke becomes even more of a complex task.

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<sup>115</sup> *Catálogos da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of May 13th 2020, Projeto de Resolução nº 458/XIV/1ª Campanha Nacional Renovar o Pacto Antirracista na Sociedade Portuguesa, XIV Legislatura, sessão 1, Nº087, page 32 and 33.

<sup>116</sup> *Catálogos da Assembleia da República*, Diário da Assembleia da República of June 17th 2020, Projeto de Lei nº451/XIV/1ª Pela defesa do património material português e da importância da totalidade dos monumentos públicos em especial todos aqueles que representem feitos, símbolos ou figuras de reconhecido mérito histórico, XIV Legislatura, sessão 1, Nº 105, pages 22 and 23.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

## Linking Stoler's concepts to this analysis

In order to answer the third and final subquestion, Stoler's theoretical framework will be applied to the analysis done of the political discourse throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In a sense, with the new century, there was an endurance of the same 'imperial debris' which persisted in the 1990's, with a few minor changes. The same antagonism towards the *Estado Novo* regime, visible in the 1990's, has been identified at least once during the time-span in analysis. Assuming that antagonizing a regime that no longer exists will solve the past and that this past will not need to be further discussed, leads to the persistence of 'imperial debris', which in turn leads to 'ruination'.

It is worth outlining that the predominant discourse of the 1990s that was based on 'universalism' and the exceptional tolerance of the Portuguese continued, and the 'aphasia' that this *lusotropicalist* discourse provoked was perpetuated. In this case, rhetoric influenced by *lusotropicalist* values proves to lead to 'ruination', since it provokes a lack of discussion and, therefore, 'colonial aphasia'. Moreover, adopting a *lusotropicalist* rhetorical approach might promote lenient views on racism. This trend, long prevailing in the formal political sphere, has been contradicted particularly by politicians who have transferred ideas from the academic debate to the political debate in the last years of the 2010's.

The evocation of the 'Portuguese Discoveries' was more often associated to economic purposes, particularly to encourage the development of the economic sectors connected to the exploitation of the sea. This historical period continued to be mythicized by politicians throughout these last two decades, even if there was indeed a slight change in discourse concerning its remembrance. The endeavour to criticize its uncritical remembrance has been mostly done by other societal actors other than politicians, and the arguments these actors put forward align with the development of the academic debate on this theme. However, 2019 was the year in which some politicians formally acknowledged the dangers of ethnocentrism when remembering this historical period. This 'imperial debris', which may lead to 'ruination' if its hyperglorification overshadows the less glorious themes of the colonial past, has been in most recent years under more scrutiny than in previous decades.

The concept of *lusofonia* has continued to shape postcolonial relations between Portugal and its former colonies. Remembering a shared past based, first and foremost, on affection and 'fraternal' bonds was still commonly mentioned throughout the first

programmes of the Constitutional Governments of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. A *lusotropicalist* rhetoric persisted, allied to a greater emphasis given to the dissemination of the Portuguese language in most recent years. The programme of the 21<sup>st</sup> Constitutional Government, however, was careful to establish that Portugal was not the exclusive owner of the Portuguese language. It remains to be seen, when engaging in a more specific investigation on the contemporary postcolonial relations between the CPLP countries, if there is a persistence of hegemonic cultural aspirations within these diplomatic dynamics.

## Conclusion

The Presidential speech on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 2021 reflected on the traumas of the national past and the impact they still have on the Portuguese collective. In doing so, the President urged the Portuguese people to look upon authoritarianism, colonialism, the colonial wars and the decolonization without forgetting or hiding what these episodes truly were. This speech represented an important step to the evolution of the discussion within the formal political sphere about this complex past.<sup>118</sup> This thesis has discerned how Portuguese politicians have evoked the memory of the Portuguese colonial past from 1990 to 2020 and it attempted to understand how could their discourse be explained. In fact, during this time-span, the endurance of particular colonial values manifested in political rhetoric promoted a general tendency of ‘colonial aphasia’, which has only been more strongly objected to in most recent years.

For Portuguese politicians, the end of the dictatorship also meant the end of the Portuguese colonial era. Throughout the 1990's until, at least, 2004, different politicians antagonized the *Estado Novo* regime, aiming for a political detachment from the authoritarian and colonial past. This antagonism led politicians to promote the idea that this chapter in Portuguese national history was closed, and that all collective traumas provoked by it had been overcome. It prevented a deeper debate on the Portuguese colonial past within the formal political sphere. The political distancing towards the colonial past led to a continuation of colonial values or, to use Stoler's terminology, to an endurance of ‘imperial debris’ which provoked ‘ruination’. The durability of these ‘imperial debris’ created an ‘aphasia’, a difficulty for Portuguese politicians to publicly acknowledge the reality of the most violent episodes harboured in the Portuguese colonial past, such as the slavery practices of the Portuguese colonial empire. Throughout the 1990's and at least the first 17 years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a *lusotropicalist* discourse endured. Politicians alluded to the past achievements of the Portuguese - particularly the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’ - to justify the Portuguese ‘universalism’. ‘Universalism’ becomes, throughout the decades, a value deeply ingrained in Portuguese nationalism, in order to justify the Portuguese exceptional tolerance and adaptability to different environments, which allegedly stemmed from a past of historical miscegenation and cultural exchange. The durability of the *lusotropicalist* rhetoric, which has been felt

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<sup>118</sup> <https://www.presidencia.pt/atualidade/toda-a-atualidade/2021/04/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-na-sessao-solene-comemorativa-do-47-o-aniversario-do-25-de-abril/> (Accessed on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 2021).

throughout the entire time-span in analysis, is also materialized in the discourse of politicians in relation to the past shared between Portugal and its former colonies (all members of the CPLP and the lusophone space). The colonial violence harboured in this same past is somehow downplayed and overshadowed by an ongoing political discourse which emphasizes the ‘fraternal’ aspect of this shared past over its destructive side.

The lack of discussion on the phenomena of colonial violence, which symbolizes an enduring ‘colonial aphasia’, has been contested in most recent years. Particularly from 2017 onwards, other actors, such as antiracist civil society groups and scholars started to gain media attention and played a significant role in attempting to change the predominant discourse on the memory of Portuguese colonialism within the political sphere. The main academic debates on Portuguese colonialism and its impact on postcoloniality were now more attentive to the historical suffering of the colonized and others who went through hardships during the Portuguese colonial period. These ideas developed by academics were transferred from the academic sphere to the formal political sphere between 2017 and 2020. The most recent developments of this academic debate enabled the evolvement of stronger intellectual arguments which would later on be used by politicians. These arguments were useful to object to the uncritical evocation of the ‘Portuguese Discoveries’, to identify *lusotropicalist* values in political rhetoric, and to publicly acknowledge the episodes of colonial violence.

Although this research did not privilege the impact that political ideology has on how the past is viewed, this aspect proved to be more important than expected. For future research, it would be interesting to study how each side of the political spectrum views the Portuguese colonial past, and assess the real impact political ideology has on its memory. The effect other societal actors might have in shaping the memory of the colonial past is also an aspect that should not be overlooked. This investigation demonstrated that studies on the memory conveyed by politicians should also take into account the strong influence external actors can exert in shaping this political discourse. It is important to take into account that this colonial past was shared by multiple countries, other than Portugal. This research, focused merely on the Portuguese case, would benefit from other similar case-studies being conducted on the topic in countries that once were former Portuguese colonies. Are there phenomena of ‘imperial debris’ and ‘colonial aphasia’ in the political discourse of countries formerly colonised by the Portuguese empire?

## Appendix A

### Occasions and type of sources analysed in this thesis

Years	Interventions in Parliament <sup>119</sup>	Presidential speeches	Policy documents <sup>120</sup>	Media outlets
<b>1990</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President of the Assembly in in occasion of the official state visit of the President of the Republic of India Ramaswaml Venkataraman to Portugal (2<sup>nd</sup> of April)</li> <li>• MP Rui Silva (17<sup>th</sup> of April)</li> <li>• MP Carlos Brito (17<sup>h</sup> of April)</li> </ul>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Suplemento</i> N°001 (17<sup>th</sup> of October)</li> <li>• <i>Suplemento</i> N°019 (21<sup>st</sup> of February)</li> </ul>	-
<b>1991</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MP António Barreto (14<sup>th</sup> of February)</li> <li>• MP Narana Coissoró (8<sup>th</sup> of March)</li> <li>• MP Manuel Alegre (17<sup>th</sup> of June)</li> <li>• MP Miguel Urbano Rodrigues (17<sup>th</sup> of June)</li> </ul>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Grandes Opções do Plano para 1991</i></li> <li>• Programa do XII Governo Constitucional (1991-1995)</li> </ul>	-
<b>1993</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MP João Granja da Fonseca (5<sup>th</sup> of January)</li> <li>• MP Filipe Abreu (26<sup>th</sup> of January)</li> <li>• Prime-Minister Cavaco Silva speaking in Parliament (1<sup>st</sup> of July)</li> </ul>	-	-	-
<b>1995</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MP Manuel Alegre (16<sup>th</sup> of June)</li> </ul>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Programa do XIII Governo</li> </ul>	-

<sup>119</sup> Some entries in this table do not specify the occasion in which a given intervention was produced. This means the memory of the Portuguese colonial past was evoked in political debates in Parliament which varied in topic and did not pertain to any particular official political event.

<sup>120</sup> By policy documents it is here meant the programmes of each Constitutional Government from 1991 to 2019; Parliamentary reports; draft legislation; governmental programmes and budget plans.

			Constitucional (1995-1999)	
<b>1996</b>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CPLP inauguration speech – 17<sup>th</sup> of July (Jorge Sampaio)</li> </ul>	-	-
<b>1998</b>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Opening speech at EXPO '98 – 22<sup>nd</sup> of May (Jorge Sampaio)</li> <li>Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas – 10<sup>th</sup> of June (Jorge Sampaio)</li> <li>Fifth Centenary of the Discoveries in Parliament - 15<sup>th</sup> of June (Jorge Sampaio)</li> </ul>	-	-
<b>1999</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Programa do XIV Governo Constitucional (1999-2002)</li> </ul>	-
<b>2000</b>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Jorge Sampaio addressing the President of Brazil - 8<sup>th</sup> of March</li> </ul>	-	-
<b>2002</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Programa do XV Governo Constitucional (2002-2004)</li> </ul>	-
<b>2004</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>President of the Assembly in occasion of the official state visit of the President of Mozambique Joaquim Chissano to Portugal (16<sup>th</sup> of October)</li> </ul>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Programa do XVI Governo Constitucional (2004-2005)</li> </ul>	-
<b>2005</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Programa do XVII Governo Constitucional (2005-2009)</li> </ul>	-
<b>2006</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>MP Alberto Antunes (21<sup>st</sup> of June)</li> </ul>	-	-	-
<b>2009</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Programa do XVIII Governo Constitucional (2009-2011)</li> </ul>	-

<b>2010</b>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cavaco Silva's speech on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April commemorations</li> </ul>	-	-
<b>2011</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Programa do XIX Governo Constitucional (2011-2015)</li> </ul>	-
<b>2012</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MP Guilherme Silva (21<sup>st</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> of October)</li> <li>• MP Luís Montenegro (30<sup>st</sup> of October)</li> </ul>	-	-	-
<b>2015</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Programa do XXI Governo Constitucional (2015-2019)</li> </ul>	-
<b>2017</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Programa de Governo da Cidade de Lisboa 2017-2021</li> <li>• Orçamento Participativo de Lisboa</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Beatriz Dias' interview to <i>Afrolis</i> radio (7<sup>th</sup> of December)</li> </ul>
<b>2018</b>	-	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open letter published in <i>Expresso</i> (12<sup>th</sup> of April)</li> </ul>
<b>2019</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MP Isabel Alves Moreira (13<sup>th</sup> of March)</li> </ul>	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relatório sobre Racismo, Xenofobia e Discriminação Étnico-racial em Portugal (16<sup>th</sup> of July)</li> </ul>	-
<b>2020</b>	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Projeto de Resolução N°458/XIV/1<sup>a</sup> – (13<sup>th</sup> of May)</li> <li>• Projeto de Lei N° 451/XIV/1<sup>a</sup> – (17<sup>th</sup> of June)</li> </ul>	-

## Appendix B

### List of Portuguese political parties mentioned throughout this analysis in alphabetical order

BE – *Bloco de esquerda* (Left Bloc)



CDS-PP – *Centro Democrático Social - Partido Popular* (People's Party)



CH – *Chega* (no translation available)



PCP – *Partido Comunista Português* (Portuguese Communist Party)



PRD – *Partido Renovador Democrático* (Democratic Renewal Party)<sup>121</sup>



PS – *Partido Socialista* (Socialist Party)



PSD – *Partido Social Democrata* (Social Democratic Party)



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<sup>121</sup> This political party was extinct in 2000.

## Appendix C

### Portuguese to English translation of Portuguese terms in alphabetical order

*Assembleia da República* – Portuguese Parliament

*Comissão de Assuntos Constitucionais, Direitos, Liberdades e Garantias* – Committee to Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Freedoms and Guarantees

*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* – Community of Countries of Official Portuguese Language

*Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas* - Day of Portugal, of Camões and the Portuguese Communities

*Djass (Associação de Afrodescendentes)* – Djass (Association of Afro-descendants)

*Lusofonia* – Lusophony

*Luso-tropicalismo* – Lusotropicalism

*Memorial de homenagem às pessoas escravizadas* – Memorial to the Enslaved

*Museu da Descoberta* – Museum of Discoveries

*Padrão dos Descobrimentos* – Monument to the Discoveries

*Revolução dos Cravos* – Carnation Revolution

*Subcomissão para a Igualdade e Não Discriminação* - Subcommittee for Equality and Non-discrimination

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Programa do XII Governo Constitucional (1991-1995)

Programa do XIII Governo Constitucional (1995-1999)

Programa do XIV Governo Constitucional (1999-2002)

Programa do XVI Governo Constitucional (2002-2004)

Programa do XVII Governo Constitucional (2005-2009)

Programa do XVIII Governo Constitucional (2009-2011)

Programa do XIX Governo Constitucional (2011-2015)

Programa do XXI Governo Constitucional (2015-2019)

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