Passive Citizenship: A Criteria for Denial of the Social Inclusion of Indigenous People in Angola in the Context of the Portuguese Estado Novo (1933-1974)

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Abstract

This article aims to understand the citizenship of the indigenous peoples of Angola in the Portuguese Estado Novo between 1933 and 1974. The main objective of this research, carried out in a philosophical approach of interdisciplinary relationships and analysis of contradictions, is to show how passive citizenship developed in Angola in the colonial context of the Portuguese Estado Novo, analyzing the reasons that contributed to certain political, legal and ideological discourses being a criterion for denying the social inclusion of indigenous Angolans. The methods used were genetic analysis, and the familiar analogy with hermeneutic and phenomenological methods, associated with qualitative theoretical research of a bibliographic nature that reveals the structured representation of the issue of citizenship in the context in question. The results obtained, through the analysis of theories, models and other sources of information, determine the validity of these instruments by indicating critical points coinciding with the confirmation that refers to the validity, in the Estado Novo, of social and political categories embodied in " citizenship passive", whose content is based on the civilizational mission as a criterion for the social inclusion of indigenous Angolans.

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1. Introduction

In this work, we will see that the civic project of 1933, included in the new colonial legislation of the Portuguese Estado Novo, highlights the revaluation of indigenous politics and the economy until 1961, based on the effective elimination of indigenous rights, in comparison with the regimes predecessors of the liberal monarchy and the republic. The central

problem of this research is, therefore, to try to show the negative impact that the civic paradigms of the first republic took on in the Estado Novo and the fact that that State put an end to the way in which indigenous Angolans were treated and, more than that, having defined the indigenous as a legally and politically differentiated element from the white population.

In effect, we also try to prove how the concept of universal citizenship, inherited from the liberal revolutions, is, along with the old policy of standardizing assimilation, eclipsed in the set of all policies and in essence legislation defending [2]selective assimilation, which is a modern kind of "civilizational mission".

The present work, although limited, aims to analyze and understand how passive citizenship developed in Angola in the colonial context of the Portuguese Estado Novo, analyzing the reasons that contributed to certain political, legal and ideological discourses being a criterion of denial of the social inclusion of indigenous Angolans. This study consists of a qualitative approach, of a theoretical nature, based on exploratory bibliographical research, and is structured in two essential parts, namely: the first is dedicated to formal aspects, such as the summary, the introduction, the historical and theoretical foundation of the theme and methodology. The second is mainly concerned with the thematic or doctrinal foundation, anchored in a logical-critical approach, marked by the discussion of results.

1.1. Historical and theoretical foundation of the citizenship project of the Portuguese New State

What did the Estado Novo's civic project consist of regarding the citizenship of the indigenous peoples of Angola? This project was supported by the Indigenous Policy that was in force in Angola until 1961. The Estado Novo civic project, which was in force between 1933 and 1961, focused on the Indigenous Policy and the economic vision of Angola. After eliminating, between 1930 and 1932, individual and collective civic initiatives, both indigenous and European, and overcoming the remaining tribal conflicts in the interior of Angola, the Portuguese colonial administration now had in its hands the sovereign opportunity and stability necessary to implement the Indigenous Policy, which would come to dominate political and administrative action in Angola in terms of defining the civil, political and social status of native peoples.

The indigenous policy of the Estado Novo era broke with the assimilationist philosophy of the liberal monarchy which, as we will see, defended the conception according to which Angolans would become assimilated into Portuguese civilization in a natural way. The generation of liberals, especially the realists of 1895, also defended the need to adopt fair and clear mechanisms so that indigenous Angolans could access the citizenship system. This would be, from the perspective of that generation, the only way to guarantee the legal protection of indigenous people and avoid the abuses they could suffer.

The indigenous policy of the Estado Novo conceived the indigenous person as someone legally differentiated from the assimilated European and Angolan population. The way of promoting an indigenous person to the category of "citizen" (non-indigenous), corresponding to that of Europeans, was only possible through the policy of selective assimilation (Wheeler & Pélissier, 2009, pp. 194-195). Historically, this policy of selective assimilation dates back to the jurisprudence of the indigenous statutes of 1926 and 1929, which meant, at the height of its validity (1933-1961), a modern version of the idea of "civilizational mission". Such a policy was only regulated by the bureaucratic machine of the colonial regime

and subordinated to the education system on which it depended for its own success, even if instrumental, in the chapter of guaranteeing and expanding the rights of indigenous people.

The civic project of the Estado Novo, more than outlining the differentiated conditions for the exercise of indirect authority (as in the British system of indirect government " indirect rule") as the republican regime had done, defined indigenous policy and the very concept of indigenous people. more restricted way. In the legislation of the Estado Novo (Colonial Act of 1930; Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire of 1933; Overseas Administrative Reform Law of 1933; Indigenous Statute of 1954), the basic principles, described in the name of the so-called "political unity" of the empire, were embodied in the refusal to recognize the principle of the prevalence of indigenous citizenship rights, applied in some British tropical colonies, and in the definition of the indigenous person as someone governed by African customs and who had not yet reached a civilizational level that would allow them to enjoy the same citizenship rights as the European Portuguese (Ministério do Ultramar, 1955).

The Indigenous Statute only served to further aggravate the uncertainty and discrimination regarding the personal status of native peoples in relation to citizenship. The aforementioned legal and political instrument arises from the need expressed by thinkers and authors of Portuguese colonial literature to consolidate the "scientific" bases of the indigenous status, giving it an approach that reflected the desire to break with the not too distant past of colonialism. Portuguese in which the indigenous people had fully enjoyed their citizenship rights. A strange and anachronistic statement, full of manipulation, if we take into account the notion of "indigenous" as opposed to the notion of "citizen", just to cite one example, expressed in a forceful way in that same Statute (Ministério do Ultramar, 1955).

In this sense, the Estado Novo sends signals that the Portuguese colonial presence in Angola is preparing to last, based on the resurgence of the white population and the opening to foreign investments of a liberal and capitalist economic nature. Proof of this is that, in 1953, the Estado Novo, despite advocating indirect administration, decided to create the "overseas provinces" [3](Ministry of Ultramar, 1953), but without taking into account the differences between the regions of the empire, in terms of customs control, the lack of a single currency, legal distinctions or the guarantee of fundamental rights.

In those same years of 1950, the Estado Novo, in the person of Caetano (1956), explained these issues without hesitation. For Caetano, native peoples were nothing more than individuals in need of the paternalistic action of the Portuguese State, and who, as they were not part of the cultural community and political association of citizens, either because they had not yet been assimilated or because they had not achieved citizenship, could not be considered as an integral part of the Portuguese Nation.

However, between 1930 and 1961, more than the State, there were other agents of the "overseas province" — such as Catholic and Protestant missions, always available to satisfy the social rights of indigenous people with regard to education and health care, traders, farmers, labor recruiters and tax collectors — who exerted a strong influence on the contact and control of indigenous people, meaning that in such an extensive territory with high population dispersion, the demands of a project civic rights rooted in successful indigenous politics were immeasurable, and for a considerable chunk of the Estado Novo era the Portuguese challenge of selective assimilation failed.

Portugal was not up to the challenge of the civic project it had in hand, as it faced many obstacles preventing selective assimilation effective. Despite the production of diverse legislation and centralized administrative control over Angola, Portugal never managed to exercise de facto sovereignty nor change the landscape of civic life in Angola, given that to the chronic problems of exclusion of indigenous people from the citizenship system, he added Now, there is an exodus of indigenous people to the city due to the disintegration of traditional Angolan society due to colonial policy, absolute poverty and underdevelopment.

societal change registered, translated into the gradual disintegration of traditional Angolan society, experienced an intensification with the influence of Portuguese colonial policy, but without being accompanied by the creation of an alternative system of citizenship on the basis of which the required political transition could be made. for that context. However, the new legislation approved in 1961 still represented the expression of the civic project begun in 1933. Given the lack of a judicial and penal system in Angola to guarantee the rights of indigenous people, the supremacy of the colonial administrative system led to such legislation continued to be rooted in indigenous politics.

As a result, natives were not exempt, if they wanted to access citizenship rights, from administrative formalities and criteria for assimilation and from submitting their candidacy to the authorities and from paternalistic control through a notebook or registration book, instead of of the identity card, the acquisition of which already constituted a civil right acquired by native holders since 1942 (Reis, 2010), (Angola - Revista de Doutrina e Estudos, 1961).

Despite everything, in Angola the Estado Novo's civic project achieved some progress thanks to the education systems, both secular and religious. In fact, the leading role of religious missions in education dates back to Decree 77, issued in 1921, by the high commissioner of Angola, Norton de Matos, so that, from 1950 onwards, the missions began to ensure the majority of the school network, but Since 1960 the government has expanded its education and teaching program.

Education and religion, these two pillars of indigenous policy, having not achieved extraordinary results when compared with the performance of British and French colonization in Africa — although it is not important to describe this movement as weak due to its colonial inclinations —, contributed not only for the level of education, conversion and assimilation of indigenous Angolans into the European sector, as they still suggest, even judging by the weak growth in the education rate of indigenous people, a general movement of changes in the areas of social citizenship rights.

Despite the expansion of primary and secondary education in Angola, between 1955 and 1961, in a student universe of around 192 thousand students and analyzing the education of all races that made up colonial society, the illiteracy rate among Angolans, until 1958, it stood at 97%, when there were at least 15% of indigenous people of school age (Samuels, 1967).

From 1957 onwards, the first signs of discontent with the results of the civic project of selective assimilation began to appear in Lisbon. Now the criticism was not just coming from Angola, it was also coming from the metropolis. The central government was preparing to revoke and abolish the Indigenous Policy, until the armed revolt of 1961, carried out by native Angolans, precipitated the process of change and transformation (Harris, 1966). One of the priorities of the civic

project review was the deepening of civil rights relating to work. The new labor legislation, promulgated by the Minister of Overseas, on the advice of Adriano Moreira, advocated radical changes in employment policy towards native Angolan peoples. But in everyday practice there were no fundamental changes.

Some labor reforms were introduced between 1947 and 1959, but in the chapter on civil rights relating to employment, the civic project remained essentially immobile in most districts of Angola, where recruiters, contacted by settlers engaged in labor-intensive projects, continued to supply cheap Angolan labor to coffee and cotton plantations. Thus, the approval of a new labor code in 1957 did not bring, until 1962, radical changes in the field of labor and contractual civil rights.

Even with the prosperity of the economy that, in Angola, continued to be the order of the day, the civic project remained archaic, because the new prosperity was strictly linked to the cheap labor of the indigenous people and the immigration policy. In short, the civic project of the Estado Novo was the image of a general neglect of human rights and the citizenship rights of indigenous people which, according to Casimiro (1958), contained nothing more than a characteristic focused on "exclusive economic interests" [4]and which They did not even serve as an official reaction from the colonial power to change the *status quo*.

1.1.1. The legacy of liberal citizenship and republican citizenship in the passive citizenship of the Portuguese Estado Novo

The Estado Novo, led by António de Oliveira Salazar, proposed a new political regime based on the natural construction of society, announcing the replacement, as the foundation of the State's existence, of the citizen seen in an abstract way by associations or corporate groups from the most diverse professional classes. With this argument, Salazar and his political *entourage seemed to break with the*liberal and republican citizenship projects prior to his government. However, the solutions presented by the Salazarists were not innovative. The 1933 Constitution proclaimed citizenship rights and universal legal principles, adopted from the liberal Constitution, but which were immediately interpreted and applied in a very restrictive way in complementary legislation of a private nature. During this period, the acceleration of the degradation of civic discourse and the importance of its use in the political system and society in general was increasingly noted.

actors unilaterally resigned from the duty and taste of criticism, opposition and contradiction derived from nineteenth-century liberalism and the ephemeral early-republican political and partisan debate. The prevalence of the ideal of liberal citizenship for almost a century proved to be effective in legitimizing the new power that considered the previous civic language as outdated as a political solution. Caetano (1971), an avowed supporter of the liberal conception of freedom, considered individualist liberalism, professed by the constitutional monarchical regime, as contrary to the constitution of a welfare political body that was not a simple spectator of citizens' actions.

This welfare version, which came from the liberals, was extensively exploited by the Estado Novo for authoritarian use. Therefore, the Estado Novo presents itself as an instance governed by obligations towards citizens, as a political power that manages services that promote the realization of the common good and as a space for learning citizenship as a common good, because the satisfaction of the individual good was not animated by the consciousness of that State (Ramos, 2004). The Estado Novo, in comparison with the liberal and republican States, was what made Portugal actually

have a more effective and efficient indigenous policy (Duffy, 1959).

The citizenship of the Estado Novo, when inspired by republican citizenship, inherited from it the repressive doctrine and the authoritarian character of its citizenship. Furthermore, both colonial regimes simultaneously excelled in models of selective and standardizing assimilation. If the first case suggested the existence of indirect administrations (regulation of indigenous lives by indigenous or specific customs and laws, as was the Statute of Indigenous People), the second, in which there were different conditions for indigenous institutions, customs and families, constituted a limited form of indirect administration, since, in certain areas, the Portuguese kept traditional indigenous chiefs under the supervision of European officials.

Thus, citizenship of the Estado Novo inherited two fundamental principles from republican citizenship: that of the affirmation of pure natural rights (human rights) of indigenous people, assured and protected by the Indigenous Defense Commission, without a firm allusion to the affirmation of applied natural rights (rights of citizenship) of such indigenous people except through their moral and legal obligation to work (forced labor) and the marginal, and not universal, search for self-improvement through social rights (missionary education); and the duty of gradual elevation of indigenous people to European civilization through assimilation, but regulated by laws and customs of the "indigenato" (Correia *et al*, 1960). In this sense, the indigenous people, as in republican indigenous policy, being seen as elements devoid of the rights, capabilities and abilities of the Portuguese, the course of their daily practices had to be governed by specific laws and institutions, but presided over by entities Portuguese.

Although in clear contrast with the decentralization policy of the first Portuguese Republic, the Estado Novo is the result of the promotion of excessive centralism which, in practice, resulted in civic authoritarianism already seen in the republican regime. In the case of Angola, as in the prime-republican context, the Salazar government also imposed the subordination, and at most, the civic guardianship of both indigenous people and assimilated opponents and Freemasons, who during the republican period had had some political and intervention in the governance of the colony. Thus, contrary to what had gradually happened during the republic, from 1933 onwards there was an accelerated process of emptying the rights of indigenous people and the political and administrative functions of Angolan institutions, in favor of the Ministry of Colonies (Pimenta, 2014).

Republican colonial theories, whether of "assimilation" or "integration" (access to full citizenship for those who exhibit "civilized" standards of living and application to the colonies of legislation equal to that of the metropolis) or of "association" or "differentiation" (maintaining different societies managed with different legislation) were the same ones that, in the Estado Novo, constituted an effective legal and cultural barrier to the social ascension of the majority of Angola's black population, since whites were automatically considered "citizens". The citizenship of the Estado Novo had, during its validity, sufficient theories, norms and practices of the republican regime to construct or modify social, economic, political, cultural and anthropological classifications that took shape when studies on the colonial period were too linked to the colonial thought itself, even when they were authored by personalities opposed to colonization (Neto, 1997).

In fact, whether we analyze legal texts, politicians' speeches or concrete social reality, the idea of the existence of common traits between republican citizenship and that of the Estado Novo does not withstand confrontation with the facts. Thus, what prevails between the republic and the Estado Novo are more continuities than differences. Whether in one or another civic project, the civilization of indigenous people, the systematic Portugueseization and the destruction of African cultural identities are frequently mentioned as a constant of Portuguese policy in Africa. The various facts previously exposed confirm these continuities.

So, it can be said that, within the scope of the vast Portuguese colonial program, the main legacy that the citizenship of the Estado Novo adopts from republican citizenship is the segregationist system, which is shaped by the indigenous policy of the Salazar regime. This same indigenous policy constitutes a legacy, in all its dimensions, of the Indigenous Statutes of 1926 and 1929, respectively. With these laws, the Estado Novo was able to draft the 1954 Indigenous Statute more efficiently and, in this way, define its paternalistic civic project, whose execution, which was far from benevolent, depended, to a large extent, on the personalities of the colonial agents in service.

This resulted in the citizenship of indigenous people in the Estado Novo, from civil rights to social rights (from education to work, to the application of justice, to military service, to taxes), was, unlike the citizenship of the Portuguese, regulated by separate institutions., in addition to the specific labor legislation that continued the lines outlined by the first republic in 1913, 1921 and 1923, with the creation of administrative services, whose responsibilities were related to the management and control of teaching, instruction and education of indigenous people not equated to Europeans (Neto, 1997). The dual system of granting citizenship rights only ended, at least formally, in 1965.

If it is true that the citizenship of the Estado Novo derives from the ideas formulated in 1930 by Salazar, as one of the most influential rulers of the military dictatorship, and is, so to speak, generally considered an original and unprecedented discovery by the founder of the regime, it is also true that the citizenship of the Estado Novo was, in fact, nothing more than the materialization of the conceptions of citizenship previously enunciated in the liberal and republican regimes. In addition to paying considerable tribute to the principles and practices of the constitutions of 1822 and 1911, the citizenship of the Estado Novo also recognized some marks of the civic project integral to the Constitutional Charter of 1826, the Constitution of the Weimar Republic of 1919 and the presidential system of the USA (V. Moreira, 2004).

2. Methodology

This study, anchored in political and social philosophy using interdisciplinarity, is a qualitative approach, of a theoretical nature, which focuses heavily on bibliographical research. Alongside traditional academic literature, our research also focuses on the analysis of complementary sources of information, based mainly on carrying out an electronic search of some documents on different media. The method we followed for our study was genetic, combined with its familiar analogy with the methods of hermeneutic and phenomenological analysis. According to Goldschmidt (1963), genetic interpretation, unlike dogmatic interpretation, seeks, explains and questions the causes of theories beyond what they want to tell us.

3. Results

3.1. The rupture of the passive citizenship project of the Estado Novo with the contemporary citizenship of the liberal Revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries

On different occasions, it can be seen that the thinking supported by the civic project of the Estado Novo is inadequate to explain the social realities resulting from Portuguese colonization in Angola, as it breaks with the coordinates in which the world was moving, especially after the admission of Portugal to the UN in 1955 and the achievement of the vocation for the independence of the native peoples of Angola and other overseas provinces.

At that time, it was understood, in the spirit of the anti-colonialist and progressive conceptions of the Enlightenment, the liberal revolutions and the UN, as well as the war of national liberation in Angola, the need for there to be a moral and political obligation that the overseas territories under the administration of Portugal should become independent and, thus, serve as a basis for guaranteeing the citizenship of its people. Throughout the duration of the Estado Novo regime and its precursor and practical systematizer, but also in the Marcelist era, we witnessed, both in the metropolis and in Angola, a despotic, interventionist drift and subalternization of the civic phenomenon.

Thus, in the Estado Novo, the problem of forming citizenship principles and values and defining their political and social urgency were never placed in a central place. The doctrine of the Estado Novo only included consideration of the need for a strong system of power in which the nation is the first reality. Salazar's corporate republic was a new order that pointed to relationships of otherness (between the individual and the State) based on an institutionalist vision and political equipment that would not encourage the exercise of active citizenship generated by liberal revolutions. The republican form of this regime was limited to, in Leal's (2004) view, "a vision of concentric circles (families, parishes, municipalities, corporations) that should intervene in the constitution of the State's superior bodies" (p. 458).

In Salazar's political ideology, there was no place for the individual, seen as a human being inserted in a community (free and autonomous citizen) or as a metaphysical, philosophical and sociological entity that is a natural bearer of rights and freedoms and that has its own identity, an existence unique and indivisible that distinguishes him from other individuals. The idea of man as the center of society and of his affirmation as a principle and value, which dates back to the social contract and the origins of democratic thought with Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, and has the French Revolution as its landmark, is here rejected in the name of political power legitimized by coercion and authoritarianism. It is important to emphasize that, despite the specificities of colonial oppression, the entire Portuguese people, of all colors, shared the costs of the existence of a political regime without true representative democracy, and diminished citizenship.

State citizenship did not mean the assumption of a truly inclusive civic project, but, only and solely, the culmination of a corporate project that aimed to lead a rupture with modern and universal citizenship, with a liberal and republican matrix of revolutions. liberals of the seventeenth and eight hundredth. The political order established in the empire, after approval of the 1933 Constitution, aimed solely to institutionalize a passive citizenship, granted, according to V. Moreira (2004) by "an authoritarian, centralized and corporate, anti-parliamentary, anti-liberal and anti-democratic State" (p. 405).

From this perspective, the citizenship of the Estado Novo is a manifesto of the nationalist conception within a logic of a social and corporate State and an organic-corporate conception of political representation. The civic project of the Estado Novo is contrary to the logic of the social contract, as the relationship between the State and the individual boils down to the submission of individual rights and freedoms to national interests, discipline and state guidance of political power. The Salazarist political system flatly rejects the necessary foundation of ideological and political plurality and exorcises the ideas of individual freedom, democracy and people's sovereignty as fundamental principles of the contemporary citizenship system. The citizenship framework of the civil dictatorship institutionalized by Salazar was a new project, but one that was at the antipodes of the modern civic order, resulting from the program of the Enlightenment and the liberal Revolutions.

As time passed, the dictatorship institutionalized and reinforced restrictions on political parties, definitively proscribing them, with the exception of the National Union (the regime's official political party), and restricted public freedoms in the metropolis and overseas (V. Moreira, 2004). With the approval of the 1933 Constitution, several of the fundamental rights and guarantees were restricted or liquidated, and the regime took on its most evident fascist traits as a copy of Italy during Mussolini's time. There was no longer any doubt, fundamental rights and freedoms were subject to the express reservation of legal restrictions, with the absence of political rights such as the right to elect and be elected being notorious. Therefore, all subsequent constitutional evolution, based on various constitutional revisions, will result in the elimination of values and principles that have the French Revolution of 1789 as their epicenter.

The review of the Salazarist political project, in addition to being timid, was lagging behind in time. Even so, it represented an "evolution in continuity", which clearly demonstrated the regime's inability to carry out the liberal transition of its civic project. In its negative formulation, the Estado Novo, having assumed an unequivocally anti-liberal, anti-democratic, anti-party and anti-parliamentary physiognomy, also assumed fascist characteristics, not so much because of the formal constitution, but, above all, because of the "real constitution" emanating from doctrinal definitions of the Head of Government and founder of the regime.

One of the structuring features of Estado Novo citizenship, in contrast to modern citizenship, was political and administrative centralization, nationalization and government control of public space, from the colonies to the metropolis. The corporatism of the Estado Novo, as a professed anti-individualist and anti-liberal, anti-socialist and anti-unionist ideology, although seen as an instrument for conciliating social and economic conflicts, had as its principle the disregard of individual rights that could not prevail against the interests of the national state. With this, the Estado Novo was able to banish not only individual freedoms but also public freedoms, which involved the political purification of the State apparatus.

In short, the analysis of colonial theoretical and political discourses and the legislation produced at the level of the metropolis and colony of Angola, gives us an interpretation that the civic project of the Estado Novo revealed itself to be clearly immobilist, centralist and anti-democratic, positioning itself, thus, in the opposite line to the paradigms of universalism of modern citizenship emanating from the liberal revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

4. Discussion

4.1. The citizenship of indigenous Angolans and the failure of the colonial reformism of the Estado Novo (1961-1974)

The reforms of the Estado Novo aimed, above all, to find effective solutions to eradicate the political, military, economic and social problems that the province of Angola suffered. In this sense, the direction of these reforms pointed to the maintenance of Portuguese colonization, but towards increasing autonomy for the colony. Thus, from a political point of view, the overseas minister, Adriano Moreira, reinforced Angola's autonomy from the metropolis and increased the number of deputies elected by Angola in the parliament in Lisbon. In the social domain, the most relevant reform was the abolition of the Indigenous Statute, on September 6, 1961, and the consequent (formal) attribution of Portuguese citizenship to all inhabitants of Angola (Ministério do Ultramar, 1961).

However, the repeal did not meet the demand for more structural reforms, the effectiveness of which would result in a multiracial and integrative society. Thus, on the one hand, given the repeal of the Indigenous Statute, it was also necessary to repeal the Overseas Organic Law, in order to allow the materialization of the so-called "progressive and irreversible" autonomy of Angola, and it was equally essential to expand the electoral suffrage as a condition without which indigenous people could not exercise their political rights.

On the other hand, it was crucial to revoke the special status of large Portuguese and international companies that had control, in the form of a monopoly or oligopoly, over the exploitation of Angolan natural resources and labor, as, in this business practice, there was not the most elementary observance of indigenous rights. It was also crucial to expand the educational network, committing to both the implementation of the literacy process and the creation of higher university education, in order to train staff in sufficient quantity and quality to ensure the functioning of Angola's autonomous administration.

But the implementation of these reforms, designed by Adriano Moreira, collided with a set of political obstacles created in Lisbon. The first obstacles to Adriano Moreira's reformist policy were signaled. In fact, from the end of 1961 onwards, the most conservative nucleus of the Salazar regime, which rejected Angola's autonomy, began to disseminate the myth that the indigenous nationalist guerrillas had been defeated, which, in the opinion of this very intimate nucleus of the President of the Council, rendered Moreira's reforms useless.

Salazar was suspicious of all ideas and arguments aimed at expanding the influence of the colonists in the governance of Angola. Much less was his sensitivity towards an expansion of the colonial public space in which the civic emancipation of indigenous people could be freely expressed. Parallel to these political obstacles, there were obstacles of an economic nature created by large Portuguese and foreign economic interests that were not willing to lose their privileges in Angola, which was why they placed obstacles to reforms in the sector. economic. Thus, Adriano Moreira began to experience many difficulties in implementing his reforms (A. Moreira, 1962).

In fact, Adriano Moreira was already aware of the gravity of the situation, his dismissal and the failure of his reform policy in Angola. Adriano Moreira was dismissed from his position, without having managed to implement the reform of the Overseas Organic Law and without having materialized his vaunted policy of "progressive and irreversible" autonomy for the colony of Angola. With the Minister's resignation, the Estado Novo's first experience of colonial reformism came to an end (Pimenta, 2014).

Not to mention, the colonial elites, in particular, and the Angolan population, in general, continued to be distant from the governance of Angola and its political rights, as the growth in electoral suffrage was negligible: from 90,412 voters in 1963 to 153,472 in March 1964. Unfairly small for a territory that, between blacks, mestizos and whites, already had close to five million inhabitants in 1960 (Ministério do Ultramar, 1963).

The last twelve colonial years (1962-1974), since the failure of Adriano Moreira's reforms, saw an acceleration of economic and social changes at all levels, after the retraction of the first years of the colonial war, resulting especially in important mobility social status of the then indigenous people. This mobility was influenced by economic factors (the growth and diversification of the capitalist economy, urbanization, etc.); legal (the end of the Indigenous Statute, which was discriminatory) and educational (the first school explosion in the late 1960s).

But, simultaneously, the persistence of the stimulus for massive immigration of Europeans to Angola further accentuated the restrictions on the social ascension of native peoples and revived foci of social and racial tension, despite the Luso-tropicalist discourse having reached its peak during this period. The divorce between the discourse of racial and civic equality and the social reality in Angola was increasingly evident, meaning that socioeconomic asymmetries between blacks and whites continued to increase significantly.

The reforms of the Estado Novo, initiated after the 1961 uprising, were more aimed at creating conditions for the adoption of a neocolonial-type political solution to the problem of decolonization than a policy that was the main factor in reforming the colonial system. The main objective of these reforms was to respond only to the demands of Angola's colonial elites, ignoring the indigenous people's clamor for citizenship rights. As such, Adriano Moreira sought to implement a strategy of increasing autonomy in Angola, reinforced by the need to increase the degree of incorporation of settlers into the citizenship system, especially in the governance of the territory. For this reason, the white elites were their privileged civic interlocutor in Angola.

This new reformist policy of rapprochement with Angola's colonial elites was based on the principle of "progressive and irreversible autonomy" for the "overseas provinces" (Ministério do Ultramar, 1963). The new trajectory designed by Salazar's overseas minister, Adriano Moreira, did not just represent an artifice so that the dictatorship could meet the expectations of the Angolan colonial elites. In fact, such a policy has to be explained in the context of the structural reforms initiated in other European colonial empires in the late 1950s, as are the relevant cases of the "neocolonial solution" devised by General Charles De Gaulle for the immense possessions of the French empire and of the British colonists of Southern Rhodesia who opposed the loss of colonial control and London's intention negotiate the independence of the territory and establish a government there under the auspices of the majority of the black population

(Pervillé, 1995). Despite this, these reforms by Adriano Moreira were challenged and he was removed from the Government.

In any of these cases, whether Portuguese, French or British, the colonial territories formally achieved negotiated independence followed by a transition period of around two years. But in practice, almost all remained under the informal rule of the colonizing power (Ageron, 1991).

Not even the new political dynamics introduced by the governor general of Angola, Venâncio Deslandes, allowed the reforms of the Estado Novo to go further and faster than the close control of the governmental process exercised almost always in the direction of a significant retreat in rights and freedoms. civilians of the majority of the indigenous population. After all, for Salazar the reforms only served to gain time and, eventually, enlist support to militarily win the colonial war that pitted the Estado Novo against indigenous nationalists.

The failure of the reforms proved the inability to find a solution to the civic problem of the indigenous people within the political scope of the Estado Novo, which forced the search for a solution in another political framework. Hence, the revolution of April 25, 1974, which, having imposed its participation as a valid political instrument of decolonization, intervened decisively in the process of Angola's independence in 1975.

5. Final Considerations

The Estado Novo invested in an imperial reality that took indigenous policy based on the idea of the "civilizational difference" between native peoples and European citizens to its ultimate consequences. In this context, the notions of race (white) and culture (European) were forged, in the ideology of the Estado Novo and in theories linked to Salazar institutions, which were simultaneously used to define an idea of "Portugality" that differentiated citizens from indigenous people.

The hierarchical structure of the nation conceived by the Estado Novo would make all the inhabitants of the empire "Portuguese" or "national", but to obtain the *status* of citizen each "Portuguese" would be classified according to their place of origin (metropolis or colony), their race and their culture. This may explain the fact that in Angola nationalism was not the first foundation of the identity construction of Angolans and settlers, but rather racism, since, in the colonial public space, it mattered whether one was European or African, white or black, categories that defined statutes emanating from the "integrative" indigenous policy and which were prescriptive of social relations (Peixoto, 2011, pp. 6-7).

From the perception that different cultures and races also reflected disparities in terms of access to citizenship rights, nationalist and native independence movements emerged. The anti-colonialist struggle was not initially part of a nationalist perspective. For a long time, native Angolan peoples focused their efforts on eliminating restrictions on civil rights (such as forced labor), human rights (such as corporal sanctions), social rights (such as inequalities in access to education and health) and political rights (such as limitations on participation in governance and electoral suffrage) (Fanon, 2005).

Over time, this struggle would lead to a nationalist demand. The emergence of nationalist and independence movements

would reveal the fragility and ineffectiveness of the idea of a "pluricontinental" and "multiracial" nation and of different cultural identities that the empire's hierarchy should preserve. During the Estado Novo, even after the native revolts of 1961, what was civic reality was far from the idyllic ideal of citizenship that many of the Salazarist "integrationists" believed existed in the metropolis and province of Angola (Thomaz, 2001, p. 77).

Having made these considerations, what conclusions can we draw regarding the general functioning of the Estado Novo citizenship system in Angola? From the outset, Salazar citizenship was passive, because: i) it was the result of the granting of rights by the State; ii) it did not constitute a homogeneous block of rights and much less did it translate into a universal application of individual rights, from a legal and political point of view, but, on the contrary, it was a mere *status* that was deeply divided between blacks, whites and mestizos, these last designated as assimilated; iii) it was not structured based on the subjective rights that confer the status of citizen; iv) the voluntary civic participation of native peoples was seen as negative and not representative; v) has no political and philosophical expression, as it does not guarantee the most basic rights and freedoms, nor identity, values and commitment; vi) has a restrictive and limited nature that is fundamentally based on racial determination criteria.

Footnotes

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[2] Indigenous Statutes of 1926, 1929 and 1954; Colonial Act of 1930; Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire of 1933; Overseas Administrative Reform Law of 1933.

[3] Name that, in 1951, replaced the term "colony" to refer to Angola.

[4] In an allusion to the urgent need for reforms in the face of the monopoly economy and the oligarchic social structure that prevailed in Angola.

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