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1

Introduction: Portugal, Empire, and Migrations – Was There Ever an Autonomous Social Imperial Space?

Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen

It is a well-established understanding in historiography that empire building is closely linked to human migration, both as a cause and a consequence. The historiography on the subject is rich, with many articles and books about the movement of metropolitan people to the colonies as well as colonised individuals and groups moving within the empire and to the metropole (the mother country) during and after empire. As noted by many, the coincidence between empire and migration is not perfect since many people migrated during empire but outside the formal imperial space or within the imperial space but before or after formal subjugation. Still, the coincidence remains very important.[1]

What is less clear is whether empire building can – and historically did – result in the formation of *autonomous social spaces* of migration. By that, we mean spaces developed originally by metropolitan societies, but which became autonomous from the metropole and broader than the political space in which movement takes place at the demand of, above all, the state and large companies. Said differently, did empire create spaces which became quasi-natural for individuals and social groups within them and which had lasting significance, notably after the empire disintegrated?

It is our hypothesis that empires can create such autonomous social spaces of migration, though not necessarily during the formal period of subjugation. It is the aim of this book to investigate whether this process took place in the case of the Portuguese empire specifically. The Portuguese case is of particular value since Portugal was the first to engage in empire building in modern times and the last to decolonise (in 1975); hence it was the one with the most potential to create such an autonomous space of migration. In relation to the Portuguese-speaking historiography, this question is important because there is today much discussion about the heritage of empire, notably

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in relation to language and to an alleged natural connection between countries formerly colonised.

Before we push this discussion further and before we engage in case studies, we need to discuss some key concepts and historical dynamics in relation to migration, empire, and Portugal, to avoid misunderstandings. We need in particular to look at what kind of empire the Portuguese created and what the term *diaspora* means. The concepts of empire and diaspora have become so popular and prevalent that they are now polysemic and thus very problematic to use unless defined narrowly and precisely. Later in this introduction, we will examine the issue of imperial migrations, ideology, and heritage so as to be able to think critically about what happened after the Portuguese Empire ended, not least in relation to the alleged emergence of a lusophone identity.

Portugal, Empire, and imperialism

The concept of empire has today become so protean in the social sciences that it defies anyone from engaging in comparison. We will not enter here in a discussion about what an empire is generally speaking, but in relation to Portugal specifically. Our question is what kind of empire was the Portuguese Empire?

To start with, we need to distance ourselves from the generic concept of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in their book *Empire* (2001), which is based on the idea that capitalism has (almost) achieved its global expansion and that there is therefore no more imperialism (or only one single imperialism). Indeed, this is not a helpful point of departure, and it contradicts all the studies about capitalist expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries that led to the launch of colonial empires (not to mention the ancient and medieval empires). These studies do indicate a capitalist advance of course, but not one towards a teleological path to totality. On the contrary, they show many historical paths marked by indigenisation and the continuation of older modes of production, leading to what Marxist anthropologists and others have called an 'articulation of modes of production' (Rey 1971; Meillassoux 1960, 1964, 1975; Berman and Lonsdale 1992; Bayart 1994). These articulations had major consequences – for example, intercontinental migrations and major inter-African migrations (between countries as well as from the rural to the urban) – and this led to such articulations taking specific forms. In other words, there cannot be one Empire (except as a theoretical idealtype): historically there were and presumably will continue to be many empires that follow specific historical trajectories.

In the present book, we adopt the hypothesis that Portuguese imperialism was not of a special nature or exceptional; for example, that it would be uneconomic (Hammond 1966). We reckon instead that it belongs to the family of European imperialism and was driven by the same global factors

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driving capitalist economic expansion – a search for new markets and primary resources. This is not to say that there are no particular nuances or that we underestimate political or cultural aspects (Clarence-Smith 1985; Cahen 1987, 1995). It is rather an argument that the fundamental dynamics of imperialism were similar in the Portuguese case to those of other European metropoles. This is the premise from which our analysis needs to begin.

Of course the Portuguese Empire had particularities, but the main one is probably due simply to its historiography, which includes an influential thesis about the exceptionality of the Portuguese case. This thesis is quite old, emerging at first within Portuguese nationalism itself, and it was integrated in different ways and different places in the academic literature in Portugal as well as abroad: from within the most classic Lusotropicalism to a national-Christian ideology, and Third Worldism (see below). A more recent theoretical development (in the 1960s) even argues that Portuguese colonialism would have been a 'subaltern colonialism' since the metropole was itself a 'neo-colony' or an 'informal colony' of Great Britain. Portugal's colonies would therefore be territories held by procuration, second-degree colonies of other empires, to the point that its colonised people would not have clearly known who their master really was. Put forward by the historian Perry Anderson in 1961–2 (under the title 'ultracolonialism'; see more below), the argument was recently revived by the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos. He argues not only that Portugal was an informal British colony but that, since the 17th century, 'the dominance of discourses emanating from the British imperial space during the colonial period that sought to explain the nature of the current world order meant that it was difficult for those inhabiting the Lusophone space to voice experiences that did not match those of the British empire'.[2] From there he argues further:

> Could it be that the Portuguese colonized people have a double problem of self-representation: vis-à-vis the colonizer who colonized them, and vis-à-vis the colonizer who, not having colonized them, has nonetheless written the history of their colonial subjugation. Or, on the contrary, could it be that the problem of self-representation of the Portuguese colonizer creates a chaotic disjunction between the subject and the object of colonial representation which, in turn, creates a field apparently empty of representations (but in fact full of sub-codified representations) that gives the colonized enough leeway to attempt their self-subalternity? The question here is to determine whether those colonized by a subaltern colonialism are under-colonized or over-colonized. (Santos 2002, 11)

It is not our aim here to deny the relative dependence of Portugal in relation to the United Kingdom but rather to evaluate its importance. First, Sousa

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Santos seems strangely to ignore other influences, notably the influence of Republican France on its imperial project and the capacity of Portugal itself to influence other empires.[3] And, since he goes back to the 17th century, how could he ignore the Dutch influence, so crucial in this period? More importantly, saying that Portugal was an informal British colony (until when?) and to deduce from this fact that its imperialism constructed only a subaltern colonialism can mean only that Portugal belonged to the periphery of the world, much like what was called later the Third World. The concept of 'semi-periphery',[4] often advanced to describe such a situation, does not resolve the contradiction in thinking, for it does not resolve the incompatibility between a Portugal which would have belonged to the *periphery of the center* and a country whose economic backwardness would have put it outside of the center, that is, in the *periphery of the world*. Unless we push the theorisation further and argue that, since the mid-19th century, there existed a stabilised category of intermediate countries. Such a hypothesis, hazy as it is (though it is common today to refer to emerging countries), is problematic though when we talk of the formation of imperial hegemony. It is true that countries in an America which still hesitated calling itself Latin (Bethel 2010) were not comparable to African states and African peoples that European powers were about to conquer; hence they could be called intermediate. But, as different as they may have been, they still belonged to the periphery of the capitalist world in expansion – part of a heterogeneous periphery, like the center itself, both produced by historical capitalism (Wallerstein 1996). In the case of Portugal, what we are talking about is an expanding metropole, part of a heterogeneous capitalist center.

To admit the heterogeneity of the capitalist center does not mean we question the latter's existence or nature. Instead it allows us to understand, in the *longue durée*, that, as cofounder with Genoa and Castile of the capitalist world system (Wallerstein 1996), Portugal remained at its historical heart. Had this not been the case, Portugal would not have remained independent; it would have lost its independence like Morocco. And even less would it have kept its empire; at best it would have lost its colonies to Western powers, like Turkey lost hers.

Paradoxically, the ideological notion that Portugal would have been a subaltern country has been reinforced by the Carnation Revolution, since a section of the April 1974 captains and the Portuguese Left theorised the quasi belonging of Portugal to the Third World – something which permitted it to claim a Lusitanian capacity to retain or build exceptional nonimperialist connections with Third World countries – in a kind of South-South relationship. Indeed, the Lusotropicalist myth (often referred to or discussed in this volume) about the innate quality of the Portuguese relation with the Tropics, even if it be painted red, continued after 1975.

William-Gervase Clarence-Smith (1985) has already dealt with some of these issues, countering, for example, Perry Anderson's thesis, which

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analysed Portugal as a case of ultracolonialism because of its alleged weakness (Anderson 1961–2). Anderson was not arguing that a European country maintained the link to its empire against a European integration. On the contrary, he showed that the Portuguese bourgeoisie wished to further integrate into Europe (in this sense, he disagreed with the future subalternist school), but its uncompetitive productive apparatus led it to keep its empire so as to be able to sell low-cost products in Europe. This hypothesis has been undermined by history, however; if the Portuguese Estado Novo regime could not survive decolonisation, Portuguese capitalism certainly did (Cahen 2008). It is worth quoting here extensively from the introduction of Clarence-Smith's book *The Third Portuguese Empire*:

> The origins of this book go back to the frustration which I felt when writing my doctoral thesis on southern Angola in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The emphasis of the thesis was on the African response to conquest, but I kept trying to find out why the Portuguese were there at all and what they were attempting to achieve. The standard answer[5] was that the Portuguese had no economic interest in empire and were motivated entirely by humiliated national pride.[6] If any region should have fitted this hypothesis it was southern Angola, an impoverished area on the edges of the Kalahari desert. And yet, the further I got into archives and libraries, the more uneasy I felt with the idea.
>
> There was an alternative explanation available, or rather a rider to the first one: Britain was using Portugal as a kind of 'front man' for its own imperial ambitions. This had the advantage of conciliating the idea that Portuguese colonialism was uneconomic with the Leninist theory of imperialism, according to which a country had to be bursting with surplus investment funds in order to expand. Portugal clearly did not fit the Leninist bill, whereas Britain equally clearly did. *The only hitch with this neat logical construction was that it did not mesh with the information which I was turning up, for Portugal was not a puppet of Britain and the interests of the two countries clashed constantly in the colonial field.* [our emphasis]
>
> The hypothesis with which I ended up is not original, but it is far more satisfactory. The driving force behind imperial expansion was the search for markets, to which I would add a constant preoccupation with the need for foreign exchange, in short a renewed mercantilism. Portugal, a developing but weak capitalist country, fitted perfectly with this explanation. […]
>
> [Yet] I am no economic determinist, nor even 'in the last instance', and there is a place for understanding the autonomy of political and ideological motivations for Portuguese expansion. (Clarence-Smith 1985, vii)

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Another very important aspect of Clarence-Smith's book is that it showed that Portuguese imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries could not be understood merely within the political sphere controlled formally by Lisbon (that is to say, basically Portugal's African colonies); one has to include Brazil, even when one looks at the link between Portugal and Africa during the modern period (Alencastro 2000). Including Brazil in the equation causes the famous question of the lack of global profitability of Portuguese imperialism to collapse. Economic and financial links between Portugal and its former colony had developed dramatically since the latter's independence, and the same can be said about migration (leading to anti-Portuguese feelings in Brazil, which had a role in the collapse of the Brazilian Empire in 1889).[7]

In sum, it cannot be assumed that, because one country is in a situation of relative dependency to another, the former would become a colony, even an informal colony, of the latter and that the country would develop therefore a subaltern form of colonialism. All empirical research shows that the natives of the Portuguese colonies did not have much doubt about their identity as colonised and did not resent Britain behind Portugal. Conversely, when the Portuguese fought wars of conquest and, later, of counter insurrection – with many mass massacres (Pélissier 2004) – they battled with a clear and confident Portuguese nationalist conscience. And the latter was fully comparable to that of other imperialism and in no way subaltern, even if the Portuguese sometimes had to capitulate in the face of demands from Great Britain and even if these capitulations had considerable long-term political consequences. As to Africans, the coloniser they faced was definitely the Portuguese, to the point that some chose to side with the Germans during the First World War to try to get rid of the Portuguese (as illustrated in Sérgio Inácio Chichava's chapter). Of course there were instances of a state within the state, whether formalised (e.g. the charter companies in Mozambique) or not (e.g. Diamang in Angola), which express the weakness of Portugal. While, such companies also existed in other empires, the ones in the Portuguese colonies stopped operating late, only between 1929 and 1942. But Salazar's nationalism had a very concrete impact, notably at the economic level, and one should not underestimate it because of Portugal's alliance with Britain.

In the case of the charter companies, such as the Companhia de Moçambique (with mostly British, some French, and very little Portuguese capital), one can look at how the Governo do Território de Manica e Sofala strived to 'Portugalise' its administration (governor, administrators, police, money), including showing favoritism for the Roman Catholic Church at the expense of Protestant missions, to understand that the company took very seriously the fact that it was part of the Portuguese Empire. Determining 'whether the people colonised by a subaltern colonialism are under-colonized or over-colonized' (Santos 2002, 11) may sound tempting as a consequence of a purely theoretical thesis of subaltern colonialism,

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but it did not exist on the ground, historically speaking, for two reasons: (1) because it is simply historically impossible that a subaltern colonialism could independently exist from the end of the 17th century to 1974; (2) because the daily life of the native population in the Portuguese Empire (whether forced workers or the infinitesimal stratum of assimilated people) was not the life of a subcolonised people (either under- or overcolonised) but the life of colonised subjects *tout court*.

We have discussed the Portuguese Empire at such length for a good reason. The question under examination – whether the Portuguese Empire generated an autonomous social space of migration for the colonial population (this book will only marginally discuss the movement of colonised people; see below) – cannot be answered on the basis of the idea that the Portuguese Empire is somehow different. Essentially, the Portuguese Empire was not different from other empires. Hence, if the answer to our question is negative (i.e. the modern Portuguese Empire did not generate an autonomous social space of migration), it would not be because the Portuguese Empire was subaltern.

Again, it is true that the economic, financial, military, and political power of Lisbon was inferior to that of London and Paris. But it is a difference of degree, not of nature. Besides, it was not a difference to be noticed by the native people who were subjugated by the Portuguese. In other words, these differences between forms of imperialism do not remove the Portuguese from the family of modern European imperialism, springing from the expansion of the world system – on the contrary. Hence, the questions that we ask in this volume in relation to migration and colonies are exactly the same that one might want to ask about the other empires: (a) whether the migration that took place could form, in a major empire, a space politically circumscribed which would become not so much a natural as a social space of migration, (b) what was the impact of these migrations in the process of the formation of empire, and (c) what was the impact and legacy of such a space after empire. Needless to say, once this is agreed upon, we will be the first to recognise – and highlight in the present volume – the particularities of the Portuguese situation *between* and *within* the empires of this family of European imperialism. The fact that the Portuguese Empire was built on a long tradition of empires, that it had specific cultural traits (e.g. a singular national culture, a strong Catholicism, many vibrant imperial myths), and that it had unique social and demographic characters (e.g. strong petty-white milieus, old and highly heterogeneous Creole communities), leads us to the question of diaspora and colonial communities.

The Portuguese Empire, diaspora, and communities

The historical period covered in this volume is the short colonial 20th century, a period hardly comparable, in terms of migrations, to the previous

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centuries of merchant and slave trade. Emigration towards the first Asian and the second Brazilian Portuguese Empires was small in absolute numbers, but it constituted a very important and lengthy effort for a weakly populated motherland. The demographic effects of these movements of population were also very different, since they were migrations for life, with the few exceptions of those from high political or military rank. This definitive nature of migration explains why migrants were often persons who had been condemned to exile, convicted, as well as New Christians. Tellingly, two of the most well-known cases of 'return home' took place after the invention of the steamboat, namely the coming back of the Brasileiros (the Portuguese who migrated to Brazil) to the Beira region and northern Portugal, well known today because of the big and beautiful houses they built in Portugal, and the return of the Agudas (African slave traders established in Brazil) to the West African coast during the last period of the Brazilian slave trade (see Alpers and Ball's chapter). The formation of creolities was an outcome of the long distance between empire and colony and the difficulty of travel, as well as the product of an unbalanced sex ratio and slavery. This singular articulation occasionally produced Portuguese communities sui generis; for example, some Indian villages in Bengal still claim today to be Portuguese even though their inhabitants have probably never had any Portuguese blood in their veins – they might be the descendants to Asian mercenaries of Portuguese armies during the first Portuguese Empire (Caixeiro 2000).

In contrast, a majority of the Portuguese who went to Africa in the 20th century (whatever the politics of the New State, which was opposed to mass emigration to the colonies before World War II) left Portugal with the aim of coming back home (see Claudia Castelo's chapter). Often emigration was a way for them to leave the countryside in Portugal and enter the cities, be they in Africa (which the state claimed was part of Portugal itself). Of course, some migrants stayed in Africa and eventually died in the colonies where their children were born and grew up. Still, the majority of white people in Angola and Mozambique during the 20th century did not initially come to stay. And, tellingly, from about 1970 the balance between arrivals and departures began to change radically – there began to be more departures than arrivals in the colonies.

This book aims to show that the making of the third Portuguese Empire has not only been the work of heroes and satraps, of politicians, bishops, military, and rich businessmen, but also the work of communities and diasporas, including the ones of 'petty whites' and 'petty Asians'. These latter men and women had a role, whether we like it or not, in the making of the Portuguese Empire and in the formation of a possible Lusophone world today. If, as we have seen, some authors have argued that Portugal developed a relatively weak empire, it is also true that, because of this, Portugal relied heavily on diasporic/emigrated groups to create and maintain its empire.[8] Counterintuitively, the historiography has underestimated

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and understudied these communities. Their consideration in this volume should make a significant contribution to our understanding of the making, maintenance, and end of the Portuguese Empire.

Before we go any farther, we need to ask whether we can classify under the same concept of diaspora the communities that never were Portuguese (as in our Bengali example) and, say, the 20th-century white communities that did not have the time to stabilise in the long term (say over three generations). This remark does not mean to underrate the role of diasporas and immigrant communities in the making of the third Portuguese Empire and the making of a Lusophone world today. Rather, questioning the applicability of the term *diaspora* aims to specify (and avoid confusion over) social processes and historical trajectories. To start with, we need to enter the long-standing debate about what a diaspora is – not to resolve the debate nor define a *doxa* for this volume but to help us think critically and bring precision to our work and the topic at hand.

Diaspora is a term which has been widely criticised for its elastic if not elusive meaning. Christine Chivallon, a French geographer and anthropologist working on the black diaspora, concluded her latest book with the following words:

> In the event that the term 'diaspora' is still contested as an appropriate means of designating the innovative collective expressions derived from this trajectory of forced dispersion, we can at least concede that, as an analytical category, 'diaspora' remains a valid tool facilitating our approach to an astoundingly instructive cultural universe. (Chivallon 2011, 203)

Aside from the statement that the concept of diaspora is helpful, Chivallon's quote is important for the implicit and very important distinction she makes between the analytical category of diaspora and the identity of diaspora. Indeed, she says that while the concept of diaspora as a common identity may be contested and problematic, the analytical concept of diaspora has heuristic value to describe reality.

That distinction may remind the reader of the Marxist difference between 'class in itself' and 'class for itself.' Marxist theory says that one may consider a given proletariat milieu to exist as an analytical category (class *in* itself – as a social and economic classification) even if the proletarians in question have no class consciousness (class *for* itself). The same could be said for diaspora. But a problem emerges here in that we are dealing with a wholly subjective matter, not a social or economic categorisation. If we deal with an identity or an imagination, can we speak of a category 'in itself'?

To give a concrete example, can one speak of a diaspora in the case of the so-called Lusophone communities in the United States of America? Can there be a feeling of commonality, of brotherhood, between the Portuguese

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immigrants, the Portuguese Americans, the Cape Verdean immigrants, the Cape Verdean Americans, the Brazilian immigrants and the Brazilian Americans since they are all 'lusophone'? We believe not, unless these people think and believe that there is such a commonality. Is it meaningful therefore to speak of a Lusophone diaspora in the United States of America? One can build statistics about speakers of the Portuguese language, but can we talk seriously about a Lusophone diaspora if there is no feeling of belonging together, no common self-representation? A constructive answer may be to say that there cannot be diaspora *in* itself: there might be a diaspora only if it is *for* itself. And, from there, we can engage in a study of how a diaspora comes into being or is formed historically, rather than presume that a diaspora exists and impose a hypothesis onto reality and deduce facts from theory.

Robin Cohen's Weberian approach to diaspora is helpful here as it both defines and opens up the concept. The author creates an ideal type of diaspora against which one can compare and discuss concrete cases (Cohen 2008, 17). His ideal type of diaspora includes the following eight key characteristics: dispersal or expansion from homeland, collective memory and myth about the homeland, an idealisation of ancestral home, development of a return movement, a strong ethnic group consciousness, a troubled relationship with host societies, a sense of empathy and coresponsibility with one's coethnics, and finally, the possibility of a distinctive creative life (ibid.).

Building on this, Cohen goes on to construct a typology of subtypes of diasporas, three of which are particularly relevant for our discussion. First, there is the imperial (or quasi-imperial) diaspora; second, the trade diaspora; and third, the labour diaspora. To our mind, this corresponds to a class division between different diasporas, which is adequate and more useful than a mere distinction between elite and proletarian diasporas. These three subtypes also correspond to the majority of cases in the Portuguese Empire, especially if we allow for a combination of types. The point however is that there are many types of diasporas and that each type is usually diverse, with divisions along gender, generation, or caste lines (to mention only a few).

Considering all of Cohen's eight key characteristics, one finds a critical time factor. Indeed, it seems impossible to speak about diaspora as soon as migrants arrive somewhere. An immigrant community may have some characteristics of a diaspora (dreams about the motherland, for example), but if the children born in the arrival society integrate so deeply and quickly that such a community disappears after their parents' death, it is meaningless to speak of a diaspora. In other words, diasporas need historicity to exist – there is no immediate birth of a diaspora, no 'immediate history' (Soulet 2009)[9] of a diaspora. On the contrary, diasporas form only with time: after the first migrants pass away, their children and grandchildren need to maintain the community to be able to talk of a diaspora.

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Seen and defined in this way, can we speak concretely of Portuguese diasporas? The answer varies, depending on the case studied and its context. In France, one can probably not speak of a Portuguese diaspora because, even in large Portuguese communities, the Portuguese identity has always disappeared after two or three generations. In contrast, in the United States in Bedford, Massachusetts, for example, a sense of community has remained after several generations, a community with its own organisation, specific cultural and religious events, and so on. In this case, we can speak of a Portuguese diaspora – which, needless to say, is different from a Lusophone diaspora.

Closer to our interest, can we speak of a diaspora in relation to the white Portuguese who went to Africa? The answer is difficult and politically loaded. We would argue that, in relation to the men and women who migrated at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, one may have seen (the beginnings of) a process of diaspora formation. Whether these settlers planned to return to Portugal or not, the majority of these men and women did not have time to develop into a diaspora, with historical depth, memory and mythification of the homeland, a troubled relationship with the host society, and so on. There probably were diasporic social formations among Portuguese whites, in particular, within the tiny white communities which had been in Africa for several generations – they were Portuguese (since their link to Africa was lived only through a colonial relationship), but their land was not Portugal anymore since Portugal was no longer a homeland to come back to even if it remained a founding reference (see Pimenta 2005, 2012). Similarly, one could refer to the Portuguese/Madeiran communities in South Africa, which were surprisingly more stable after the end of apartheid than the settler communities in Angola and Mozambique after decolonisation (see Clive Glaser's chapter). As Mozambique's historian Alexandre Lobato once wrote, 'I am perfectly Portuguese, but I am not a Portuguese from Portugal, I am a Portuguese from Lourenço Marques [today's Maputo], exactly as there are Portuguese from Lisbon or Porto, etc.' Such an utterance is typical of a diasporic man. But it is impossible to say that the whole Portuguese community in Africa was a diaspora.

Even if social sciences appeal for precision, the reality is that concepts are theoretically based, or ideal-types, which means in turn that concepts will never divide human groups and beings into 'chemically pure' categories. Hence, we may know what a community is in a broad sense and what a diaspora is in a more specific way – all diasporas are communities, but not all communities are diasporas. But it is impossible to locate the exact border between both types in real life. This said, the history of a diaspora will not be the same as the history of a mere community, as the cases of the Chinese, Goans, and Ismailis considered in the present book clearly show – see Lorenzo Macagno, Margret Frenz, Nicole Khouri, and Joana Leite's chapters.

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If diaspora needs historicity to be characterised as diaspora, it does not mean that once a diaspora is formed, it is set in stone. As Clive Glaser points out in his chapter, a diaspora can actually disappear. In his case, it is clear that the Portuguese diaspora in South Africa (in its fourth or fifth generation) is diluting. In a very different case, Isabel Castro Henriques shows in her chapter that African slave communities in continental Portugal existed for a long time but did not survive the end of slavery in the European part of the empire. While they had been well organised before the 1773 decision of the Marquis of Pombal, notably in religious congregations of African/black Portuguese diasporas, they rapidly disappeared after that date. The disappearance of their social identity (slavery) seems to have been more powerful than the possible persistence of their ethnic one (blackness/African-ness), and both vanished progressively but quickly, leaving an important legacy for the Portuguese culture, toponymy, music, and the like (see Henriques' chapter and Henriques 2009a).

Of course, identities can always combine; hence, there may have been both Portuguese diasporas in South Africa and South African communities of Portuguese origin out of the same pot of people (so to speak). These may reveal different social and ideological trajectories: one of dilution and the other of genesis, both splitting apart at an unknown moment in history, the point being that the process is not only long-term, fractured, and internally diverse but also has multiple trajectories.

To conclude this section, it is worth highlighting the advantage of the problems of diaspora. The size of diasporas, their diversity, and their marginalisation might actually help us understand a bigger problem. Drawing on Partha Chatterjee (1993), we may argue indeed that diasporas have the potential of helping us understand the Portuguese Empire better because of their status. As subaltern and postcolonial studies have shown most effectively, the study of margins can reveal a lot about the core. Thereafter, following Partha Chatterjee, we could say that the study in the present volume of 'diasporic fragments' should help us better understand the 'imperial core'.

Diaspora, communities, and the formation of empire

A discussion of the terms *diaspora* and *community* is useful in itself, but we need to push the discussion further into the broader context – in our case, in relation to the empire. What we need to ask is not just whether there were diasporas in the Portuguese Empire and what kind of diasporas existed but also *which kind* of diaspora or community had *what kind* of relations with the Portuguese Empire. What kind of relation did a trade diaspora, say from Asia, have with the Portuguese Empire at different points in time? What kind of relation did the white Portuguese have with their (idealised) homeland? How did they contribute to the formation of empire, what function did they come to fulfil, what new connections did

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they provide, what kind of ideology did they have, and so on? Asking such questions should permit one to have a complex and subtle understanding of diaspora/community in the Portuguese Empire, and it should permit us to avoid falling into the trap of merely asking the political question which the Portuguese officials (and later on the African nationalists) asked – namely, were the diasporas in favour of or against empire, in favour of or against decolonisation?

Even at the political level, the issue is all but simple. To start with, the generations of white communities must be carefully distinguished. First, there were tiny but old Creole milieus, crucial for the founding myth of the Third Empire but considered with great distrust by Lisbon, which always feared the birth of 'new Brazils' (autonomism). Second, there were those we call 'old settlers' (*velhos colonos*), that is, white Portuguese who came from Portugal and Madeira before World War II and who were few, often poor, and sometimes socialist or anarchist (Capela 1983). During their days, white immigration was not important numerically, since Lisbon did not encourage it (in particular after the 1929 world crisis), and Brazil remained the main destination of all Portuguese emigration. Third, during the last period (since the end of the 1950s at the demographical level and with political signals after 1951–1954), white immigration to Africa became a priority for the government in Lisbon, not just because Portugal would have liked to 'create new Brazils', but also because it was a way for Portugal strategically to resist foreign capital and the 'winds of history' (decolonisation).

Moreover, with the constitutional reform of 1951,[10] the legal term 'colonies' was replaced by the words 'overseas provinces,' thus reviving the old concept of the liberal monarchy, which had been abandoned in 1930. This meant that the unity of the nation was politically reinforced; there was no longer one mother country and colonies belonging to the Empire, but only one Portugal with '*províncias*'. Everybody was therefore *directly* Portuguese, which implied the existence of different personal statuses within the same nation and political constitution. The Acto Colonial of 1930 was replaced by the Overseas Constitutional Law in July 1953[11]. This institutional engineering led to the use of political tools to prevent dangers from abroad – not yet the pressure from decolonisation but the growing influence of foreign capitalist companies. On 20 May 1954, the Portuguese government published a new Native Statute (the previous one dated from 1926)[12] in response to a rise in the number of 'detribalised natives.' The new statute's conditions for assimilation[13] made it more difficult for skilled black workers to compete with white settlers in the market of qualified labour (Cahen 1983–1984). At around the same time (1953), the government launched a series of development plans for the colonies (Pereira 2012). From then on, Lisbon strove to overcome a dangerous contradiction: it needed to encourage a massive immigration to Africa in order to protect the Empire against foreign capitalist

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penetration, but at the same time, it feared the transformation of the white working class into a wealthy Lusocolonial petit-bourgeoisie which would inevitably become 'brazilianist' and autonomist – as the electoral results of Humberto Delgado, the candidate of the Republican opposition in 1958 seemed to indicate.[14] It is not by chance that 1965 was the year of the publication of the new Foreign Investment Code and the year of the main immigration to Africa, just after the creation (in 1962) of the Juntas provínciais de Povoamento (Provincial Settlement Council) (Penvenne 2005). Without going any further, the periodisation we have painted is sufficient to contest the tradition of arguing for a Portuguese specificity in having always developed a settlers' colonisation. The reality is that it depended on the periods and the contexts, and it varied in degrees.

The Portuguese white population was never a tool sufficient to keep, save, and develop the colonies – colonial population had to be larger, in spite of Salazarist nationalism. Mixed-race people and *assimilados* were tiny groups. Thus, we need to study what kind of contribution the other Europeans and other colonial subjects made to Portuguese imperialism at different points in time (occupation, colonialism, decolonisation). How did they relate to empire, how did they contribute to it (or not), and how did they develop an imperial culture themselves or contribute to the general imperial culture?[15] What specificities did these diasporas and communities or some of their elements bring to the Portuguese imperial system and culture? The chapter of Sérgio Chichava, Lorenzo Macagno, Margret Frenz and that of Nicole Khouri and Joana Pereira Leite bring us some very useful answers about the Swiss, the Chinese, and the Indian Ismailis in relation to Mozambique; but the same questions could be raised for all the Portuguese colonies in Africa about the Greeks, Italians, Lebanese (in Guinea), and the other Indians (in Mozambique), as well as for areas at the fringe of empire (see Margret Frenz's chapter on the Goans in East Africa). A special case is examined in this volume with the Cape Verdean diaspora, mostly present in Portuguese Guinea and São Tomé but also in Angola and Mozambique. In his chapter, Alexander Keese brings precious information about this long dynamic. It is the history of a huge political error on the part of the Portuguese administration in the last colonial period. Confronted during the 1960s with growing difficulties in recruiting skilled European colonial officers (when jobs in trade or industry were now flourishing and far more lucrative than being a civil servant) and realising the need to Africanise its imperial apparatus of state to refound its legitimacy, Lisbon expanded its use of Cape Verdeans. The result was not as expected because Angolans and Mozambicans perceived Cape Verdean officers just as they perceived white Portuguese officers. At the same time, this choice prevented Portugal from making the effort of Africanising its administration, and it induced yet more contradictions within the heterogeneous colonial population at a time when colonised people were developing liberation struggles.

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A social area of migration?

It is necessary now to come back to our original question about whether the Portuguese Empire generated an autonomous social area of migration. As we saw, the answer cannot be simple, and it probably is a mostly negative one. Even if the Portuguese state did not board migrants onto ships and planes,[16] the migration of white people to the colonies was not stable, and it was highly sensitive to political contexts. If Brazil had not slowed down immigration in the mid-1950s, Portuguese society would have definitively continued to emigrate to this former colony rather than to Africa. And, at the beginning of the 1960s, it was emigration to western Europe and France which was willingly practiced by most Portuguese migrants. Emigration to Africa never succeeded in becoming the main trend in emigration, even if it must not be underestimated either: it concerned probably about 25 per cent of the whole, thanks to its politicised context. The same can be said about Cape Verdeans, who were not considered native and could migrate far more freely than the natives of the continental colonies. But it would be difficult to consider the Cape Verdean colonial officers appointed in Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique as a migration trend. The migration to São Tomé and Príncipe had been highly organised by the colonial government as a solution to the starvation of the 1940s; Cape Verdeans had always preferred migrating to the United States or Holland.

In contrast, one can find something of an imperial social area of migration on the side of non-Portuguese colonial subjects. The Portuguese government, for example, never did anything to attract the several Indian communities that established themselves in Mozambique, yet they travelled there nonetheless. Even more interesting is the case of the Ismailis, who, when they decided to leave Mozambique in 1972, did not leave the Empire but went to Portugal itself, which was still under a dictatorship. Many Madeirans also went to South Africa from the end of the 19th century onwards, sometime directly and sometimes through a preliminary stay in Mozambique; thus, they built their own social area of migration, combining two empires. Goans migrated to British East Africa but rarely migrated thereafter back to the Portuguese Empire, even if Portuguese Goa and, therefore, Portugal itself, remained a point of reference. Overall there seem to have existed separate and impermeable Goan trajectories – those who went to the British Empire seldom crossed with those who went to Mozambique; they were in different professions, more merchants in the first case and more bureaucratic jobs in the second. Last but not least, the Chinese from Mozambique migrated within the Empire but not in the Third Empire. They migrated in the late second Portuguese Empire, a majority of them choosing to go to Brazil instead of Portugal after decolonisation!

Such heterogeneity of situations shows how the Portuguese Empire only very modestly succeeded in becoming a social area of migration for

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its colonial populations. As we have noted above, another book would be necessary to study the migration of colonised people within the empire; the subject would demand that we deal with completely different trajectories, not just of those occupying the lands but also of those who escaped legally or illegally these same lands or disappeared within them. Alpers' chapter partly covers this problematic, but the rest of our book does not. For reasons of coherence and space, we have decided to focus on the colonial rather than the colonised people. This said we may still note that some migrations of the colonised population were 'managed' by the Portuguese (rather than repressed), as the historical trend of Mozambicans going to the more developed capitalism of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia shows (in particular to the mines of the Rand, which became an essential source of income for the Bank of Portugal; see First 1983, Leite 1990, Lachartre and Vidal 2001). Other colonised people's migrations were also essential for the political history of the colony, as in the case of the Bakongos' emigration to Kinshasa from the 1940s (Marcum 1969–1978; Pélissier 1978; Messiant 2006). The point, though, is that the migrations of colonised people were not about moving within the empire (with the exception of those who were not officially considered natives, i.e. the Cape Verdeans and Santomeans) but about going abroad (except when forced into migration, as in the case of Angolans and Mozambicans deported to São Tomé or the seasonal or annual migrations of *contratados* in the two African colonies – officially they were indentured labourers, but in practice they were forced labourers – up to 1962). Said differently, the Portuguese Empire was not a social area of migration for the colonised people but a social area of repulsion – right up to the 1960s,[17] and so the migration of the colonised people is only partly embraced in our book in two chapters: in the state of the art by E. Alpers (with M. Ball) and in Isabel Castro Henriques' contribution. In the latter, it is something of a false exception, since migrating Africans were legally no longer natives (*indígenas*) when they arrived in Portugal (in small numbers up to the 1970s), even if they fell under the Native Statute in Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique.[18]

Coming back to colonial people, one useful way to think at the theoretical level about their relation to the social area of migration is to reflect on what would have happened if decolonisation had not occurred or had occurred in a completely different way (e.g. independence without decolonisation). The case of Zimbabwe after 1979 (up to the antiwhite turn of Robert Mugabe) helps us think about such a hypothesis. Drawing from that example, we can advance that it is very probable that many more Portuguese colonial people would have stayed in Africa, perhaps half of them, as opposed to what happened – more than 99 per cent left.[19] Obviously there would not have been any 'Brazilian trend,' with hundreds of thousands of Portuguese going to Africa *after* independence (in spite of some appearances in this direction today, see below). Indeed, colonialism in Africa was very different from the

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case of Latin America, which includes Brazil. There the colonised people (the first Indian nations) were eliminated or greatly reduced in numbers (except in some Andean countries), and a new society was born thereafter, shaped and developed by the coloniser. Hence, the independent Latin American societies are not colonised societies but actually colonial societies – and the presence of black slaves (who could not reconstitute African societies there)[20] does not change this reality in any way. In such a colonial society, there are no structural difficulties in receiving more and more immigrants since the social formation is itself the fruit of colonialism. In contrast, in Africa, indigenous societies may have been conquered, humiliated, exploited, and acculturated, but they have never been eliminated or marginalised. They remained African societies, with their domestic mode of production, be they articulated to the global modes of production as we noted before. Therefore, every European individual immigrating to Africa had to conquer and carve out a social space out of or from the existing indigenous African society. Such a phenomenon was possible under the colonial minority rule as well as under apartheid, but it became impossible with independence under majority rule (even if a neocolonial independence). Significantly, some white minorities could have stayed for historical reasons, but there were no conditions for the development of a new 'Brazilian trend,' and these minorities would have slowly declined or become assimilated. Needless to say, the integration of Portugal into the European Union was another, additional, external reason for the nonexistence of whites going to the former imperial territories.

To conclude this section, we may connect our subject to today's new Portuguese migrations to Africa. Indeed, how does one relate to the other? Is there a continuation of an imperial social area of migration? To talk of Angola alone, there were 21,000 Portuguese immigrants in that country in 2003, and by 2011, there were no less than 97,616 nationals registered with the two Portuguese consulates in Angola – almost a fivefold increase in eight years.[21] The reality, however, is that the main reason for this new wave of emigration to Africa is the social and economic crisis in Portugal. Moreover, while colonial emigration to Africa concerned, historically speaking, Portuguese of higher social status (higher in Mozambique than Angola) while those going to France or Brazil were Portuguese of a lower level (Castelo 2007), the general characteristic of today's Portuguese emigration everywhere is of a middle-class nature – and the very latest trend in Angola confirms this. Portuguese go to Angola (and secondarily to Mozambique)[22] mainly in search of professional opportunities, and they leave Portugal with a plan to come back some years later. There is therefore no social continuity between this wave of migrants and the former colonial settler community, even if it is not by chance that very often the new migrants are sons or nephews of former white 'Angolans' or 'Mozambicans' – owing to the persistence of the myth of Africa and the

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African memories of many Portuguese families. Which means, first, that this is a new (unconnected) wave of migration from Portugal and, second, that it is still too early to ascertain whether this new wave will be as significant and lasting as its predecessor, that is, whether it will develop a process of a diaspora building.

We need to discuss here an exception, even if it is perhaps an exception more formal than real. Indeed, there is one group of people for whom the Third Empire fully became a social area of migration, namely the Indian Ismailis of Mozambique who decided to leave Mozambique for Portugal in 1972, when Portugal was still the motherland of the Empire. Could it mean that, for this diaspora at least, the empire was really a social space of migration? The answer is both positive and negative. Aga Khan had understood that the empire was coming to an end, and so the decision to migrate from Mozambique to Portugal was taken in view of the ending of the Empire – in other words, the community was positioning itself already in the next period. Still, this non-Portuguese community went to Portugal because it had acquired cultural proximity with Portugal and its empire, for example, the ability to speak Portuguese. Of course the Portuguese *retornados* predominantly also returned to Portugal (though some went to South Africa, Brazil, Australia, and elsewhere), but this happened only because the Empire had ceased to exist, and they returned 'home.' Chinese also left the new African countries, but, for reasons explained in Lorenzo Macagno's chapter, a majority of them did not go to Portugal but to Brazil (Curitiba or São Paulo). Coming back to the Ismailis, they went to Portugal after 1972 but started to return to Mozambique in the mid-1990s. While this may seem to show that a social space of migration did exist for them and possibly other communities, there also seem to be elements which make them comparable to the Portuguese going to Angola today – they are migrating for short-term job opportunities more than with the idea of making their life there. This dynamic will need to be fully investigated (which Ismailis are going back, with what motivation, etc). For now, we may note that there is an exception in relation to the Portuguese imperial social area of migration, though it is still unclear whether it is a significant exception or just one that proves the rule (as the French saying goes).

All in all, if the Third Empire has predominantly not succeeded in becoming a social space of migration, it is not because it was not a relevant reality and imagined community for its colonial populations. John Darwin presents his view on this issue in the concluding chapter. For our part, we would like to advance the argument that Portugal is not a singular case in this respect but rather just another case, with its specificities and nuances. No settler colonisation has succeeded in the long term in the modern period in a place where colonised societies have managed to remain the majority. Latin and North America, Australia, and New Zealand are not exceptions precisely because their colonial

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societies exterminated or reduced to inconsequence the colonised populations. Has it ever been possible for another empire to become a social area of colonial migrations? Think of the pieds-noirs in Algeria only half of whom were French (the other half being Spanish, Italian, or Arab Jews) and who thus straddled empires. Think of the French in Ivory Coast, who were more numerous after independence, after Empire, than during colonialism, and the Caribbean people of the French 'old colonies' (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion) who migrated to France in greater numbers after their complete integration into the republic than before (thus within the framework of a decolonisation without independence). The French Empire does not seem to have succeeded in becoming a social space of migration either, at least during the period of formal subjugation. Maybe the British Empire had more success in creating such a social space of migration, though if this is the case, it is probably more a matter of degree than of substance. Be that as it may, let us note finally that, whether they succeeded in creating a social space of migration or not, empires were also imagined entities. And this is particularly true in the Portuguese case, with a historically deep integration of Africa into the national imagining.

Ideology and heritage

We noted at the start of this introduction that, if political decolonisation may undo an empire, this might not translate into an automatic corresponding and concomitant undoing of all autonomous elements connected to it. In the last section, we mentioned cases of migration after empire which took place within the former imperial space. In this section, we want to discuss the ideological dynamics which were part of empire and lasted after empire. We are interested in the heritage of empire as well as the ideas and cultures which formed during empire and have continuities today in whole, in part, or in a new form. In some way it is a reflexive exercise, to look critically at how our societies think today about empire and how this heritage is managed and fought over. Just as importantly, the fact is that ideas and culture are an integral part of the dynamics of empire. Empire influenced and shaped profoundly everyone's ways of life and outlook in both the metropole and the colonies (Cooper and Stoler 1997). In turn, members of the empire, not least the imperial migrants, reappropriated the official script and developed their own set of ideas, contributing to cultures which continued in some form after the end of empire (Hall 2000; Blanchard and Lemaire 2003, 2004).

In the Portuguese case, the best example of a surviving, or rather reinvented, imperial structure and ideology comes with the Comunidade dos Paises de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries). This is an interstate organisation which was launched in 1996

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on the basis of the unification of a more informal state grouping entitled Cimeira dos Cinco (Summit of the Five) related to the five Paises Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP), and the old Comunidade Luso-Brasileira (Luso-Brazilian Community).[23] The aim of the new grouping is to gather all the Portuguese-speaking countries in the world, following on the example of the *Francophonie*, give them a formal body and tighten their social, cultural, and economic relations. Like its French counterpart, CPLP effectively groups countries which are Portugal's former colonies. Interestingly, however, the launch of CPLP did not refer to the colonial past but talked instead of an organisation which built on an existing community of people and countries which shared a language. Was this just a rhetorical trick? There were of course plenty of politics involved in the launching of the CPLP (see Rosa Williams' chapter and Cahen 2003). But the idea pushed forward by its non-African proponents (the governments of Portugal and Brazil), in spite of being unacceptable for its African members (Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde), not least in the title of the organisation, is that there exists a community of people, a Lusophone community, which shares a culture, developed on the basis of the Portuguese language. This raises two connected questions: Is there such a Lusophone community? And is the discourse around the CPLP, if not the organisation itself, not in reality an inheritance of an imperial past?

The question of the existence of a Lusophone community is complex. First, we need to ask whether the majority of people in the CPLP countries speak Portuguese. Drawing on studies by Michel Cahen and others, we can answer that the majority of citizens in former Portuguese colonial territories do not speak Portuguese fluently, if at all (Chapter 1; Cahen 1990, 2004). In Mozambique today, for example, only 6.5 per cent of the population claims Portuguese as its mother tongue, and only 39.6 per cent understands Portuguese (Cahen, Waniez, and Brustlein 2002). Hence, there is no objective basis for the existence of a community sharing the Portuguese language.[24] That is not to say that such a community cannot exist. What it means is that it does not exist on the basis of language, as claimed. In that sense, PALOP was a more accurate acronym since it implied that member states shared the same *official* language (rather than its population sharing the same language). Secondly, we need to note that a community can exist solely as a subjective reality, or as an 'imagined community.' In fact, we noted earlier that a community comes into being only if people believe it exists. If this is the case, then our question becomes whether a belief in a Lusophone community exists in the world today. While no systematic study has been carried out on the subject, circumstantial evidence suggests that this is not the case. In most of the CPLP countries, there is no sense of a Luso identity and often only a weak national identity (Cahen 1990; Morier-Genoud 2012). Thereafter, we may say that the Lusophone identity

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and community is at best the affair of *some* national elites and politicians who presumably share Portuguese as a native language, have connected cultural references, and travel within the former imperial space (for education, training, holidays, and so on).

If there is no Lusophone community *in* itself and little *for* itself, we need then to unpack the discourse around the CPLP and enquire how much of it is an imperial inheritance. Needless to say, there is little direct continuity between Portuguese imperialism and the new weltanschauung pushed for by the CPLP today. But the fact is that the discourse of today's politicians, be they Portuguese or from the former Portuguese colonies, draws heavily on a repertoire which revives, willingly or not, the imperial languages and several imperial myths. Among others, it builds on the colonial Lusotropical repertoire so as to claim a community of affection and therefore a community of action (see Rosa Williams' chapter). Such discourse seems to be little more than a discourse for the CPLP, these politicians, and their support base, and it operates on the basis of a 'working misunderstanding.' Brazilian politicians, for example, join in such a discourse, but they do not aim at rebuilding a community of language with Portugal at its center. Instead they join in the Lusophone discourse so as to be able to access markets and do politics with Portuguese-speaking countries without passing through Portugal. In other words, this neo-imperial discourse is a reinvention which suits, to a sufficient extent, the purpose of various political actors and governments. Does this mean it is an empty shell? Probably not, because it has consequences, and it has an impact on contemporary cultures – presumably fostering from above this very Lusophony which is imagined by so few. In addition, this discourse is not an empty shell because many people do not accept the official Lusophone discourse and politics (with its imperial and colonial undertones), but they engage it if only to subvert it. Between avoidance, resistance, and subversion, they reappropriate and reinvent the ideology and the heritage of empire and thus contribute to the formation of a new real, nonofficial, Lusophone identity, if not yet community (see AbdoolKarim Vakil's chapter).

How do imperial communities and diasporas relate to this question of Lusophony, ideology, and heritage? In terms of ideology, the question of the adherence of imperial communities and diasporas to imperialism has been well analysed, and studies have shown how the issue is far more complex and complicated than previously thought (see Castelo's chapter). In relation to diasporas more specifically, the issue remains largely underinvestigated. At first sight, it is far from obvious that diasporas in the Portuguese Empire would adhere to or assimilate the Portuguese imperial discourse (or fragments thereof) about civilisation, religion, and, later on, Lusotropicalism. Yet what Frenz and Macagno show in this volume is that some diasporas (Goans and Chinese in this case) did adhere to the imperial ethos and ideology.

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Maybe they did so because they were a prime object of that ideology and because they benefited from the policy which went with it – they were the exemplary social groups which the Portuguese used to demonstrate that social mobility was possible for nonwhites and to show that Lusotropicalism was a reality. While adhered to by some diasporas, Macagno shows that this imperial ideology eventually crashed against a wall at independence, when postimperial Portugal decided to change the rules of the game and refused nationality to the majority of Chinese arriving from Mozambique. These Chinese thought they were already Portuguese, since they had been accepted and recognised by the colonial society of Mozambique, but this was suddenly not the case anymore; so they moved to Brazil. Interestingly and somewhat paradoxically, CPLP continues this exclusion of Lusophone diasporas and foreign communities since it builds on states and national communities (which often do not speak Portuguese, as we have seen) rather than on linguistic or cultural communities – of course, this is an interstate alliance, not a social one. Thus, CPLP seems, like so many, to be blind to how diasporas not only contributed to empire but were also sometimes made into Lusophone elements.

Conclusion

All in all, was there ever a social and autonomous Portuguese imperial space, distinct from the formal empire? The question cannot be definitively answered, but many elements of a complex answer will be provided in the coming pages. In many respects, we can say that there was no autonomous space of migration in the Portuguese Empire. As we have seen, most Portuguese men and women preferred going to Brazil, Europe, or South Africa rather than going to the colonies. That means that the state had to have a 'visible hand' to make people go to its imperial territories and become settlers. In some respects, one can also see that the second and third Portuguese Empires gave birth to a kind of path dependency which created autonomy for a social space of migration after the empires collapsed. Diasporas and communities moved in the postimperial space (Portuguese to Brazil up to the 1950s, Brazilians to Portugal after Portugal became a member of the European Union, Ismailis from Mozambique to Portugal mainly after 1974, Chinese from Mozambique to Brazil, *retornados* from Angola and Mozambique to Portugal and Brazil after 1974, and Cape Verdeans to Portugal, more after 1974 than ever before). Others tried to stay inside the imperial space after independence (Cape Verdeans in São Tomé and Angola, Indians in Mozambique). Last but not least, today some individuals come back to the former colonies (middle-class Portuguese to Angola, Ismailis to Mozambique). Ideological elements beyond decolonisation have also continued after independence, even among the diasporas, even if manipulated and reinvented. During the period of formal subjugation, the Third

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Empire was not uneconomic, but it was clearly 'undemographic.' Could we say that it inaugurated a new kind of victory – a postmortem one?

Notes

1. For a recent overview of migration and the British Empire, see Harper and Constantine 2010. For some recent work, see, among others, Watt 2009, Chilton 2007, and Constantine 1990.
2. Sousa Santos as quoted by Soares 2006, 11. It is worth noting that Anthony Soares, though in a finely shaded cautious way, sustains the view of Sousa Santos that we are criticising here.
3. Alexander Keese has convincingly demonstrated the Portuguese capacity to influence the French colonial model, at least during some specific periods (Keese 2007).
4. It is worth noting that 'informal colony' is a concept even more radical (and more questionable) than 'semi-colony': though 'informal', such a colony is *completely* a colony – not a 'semi' colony.
5. Clarence-Smith refers, in particular, to Hammond 1966.
6. Portugal's humiliation came on 11 January 1890, when the British gave the Portuguese government an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of Portuguese military forces, led by Major Serpa Pinto, from the territory which lay between what became the colonies of Angola and Mozambique (present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia), an area which Portugal claimed as its own. The rapidity with which the Portuguese monarchy gave in to the British exigencies was experienced as a humiliation by a large part of the Portuguese population and elites, and it was to be one of the causes of the Republican revolution in 1910.
7. For a critical review of Clarence-Smith, see Cahen 1995.
8. The Indian diasporas, for example, were involved in financing some of the occupation and the business of the empire. Goans and Cape Verdeans staffed the colonial administration in Guinea Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. And Italians, Swiss, and other foreign individuals were key to running the education and health system for Africans in the colonies, as well as many a capitalist company.
9. According to the French historian Jean-François Soulet, immediate history is the most contemporary phase of modern history; it is a history that is investigated with living witnesses. For example, in France it has become impossible to continue to do immediate history, and write first-person accounts, of the First World War, since the last poilus (the 'hairies', a popular nickname for trench soldiers) just died four years ago (2008).
10. Assembleia nacional (1952), *Constituição política da República portuguesa, actualizada de harmonia com a Lei n° 2.048 de 11 de Junho de 1951,* Lisbon.
11. *Lei Orgânica do Ultramar,* Law nº 2.066, 27 July 1953.
12. Ministério do Ultramar 1954, 'Decreto-Lei nº 39.666. Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique', *Diário do Governo* (Lisbon), I series, no. 110, 20 May, pp. 560–565.
13. Assimilation was the process by which a 'native' became a Portuguese citizen. Far from the ideology speaking highly of this 'tradition,' assimilation has remained always a very tiny phenomenon, in particular in Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea (it was a little bit more important in Angola), but always below

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0.5 per cent of the whole population (Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé had no Native Statute). In 1950, mixed-race people represented, according to the official census, 0.60 per cent of the entire population of the African colonies (Cape Verde excluded; 1.57 per cent included).

14. Humberto Delgado officially won the elections in Beira (second city of Mozambique) and in Nova Lisboa (Huambo, second city of Angola). It is probable, if there had not been fraud, that he would have won the elections in the colonies and in Portugal itself.
15. Among the classics on the subject, see Catherine Hall 2000; in 2003 Patrick Harries organised a conference on 'Imperial Cultures in Countries without Colonies.' See the event's webpage at: http://pages.unibas.ch/afrika/nocolonies/.
16. The projects of direct colonisation, such as the *colonatos* (peasant settler schemes), were highly publicised but were extremely expensive for small groups or peasants going to the Tropics.
17. We are not speaking here of the exiles provoked by the colonial wars since 1961, and a remark must be made: Noting that the Portuguese Empire may have been a social area of repulsion does not mean that, in the long term, Portuguese colonisation was generally worse than other ones or more archaic. These features have to be cautiously analysed in terms of periodicity. But there is little doubt that, since the end of the 1940s, when compulsory labour disappeared in the other empires but spread massively in continental Portuguese Africa, at that period (from the Second World War up to 1958–61), Portuguese colonisation experienced an archaic twitching (Cahen 1987, 1995), exacerbated in southern and eastern Africa by the rapid development of British and South African colonial capitalism (Alpers 1984).
18. The situation of native Africans in Portugal was not clear. In the 1926 Native Statute, *indigenato* was a sociolegal status within the colony itself. In the 1954 statute, by force of the constitutional reform of 1951 unifying the nation, the quality of indigenousness or assimilation was made strictly individual in the entire area of the nation (§ unique of Article 1: 'The statute of the Portuguese indigenous people is personal and must be honoured in any part of the Portuguese territory where the individual who enjoys it is found.'). In principle, a native (*indígena*) coming to Portugal had henceforth to be considered there as a native too. But there was no forced labour, hut tax, paramount chiefs and distinct statistics to manage the natives in Portugal, so the distinction meant little in practice. Besides, the 1954 statute was never applied completely, up to its revocation in 1962. That is why the very small number of native Africans from Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique living in Portugal before 1962 were not considered native there (neither were they citizens). At the time, they could be included within the 'colonial migrations,' as Cape Verdeans and Santomeans, besides the white, Indian, and Chinese migrations. It is one more justification for the presence of a chapter about the Africans in Portugal in a book on colonial migrations.
19. Even if some individuals (or relatives) have come back to Angola and Mozambique since the middle of the 1990s, the number of Portuguese who, whether they became naturalised (white) Mozambicans/Angolans/Guineans or not, have permanently stayed is minute (see below).
20. Quilombos and Mocambos were not African societies reconstituted in Brazil, but black slave republics created at the margins of (but sociologically within) the colonial society, created sui generis by people violently integrated within the

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colonial society. There are a few exceptions of deeply African rooted reconstitutions of societies, such as the Saramaka communities, who fled from Brazil to Suriname and later to French Guyana, where social relationships are typical of African societies (including matrilineal clans, etc.).

21. Mariana Correia Pinto, 'Angola: Reconstruir a vida num país em construção,' *Público* (Lisbon), 19 December 2011. In 2010, there were 91,900 Portuguese in Angola according to the statistics of *Direcção-Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e Comunidades Portuguesas*, Lisbon.
22. Migrants registered with the Portuguese consulate in Maputo have increased by 30 to 40 per cent in the last two year. See Nastasya Tay, 'Portugal's Migrants Hope for New Life in Old African Colony,' *The Guardian*, 22 December 2011.
23. CPLP includes Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Portugal, Mozambique, São Tomé, and Príncipe and Timor. Equatorial Guinea and Senegal are associated members. It is worth noting that Mozambique was a member of the Commonwealth, while Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe were members of the *Francophonie*, before joining the CPLP.
24. A disclaimer is in order here. When choosing the title of this book, we faced several possibilities, and a strong contender was 'Imperial Migrations in the Lusophone World.' We eventually chose not to use the term 'Lusophone World', because the term/concept Lusophone is very problematic as we have just seen. Can we speak of a Lusophone or Portuguese-speaking world? At best it is problematic. We decided therefore to use 'Portuguese World.' This is relevant because during the third Portuguese Empire (1885–1975), the empire constituted a 'Portuguese world,' at least politically. The term may sound a little outdated, but it is more precise and adequate – it is therefore better to talk of a Portuguese world during empire than to read back into the past a problematic Lusophone one.

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