

The União Nacional in Cabo Verde, 1937-1945: Local Politics in an Imperial Political Party

ABSTRACT: The literature on the União Nacional (National Union), the political party supporting the Portuguese dictatorial regime of Estado Novo (1933–74), is rich and abundant. Yet scholars and researchers have given scant attention to the ramifications of the party in the Portuguese colonial empire. To fill this void, this paper sheds light on the imperial history of the União Nacional. To such desideratum, a focus is placed on the complex and intricate process of establishing and developing a branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, in the second half of the 1930s. As it linked local politics to metropolitan politics, the local branch of the União Nacional functioned as a nursery of regional political ideas and ideologies. Thus, the paper further argues that the local branch of this party assisted in the politicization, publicizing, and normalization of colonial and regional ideas and ideologies.

KEYWORDS: União Nacional, Commission of Colonies, União Nacional Colonial Commission of Cabo Verde, nativism, metropolitanism

RESUMO: A literatura sobre a União Nacional, partido político de apoio ao regime ditatorial português do Estado Novo (1933–74), é rica e abundante. No entanto, estudiosos e pesquisadores têm dado relativamente pouca atenção às ramificações da União Nacional no contexto do império colonial português. Para preencher essa lacuna, este trabalho lança luz sobre a história imperial da União Nacional. Para tal desiderato, destaca-se o complexo e intrincado processo de constituição e desenvolvimento de uma sucursal da União Nacional em Cabo Verde, na segunda metade da década de 1930. Por vincular a política local à política metropolitana, o braço local da União Nacional funcionou como um viveiro de ideias e ideologias políticas regionais. Assim, o artigo argumenta ainda que o braço local desse partido ajudou na politização, divulgação e normalização das ideias e ideologias coloniais e regionais.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: União Nacional, Comissão de Colónias, Comissão de Colónia da União Nacional de Cabo Verde, nativismo, metropolitanismo

Introduction¹

In the past three decades, the scholarship on the União Nacional (National Union), the political party of the dictatorial regime in Portugal from 1930 to 1974, has experienced a significant boom.² A number of studies published on the topic have helped to elucidate different aspects of the organization's political life and culture (Leal 1998; Costa Pinto 1992, 2015; Caldeira 1986; Cruz 1988; Caetano 1977). Despite the breadth of knowledge on the União Nacional, which has shed some light on how the political regime operated, scholars have given little attention to the processes and operations of this political party in the Portuguese colonial empire. By the end of the 1930s, however, the União Nacional had a local branch in each of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia.

The literature on the União Nacional has yet to include an analysis of the origins, development, and political processes of this political party in the colonies. Against this backdrop, this paper fills a void in the literature by analyzing the sociopolitical processes through which the União Nacional was established in the then-colony of Cabo Verde and by engaging critically with the new literature on the Portuguese colonial empire. A new stream of Portuguese imperial studies has connected the development of colonial institutions and ideology with supranational agents and organizations as well as with local actors (that is, in the colonies) (Jerónimo 2015; Jerónimo and Monteiro 2014).

Connecting with this body of literature, my analysis centers on understanding the basis and development of political institutions in the colonies. The central argument of this paper is that the implantation of the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde was not simply reflective of metropolitan politics. On the contrary, local political actors, acting autonomously and pursuing their own interests, greatly contributed to the União Nacional's presence in the colonies. Local actors, pursuing their own socioeconomic and political goals, negotiated with metropolitan actors and colonial administrators to imprint their views and to embed their interests in the institutions under construction. Colonial institutional development cannot merely imitate metropolitan politics. Rather, the concurrence of sociopolitical actors is ubiquitous in the colonial policies implemented in the colonies—and, by extension, in many of the political institutions established and constructed in the colonial context (Rodrigues 2003).

In the next section, I discuss the União Nacional as an imperial political party, and not simply a national political organization. Organizationally, the União Nacional spread its tentacles across the empire to assist in the double tasks of

legitimizing the regime and quelling political dissent. From this macroanalysis, the paper then delves into local politics and the formation of the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde. The paper suggests that the União Nacional was an arena of political disputes involving local elite factions predicated on different ideologies. The study of the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde exposes the impact and influence of the local elites in “nativizing” a metropolitan political institution and permits us to learn about the processes of exporting European political parties and party structures to colonial Africa. My concluding remarks critically restate my key points and indicate directions for future research.

The União Nacional as an Imperial Political Party

On May 26, 1926, the liberal democratic experience in Portugal came to a halt, with the military assuming power after a coup d'état. For the next fifty years, Portugal and its colonies in Africa and Asia lived under an unbending right-wing authoritarian regime, first as a typical praetorian regime (1926–32) and then as a civilian-led dictatorship, self-labeled as the “Estado Novo,” the New State (1933–74). Like its European counterparts of the 1930s, the Estado Novo was a one-party state; the formal structures of power were closely associated with the União Nacional, the only legally sanctioned political party.

The origins of the União Nacional date to the late 1920s, right after the institution of the military dictatorship (Caldeira 1986). On July 30, 1930, the military regime announced the establishment of a political organization labeled União Nacional. The regime initially avoided the construction of a political party, aiming for a no-party system. The function of the União Nacional was essentially to assist the regime in its quest for further legitimation. The status of the organization changed in 1932, with the rise of António de Oliveira Salazar, a conservative university professor, to the position of head of government. On August 20, 1932, through a decree, the government approved the bylaws of the União Nacional, formalizing it as the political arm of the civilian rule. Thus, the União Nacional's founding can be understood in two distinct phases: the formal announcement under the military dictatorship in July 1930; and the statutory foundation when the organization's bylaws were approved by the civilian-led government in August 1932.

Salazar inherited a party that was institutionally weak but had significant national presence. By the end of 1931, still under the military regime, the União Nacional had created branches across continental Portugal and, in the following years, in the adjacent islands of the Azores and Madeira. Like his military

predecessors, Salazar used the political party to advance his own agenda and interests; the União Nacional became a key tool in garnering and mobilizing political support (Caetano 1977). The União Nacional was initially founded as a “patriotic league,” tasked with buttressing support for the military regime. Upon assuming power in 1932, Salazar reengineered the party to his ideological and political image to stand on the twin pillars of ultranationalism and corporativism. The first ideological principle, that of ultranationalism, entailed an ostentatious celebration and promotion of the empire as well as the institution of a strong state that fully controlled and dominated society. Under the banner of corporativism, the União Nacional assisted in constructing a society based on class cooperation and free of class conflict. Its main political activities consisted of mass rallies in support of the regime, electoral mobilization, and recruitment of local elites in Portugal and throughout the empire.

The process of “Salazar-ization” of the União Nacional led to the personalization of power and authority within the structures of the party. The ultimate authority rested in the hands of Salazar, who had the power to oversee as well as to appoint leadership to key organisms and bodies of the party. At the same time, with Salazar at its helm, the party went through a complex process of institutionalization and bureaucratization; new core bodies were either established or renovated to facilitate internal communications, processes, procedures, and operations of power.

In its internal documents and in major works written by its leaders and ideologues, the União Nacional eschewed the “party” label. The party’s first main document, *Manifesto da União Nacional* (1930) identifies it as a “patriotic league” (União Nacional 1930, 10). The 1932 bylaws characterized the União Nacional as an “association without the character of a [political] party” (“Estatutos” 1932, 1753). The non-party character of the União Nacional was forcefully promoted by its key leaders. A leaflet produced by the branch of the organization in Leiria categorically declared that “the União Nacional is not a political party.”³ Marcelo Caetano, a noted leader of the organization and one of its chief architects, argued that the União Nacional amounted to the opposite of a political party, an “anti-party” (Caldeira 1986, 972). For the intellectuals of the regime, the notion of political party was a core feature of parliamentary democracy, a system that many saw as the culprit of the social and political decay in the country. Despite this characterization, the União Nacional, in its structures, operations, procedures, and processes, was indeed a political party (Costa Pinto 1992).

According to its 1932 statutes, “The União Nacional has its headquarters in Lisbon, and can establish in all national territory of the continent, adjacent islands and colonies of the Portuguese Empire and may have dependencies in foreign countries where there is important Portuguese presence, if the local laws allows” (União Nacional 1932, 1753). The article in question points to the tridimensionality of the União Nacional as a national, imperial, and diasporic organization. Under Salazar’s tight control, the União Nacional, originally national in scope, transmuted into an imperial political party, that is, a political organization with tentacles stretching from Lisbon to all corners of the colonial empire through the establishment or reorganization of local party branches. In other words, local branches were either created or, for those that already existed, put under central authority control (as was the case in Angola and Mozambique).

In Angola and Mozambique, the two settlement colonies, the establishment of the branches of the União Nacional anteceded the statutory foundation of the organization. The Angolan branch of the party was founded in December 1931 (“União Nacional” 1932; “União Nacional em Angola” 1932, 2). The formation of the branch (União Nacional de Angola) was independent from the Portuguese state authorities, namely the Minister of the Interior, who, at the time, was the chief executive of the party. In this case, the leadership of the branch was not appointed by the minister or his interlocutors, as was the norm in Portugal, but through autonomous vote by the branch’s membership. In the other colonies in Africa and Asia (Cabo Verde, Guinea, São Tome and Príncipe, Timor, Macao, and Estado da Índia), it was only in the second half of the 1930s that local branches were instituted.

Nationalism and imperial mystique, the two main features of the regime in the 1930s, were also the two political forces that sustained the idea of expanding the structures of the União Nacional to the colonies. The União Nacional was not the first European political party with transnational and imperial pretensions. Its counterparts from Italy and Germany had developed party branches designed to mobilize their citizens residing abroad. For instance, Benito Mussolini’s own National Fascist Party had the *Fasci all’Estero*, an office whose main function was to coordinate Italian fascist cells abroad (Baldoli 2003; Caprariis 2000). In Germany, the Nazi party had since 1931 organized a similar body, the *Auslandsorganisation* (NSDAP-AO), whose main task was to assist in the recruitment and coordination of German Nazi sympathizers residing outside Germany (McKale 1977).

To understand the process of the União Nacional's expansion to the colonies, it is important to consider that the leaders of Estado Novo sought to, and eventually did, construct what can be called a *conscription empire*. The concept of conscription empire, as interpreted here, is inspired by Gregory James Kasza (1995), who has advanced the notion of "conscription society," a regime with a number of mass organizations that recruit and mobilize social masses for the purposes of regime legitimacy and elimination of dissenting voices. Under the Estado Novo, colonialism entailed the deployment of mass organizations to the colonies, designed to conscript, recruit, and mobilize two publics: Portuguese natives residing in the empire and the assimilated, nonwhite natives of the colonies who had Portuguese citizenship. The União Nacional was one of these organizations deployed to the colonies. Other mass organizations included the male and female youth organizations (Mocidade Portuguesa and Mocidade Feminina Portuguesa) and the paramilitary organization Legião Portuguesa.

Organizationally, the União Nacional was an imperial political party; it was a political formation that extended throughout the colonies via the establishment of local representative branches, dependent on the central offices in the metropolis. The local branches of the União Nacional in the colonies had to adhere strictly to the directives emanating from the central offices, passed on via the Commission of Colonies. Through the Commission of Colonies, the various colonial commissions had access to the propaganda and political materials generated in the metropolis. Books, pamphlets, posters, documentaries, and other materials produced by the União Nacional in Lisbon were distributed to the colonies.

In order to coordinate the various branches of the União Nacional in the colonies, in 1934 the Central Commission of the União Nacional, the party's highest policy-making body, formed a subsidiary organism, the Commission of Colonies (Comissão de Colónias), which consisted of a president and three officers. Initially, Francisco Vieira Machado, a civilian and a member of the regime selectorate, led the Commission. With Machado's appointment to the government in late 1934, the presidency was entrusted to a military man, General Eduardo Augusto Marques ("Homenagem" 1944, 144). General Marques's tenure as the president of the body lasted until his death in 1944, when another army officer, Colonel António Lopes Mateus, a member of the body, was appointed by Salazar to assume the presidency ("Posse" 1944, 77).

The Commission of Colonies was not a standing committee of the União Nacional; the statutes of the organization do not refer to this body. The mission

of the commission was to assist with disseminating information from Lisbon to the colonies, coordinate the actions of the various branches, and appoint leadership of the organization in the colonies. The Commission of Colonies functioned as the conduit between the central organs of the União Nacional and the various branches created across the Portuguese colonial empire. Political communications between the central offices of the União Nacional and the branches in the colonies followed a different pattern compared to exchanges between Lisbon and the various district commissions in Portugal and in the islands of Azores and Madeira. According to the organizational architecture, the local colonial branch of the União Nacional (called Comissão de Colónia) occupied the same institutional stratum as the district branch in Portugal (Comissão Districtal). In reality, however, the colonial branches were of a lower political significance vis-à-vis the district branches. The leaders of the various district commissions, i.e., party branches in Portugal, could communicate directly with the central offices, via the Secretary General. However, the colonial branches of the party had to go through the Commission of Colonies. This added structure created additional transaction costs and slowness in communication.

The União Nacional was created by the military regime in 1930 as a tool to assist in its own legitimation within Portuguese society. The rise of the civilian authority in 1932, with Salazar occupying the leadership of the government, did not alter the main mission of the União Nacional. If anything, Salazar assisted in the institutionalization of the political party through the approval of its bylaws while promoting the expansion of the party throughout the empire. In essence, by the end of the 1930s, the União Nacional was a de facto imperial political party, with appendages spreading from Lisbon to the different colonies that constituted the Portuguese empire.

The Implantation of the União Nacional Branch in Cabo Verde

By the end of 1937, Cabo Verde was the only Portuguese colony in Africa where the União Nacional had no institutional presence. Following its implantation throughout continental Portugal and the islands of Azores and Madeira in the early 1930s, the União Nacional went on to stretch throughout the Portuguese colonial empire. In the case of Cabo Verde, the process of founding the local branch had two distinct moments. First, characterized by the bottom-up approach, few individuals from Cabo Verde took the initiative to contact the central bodies of the União Nacional in Lisbon, namely its Secretariat General and

the Central Commission, to request authorization to organize a branch of the party in the colony. In the second moment, the opposite pathway took place: the central offices, chiefly the president of the Commission of Colonies, General Marques, in conjunction with the governor of the colony, led the way in carrying out a top-down approach toward the establishment of a branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde. The fact that the idea to establish the branch came both from the locals and from metropolitan elites is an indication of the historical agency of the former and the complexity of colonial politics.

The political process of creating the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde was an intricate one. Attention needs to be paid to the colonial elite in Cabo Verde in the 1930s, a social group that was far from being a monolithic entity, as it contained both Cabo Verdean and Portuguese elements. The Cabo Verdean elites had attained considerable levels of education and exercised positions of political and economic significance in the context of the colonial state and society. The members of this group included liberal professionals, businesspeople, teachers, and functionaries of the colonial state. The elite can be further subdivided in two distinct regional elites, those from the northern islands (or the Windward Islands) and those from the southern islands (the Leeward Islands). Additionally, a small number of Portuguese citizens worked at different levels of the colonial state and in the military. Portuguese citizens shared the same social space as the native elites, with whom they often competed for resources and prestige.

In the 1930s, there was a consensus within the native elite group about their Portuguese identity. They self-identified as Portuguese first; the idea of Cabo Verdean identity was perceived as a subset, or regional form, of Portuguese national identity. The idea of dual identification—or “*cissiparidade pátrida*” (fatherland duality), as Manuel Ferreira named it, had been a common dominator among local *culturati* since the early 1900s (Ferreira 1986, xli). As will be discussed later, this cultural identification with Portugal influenced and shaped the elite’s political projects in the colony, namely the changing of the local and political status for Cabo Verde from a colony into an adjacent island.

The earliest case of the bottom-up approach to create a branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde came from Teófilo Vieira Barbosa, a native of the Brava Island, who wrote to the General Secretary of the União Nacional.⁴ In the missive, Barbosa noted that he was already a member of the party, a status that he had arranged while he lived in Portugal years before moving back to his

homeland. Barbosa's main objective was to assist in "the expansion of the current political institutions, chiefly in this colony, where public opinion is badly informed by political deportees." Barbosa referred to the fact that a number of Portuguese political exiles freely roamed in Cabo Verde, most of whom opposed and partook in activities against the regime in Lisbon (Barros 2009). Barbosa attached a petition signed by local notables, including the town administrator, João Maria Feijóo; the mayor of Brava, Augusto José de Azevedo; and many other public functionaries and property owners. The group indicated their intention to join the organization and their "unconditional support for the politics of Salazar," whom they recognized as the "supreme Chief." Ultimately, the group requested from the central offices that a "delegation of the União Nacional be created in this island."

Another case of the bottom-up approach was that of Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida, a native of the island of São Vicente and publisher of *Notícias de Cabo Verde*, the colony's major newspaper in the 1930s. Uninformed of the complex bureaucratic processes and institutional chain of command within the União Nacional, Almeida wrote directly to the party's Secretary General. Almeida was the figurehead of a group of fifteen people from the island of São Vicente who wished to join the União Nacional.⁵ In the letter, he noted that the party did not have any representative or office in the colony and contended that an office or branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde would serve as tool for diffusion of the new ideas from the metropolis. Almeida offered to have *Notícias de Cabo Verde* function as an informal communicative channel for the party. Moreover, his letter included fifteen individual applications for membership in the organization. He ended his letter by noting that the colony possessed the necessary human capital to establish a branch of the União Nacional.

The two letters described above received replies from General Marques, the head of the Commission of Colonies.⁶ In each case, Marques noted that the implantation of the União Nacional in the colony was underway. He further added that the authority to appoint new committees of the União Nacional in the colonies rested with the Commission of the Colonies. Marques's letter to Almeida included a demand, namely that the newspaper *Notícias de Cabo Verde* publicize the process of implanting the branch of the party in the colony. As a result, the December 1936 edition of *Notícias de Cabo Verde* featured, on its front page, the news that the branch of the União Nacional was in the process of being created ("A União" 1936).

Still, there was yet another bottom-up attempt to institute a branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde. In 1936, Horácio Afonso de Mesquita, a Portuguese-born high school teacher in São Vicente, wrote to the Central Commission of the União Nacional, noting that he was already a member of the party and describing himself as an enthusiastic partisan and a fervent nationalist defending the cause of the Estado Novo in the colony.⁷ Mesquita further argued that the “the doctrines of the New Era have yet to be fully solidified and the Estado Novo, here in São Vicente, is challenged in a revolting, at will manner!” For Mesquita, the colony was yet to fully embrace the ideology and principles of the Estado Novo. In his view, there was a “total and complete lack of trust towards the Estado Novo; nobody believed in the Estado Novo or Salazar, particularly in the public offices.” He presented himself as a man who could change this state of affairs: “I offer myself to found [the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde], under orders and direction of your Excellency.”

In December 1936, Mesquita sent a complaint to the Central Commission of the União Nacional to protest the publication of an article in *Notícias de Cabo Verde* regarding the formation of the branch of the União Nacional, arguing that the piece was “impolitic, very infelicitous, insulting, antipatriotic, untimely, and nativist.”⁸ For Mesquita, the newspaper represented everything that was against the Estado Novo and the empire. He noted that the “newspaper that labels itself as nationalist, in *partibus*, maintains in the header: ‘independent regionalist organ.’” According to Mesquita, the *Notícias de Cabo Verde* and its affiliates represented an obstacle to the Estado Novo and the grandeur of the empire; they were “false nationalists.” Mesquita argued that the local elites were nativists, seeking to promote local interests, at the expense—and in spite—of those of the Portuguese nation and empire at large. Mesquita’s accusation of “nativists” was a calculated one. Earlier generations of Cabo Verdean public intellectuals, from the 1910s and 1920s, advocated for what they called “nativism,” a political ideology that promoted the interests of people of Cabo Verde in the context of the empire (Guimarães 2006). Mesquita found that being nativist was antithetical to being a patriot or nationalist in the sense of defending and promoting the interests and the ideals of Portugal and its empire.

A few months later, Mesquita amplified his attacks against the supposed nativism of the Cabo Verdean elites. The local government of the municipality of São Vicente planned to celebrate the one hundredth birthday of Roberto Duarte Silva, a native of the island and a renowned chemist. As part of the

commemoration, one of the major streets of the city, Rua de Lisboa, was to be renamed as Rua Roberto Duarte Silva. For Mesquita, the name change “filled with indignation all the good metropolitans, because it was seen as a blow to the head of the empire, in a pure act of nativism.”⁹ It was clear to Mesquita that local history and individualities were promoted at the expense of the empire and magnificence of the Portuguese nation. The change in the street name, from the capital city of the empire to the name of a local man, however famous, was an indication of the extent that local symbols and interests were trumping Portuguese national and imperial ones.

Many metropolitan citizens residing in Cabo Verde saw the constitution of the branch of the União Nacional as a suitable instrument for political purification against the infected ideologies and ideas that circulated in the colony. Ideologies of nativism and other political ideas brought to the colony by exiled Portuguese citizens went against the principles of the Estado Novo. For instance, Mesquita thought that a branch of the União Nacional was needed to completely purge the political discourses and/or attitudes that ran against the ideological lines of the Estado Novo.¹⁰ Similarly, for Eurico José Teixeira, a Portuguese citizen residing in the island of São Nicolau, the União Nacional in Cabo Verde would constitute a powerful force against all the novel influences deriving from the Portuguese political deportees in the islands.¹¹

Whether initiated by Cabo Verdean or by Portuguese citizens residing in Cabo Verde, these bottom-up approaches to assist in the constitution of a branch of the União Nacional yielded no practical results. The central authorities of the União Nacional did not want to relinquish their power of initiative in the colonies. Thus, all bottom-up requests to form the local branch in Cabo Verde were simply discarded. In 1937, the central offices of the União Nacional, through its Commission of Colonies, took steps to build a branch of the party in the colony.

The initial thrust that paved the way for the establishment of the União Nacional branch in Cabo Verde came from a request from the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN), the nerve center of the regime in what concerned propaganda and cultural policy, for a list of branches in the empire “for reasons related to propaganda.”¹² The request, which went unfulfilled, forced the União Nacional leaders to reckon with the fact that the statutory ideal of having the party present across the empire was far from being realized. In fact, at the time there were only two effectively organized branches of the União Nacional in the empire, namely in Mozambique and in Estado da Índia, as the

branch that existed in Angola had been disbanded. In the following months, the Commission of Colonies led the process of appointing the branches across the empire, and, by the end of 1938, there were outposts of the União Nacional in each of the colonies.

In the case of Cabo Verde, the process of creating a branch of the União Nacional started on a May 13, 1937, with a letter from General Marques, the president of the Commission of Colonies, to the Governor of Cabo Verde, Amadeu Gomes de Figueiredo.¹³ The letter focused on two main points: on the one hand, Marques asked for assistance in the process of establishing the branch in Cabo Verde; on the other hand, he inquired about what had been done to further such a goal. The governor responded that the process had been rather difficult, marred by local politics. He reported the old social scuffles between the northern and southern islands, along with other factors such as the geography of the colony, were a major hindrance to the establishment of the party branch in Cabo Verde. There had been a history of clashing interests and ideological conflict between the local elites from the city of Mindelo, in the northern island of São Vicente, and those from the capital city of the colony, Praia, in the southern island of Santiago. Gomes de Figueiredo noted that the question of which commission should be dependent of the other proved difficult to answer. His proposed solution was to create a commission of the colony that included members from both islands.¹⁴

While the central offices of the party and the governor of Cabo Verde worked to implant the branch in 1937, the process was stalled by a sociopolitical crisis that impacted the colony. On October 27, 1937, the central government in Lisbon, through the Ministry of the Colonies, decreed the closing of the Liceu Central Infante D. Henrique in São Vicente, the colony's only secondary-education institution. For the local elite, the decree was tantamount to a betrayal and another potent piece of evidence of second-class condition of the people of Cabo Verde. Against this state of affairs, disinterest and apathy became the dominant response to the calls for the forming of a local branch of the União Nacional.¹⁵ Following organized protests by the local elites, primarily from São Vicente, the central government in Lisbon ultimately overruled its previous decision and let the Liceu stand.

A few months later, on November 15, General Marques wrote again to the governor, asking him to suggest "names of people that Your Excellency considers suitable [for the position] and who are willing to accept this burden."¹⁶ In the same letter, Marques noted that Cabo Verde was the only colony in Africa where

the União Nacional had no institutional presence. After the resolution of the problem of the Liceu in São Vicente in early 1938, Gomes de Figueiredo appointed a three-member organizing commission of the branch in Cabo Verde under the leadership of Adriano Duarte Silva, a renowned teacher in the Liceu and a lawyer.¹⁷ The organizing commission had instructions to contact the Commission of Colonies to formalize itself. In the commission's letter of introduction to the Commission of Colonies, Adriano Duarte Silva emphasized their dual commitment, purporting to serve, equally, "the Nation [that is, Portugal in its totality] and the land in which we were born [Cabo Verde]."¹⁸ In other words, the group made explicit that they could reconcile two political ideologies, namely that of Lusitanian nationalism and Cabo Verdean regionalism.

Once the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde became official, the Commission of Colonies issued the "Directrizes estabelecidas para a política do Estado Novo em Cabo Verde," a document that laid out the branch's social and political responsibilities in the colony.¹⁹ The document created a mode of political relationship to be developed between the branch of the União Nacional and the different levels of instituted political authority in Cabo Verde (central and local governments). In this regard, the document emphasized the idea that the branch of the União Nacional should constitute "an organization independent of the State." Its independence, nonetheless, should not constitute an obstacle to cooperation with the local political authorities. The "Directrizes" call for the União Nacional to be "an element of constant and loyal cooperation" with the authorities. At the same time, the document reaffirms the principle of chain of command within the União Nacional: the local branch, reporting to the Commission of Colonies, had the authority to establish subterritorial branches, the town commissions (or *Comissões Conselhias*) of the party throughout the colony. In other words, the Commission of Colonies had the authority to appoint the members of the *Comissão de Cabo Verde* and the latter body, in turn, had power to appoint the members of the party's town branches.

Prospective candidates to the position of leadership in the local branches were to be morally and intellectually suitable and have social prestige in their respective communities. Furthermore, because one of the critical objectives of the União Nacional was to foment its penetration in society, the "Directrizes" emphasized that recruitment of new members should be extended beyond the official elements. Recruitment of the local leadership constituted a strategy of capturing the local elites. Thus, the recruitment of territorial and subterritorial

branches of the União Nacional focused on members of the local commercial bourgeoisie, professional liberals, schoolteachers, and members of other social classes that enjoyed significant prestige and popularity among their community. Recruitment of the local elites constituted one of the main strategies of capturing the colonial society. Another strategy was to increase the União Nacional's social visibility through participation in social, political, and commemorative events in the colony. Given the emphasis on commemoration of the colonial Estado Novo, which extended to the colonies, representatives of the União Nacional conspicuously partook in different events designed to celebrate and commemorate dates and individuals of Portuguese history in Cabo Verde. By October 1940, the branch of the party in Cabo Verde had more than 650 members (or more than ten percent of the União Nacional membership in the entire colonial empire), making it the third largest in the empire (see Table 1).

Table 1. União Nacional Membership in the Colonies (October 1940)

Colony	Total Membership	Population (1940 Census)	
		Total	White
Angola	2,582	3,222,015	58,098
Cabo Verde	659	174,403	7,017
Guinea	235	426,009	1,226
India	20	579,970	—
Macao	351	157,175	—
Mozambique	1,710	4,006,011	12,131
São Tomé and Príncipe	343	48,869	967
Timor	3	463,996	—
Total	5,903	9,081,448	90,439

Source: A União Nacional nas Colónias. Filiados. Setembro 1940 (PT-TT-UN-A-A-12-4-Coo66); Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário Estatístico de 1940* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1941).

The “Directrizes” also entailed instructions on political activities of the branch, particularly in regard to electoral campaign activities, in order to prevent what the document called “abstencionismo” (voter nonparticipation). Additionally, the branch was responsible for maintaining collaboration with the public authorities, both at the central and at the local levels, and for the recruitment of new members. Regarding electoral activity, the “Directrizes” emphasized that, for

the presidential and legislative elections, the branch of the party in Cabo Verde had to adhere strictly to the instructions coming from the central offices of the União Nacional. For the local elections, the local branch had to collaborate with public authorities (such as the governor and/or local mayoral authorities).

The implantation of the branch of the União Nacional in the colony of Cabo Verde was neither linear nor simple. Regional elites sought to accrue sociopolitical advantages by taking the initiative to contact the central offices of the party in Lisbon to create the branch. The archives of the União Nacional show that native elites from the southern and northern islands, as well as Portuguese citizens residing in the colony, wrote to Lisbon and volunteered themselves to set up the institutional presence of the party in the islands. However, the party's central authorities disregarded those initiatives and, in concert with the governor of the colony, managed to form the branch in 1938.

The Multilevel Political Game of the União Nacional Branch in Cabo Verde

While not formally a member of the colonial state, the leadership of the União Nacional branch in Cabo Verde, particularly its president, enjoyed several protocol privileges typically reserved for state officials. For instance, when the President of Portugal, Óscar Carmona, visited Cabo Verde during his tour of the empire, Adriano Duarte Silva, as the president of the party branch in Cabo Verde, was included in the presidential delegation that toured the colony.

The branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde became a site of political dispute between different social groups espousing diverse—and sometimes contradictory—ideologies about the role and position of Cabo Verde and its people within the context of the Portuguese colonial empire. Local and metropolitan actors, moved by their own interests, often sought to influence how political institutions operated in the colonies. Colonial systems were not only erected through the barrel of a gun; the consent extended to different sections of the local elite also helped stabilize colonial rule. Local social actors used their influence and social capital to shape colonial policies or their implementation processes. Ultimately, the establishment of political institutions resulted from a complex and intricate blend of local and metropolitan politics.

The institutionalization of Salazar's party is an indication of this pattern as it intensified a two-level political game that characterized the colony of Cabo Verde since the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, there was a regional conflict, characterized by a war of interests between southern and northern islands,

represented respectively by the cities of Praia and Mindelo. On the other hand, there was a political clash between representatives of native and metropolitan interests, each of them advocating for the inherent primacy of their part.

Since the late nineteenth century, two competing elite subgroups had developed in Cabo Verde, one from Praia, the capital of the colony, and another from Mindelo, on the island of São Vicente (Gatlin 1990). Given its marvelous port and possession of Cabo Verde's only secondary-education institution, São Vicente was the cultural as well as economic center of the colony. By the 1930s, political antagonism between the two subgroups had escalated, each defending the political and economy primacy of its region within the colonial context. Initially, the governor of Cabo Verde sought to include representatives from both regions in the organizing commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde. However, the plan ended up not being feasible and the organizing commission became dominated by three men, all from São Vicente. The constitution of the União Nacional branch in Cabo Verde was a political victory for the northern elites. Unlike other cases in the empire, the União Nacional in Cabo Verde did not have its headquarters in the capital of the colony; rather, Mindelo became the seat of the branch.

Through political subterfuge, social networking, and direct access to the governor of the colony, the regional elites from the southern islands, in the capital city of Cabo Verde, nonetheless subverted the party's regional authority emanating from São Vicente. While the 1938 "Directrices" explicitly stated that the main branch in the colony had authority over all subterritorial branches created in Cabo Verde, local elites from Praia activated their social capital and networks, particularly their direct contacts with the governor of the colony, to appoint themselves to the branch. Specifically, the local elites from Praia convinced the governor into appointing the leaders of the União Nacional's town branch of Praia. Thus, for the Town Commission in Praia, the agency of local elites from the city, and not the organization's chain of command, became the decisive factor. Duarte Silva, as the head of the party in Cabo Verde, reluctantly gave in to the governor's demand.²⁰ In his view, the appointed members of the Commission of the União Nacional of Praia were not fit for the position, since, according to the rules of the party, leadership of the organization was not to be placed in the hands of individuals who were part of what the regime intellectuals called "old politics," that is, the political establishment before the 1926 coup d'état.

Duarte Silva complained to General Marques, his direct superior in the party's chain of command, about the total lack of communication from the party's

town commission in Praia. He further noted he had reliable information that the Praia commission had no intention of working with the headquarters in São Vicente and that it had plans to subvert the party hierarchy by preparing “an exhibition to send to Lisbon [to the central offices of the União Nacional].”²¹ In other words, the town commission of Praia was subverting the authority of Duarte Silva by disregarding the bureaucratic chain of command. According to the “Directrizes,” communications from any local commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde had to be channeled through the main branch.²²

By 1942, the União Nacional in Cabo Verde had lost its political momentum and had ceased to figure as a significant organization in the political and social life of the colony. One major reason for this was the dispersion of the branch’s leadership, with Ribeiro de Almeida moving to Portugal. The branch became practically equivalent to Duarte Silva himself. In fact, Duarte Silva seemed frustrated with the political role that the União Nacional should play in Cabo Verde. He protested to the president of the Commission of Colonies that appointments of the leadership of local governments in the colony often happened without any consultation with the local branch of the party.²³ Moreover, the fact that Portugal sent a contingent of expeditionary forces to Cabo Verde to protect the islands against a possible attack by either the allied forces or Germans, both of whom had plans to do so, complicated the matters of the local branch. Duarte Silva expressed his dissatisfaction that the branch had to give up its headquarters to house the expeditionary forces, a fact that in his view “much contributed to the paralysis of our activities.”²⁴

It is against this backdrop that Martins suggested to the president of the Commission of Colonies that “more impulse and more prestige” be given to the União Nacional in Cabo Verde.²⁵ The new branch would have Duarte Silva as its president, aided by two other members, a Portuguese military man stationed in Cabo Verde (Capitão Tenente Carlos Pinto Bastos Carneiro) and Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida; this plan was approved by the Commission of Colonies in a telegram of December 24 of the same year.

The height of conflict between southern and northern interests within the União Nacional in Cabo Verde was in 1942 when Duarte Silva appointed a new União Nacional town commission for Praia, led by Bento Levy, a lawyer native of Praia. Levy first declined, arguing that the party in Cabo Verde was politically dormant and that he disliked the idea of the organization’s headquarters being in Mindelo. After some pressure from Martins, the colony’s governor, Levy agreed

to lead the União Nacional in Praia in May 1943.²⁶ Like his predecessors, Levy maintained no communication with his party superiors, and never submitted a letter or note to the headquarters of the party in São Vicente.²⁷

Some sections of the elite from Praia distrusted Duarte Silva, whom they perceived to be against the interests of the capital. Tensions between the two regional elites reached a higher level when *Notícias de Cabo Verde*, a newspaper close to Duarte Silva, published a piece mentioning the nineteenth-century law that mandated the transference of the capital of the colony from Praia to Mindelo (“Efemérides” 1945, 2). Many in Praia interpreted the piece as a sign that the elites from Mindelo were seeking to alter the administrative architecture of the colony. Duarte Silva ultimately had to send a message to Praia to calm their anxieties, emphasizing that he had no intention of advocating for the change of the capital of the colony (Silva 1945, 4).

The elections of 1945, called abruptly by the regime, further increased political enmity between Duarte Silva and Levy, representatives of the two regional interests. Influenced by the wind of change that heralded the wave of liberal democracy in the aftermath of Second World War, the Estado Novo called for competitive elections. For the first time in the regime’s history, the electoral law mandated territorial representation: each of the colonies would have at least one seat in the new National Assembly. Duarte Silva was the candidate for the União Nacional. The opposition, formed around the Movimento de Unidade Democrática, was allowed to compete in the elections. In Cabo Verde, the candidate for the opposition was Álvaro de Paiva Lerenó, native of the Brava Island in the south. Lerenó was an inspector within the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (BNU) and some of his key associates were also affiliated with the BNU. His electoral campaign manager was a high-level member of the BNU bureaucracy in Cabo Verde, and Levy, his campaign counselor, was an attorney for the bank. Duarte Silva reacted to what he perceived to have been a complot within the BNU in Cabo Verde and sought to activate the central offices of the União Nacional to intercede before the headquarters of the BNU in Lisbon.²⁸ When it became news that Duarte Silva was the candidate for the União Nacional, Levy, who was part of the legal team of the opposition candidate, sought to have Duarte Silva’s candidacy impugned by the administrative court.²⁹ The court sided with Duarte Silva, who went on to win the elections.

The other type of conflict within the União Nacional in Cabo Verde pitted locals against metropolitans. Unlike other Portuguese colonies in Africa, leadership of the local branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde rested in the

hands of the local elites. In contrast, Portuguese residents assumed the leadership of the party's local branches in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Native elements in these colonies, including the creoles and assimilated Africans, were simply not included in the leadership of the party. There are two major explanations for the "nativization" of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde. The first had to do with the fact that many local elites were part of the colonial and/or imperial bureaucracy. Being a part of the colonial apparatuses afforded these Cabo Verdeans the opportunity to develop a strong social capital with high-echelon members of the imperial bureaucracy, chiefly the governor. In the case of Cabo Verde, the governor played an important role in identifying potential leaders for the branch of the União Nacional. Having a strong connection with the governor was indeed a valuable political asset.

The second explanation had to do with the ideological positions of the governor of Cabo Verde in the 1930s. Governor Amadeu Gomes de Figueiredo held sympathetic views toward Cabo Verdeans, whom he believed to have assimilated Portuguese values and, as such, to be of equal worth to the metropolitan Portuguese. On several occasions, Gomes de Figueiredo recognized what he called "Portuguesism" (*portuguesismo*) of Cabo Verdeans (Neto 2009).

Given the primacy of the native elements in local society and politics, the other political game that surrounded the União Nacional in Cabo Verde centered on the native-metropolitan divide. Nativism in Cabo Verde consisted of a political ideology with origins in the early twentieth century. The heyday of nativism in Cabo Verde took place during the First Republic (1910s and 1920s) and was characterized by a vibrant public sphere (Semedo 2006; Oliveira 1998). In the case of Cabo Verde, nativism did not imply xenophobia or hatred against foreign elements. Rather, the ideology centered on two key principles: legal political equality between the natives of Cabo Verde and those of the metropolis, and the notion that the people of Cabo Verde, through their social and cultural elites, should have a voice in the matter of policies created and implemented on their behalf.

On the other hand, metropolitanism was a social ideology and attitude that developed among the few Portuguese settlers and professionals in the colony. This ideology was based on the principle of inherent superiority of the European-born individuals (the metropolitans) over both African-born people of European descent and native Africans. Its central premise was the rejection of the socially and professionally subordinate condition of the European-born vis-à-vis the non-Europeans. Positions of leadership in the colonial state were to be given to

the metropolitans. The Liceu teacher Horácio Afonso de Mesquita was one of the main proponents of the ideology of metropolitanism. Another proponent was Eurico José Teixeira, a Portuguese citizen residing on the island of São Nicolau. In a letter addressed to the Central Commission of the União Nacional, Teixeira rhetorically asked: “Does Your Excellence agree that whites should be subordinated to blacks?”³⁰ For the few Portuguese residents of Cabo Verde, it was not conceivable that the metropolitan citizens could be put under the leadership of the natives, whom they perceived to lack the nationalist fervor or mental and moral capacities necessary to lead.

The feeling of inferiority imposed on Cabo Verdeans by metropolitan citizens was a common phenomenon. Duarte Silva made this point eloquently in his letter to the president of the Commission of Colonies, in June 1939, where he complained that treating Cabo Verdeans as if they were the same as the “natives of other African colonies” might create “a malaise that could result in nothing useful.”³¹ Duarte Silva referred to the *indigenato* policy, a core element of the Portuguese colonial regime that classified Africans in the colonies into two distinct categories: the assimilated, who had Portuguese citizenship, and the overwhelming majority of *indígenas* (natives) who lacked social and political rights. Since the 1920s, the *indigenato* policy was not applicable to Cabo Verdeans, and theoretically all Cabo Verdeans were Portuguese citizens. Duarte Silva criticized metropolitanism by noting that some Portuguese citizens in Cabo Verde “strive to separate the European from the Cabo Verdean, accusing the latter of lack of patriotism.”³²

Duarte Silva also rejected what can be called *institutional metropolitanism*, that is, the preferential treatment given to metropolitan citizens by the state, its policies, and its laws. On May 20, 1939, the government reorganized the Liceu in Cabo Verde, distinguishing between the native and metropolitan faculty members of the institution. Duarte Silva argued that such a law penalized the inhabitants of Cabo Verde, calling it “a legally established inferiority.” For that reason, he resigned from his position as the president of the local branch of the União Nacional.³³

The presence of the Portuguese expeditionary forces in Cabo Verde, sent to the islands in 1942 to defend the colony during World War II, caused widespread dissatisfaction, as the troops took for themselves the meager resources available in the colony. In March 1942, general frustration reached higher levels when it became known that the troops intended to occupy the installations of the hospital and the Liceu. The branch of the União Nacional, allied with other social organizations such as the local government, the business association, the trade

union, the sport federation, Grémio Mindelo, and the parents' association, sent a telegram to the Minister of Colonies and the head of government to protest such a decision.

In summary, the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde was not immune to local political conflicts among different sectors of the local elites. Social groups used social capital and developed concrete ideological systems in the fight for leadership of the branch of the party in the colony. On the one hand, regional elites from the two centers of the colony (Praia and Mindelo) competed against each other for the control of the branch. Ultimately, while power officially rested in the hands of the elites in São Vicente, the town branch of the party in Praia never fully submitted to the party headquarters in São Vicente. On the other hand, an intense conflict developed between the local elites and the individuals from Portugal who resided in the colony. For the former, Cabo Verdeans, as *de jure* Portuguese citizens, were to enjoy all the rights the Portuguese citizenship conferred. For the metropolitans, it was not conceivable to have the natives of the colony in positions of authority over them. In the end, the branch of the União Nacional was fully controlled by local elements of São Vicente.

Conclusion

The União Nacional, the official political party of the Estado Novo—though not in name—was a central institution that assisted in legitimizing the regime as well as controlling societal dissent. By the mid-1930s, the União Nacional had become an imperial political party, with branches stretching from Lisbon to different corners of the Portuguese colonial empire. The presence of this political party, along with other mass organizations created by the regime, facilitated the construction of a conscripted empire. Many assimilated Africans and Portuguese settlers in the colonies were attracted to the spheres of the União Nacional.

This paper analyzed the processes and the ideological conflicts surrounding the establishment of the branch of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde in the 1930s. One aspect that the analysis shows is that there was an intensive local agency and willingness to form a branch of the Salazar's political party in the colony. Local elites, whether indigenous inhabitants or of Portuguese background, sought to assume the front seat in the process. Archival research has elucidated that the implementation of colonial policy cannot be assumed to have been a direct, top-down process; colonized elites indeed played a role in assisting in the promotion of colonial rule and policies—or, in this particular case, of a branch of the regime's party.

The paper also examined the União Nacional in Cabo Verde not as a neutral political arena but rather as a sphere of confrontation within the policies of Salazar's centralist Estado Novo. Fierce disputes took place between different sections of the elites, who mobilized resources and social capital to their side. Ultimately, the political party became a stage on which two ideological conflicts developed. On the one hand, different regional interests were represented by the two centers of the colony, namely Praia, the capital city, and Mindelo, the economic and cultural center of Cabo Verde. While Mindelo became the seat of the main branch of the União Nacional, Praia responded by not fully submitting to the authority in Mindelo.

On the other hand, the issue of control over União Nacional in Cabo Verde developed into an intense political conflict that pitted local indigenous elites against the metropolitan residents in the colony. Local elites espoused the ideology of nativism—though they eschewed the use of the term. For them, local interests ought to have primacy in the context of the Portuguese colonial empire. Portuguese citizens residing in the colony, for their part, developed what can be called metropolitanism, a political ideology that defended categorical supremacy of the metropolitan element in the colony. Ultimately, União Nacional in Cabo Verde represented a political victory of the native elites over the few—and powerless—metropolitan elements in the colony.

NOTES

1. The author would like to acknowledge Jeanne M. Penvenne, Michael Panzer, and an anonymous reviewer for their insightful comments on the draft of the paper. As usual, the author is solely responsible for all the words and conclusions of the paper.

2. In 1970, following Marcelo Caetano's ascension to power, the União Nacional was rebranded as the Acção Nacional Popular.

3. União Nacional, *Ao Paíz—Alusão ao 1 de Dezembro de 1640*, União Nacional/Organização da União Nacional, Comissões, PT-TT-AOS-D-M-38-1-2, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

4. Correspondence from Teófilo Vieira Barbosa to Secretary General of União Nacional, 18 May 1935, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

5. Correspondence from Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida to the Secretary General of the União Nacional, 19 September 1936, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

6. Correspondence from General Eduardo Marques, president of the Commission of Colonies, to Teófilo Vieira Barbosa, 17 November 1936, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal; correspondence from General Eduardo Marques, president of the Commission of Colonies, to Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida, 17 November 1936, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

7. Correspondence from Horacio Afonso de Mesquita to the Central Commission of the União Nacional, 13 June 1936, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

8. Correspondence from Horacio Afonso de Mesquita to the Central Commission of the União Nacional, 17 December 1936, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal (added emphasis).

9. Correspondence from Horacio Afonso de Mesquita to the Central Commission of the União Nacional, 5 March 1937, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

10. Correspondence from Horacio Afonso de Mesquita to the Central Commission of the União Nacional, 17 December 1936, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

11. Correspondence from Eurico José Teixeira to Ruy Morais Vaz, Secretary General of the União Nacional, 16 March 1939, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

12. Correspondence from the President of the Central Commission of the União Nacional to the President of the Commission of Colonies, 26 February 1936, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

13. Correspondence from Eduardo Marques to the Governor of Cabo Verde, 13 May 1937, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

14. Correspondence from Governor Amadeu Gomes de Figueiredo to the Commission of Colonies of the União Nacional, 14 April 1937, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

15. Correspondence from Governor Amadeu Gomes de Figueiredo to the Commission of Colonies of the União Nacional, 14 April 1937, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

16. Correspondence from General Eduardo Marques to the Governor Amadeu Gomes de Figueiredo, 15 November 1937, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

17. Adriano Duarte Silva was an influential member of the colonial society in Cabo Verde, particularly in his native São Vicente. As the teacher in the colony's only secondary-education institution, he was well known in the island and a fervent advocate of its interests. He became the first Cabo Verdean to be appointed as the rector of the Liceu. By the second half of the 1930s, Duarte Silva became one of the leading unofficial ideologues of the Estado Novo in Cabo Verde. In this capacity, at the start of the academic year 1937/38, he delivered a lecture before the student body and local community on the ideology of corporativism. See, among others, Adriano Duarte Silva, *O corporativismo e sua oportunidade histórica* (Praia: Imprensa Nacional, 1938) and Maria Adriana Sousa Carvalho, *O Liceu em Cabo Verde: Um imperativo de cidadania (1917-1975)* (Praia: Edições Uni-CV, 2011).

18. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva, president of the Organizing Commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, to the Commission of Colonies, 22 January 1938, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

19. Correspondence from General Eduardo Marques to Adriano Duarte Silva, 25 February 1938, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

20. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva to the Commission of Colonies, 29 November 1938, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

21. Ibid.

22. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva, president of the Commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, to the Chefe de Repartição do Gabinete do Governador, 4 October 1949, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

23. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva, president of the Commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, to the Commission of Colonies, 9 December 1942, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

24. Ibid.

25. Correspondence from the Governor of the colony of Cabo Verde, José Diogo Ferreira Martins, to General Marques, 28 November 1942, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

26. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva, president of the Commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, to the Chefe de Repartição do Gabinete do Governador, 4 October 1949, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

27. Ibid.

28. Cable from Adriano Duarte Silva to the President of Commission of Colonies, Lopes Mateus, 1 November 1945, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

29. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva, president of the Commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, to the Chefe de Repartição do Gabinete do Governador, 4 October 1949, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

30. Correspondence from Eurico José Teixeira to Ruy Morais Vaz, Secretary General of the União Nacional, 16 March 1939, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

31. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva, president of the Commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, to General Eduardo Marques, 3 June 1939, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

32. Ibid.

33. Correspondence from Adriano Duarte Silva, president of the Commission of the União Nacional in Cabo Verde, to General Eduardo Marques, 1 August 1939, União Nacional/Correspondência com a Comissão de Província de Cabo Verde, 1935-1952, PT/TT/UN-A/A-12-02/1, Arquivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

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ABEL DJASSI AMADO is Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Simmons University. His research focuses on the late colonial state in Cabo Verde and other former Portuguese colonies in Africa, the politics of language, and the political and diplomatic history of national liberation in Africa. His articles have appeared in *Lusotopie*, *Journal of Cape Verdean Studies*, *Desafios*, and *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. He is currently working on a manuscript that examines the language and politics nexus in Cabo Verde from a historical and comparative perspective. He is presently the chair of the Lusophone African Studies Organization.