

# “Temporary Revolution” in Salazarism

Aleš Vrbata

“A new mentality will bring Portugal back to life.”<sup>1</sup>

Salazar

## INTRODUCTION

“Temporary revolution” in the title of this paper refers to Roger Griffin’s concept of “palingenetic myth”, which, in his view, underlies European fascist adventure of the first half of the 20th century. Griffin clearly dismisses classical classifications of fascisms as proposed by Renzo de Felice and, similarly to Ernst Nolte or George L. Mosse, views fascism as a “transpolitical phenomenon”.<sup>2</sup> Introducing “bigger picture” of his work Griffin points out at collective psychology of that time as reflected in arts, literature, political thinking or philosophy. Emphasizing Italian and German model Griffin presupposes that for Germans Third Reich did not represent just social and political revolution but also temporary revolution. In his view “palingenetic myth” entailed “modernist revolution”, resulting from the mood of *fin-de-siècle* apocalypticism<sup>3</sup> and general feeling of “running out of time”. According to Griffin “the premise (...) is that visions of the world (*Weltanschauung* or *visione del mondo*) which conditioned the policies of the two very different fascist dictatorships established in inter-war Europe were both deeply bound up with intellectual and artistic modernism”.<sup>4</sup> According to Griffin European fascism (as many medieval apocalyptic, chiliastic or millenarian movements) took upon itself the task “to purge civilization of decadence, and foster the emergence of a new breed of human beings which it defined in terms not of

---

1 FERRO, A., *Salazar, o homem e a sua obra*, Lisboa 1933, p. XXXIX.

2 FELICE, R. de, *Comprendre le Fascisme*, Paris 1975; NOLTE, E., *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche*, München 1963; MOSSE, G. L., *Crisis of German Ideology. Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, New York 1981.

3 LAQUEUR, W., “Fin-de-siècle, Once more with Feeling”, in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1996, pp. 5–47.

4 GRIFFIN, R., *Modernism and Fascism. The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*, London 2007, p. 4.

universal categories but essentials mythic national and racial ones”<sup>5</sup> and such a “creative destruction” was legitimized “not by the divine will, mason, the laws of nature, or by socio-economic theory, but by the belief, that the history itself was at turning point and could be launched on a new course through human intervention that would redeem the nation and rescue the West from the imminent collapse.”<sup>6</sup> If there were any speculations and theories about romantic aspect fascism<sup>7</sup>, then it was this aspect labelled by Griffin as “creative destruction”, “modern apocalypse”, “the sense of a beginning” but also as “palingenesis” which had — as he maintains — aimed “fascist cultural revolution” and was “brought about not through supra-human agency, but engineered through the power of the modern state”.<sup>8</sup>

Although Salazarist or pre-Salazarist Portugal did not follow “temporary revolution” naturally supplied by “modernist revolution” and by modernity itself, it followed its own and independent “temporary revolution” which I would prefer calling “anti-modernist” and “counter-revolutionary”. Even though Salazarist vocabulary abounded with terms like *re-generação*, *re-criação*, *re-stauração*, *homem novo*, *nova ordem* or *Estado Novo*, their meaning and context was quite different from that in Italy or Germany.

Identifying an all-overarching and essential myth of Salazarism as *mito palingenético* (myth about the new beginning), Fernando Rosas<sup>9</sup> means old national myth of *Renascença Portuguesa*, “regeneration” which was supposed to finally close *decadência nacional* initiated one hundred years before by liberal monarchy which — after the aborted Portuguese liberal project — constituted basis of Portuguese anti-liberal right-wing movements agreement. It was expected that *Estado Novo* would re-establish *verdades portuguesas* and guide the nation back to its natural *habitus*, *ser português*, spiritual, rural and catholic sources. Expressed on various levels of public life (commemorations, feasts, cinematography, arts, architecture, education, sport, leisure time activities, family life, religion, tourism, competitions arranging holding and awards granting, “official historiography” of the regime etc.) Salazar and his apparatus systematically followed — in several occasions — *habitus* of Portuguese people, i.e. simple rural lifestyle<sup>10</sup>. Like that, Salazar re-directed “nationalism” to po-

---

5 Ibid., p. 6.

6 Ibid.

7 Romantic nature of fascism was frequently mentioned in works regarding French fascism. See Robert Soucy’s works: SOUCY, Robert, *Fascism in France. The case of Maurice Barrès*, University of California Press 1972.

8 GRIFFIN, R., op. cit., p. 8, note 17.

9 ROSAS, F., “O Salazarismo e o homem novo. Ensaio sobre o Estado Novo e a questão do totalitarismo”, in: *Análise Social*, XXX (157), 2001 p. 1034; Fernando Rosas mentions following myths: 1) “mito palingenético” (initiated by the introduction of constitutional monarchy in 1834) — the idea dear to all Portuguese anti-liberal right, that got stronger after Ultimatum (1890), 2) myth of ontological essence of the regime or myth of “new nationalism” that understood *Estado Novo* as an incorporation of historical essence of Portuguese nation, 3) “mito imperial”, partly inherited from previous republican and monarchist traditions.

10 As it was visualised and exemplified by Martins Barata in serie *Lições de Salazar*.

litical philosophy of *habitus*, sort of *habitus palingenesis*. Devotion to the principles of counter-revolutionary and ultra-montane principles of the first traditionalism, aloofness concerning pagan fascism, liberalism or scientific progressism of the 19th century, all that drew attention of those foreign traditionalists who intended to defend traditional catholic Occident as it existed before onset of liberal principles.

Salazarism and *Estado Novo* were shaped in the context of general inclination to fascist, authoritarian, extreme-right or extreme-left political mythology but its precise classification is still, even among Portuguese historians and social scientists, ambiguous and vague.

The first “classical” analyses of Salazarism came from Portuguese sociologist Manuel de Lucena (Salazarism as a sort of fascism: *um fascismo sem movimento fascista*<sup>11</sup>). At the beginning of 1980s Manuel Braga da Cruz defined *Estado Novo* neither as a party/movement regime nor as an administrative/bureaucratic one, but as the one based on conservative, traditionalist, catholic and nationalist ideology.<sup>12</sup> Historians António Costa Pinto or Fábio Bertonha repeatedly spoke about “fascist regime”<sup>13</sup> whereas Luís Reis Torgal rejected both “dictatorship” and “fascist regime” labels and preferred “corporatist republic” labelling as a “third way” between fascism and Nazism reminding that “after all, republic is just a regime whereas *Estados Novos/Estado Novo* are systems of social policy, that can make part both of republican and monarchist logic”.<sup>14</sup> Similar “eclectic” position defended also João Medina who put Salazar’s *Estado* right next to Schuschnigg’s and Dolfuß’s Austria.<sup>15</sup> For José Machado Pais formula *Estado Novo* equating fascist regime” is *identificação vulgar*.<sup>16</sup>

11 Lucena started studying corporativism as one of the main aspects of *Estado Novo*. Already before 1974 Lucena published *L'Évolution du système corporatif Portugal à travers les lois (1933-1971)* as a *Mémoire de fin d'études* under the direction of professor G. Lyon Caen and later on his work was presented at *Institut de Sciences Sociales du Travail* at Université Paris I. It is one of the most important works Published in Portugal after 1974. Almost no important work about Portuguese corporativism is from historian, but rather from social scientists. Manuel de Lucena affirms that Portuguese regime *Estado Novo* was very close — especially concerning political structure — to Mussolini’s Italian fascist state. Demo-liberal model of state was overthrown and was substituted by interventionist and police state with unique party, corporatist appeal as a form of resolving class struggle and extreme nationalism.

12 BRAGA DA CRUZ, M., *As Origens da Democracia Cristã e o Salazarismo*, Presença-Gabinete de Investigacoes Sociais, Lisboa 1980.

13 COSTA PINTO, A., *Os Camisas Azuis. Ideologia, Elites e Movimentos Fascistas em Portugal, 1914-1945*, Lisboa 1994; João Fábio Bertonha, “Plínio Salgado, o integralismo brasileiro e suas relações com Portugal (1932-1975)”, in: *Análise Social*, vol. XLVI (198), 2011, pp. 65-87.

14 TORGAL, Luís Reis, “Estado Novo: Republica Corporativa”, *Revista de História das Ideias*, Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra 2006, vol. 27, p. 446.

15 “Salazar’s national-socialism (term common in Anglo-saxon historiography) differs from those fascist experiences that had been compromised by the open use of violence, differs by its stiff resistance to totalitarianism and by the non-existence of anti-semitism. In contrast to Dolfuß’s and Salazar’s dictatorships it is not possible to put them in catholic-corporatist line (...)”. MEDINA, J., *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*, Lisboa 2000, p. 26.

16 MACHADO PAÍS, J., “Raízes ideológicas do Estado Novo”, in: *Vertice*, 13/Abril 1989, pp. 31-37.

Name *Estado Novo* (used by Salazar himself for the first time in public speech in May 28, 1932) was probably borrowed from the myth of *Stato Nuovo*<sup>17</sup> as described by historian Emiliano Gentile. Such philosophy permitted monarchic future for Portugal (defended by big part of “new right” and by traditionalist intellectuals from *Integralismo Lusitano* and acceptable for some actors of “national revolution” from May 1926). Salazar enjoyed reputation of monarchist and once he became politician he could rely on monarchist squares and their support of his *Estado Novo* vision. If we accept Luís Reis Torgal’s thesis, Salazar did that just as a “guarantee of political order”.<sup>18</sup> Interpreting Portuguese *Estado Novo* foreign authors consider reference to French counter-revolution necessary.<sup>19</sup>

In the following parts of this study I will point to Salazarism as a unique and specific case of of the “first traditionalism” whose substance consists not just of regime’s hybridity, but first of all of what I would label as “habitus philosophy” whose best expression was regime’s propaganda and its persistently stressed cult of “Salazarist man”, “Salazarist woman”, “Salazarist village”, “Salazarist home” or “new man”. Intensely promoted “Salazarist image” of “simple virtuous Portuguese people” should not be understood as an exclusive product of Salazar himself or his “propaganda laboratory”, SPN, but as a symbolic return of the first traditionalism discourse as it appeared in texts by Joseph de Maistre, Luis de Bonald, Donoso Cortés and others. In this respect there is no similarity with Nazi-fascist “temporary revolution”. As proposed by Luís Reis Torgal, Salazarist regime adopted traditionalist historiography with its distinct counter-revolutionary and catholic components and suppressed the role of local liberal and democratic tradition. Such discourse pervaded all the local symbolic space and found its use in image-building of Salazarist Portugal on outside — especially in relation to France and Brazil.<sup>20</sup>

Salazar’s “habitus philosophy”<sup>21</sup> — recognizing two main reservoirs of national life in national traditions and Catholic Church, that played major part in all regime

---

17 GENTILE, E., *Il mito dello Stato nuovo. Dal radicalismo nazionale al Fascismo*, Bari, Laterza 1999.

18 TORRAL, L. R., “Estado Novo: Republica Corporativa”, in: *Revista de História das Ideias*, Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra 2006, vol. 27, p. 446.

19 Almost all of them repeat the same thesis: “to understand Portuguese Estado Novo is possible just by means of Action française and Charles Maurras”. GRIFFITHS, R., “Fascist or Conservative? Portugal, Spain and the French Connection”, in: *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 14, 1998, pp. 138–151; LLOYD-JONES, S., “Integralismo Lusitano and Action française”, in: *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, vol. 2, March 2003, pp. 39–59; BERNARDO, J., *Labirinto do Fascismo. Na Encruzilhada da Ordem e da Revolta*, Edições Afrontamento, Porto 2003, p. 88.

20 Almost all of them repeat the same thesis: “to understand Portuguese Estado Novo is possible just by means of Action française and Charles Maurras.” GRIFFITHS, R., “Fascist or Conservative? Portugal, Spain and the French Connection”, in: *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 14, 1998, pp. 138–151; LLOYD-JONES, S., “Integralismo Lusitano and Action française”, in: *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, vol. 2, March 2003, pp. 39–59; BERNARDO, J., *Labirinto do Fascismo. Na Encruzilhada da Ordem e da Revolta*, Edições Afrontamento, Porto 2003, p. 88.

21 Best formulated in Massis-Salazar interview (MASSIS, H., *Chefs*, Paris 1939) or in Ferro-Salazar interview: FERRO, A., *Salazar o homem e a sua obra*, Coimbra 1933.

mythology — parallels with Maurras' "politique naturelle".<sup>22</sup> If it is said that Paul Bourget once proclaimed *Académie Française*, Prussian General Staff, Papacy and House of Lords as the four great European fortresses against revolutionary values and modernity, he probably underestimated Iberian or rather Portuguese political culture and tradition.<sup>23</sup>

Leaving aside contemporary ideologies of Italian fascism, German Nazism,<sup>24</sup> Soviet bolshevism and their "temporary revolutions" Salazar espoused "eternal truths" of the first traditionalism. Similar to Joseph de Maistre, Salazar invoked *grandes certezas*, i.e. absolute truths of the past to refuse openness/relativity of the modernity: "We strive to restore comfort of souls unbalanced by doubts and negativism of the century. We do not discuss the God and the virtue; we do not discuss our homeland and its history; we do not discuss the authority and its prestige; we do not discuss the family and its moral; we do not discuss a glory of the work and its duty".<sup>25</sup>

## TRADITIONALIST PALINGENESIS

Salazarism cautiously referred to Portuguese past, to great landmarks of national history and — differently from the demo-liberal doctrine of the First republic — lacked and even avoided North-Atlantic idea of general progress, growth or material welfare. That is why interpreting Salazarism one is bound to look back to far-off past, to Portuguese national traditions and to its economic backwardness as a part and expression of its ideology and worldview. Major part of analyses agree that Salazar's regime was an "amalgam", "hybrid", "eclectic", "marriage of priests and doctors" (Fernando Pessoa) or "hybrid dictatorship of generals and professors" (Miguel Unamuno) which was

---

22 That is the title of introduction to Charles Maurras' work *Mes idées politiques* in which exposed fundamental principles of his policy as "natural", i.e. resulting directly from nature of things. "La politique naturelle", pp. xv–xci, in: MAURRAS, Ch., *Mes idées politiques*, Paris 1941.

23 McCLELLAND, J. S. (ed.), *The French right (From de Maistre to Maurras)*, *Readings in Fascist, Racist and Elitist Ideology*, London 1970, p. 14.

24 In this respect there are some Salazar's discourses. For example in interview with Henri Massis in 1939: "Here is what embarrasses and frustrates especially young people. They want to live an intense, frenetic life. Grandiose and stormy demonstration of German or Italian life, Hitler's or Mussolini's style fascinate their imagination. They wish I could inflame sort of sacred hatred inside of them that would lead them ferociously against their enemies! That is not my goal: I want to normalize my nation. I make revolution in the peace and if I am a revolutionary, it is just within scale within which I am for harmony and truth and against lying, for order and against disorder to which this country was accustomed too much. This does not mean to cause it a fever, but on the contrary to embrace its fever — this political fever which almost led to its death — to be able to raise. Young people do not understand it and reproach me not do nothing (...)". MASSIS, H., *Chefs*, Paris 1939, p. 112.

25 Especially 1140, 1640 but also 1834, 1890 or 1910.

“firmly grounded in the meek underbelly of our nationalistic conservatism making use of what had been tried or outlined before in ideas and practice”.<sup>26</sup>

In the following part I am going to propose genealogy of Portuguese right whose different formations (1. dissolved First Portuguese republic<sup>27</sup>, 2. supported Sidónio Pais’ regime *República Nova*<sup>28</sup>, 3. participated in 1926 coup d’Etat 4. preceded Salazar’s regime) were ready to dominate it or participate in Salazar’s “act of amalgamation” but in final analysis major part of it followed Salazar’s anti-modernist precepts of the first traditionalism.<sup>29</sup>

Immediately after the triumph of “national revolution” there were almost no representatives of the liberal/modernist policy. The First Republic (1910–1918; 1919–1926) and its protagonists were completely discredited and those who intended to turn military coup to the liberal republic (Mendes Cabeçadas) were soon removed. Political scene was formed by different right-wing formations — from traditionalist monarchists (*Integralismo Lusitano*) to Sidonists and filo-fascists. Republic was regularly shocked by plots, coup tentatives and threatened by the possible new military dictatorship.<sup>30</sup>

For our purpose it is important to emphasize the depth of Salazarist ideological resources and inspirations that went back to the first traditionalism. In Portugal — in contrast to other European countries — revolutionary triad *liberté, égalité, fraternité* did not took deep roots. At the beginning of the 20th century it was followed by untold urban elites. This device of Masonic inspiration referred to the tradition of Portuguese constitutionalism and Liberal revolution (1820) and summarized essence of modernity: age of father was supposed to be substituted by the age of siblings (Jean-Pierre Domenach), modern age was supposed to overthrow “eternal truths” (traditional authority) and introduced a new modern paradigm of *discussion perpétuelle* (Donoso Cortés), i.e. “open society” (Karl R. Popper).

According to Taguieff, the first traditionalists were authors of *Zeitdiagnosen* or “analyses” whose leading principle was *dénonciation globale et la condamnation totale*

26 “Solidamente ancorada no ventre mole do nosso conservadorismo nacionalista aproveitando tudo o que anteriormente fora tentado ou esboçado, nas ideias como na prática (...)” (for example in the dictatorship of Sidonio Pais or João Franco). MEDINA, J., *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*, Lisboa 2000, p. 52. Among Portuguese historians there is wide agreement about it (Manuel Braga da Cruz, António José Pinto, João Medina, Luís Reis Torgal and others).

27 Detail description of that movement proposes: COSTA PINTO, A., *Os Camisas Azuis. Ideologia, Elites e Movimentos Fascistas em Portugal, 1914–1945*, Lisboa 1994; CASTRO LEAL, E., “A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918–1938)”, in: *Análise Social*, XXXIII (148), 1998 (4º), pp. 823–851.

28 Regime established by Sidónio Pais that lasted from December 1918 till 1919, in many respects it was predecessor of Salazarist regime *Estado Novo*.

29 Here, categories of “first traditionalism” and “second traditionalism” is used in the same sense as in Pierre-André Taguieff.

30 Putshists themselves (two members of triumvirate: Gomes da Costa a Mendes Cabeçadas) were soon overthrown. See: Gomes da Costa’s memories in: Armando Aguiar, *A Ditadura e os Políticos*, Editorial Hércules, 1932, p. 24.

*du monde moderne*, especially its *organisation politique*<sup>31</sup> (“parliamentary policy”). The first traditionalists (Burke, Maistre, Bonald and later Donoso Cortés) dogmatically denounced destruction of hierarchy (*liberté illimitée*), regime of discussion and universal doubts (*l’argumentation est marquée d’une irrémédiable faiblesse*). Modernity ceased to be governed by the “truths one does not discuss”, “great principles” and exposed them to “logocracy” or to general discussion thereby everything got inevitable mediocre.<sup>32</sup> Modern, post-revolutionary political culture opened the way to absolute relativism (*Il n’y a qu’un absolu, c’est que tout est relatif*). Like that, modernity is — for traditionalists — historical era without great truths but the era of great doubts and relativism. For the second traditionalism modernity — in the context of *fin-de-siècle* — opened the door to nihilism.

According to Donoso Cortés the modern or *philosophique* civilization is the only civilization that — thanks to excess of civilization — generates barbarism. From this perspective modern (post-revolutionary) civilization equals barbarism, lacks creativity and is sterile (*civilisation, elle, est stérile*) whereas barbarism is authentic and thereby fertile.<sup>33</sup> Regardless of different currents of traditionalism<sup>34</sup>, there was a deep conviction, that modernity equals decadent decline of authentic occidental civilization.<sup>35</sup> In contrast to the first traditionalism, criticism of the second one (whose founder Taguieff identified in Friedrich Nietzsche)<sup>36</sup> was vitally reinforced

31 TAGUIEFF, P.-A., “Le paradigme traditionaliste: horror de la modernité et antilibérale. Nietzsche dans la rhétorique réactionnaire”, in: Pierre-André Taguieff & coll., *Pourquoi nous ne sommes pas nietzschéens*, Paris 1991, p. 219.

32 “(...) la dénonciation de l’égalitarisme ne se situe pas au centre de l’argumentation anti-moderne dans les derniers écrits nietzschéens, la modernité se détermine plutôt par la métaphore du mélange de toutes les nourritures, des plus grossières aux plus raffinées, et une monstrueuse capacité d’assimilation des contraires. La modernité est mélangeuse et mangeuse, elle ingurgite et digère indifféremment toute chose”. TAGUIEFF, P.-A., op. cit., p. 226.

33 DONOSO CORTÉS, “Pensées diverses”, § 1, in: DONOSO CORTÉS, *Lettre au Cardinal Fornari et textes annexes*, tr. fr. André Coyné, Lausanne, L’Âge d’Homme, 1989, p. 122.

34 There are different currents within counter-revolution but also within ultramontanism — there, one often forgets existence of two essential currents of ultra-montanism: 1) liberal current trying to conciliate democratic and republican principles of the revolution with the institutional catholicism and Vatican (Félicité de Lamennais), 2) conservative (Joseph de Maistre). In 1832 Gregory XVI rejected whatever papacy that would reconcile with the principles of the revolution which led to the domination of conservative and absolutist wing of ultramontanism. To complicate a little bit a situation, the original traditionalism was “theological” or “theocratic” because in their interpretations of authority and sovereignty referred to the God and divine origin of government. Later on Taine, Renan (both Maistre’s and Burke’s disciples) substituted Christian faith by science and morals.

35 Pierre-André Taguieff, proposes several main arguments in the same sense (already in the first pages suggests that already the first traditionalism equals the first decadence diagnosis.

36 For Pierre-André Taguieff it is Friedrich Nietzsche as founder of the second traditionalism whose intellectual and political legacy appeared as late as during the first part of the 20th century, op. cit., p. 228

by simultaneous phenomena of decadence in morals, arts, and nationalism. Speaking about *héritiers partiels et partiiaux* of the second traditionalism, Taguieff thinks of Salazar's contemporaries, thinkers of decadence, Oswald Spengler, Julius Évola, Édouard Barth, Drieu La Rochelle, Léon Chestov, Cioran and, of course, Heidegger. In his view that intellectual current, enriched by ingredients of decadence and nationalism *a opéré son passage au politique au XXe siècle, soit par des mobilisations nationalistes, soit par chemins du fascisme*.<sup>37</sup> According to our first thesis Salazarism did not draw from nationalism, racism, Anti-Semitism or modernism, but from the very first reactions to modernity, i.e. took use of neo-traditionalists/counter-revolutionary movements (*Integralismo Lusitano*, *Cruzada D. Nuno Álvares Pereira* and others). According to our second thesis, the myths produced by Salazarism, i.e. by its propaganda apparatus SPN, constituted anti-modern characteristics, and were rooted in the discourse of the first traditionalism.

Whereas in France political modernity started dominating as late as during the III republic, in Portugal its influence was questionable even during the First republic. In Iberian Peninsula liberal policy interfered with the strong tradition of counter-revolutionary right whose political death did not lead to its complete extinction. Defeated in 1834, Portuguese Miguelism (inheritors of political legacy of Miguel I) did not fall completely into oblivion. If the liberal policy, parliamentarism and modernity were strong enough in France to face both traditionalists and fascists, it could not be said about Barcelona, Madrid or Lisbon. Republican regime itself, royalist exulants, and *Action française* formed the most important contribution to the traditionalist rebirth whose best expression was *Integralismo Lusitano* (founded in 1914). Integralists — similarly to their relatives in Spain — rejected all symptoms of modernity and (like their inspirators from *Action française*) radiated “anti-discourse” (municipalism, traditional medieval monarchy, historiographic revisionism in form of anti-Pombalism and veneration of Portuguese 17th century and Restoration, rejection of traditional alliance with Great Britain, rejection of “modern” and “foreign” elements in society, return to national catholic traditions and habits etc.). *Integralismo Lusitano* was one of those first groupings that drew from Portuguese and French counter-revolution and collaborated with Sidonio Pais' short dictatorship.<sup>38</sup>

Traditionalist discourse came into being as a consequence of the French revolution. Its theoretical foundation laid works by Edmund Burke and Joseph de Maistre and — as André-Pierre Taguieff<sup>39</sup> demonstrated — it proposed the first discourse

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>38</sup> João Medina designed this Portuguese right-wing current as “anti-liberal stemming from counter-revolution” (legitimism or miguelism, ultramontanism, Franquism, *Integralismo Lusitano*, *Acção Realista Portuguesa*, *Causa Monárquica* etc.), MEDINA, J., *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*, Lisboa 2000, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> Next to already cited Taguieff following works are highly recommended: 1) GODECHOT, J., *La Contre-révolution. Doctrine et action*, Paris 1984; 2) BEIK, P. H., *The French Revolution seen from the Right. Social Theories in Motion, 1789–1799*, in: *The American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 46, part I, Philadelphia 1956, 3) REIS TORRAL, L., *Tradicionalismo e Contra-Revolução*, Universidade de Coimbra 1973.



of modern civilization decadence. However, conditions of modernity and counter-revolutionary genealogy differed in each European country. In Portuguese context traditionalist and counter-revolutionary discourse was renewed after the period of constitutional monarchy (1834–1910) partly thanks to different social factors<sup>40</sup> but also as a result of Salazar's generation (born in 1880s and 1890s) acting. Getting experience in forced exile<sup>41</sup> many intended to re-introduce traditionalist and counter-revolutionary political philosophy into political life.<sup>42</sup> It was exactly that kind of “Salazarist avant-garde” that Medina labelled as “anti-liberal right stemming from the counterrevolution”<sup>43</sup> and that — according to some — played crucial role in Salazarism formation.<sup>44</sup>

### PALINGENETIC MYTH À PORTUGAISE

“Do not compare (...), the Italian case with the Portuguese one. (...) In Portugal, such a work of total renewal, even if it had been possible and legitimate, the nation would not have sustained it ... We are a poor, diseased country that does not easily support big shots of the new blood ... we make our way slowly, step by step.”  
Salazar to Ferro<sup>45</sup> (1933)

Salazarist doctrine frequently used palingenetic terminology (*re-criação, re-generação, re-stauração, re-generação, homem novo, Estado Novo, nova ordem* etc.). In this respect it was similar to German *völkische Denken* or to modernist artists who jux-

---

<sup>40</sup> Next to already cited Taguieff following works are highly recommended: 1) GODECHOT, J., *La Contre-révolution. Doctrine et action*, Paris 1984; 2) BEIK, P. H., *The French Revolution seen from the Right. Social Theories in Motion, 1789–1799*, in: The American Philosophical Society, Vol. 46, part I, Philadelphia 1956, 3) REIS TORRAL, L., *Tradicionalismo e Contra-Revolução*, Universidade de Coimbra 1973.

<sup>41</sup> Mariotte (Amadeu Vasconcelos) lived and worked in Paris and was in very close contact with Action française and Maurras and during 1913–1916 published review *Os Meus Cadernos* and set up basis of *Liga de Acção Nacional*. In 1914 João do Amaral started publishing pamphlets *Aqui d'El Rei* in Lisbon. Young Portuguese monarchists founded review *A Alma portuguesa* in Belgium (the same who founded Integralismo Lusitano in Portugal in 1914).

<sup>42</sup> Integralismo Lusitano already in the moment of its founding (1914) it animated the most orthodox theorists of counter-revolution (Frei Fortunato de S. Boaventura, Agostinho de Macedo, viscount de Santarém, marquis de Penalva, Gama e Castro, Faustino José de Madre de Deus). One of them was Salazar's prominent ideologues and former integralist, the third count João Ameal, theorist of *Acção Realista*.

<sup>43</sup> Medina's terminology. In his classification of Portuguese right (so-called pentagonal subdivision) Medina names this current as the independent tradition and next to her, as independent tradition, Salazarist “anti-liberal right of republican form”. Nevertheless Medina admits that Portuguese scene was before Salazar full of “unclassified” individuals and groups. MEDINA, J., *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*, Lisboa 2000, pp. 21–23.

<sup>44</sup> See TORRAL, L. R., *Historia e Ideologia*, ed. Livraria Minerva, Coimbra 1989.

<sup>45</sup> FERRO, A., op. cit., p. 148.

taposed images of destruction and creation. Fernando Rosas diagnosed Portuguese *Estado Novo* by means of several myth(s)(ologies), so-called *mitos ideológicos fundadores*. Rosas placed “palingenetic myth” on the first place of all the “recreation processes”. Nevertheless, all that is too far from that kind of shift that Griffin calls “Aufbruch”. Although inspired by nazi-fascist propaganda ministeries and paramilitary institutions, Salazar’s sceptical and suspicious mind resisted to all those hot-headed prophets of Nazi-fascist new order. Asking him about “Renewal” of Portuguese society, António Ferro — the journalist who used to work as correspondent in Italy and interviewing both D’Annunzio and Mussolini — received answer worth of conservative statesman: “Submitting and enslaving themselves by these abstract ideas which they find superior, believing too much in miracles of these ideas, in their almighty power, these guys totally ignore their individual education and their value within society.”<sup>46</sup> And again on different place: “Don’t forget that Mussolini is Italian, a descendant of medieval condottieri, and don’t forget he has socialist even communist background. However, his case is admirable, unique, national. He himself declared: fascism is a typical Italian product as well as Bolshevism is Russian product. Neither one nor another cannot be transferred and cannot exist outside its natural space. On the contrary Portuguese *Estado Novo* can neither escape nor pretend to escape the limits of morals that views as a necessary part of the fundamentals of regenerative efforts (...) this state is not so absolutist and we don’t consider it almighty.”<sup>47</sup>

Propaganda, historiography, fine arts, journalism, leader’s speeches and interviews played an important role in promotion of “palingenetic myth” that drew from the rich traditionalist (and not revolutionary) reservoir. It was preceded by Integralismo Lusitano’s project and today it can be said that Salazar was — excepting several important doctrinal principles — integralist.

In contrast to northern Europe Salazarist “palingenetic myth” did not take form of “constructive destruction”, but rather of regression to pre-Pombalian traditionalist Christian society. Salazarist propaganda, educational, and academic institutions adopted neo-miguelism and integralist philosophy of history. In Salazarism it was rather reproduction *homem velho* (old man) than *homem novo* (new man) which. As we will see further, all that corresponded with previous integralist and counter-revolutionary ideological efforts to get back Portuguese history to its idyllic origins. First of all there is phenomena of historiography: Salazarism adopted integralist, traditionalist and counter-revolutionary historiography whose main feature was condemnation of Pombalism<sup>48</sup>, then constitutional monarchy and Restoration period.

Belief in renewal was not produced just by *Estado Novo*, Salazar, catholic or integralist thought. Renewal vision is present in periodical *A Águia*’s (movement *Renascença Portuguesa*’s press organ) nationalism and sebastianist *saudosismo*. Next to extreme right-wing integralists (and their periodical *Nação Portuguesa*). The same

---

<sup>46</sup> FERRO, A., op. cit., pp. 147–148.

<sup>47</sup> FERRO, A., op. cit., p. 74

<sup>48</sup> So-called “Período Pombalino” (1750–1777) corresponds with the time when Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (marquis Pombal) occupied function of the first minister of the king José I.

can be said about more liberal periodicals *Seara Nova* and later *Presença*. In 1922 review *Contemporânea* introduced its project *viver de novo Portugal* in whose centre there were thesis of social order renewal, integralist nationalism, defense of lusitanian race and Anti-Semitism (Mário de Sâa), providentialism of young artists like young António Ferro and Almada de Negreiros. Later on, revolutionary spirit of last mentioned was reduced and adapted to Salazarist political order: their modernist art celebrated Salazarist man, peasant or fishermen, those who followed old customs. Such modernism found its expression in works by Almada Negreiros and later Estrela de Farias. Idea of strong nation endowed with heroic past found its expression in Francisco Franco's and Canto da Maia's sculptures.<sup>49</sup> Official art reveals degree to which Salazarism invested nation's energies in mental attachment to old, pre-revolutionary and pre-modern values and topics of national history.

### MYTHICIZING NATIONAL PAST

Integralists, Salazar's ideological precursors were — among others — interpreters of national history and thus precursors of Salazarist "temporary revolution". It was respected group of young intellectuals who strived to "return" national history to its right, historical, i.e. traditional origins — similar to those advocated by counter-revolutionary "maître" Joseph de Maistre. In this context they accentuated two crucial landmarks of national history: 1) Restoration; i.e. reign of João VI, 1640–1656; "Restauração da Independência" and 2) Pombal and Pombalism. Salazar's "temporary revolution" adopted both integralist re-interpretation.

In Portugal, Enlightenment and its values are associated with the first royal minister Pombal and philosopher Verney.<sup>50</sup> Brazilian historian José Murilo de Carvalho considers their common modernization projects as the most important attempt of Portuguese empire extricate its retarded educational and administrative system from medieval conditions and elevate it to the North European level. Nevertheless, changes they both introduced were short-lived and thus — according to Brazilian historian — Enlightenment missed both Portugal and its colonies.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> PAULO, H., *Estado Novo e propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil*, Coimbra 1994, pp. 60–61.

<sup>50</sup> Luís António Verney (1713–1792), philosopher, priest, professor, the greatest representative of Portuguese Enlightenment and at the same time — in this context — one of the well-known Portuguese "estrangeirados" (his father was French and mother Portuguese). Verney was harsh critic of traditional and obsolete methods of education and reform of education. In Portugal his methods were countered.

<sup>51</sup> 1) Salazar's foreign policy was conservative in such a degree that (in contrast to *Integralismo Lusitano's* strategy) he maintained traditional alliance with Great Britain, 2) Salazar did not restore traditional monarchy (even though he inspired such expectations), in this respect see: QUINTAS, J. M., "Os monárquicos e as eleições de 1958", in: DELGADO, I. — PACHECO, C. — FARIA, T. (eds.), *Humberto Delgado — as eleições 1958*, Lisboa 1998; 3) even though regime practiced regionalist/municipalist policy in terms of propaganda, *Estado Novo* never acceded to federal principles (much like the monarchy a the republic before),

“Pombalismo” makes part of the foremost traditional Portuguese ideological families. It also denotes certain historical period of Portuguese history, crucial historical shift, certain ideological interpretation of Portuguese history and eventually institutional reformism. Pombalism epitomizes decisive reversal in Portuguese absolutism. It was attempt to put an end to country’s backwardness and approach it to more progressive European North. But solution to great economic-political problems and introduction of *absolutismo esclarecido* stirred up considerable conflicts.

Portuguese liberal tradition — against which both integralism and Salazarism launched its attacks — was, according to its representatives, noted for extensive re-interpretative potential as far as national history is concerned. It was this tradition that throughout all the 19th century strived to point to alleged popular and liberal spirit of Portuguese society during all the history. One of its foremost arguments was that of popular constitution existing long before Liberal revolution (1820). Semi-mythic constitution *de base liberal* existing since the beginning of the kingdom was exactly what 19th century liberals were striving to re-formulated and resuscitate. According to them absolutism of previous centuries was false political order initiated under the last kings of Aviz dynasty, solified during last Spanish Hapsburgs (Filipes) and Braganças. According to liberals essence of 19th century constitutionalism (1822) was not of revolutionary nature but that of restoration *primaeval* order. In their interpretation of national history they considered Restoration period as the only exception from generally absolutist history — at that time the ancient constitutionalism was renewed and king João IV was “popular sovereign”. Nevertheless, even that popular movement was defeated, absolutism was recreated and got its peak under João V. The goal of 19th century liberalism was not to turn back to the past but to “absolutist” past and restore “liberal” past.

Question of political nature of Portuguese 17th century and the nature of its key political event — Restoration — produced many controversies already in the end of 18th century. Even though legitimist/miguelist counter-revolutionary right was defeated already in 1834, its theoretic arguments continued strongly present not just during the 19th century but even later. Originated in 18th century this politico-ideological current acted partly as a reaction to French revolution, partly as a reaction to local liberal “traditionalism” as described above. Counter-revolutionaries were probably the first and the strongest force striving to turn historical events, prove falsity of idea of pre-existence of liberal traditions and the overweight those of absolutism. From this standing they attacked also Pombalismo — for what they considered a decisive defeat of organicist absolutism.<sup>52</sup> Penalva, a pioneer of counter-revolutionary reading of his-

---

see: PAULO, H., “Portugal dos Pequenitos — uma obra ideológico-social de um professor de Coimbra”, in: *Separata da Revista de História das Idéias*, vol. 12, Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra 1990, 4) Salazar did not realize Sardinha’s project of “aliança peninsular” (rather cultural and spiritual than political concept adopted by integralist leader during his exile in Spain, 1919–1921).

52 Such is the note of *Dissertação a favor da Monarquia* (1799) by marquis de Penalva, where the author admitted existence of *Cortes de Lamego* (semi-mythic assembly considered as a moment of the foundation of Portugal, event whose date is still indefinite) and interpreted

tory glorified king-restorer João IV, spoke about “Portuguese liberties” as not being the true “archaic liberties”. Later, in 1825, it was Faustino José da Madre de Deus who spoke in the same spirit and defended absolute monarchy.<sup>53</sup> Counter-revolution strived to envision restoration not as popular movement but as political traditions renewals that fits in absolutist tradition of the country. Counterrevolutionary historiography — in contrast to that liberal one — contained fair amount of nationalism and thus, naturally, considered restoration movement as “pozitivní událost” (freeing from Spanish absolutism), on the other hand it combated 18th century (revolutionary philosophizing imported from France and Pombalism). Similarly integralists and traditionalists made use of 17th century personalities and institutions (including inquisition) as a way of justification of legitimist, absolutist and nationalist ideas.

In this matter black-and-white perspective is not advisable. Anti-monarchist current did not follow liberal precepts without reserves. One of archetypal figures of Portuguese positivist republicanism, eminent representative of *Generation 1870*<sup>54</sup> and second provisional president of the republic (1810–1811), Teófilo Braga (1843–1924) was also — ironically — great inspirator of integralist leader António Sardinha and interpreted the 17th century in profoundly negative way (as integralists did): not in terms of popular sense of freedom and liberty, but in terms of profound backwardness.

When, in 1914, Integralismo Lusitano defends *monarquia orgânica tradicionalista antiparlamentar* and underpins its politico-cultural project using ideological syncretism behind which we can suspect the whole arsenal of counter-revolutionary thinkers of 18th and 19th century. Integralist ideological push was considerably weakened shortly before the fall of the republican regime, when — in 1925 — leader of Integralismo Lusitano, António Sardinha, died. The next year, Action *française* suffered even stronger shock when condemned by the pope Pius XI.

For Salazar and Salazarists history was something to be seized. As it was already noted, Salazarist concept of history had been prepared. Thus, producing an unambiguous “other history” was facilitated by prefabricated by local counter-revolutionary tradition. Though they were not monarchists, they believed that all the

it in a constitutional way. Contrary to them, he always stressed that there was nothing “liberal” in Portuguese primeval monarchy. He even asserted that all the law had depended on *puro arbítrio do rei* and that Cortes had had consultative character. TORGAL, L. R., *História e Ideologia*, Coimbra 1989, p. 55.

53 In *Os Povos e os Reis* (The Peoples and the Kings) from 1825 concedes existence of semi-mythic assembly *Cortes de Lamego* (whose existence was questioned even by some liberals) but — in contrast to liberals tried to emphasize that there hadn’t been anything liberal in Portuguese primeval monarchy. He even asserted that all the laws always had depended on *puro arbítrio do rei* and that Cortes had just function of consultative organ and was summoned just when the king decided. TORGAL, L. R. — MENDES, J. A. — CATROGA, F., *História da história em Portugal*, Lisboa 1998, p. 56.

54 *Generation* famous because of so-called *Conferências do Casino* (May 1871) whose first and dominant figure was Antero de Quental (1842–1891). The generation connected spirit of positivism with the aesthetics and claim of active policy participation. Under the constitutional monarchy Antero was a deputy (member of PRP) and supporter federalist republicanism.

constitutional period (and all the theory of popular sovereignty) was a fatal error. Salazarist “progress” was at the same “regress”, but it was that kind of regression that was viewed as progressive. Salazar’s generation was supposed to be *geração da resgate* with the ambition to realize great historical shift: “it is said and repeated that we witness one of great reversals in history: (...) we are realizing social transformations from which new world will arise”.<sup>55</sup> The new Salazarist myth does not create just works of “official historiography”, but is composed bit by bit via mythization of national past with the use of public feasts, parades, expositions and competitions. All that is the way how to celebrate dead ancestors, their accomplishments (medieval battles like Ourique, Aljubarrota or overseas discoveries or national monarchy restoration), the cult of the deads — the same as it is observable in Nazi-fascist regimes<sup>56</sup>. On those occasions Ferro compared Salazar to infant D. Henrique<sup>57</sup>, for others he is incarnation of semi-mythic king Sebastian or Sidónio Pais. Thus he is another incarnation of “Portuguese race”, further Sardinha’s “Homo Atlanticus”.

As Salazar clearly expounded in his discourse on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of *coup d’état* (28/5/1926) and even before in his discourse from 1934<sup>58</sup>, Salazar expected young generation would realize that “salvation” of national history and getting it back to the “right course”. Professional and official historiography of the regime was written largely by historians of integralist education and background, who took advantage of their knowledge in the service of Salazar and — probably — believing in the myth of Salazar’s providential mission of return of their monarchic ideal. Thus Sardinha’s “historiographical revisionism” was smuggled into Salazar’s “historiographic nationalism”.

In Portuguese thought there was traditionally longing to *Portugal Maior*, dreamy imagery representing certain overlap of European civilization to different continents and cultures. Under Salazar such imagery got recreated and gained the force. Integralists systematically referred to that Utopian vision. Their idea of “dead ancestors dominating the living” stemmed from Comte and Maurras. Among Salazarists preeminent historians there were those with integralist education: João Ameal (1902–1982)<sup>59</sup>, Caetano Beirão (1892–1968), Rodrigues Cavalheiro (1902–1984) and Alfredo Pimenta (1882–1950).<sup>60</sup>

---

55 TORGAL, L. R., *História da história em Portugal I*, Lisboa 1998, p. 274.

56 MOSSE, G. L., “Fascism and the French revolution”, in: *Journal of Contemporary history*, 1989, pp. 5–26.

57 TORGAL, L. R., *História da história em Portugal I*, Lisboa 1998, p. 275.

58 SALAZAR, *Discursos I* (“A Escola, a Vida e a Nação”, January, 28, 1934), Coimbra 1961, p. 303.

59 Third count of Ameal, ex-integralist considered the leading ideologue and historian of Estado Novo. Author of the famous ideological work *Decálogo do Estado Novo*. Philosophically his works were based on thomism, traditionalism and counter-revolution. He belonged to those integralists who did not refuse collaboration with Salazar and *Estado Novo*.

60 Pimenta, “enfant terrible” of the regime, was part — even though free part — of the group. Pimenta sided both with integralism and fascism, but moreover he was openly Germanophile and Antisemite. In some way he collaborated with Salazar, Estado Novo and its cultural institutions.

Price “Alexandre Herculano”, introduced by SPN, regime propaganda apparatus, was conferred to outstanding works of historiography. Ameal received it in 1943 for the work (*História de Portugal*) where teleological concept of history similar to that of António Sardinha was expounded: critical moment of national history comes with Pombal and his *monarquia da tábua rasa* (i.e. deviation from “natural course” of national history). The work was published in *ano áureo* 1940 (the year of double anniversary: i.e. foundation of the kingdom in 1140 and restoration in 1640), which, in itself, was celebrated as the mythical land-mark of national history. At the time when the world and Europe were seized by the war, Portugal organized *A Exposição do mundo português* (Exposition of the Portuguese World) where it epitomized an isle of calm and peace surrounded by the continent in conflict. In the same year Salazar signed concordat with the Catholic Church and the missionary agreement. The both were supposed to confirm country’s role as a decisive defensor of Christian peace ideal.

### SALAZARIST IDEAL: RURAL UTOPIA

*Ainsi cet homme hier inconnu, qui arrivait au pouvoir sans brigue, cet homme sans amis à favoriser, sans clientele electorale á satisfaire, sans attaches partisanses, cet homme, libre de tout compromis, put n'être que “le froid exécuteur de l'interet général” et ne considérer que la grandeur, la noblesse du devoir assigné.*

Massis about Salazar<sup>61</sup>

Salazar got well-known as leader-misanthrope, misogynist, monk, intellectual. Ferro noted that Gérard Braun had called him “mystic of numbers”<sup>62</sup> and Massis repeatedly mentions his education of *professeur et clerc*. Foreign visitors are frequently astonished when witnessing his humble lifestyle. Foreign visitors<sup>63</sup> Christina Garnier or Henri Massis were fascinated by his austerity and simplicity which frequently attributed to his catholic education and monastic lifestyle: he did not enjoy public appearances, did not strive for publicity, stood aloof from people. Even in 1933 Ferro spoke of him as of a very mysterious and invisible man nobody knew what to expect from but whom — without any doubt — included in the group of leaders he admired: “The people that never spoke to him, never heard and saw him, that never sees the way he smiles or gets angry, (...) Is it possible that dr. Salazar will be dictator à Mussolini or à Sidonio Pais, but a bit reverted? Will he be a dictator à Machiavelli’s “Prince”, skilfully measuring all his actions, saying for himself “no” whereas his mouth says “yes” or vice-versa? Will he become a Dominican like Savonarola, trying to cure Portuguese from their sins and vices or a Franciscan like St. Anthony, trying to defeat social disorder and injustice? *Será,*

61 MASSIS, H., *Chefs*, Paris 1939, p. 89.

62 FERRO, A., Preface, p. 6.

63 These French Salazar’s sympathizers came from Pétainist and right-wing quarters (Poujade, Tixier-Vignancourt, Benoît or Carcopino and many others).

*simplesmente, hipótese mais aceitável, um homem de Estado similar to Austrian Seipel, simple but great clerk of the souls and budgets?*<sup>64</sup>

In the European context Salazar's characteristics were not usual, yet Salazar managed to get considerable popularity within European conservative political circles. Already in the beginning of 1930s he was aware of importance of propaganda. His propaganda apparatus (SPN and later SNI) successfully achieved to personify both regime and Portugal. Salazar himself successfully embodied and personified his country and his regime and in numerous interviews with foreign journalists who viewed both Portugal and Salazarist regimes as extensions of its dictator. Thus Portuguese people was frequently described as simple, austere, modest, poor, honest Catholics who feels happy even if live in very needy conditions.<sup>65</sup> Such image of "proud austerity" fits both in counter-revolutionary and catholic ideological substratum and in Salazarist "rural utopy" whose "temporary revolution" went counter "fascist/modernist revolution" and aimed at heavenly rural super-temporal utopy as depicted by Martins Barata (*Lições de Salazar*), embodied by "the most Portuguese of all Portuguese villages"<sup>66</sup> or *Portugal dos Pequenitos* and panegyricized by foreign journalists and writes.

Martins Barata's illustrations, *Portugal dos Pequenitos*<sup>67</sup>, Plantin's sonnet *Le Bonheur de ce monde*<sup>68</sup> and foreign visitor's descriptions of humble Portuguese lifestyle, all that is nothing but description of mythic and idyllic home, the one before industrialization and urbanization, countryside inhabited by simple and honest people honouring catholic traditional values, society where all the power derives from the God: *Omnis potestas a Deo* or *non est potestas nisi a Deo*. In other words, Salazarist imagery draw us back not just to Christian myth and pre-industrial society but also to counter-revolutionary vision of Portuguese society that never accepted idea of power derived from the people and parliamentary politics. It is this imagery that permeated *educação nacional* characterized by João Medina — asking what kind of society

---

<sup>64</sup> FERRO, A., op. cit., Preface, p. 10.

<sup>65</sup> MASSIS, H., *Chefs*, Paris 1939.

<sup>66</sup> *Aldeia mais portuguesa de Portugal* (the most Portuguese village in Portugal). Village of Monsanto finds itself in the Salazar's region Beira. PAULO, H., "Portugal dos Pequenitos — uma obra ideológico-social de um professor de Coimbra", in: *Separata da Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 12, Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra 199.

<sup>67</sup> *Portugal dos Pequenitos* is architectonic piece by Cassiano Branco. However, author of that project was Salazar's ex-schoolmate and friend, physician living in Coimbra, Bissaya-Barreto (1886-1974). Project was supposed to be a celebration of regionalism, colonialism and Salazar's ideal of "chastity of nation". See: PAULO, H., "Portugal dos Pequenitos — uma obra ideológico-social de um professor de Coimbra", in: *Separata da Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 12, Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra 199.

<sup>68</sup> Antwerpian poet Christophe Plontin (1520-1589) in whose essay Salazar found his ideal of "casinha portuguesa" (small Portuguese house). In contrast to the zeitgeist he found there antimodernist and Utopian ideal, a sort of perennial philosophy or medieval *pax ruris*. Pictures of Martins Barata with the title of *Lições de Salazar* (Salazar's lessons) come from 1938 and are — similarly to Plontin's poem — resumé of Portuguese (Salazarist) mentality, which reflects triad *Deus, Pátria, Família*.



Martins Barata really depicted — as composed of three principles: 1) rustic ideal, 2) triad: father, mother, children, 3) Catholic God, one and trine. According to Medina, Plantin's ideal and set of pictures by Martins Barata fit in regressive utopia as it was venerated by their contemporaries: Eugénio d'Ors, Plínio Salgado, Berdyaeff, Henri Massis, Hillaire Beloc, G. K. Chesterton, Gonzague de Reynold and others. Even if Salazar distanced himself from Maurras<sup>69</sup>, French Maurrasians on many occasions referred to consonance between him and their *maître*, some (Massis) identified his anti-totalitarian nationalism as “ours”.

Resembling Joseph de Maistre and the first traditionalists Salazar refused life in Portugal to be determined by ideologies, abstract political theories or universalist ideas. Can it be that, saying that “those philosophical concepts buried by the time are coming back to the first line with its new aspects and with the aim to resolve the most serious problems”<sup>70</sup>, he believed to be predestinated to change course of history in all the Europe? Refusing universal ideas, theories and modernity in itself, Salazar meant to return national life to its everydayness, tradition, habitus. And thus, it is — contrary to “modern” doctrines — nature itself that is meant to be the guide of nation in its history. “Some boast of already made and complete political systems ready to be applied to healthy or sick societies, with whatever condition of work, education or culture, in whatever race or place. And those people, obsessed by their own doctrines or cabinet dreams, cannot know what people are like and how peoples live: ivory-towered because of their a priori theories and cut off from the past because of their ambition to build future that is not connected with it, they do not need memory. But we are not like that.”<sup>71</sup>

Similar argument Salazar turned against Maurras — even though he did not agree with him in basic (neo)thomist direction of his politics. It seems, that, for him, it was — as it did for others — too cerebral and intellectual: “I have read the books by Maurras; they seduce by clarity and logic (...). Nevertheless, between me and the unconditional admirers of the French doctrinarian, there is a difference of attitude (...). For Maurras and his disciples the political phenomena is social phenomena par excellence and the politics is the great factor in people's lives which determines their further evolution. Their military banner, *Politique d'abord*, speaks clearly and synthesizes admirably dynamics of pure Maurrasians. But what is contained in this expression is the error of history and sociology and constitutes a danger for new generations formation. For sure, politics has its place (...). But country's life is more complex, larger, escapes organs and actions of the power much more that many people think: history of a nation is not just history of its conquerors and great kings; it is, more than any other thing, the result of the work that the environment imposes on men, work of qualities and of imperfections of the people that lives in that environment.”<sup>72</sup>

---

69 FERRO, A., op. cit., pp. 144–145.

70 SALAZAR, *Discursos I*, p. 164.

71 SALAZAR, *Discursos III (1938–1943)*, (“Na Assembleia Nacional”, April, 28, 1938), Coimbra 1961, p. 64.

72 FERRO, A., p. 144 (Salazar responding Ferro's question about his political education).

As it was already mentioned, at the beginning of the 20th century Portugal did not lack modernist movements and intellectual/artistic currents ready to cut off country's past and transform it in dynamic and progressive country (futurism, modernism) and to link policy and art (fascism). Portugal belonged among under-developed countries where modernist political ambitions were particularly strong. Portuguese Mussolini's disciples like Antonio Ferro, Homem Cristo Filho, António Pedro or Rolão Preto<sup>73</sup> spotted their authoritarian ideal first in Sidónio Pais and his short dictatorship. Nevertheless, later events revealed Mussolinian ideal as not very compatible with Portuguese temperament. The "activist political style" (O'Sullivan), "nationalization of masses" (Mosse) or "modernist palingenesis" (Griffin) got its adherents, but whereas Homem Cristo Filho died prematurely already and abroad, Ferro joined Salazar's Estado Novo (in 1933 became head of SPN), Rolão Preto became dissident, lived in exile in later joined the democratic opposition. His philo/para-fascist movement of national syndicalism (N/S) was dissolved already in 1934!

Decisive supremacy of traditionalism was partly due to activities of SPN, already mentioned propaganda apparatus. Founded in October 1933, it was directly connected with presidency of the government. Its activity had two dimensions: inner (there, in short, it cared for consensus within nation) and outer (it aspired for redefinition of international political map and to solve the biggest problems of Portugal's international policy: 1. its regime as it was viewed abroad, 2. colonial empire). SPN collaborated with *Comissões de Censura* and directed tourism sector (activity connected both to outer and inner segment). Decree No. 30 289 (3, February, 1940) introduced *Conselho Nacional do Turismo* as a part of SPN. Thus, SPN got responsible for Portuguese civilization propaganda and presentation of *Estado Novo* both at local and international level. Here, SPN's activity was permeated by ideas of Lusitanian "typicalness", "Portuguese villages", imagery of "poor, dilligent, but happy" people: all that was supposed to become lure not just for tourists but also for sympathizer of the regime. Decree No. 31 259 (9, May 1941) introduced enlargement of hotels network that offered almost the same. Genuine "show-rooms" of truly Portuguese lifestyle represented *Pousadas do SPN* (SPN hostels). These made up an accommodation network that was arranged in such a way that their visitors unfaillingly received idealized image of countryside and "Portuguese nation".

In a way scenario of Portuguese "regeneration model" represents purely national way incommensurable with that of vicinal Spain or contemporary Nazi-fascist regimes. Its "international dimension" consists of Taguieff's "first traditionalism", Maurrasian "integral nationalism", para-military organizations (*Mocidade Portuguesa*, *Legião Portuguesa* etc.), some state organs (SPN, later SNI) and perhaps specific type of corporativism. Nevertheless apparent rejection of modernity and its benefits

---

<sup>73</sup> George L. Mosse ("Fascism and French Revolution", *Journal of Contemporary Revolution*, 1989, pp. 5-26) and Noël O'Sullivan use these categories in the same sense. According to them fascism is noted for 1) nationalization of masses and 2) "new man" and "new nation" utopia which is something what fascism shared with the French revolution. Such were intentions and goals of Homem Cristo Filho, António Ferro and Rolão Preto, but not those of Salazar.

together with longevity of the regime constitute symbolic expression of a deeply rooted psychological aspect both of the regime and Portuguese society. One must ask if idealization of the past — aspect such visible in Salazarism and various national movements — is the lasting aspect of Portuguese mentality. Even today big part of Portuguese population seems to idealize Salazarist Portugal and its so conscientiously elaborated mythology. There is no doubt that Salazar, his close collaborators and the regime itself skilfully capitalized on it.

## ABSTRACT

### “TEMPORARY REVOLUTION” IN SALAZARISM

Whereas there is general agreement about Salazar as conservative politician, regime *Estado Novo* is frequently labelled as “fascist”. Such a contradiction is present in other areas as well. Referring to underlying fascist or nazi mythologies (palingenetic myth, new man etc.) of fascist Europe, this paper defends that Salazarism gave those myths a bit different meaning. Although one can argue that anti-modernist and counter-revolutionary philosophical background of Salazar’s regime was shared by other European fascist/nazi/authoritarian regressive political imagery as well, in Salazarism this background played essential part. Although one can argue that nazi-fascist societies were — at least partly — produced by “modernist revolution”/ “temporary revolution”, i.e. palingenetic myth of “creative destruction” (Roger Griffin) that took place in collective psychology of European nations, in Portugal “palingenetic myth” was an expressive vein of the first traditionalism (Maistre, Bonald, Donoso Cortés). Whereas in other parts of Europe second traditionalist wave did not manage to take control of national policy and was exploited in favour of nazi-fascist (“supra) temporal revolutions/purges”, in Portugal Salazarism espoused ideology fundamentally founded on “first traditionalism” clearly visible in its traditionalist myths promoted by propaganda apparatus. Allied with papacy, maintaining neutral equidistance to both warring blocs and suspecting modern liberal order, Salazar realized *occidentalisme intégriste* and entertained myth of redemptive and prophetic role of Portugal as a moral authority within Christian West.

## KEYWORDS

“Temporal revolution”, “palingenetic myth”, traditionalism, modernity, Salazar

## ABSTRAKT

### „DOČASNÁ REVOLUCE“ V SALAZARISMU

Zatímco o osobě Antonia Salazara panuje shoda jakožto o konzervativním politikovi, režim *Estado Novo* (Nový stát) bývá často „nálepkován“ jako fašistický. Podobný rozpor je viditelný i v dalších oblastech. Na základě zmínek o základních fašistických či nacistických mýtech v Evropě (mýtus o novém počátku, novém člověku apod.) tato studie dokládá, že salazarismus dal těmto mýtům poněkud odlišný význam. Přestože někdo může oponovat tím, že antimodernistické a kontrarevoluční filozofické pozadí Salazarova režimu sdílely i další evropské fašistické, nacistické či autoritativní regresivní politické představy, v salazarismu toto pozadí hrálo podstatnou roli. Jiní mohou oponovat tím, že nacistické a fašistické společnosti byly vytvořeny — alespoň částečně — „modernistickou revolucí“ / „dočasnou revolucí“, tj. mýtem o novém počátku „kreativní destrukce“ (Roger Griffin), který se uplatňoval v kolektivní psychologii evropských národů; v Portugalsku byl ale „mýtus o znovuzrození“ výrazným rysem prvního tradicionalistického diskursu (Maistre, Bonald, Donoso Cortés). Zatímco v dalších částech Evropy vlna tzv. druhého tradicionalismu nevedla k převzetí kontroly národní politiky a byla zneužita ve prospěch naci-fašistické „dočasné revoluce“, v Portugalsku

se salazarismus ztotožnil s ideologií výrazně založenou na tzv. prvním tradicionalismu, evidentně viditelným v jeho tradičních mýtech podporovaných propagandou. Salazar — spřátelený se Svatým stolcem, rovnoměrně zachovávající neutralitu k oběma válčícím stranám a zpochybňující moderní liberální řád — si uvědomil *okcidentalisme intégriste* a přijal mýtus o spáse a prorocké úloze Portugalska jakožto morální autoritě uvnitř křesťanského Západu.

**KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA**

„dočasná revoluce“, „mýtus o novém počátku“, tradicionalismus, modernismus, Salazar