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ISSN 0267-5315

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Cover: Visit to Lisbon, August 1960, by the Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek, as part of the celebrations of the fifth centenary of the death of Dom Henrique (Henry the Navigator). Photographer Amadeu Ferrari. By permission of the Lisbon Municipal Photographic Archive.



PORTUGUESE STUDIES

Volume 32 Number 2 2016

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Volume 32

Number 2

2016

Authoritarian States and Corporatism in Portugal and Brazil



Modern Humanities Research Association

PORTUGUESE STUDIES

VOLUME 32 NUMBER 2
2016

Authoritarian States and Corporatism in
Portugal and Brazil

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ISSN 0267-5315 (print) ISSN 2222-4270 (online)

ISBN 978-1-78188-257-3

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Salisbury House, Station Road, Cambridge CB1 2LA, United Kingdom

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The political response to the so-called 'crisis of the modern state'⁸⁸ (the liberal state), of which Oliveira Salazar spoke in his speech *Princípios fundamentais da revolução política* (30 July 1930), would summarize the most important elements of conservative, anti-liberal and authoritarian nationalist thinking. It was created fundamentally from concepts of three kinds: one that was socially corporative and Catholic, one that was reformist, authoritarian and organicist (whether liberal or republican), and one that was corporative, monarchist and traditionalist. It constituted a model that was nationalist, authoritarian, corporative and colonial, that included political violence as an instrument of domination and articulated elements of these three types of nationalist ideology in an eclectic or syncretic ideological framework.

Translated from Portuguese by Richard Correll

Redefining Representation in the Dictatorship of Salazar and Marcelo Caetano: The Changing Role of Parliament (1935–1974)

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The Construction of the National Assembly in a Climate of 'Institutional Reform'

The Portuguese authoritarian regime projected itself as an alternative to the crisis in the process of consolidation of a liberal democracy, attempted by the various republican governments that had been formed since the overthrow of the constitutional monarchy on 5 October 1910. It promoted a change in the governing order and defined new goals for the state, in a move that allowed political decision-makers and some jurists supportive of the regime to assert that a new constitutional settlement was being made in Portugal. In a way this discourse signalled a revolutionary impulse, encapsulated in the proposal for 'a unitary and corporative republic', and which presupposed a reform of institutions, based on differing political and juridical options.

The corporative formulation looked back to an essentialist or organic conception of society and political life that was accepted by many different currents, both within Portugal and abroad, which had in common a repudiation of individualism and parliamentarianism.¹ The fact that the corporative ideal neither expressed nor looked back to any homogenous position explains why, especially during its constitutive period, both legislators and the political class as a whole supported the idea that the construction, or development, of the corporative model should take place after the event. Hence the corporative dimension of the nationalist project underlying the Constitution of 1933 was to have an 'animating' and not a 'stabilizing' character, intended to stimulate dynamics that did not yet exist and whose endorsement would come only later.²

¹ For an elaboration of this idea see Ernesto Castro Leal, 'Tradições organicistas: ideias políticas e práticas de representação na República Portuguesa (1910–1926)', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 27 (2015), 39–58; Paula Borges Santos, 'O modelo político do Estado autoritário português: a ideia corporativa na constitucionalização do regime (1931–1933)', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 27 (2015), 68–76.

² In fact the idea that the full aims of the corporative project were yet to be achieved persisted throughout its lifespan. The relationship between the state and corporative organization also remained strained. In the final years of the Second World War, a time of harsh criticisms of the evolution of the system from various theorists and leaders, Salazar blamed the failure to keep faithfully to corporative doctrine and the hindrances to the 'realization of corporative objectives' on two factors: firstly, he

Portuguese Studies vol. 32 no. 2 (2016), 149–71

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⁸⁸ Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos*, vol. 1, p. 72.