

Propaganda, ideology and cinema in the “Estado Novo” of Salazar: The “conversion of the unbelievers”

Апстракт: Чланак је посвећен анализи начина и циљева пропагандне употребе филма у Португалији у време режима „Нове Државе“ (“Estado Novo”) Антонија Салазара. Посебна пажња је посвећена играним филмовима који су снажно пропагирани идеју „преобраћања“ из „бољшевизма“ ка „салазаризму“ и из припадности „неверујућим“ у националистички идеал португалског колонијализма у оне који у њега „верују“.

Кључне речи: пропаганда, идеологија, филм, фашизам, „салазаризам“

1. The “originality” of “Portuguese fascism” and its “original propaganda”

The “Estado Novo”, New State (1932-1974), ruled by Salazar and then by Marcello Caetano after 1968 (in a version of “Renovation in continuity”), was always presented as an “original” way of authoritarian regime. Since the beginning of its formation and due to its catholic principles, there was an attempt to move away from “totalitarianism”. If this concept, which was understood as the state’s capacity to intervene in “all” areas of society, was sometimes revealed in certain more enthusiastic Salazarists or in those who had a lay vision of the State, it was gradually put aside, especially when Germany started to put its terror anti-Semite totalitarianism into practice and the victory of the war started to take the Allies’ side. Therefore, this image of a strong, interventionist, authoritarian but paternal State, which was anticommunist and opposed to a democracy of several parties, but also defended a “social democracy” of the corporative kind, ended up convincing and even arousing enthusiasm among politicians from several countries and different tendencies. It is greatly responsible for the position taken by certain historians, who have doubts about the accuracy of the concept “fascism” to characterize this regime, considering the word more or less defined in generic sense (“Generic Fascism”).

After some approaches to this theme made in a more punctual or systematic way, depending sometimes on the different situations at the moment, I have not de-

nied a reflection about the nature of the New State. I have repeated this reflection and made it richer in several articles, but promise to approach it deeply at another time. However, it is important to say clearly at this moment that in my opinion, if the New State obviously has the identity card and the passport that allow it to open the borders, even of the democratic countries, it also has some aspects that essentially characterize it as a regime of “fascist” identification, although obviously in a *sui generis* sense like any other kind of “fascism”.¹

In spite of its divulged “originality”, the New State did not ignore the strategy of ideological reproduction that characterized the so-called “fascist” systems. In 1933 Salazar created his department of Propaganda, the “Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional” (SPN)², and he named António Ferro as its director. António Ferro was a modernist intellectual, who admired jazz and the world of cinema and wanted to meet D’Annunzio in Fiume to show him his sympathy. He interviewed dictators, visited several countries in Europe and America, wrote some literary texts that provoked a scandal in the small, provincial Portugal.³

It was António Ferro who mentioned the expression “Politics of the Spirit” (Paul Valéry) to Salazar, i.e., the politics of culture or Education (as it seemed preferable to say), and told him about the role of Propaganda. The expression came out in an article of the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* and reappeared in the famous interview to Salazar in 1932–1933 in the same important periodic, which was transformed into a book published in 1933⁴ and translated into several languages, like English.⁵ It had an enormous influence on the image of the New State and its leader. Salazar was already the President of the Ministry (still in a regime of transition from Military Dictatorship to the “constitutional” regime of the New State) and he said some interesting things at the time that will always characterize his portrait of a “fascist” with its own characteristics (if we understand it this way) – the image of a “soft” dic-

¹ Torgal, Luís Reis, “Salazarismo, Fascismo e Europa”, in: *O Estudo da História. Boletim da Associação de Professores de História*, n^{os}. 12-13-14-15 (II série), Lisboa 1990-1993, A. P. H., pp. 111–134; Torgal, Luís Reis, “‘Estado Novo’ em Portugal (1932–1974): Reflexões sobre o seu significado”, in: *Espanha – Portugal. Estudos de Historia Contemporânea*, (Dirigido por Hipólito de la Torre Gómez e António Pedro Vicente), Madrid 1998, pp. 65–88.

² Paulo, Heloísa, *Estado Novo e propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil. O SPN/SNI e o DIP*, Coimbra, 1994; Ó, Jorge Ramos do, *Os anos de Ferro. O dispositivo cultural durante a “Política do Espírito”*, Lisboa 1999.

³ Quadros, António, *António Ferro*, Lisboa 1963; Heruques, Raquel Pereira, *António Ferro. Estudo e Antologia*, Lisboa 1990; Leal, Ernesto Castro, *António Ferro. Espaço político e imaginário social (1918–32)*, Lisboa 1994; Paulo, Heloísa, “António Ferro”, in: Rosas, Fernando e Brito, Brandão. *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo*, v. I, Lisboa 1996 vol. I, pp. 355–357; Ferro, Mafalda e Ferro, Rita, *Retrato de uma Família. Fernanda de Castro, António Ferro, António Quadros*, Lisboa 1999.

⁴ Ferro, António, *Salazar. O homem e a sua obra*, Prefácio de Oliveira Salazar, Lisboa 1933.

⁵ Ferro, António, *Salazar. Portugal and her leader*. With a Preface by The late Sir Austen Chamberlain, London 1939.

tator who, against its own will, uses some methods that are characteristic of violent regimes. When talking about the admiration young people felt for the “dynamism of new Italy and new Germany”, he uses some arguments that, formally at least, do not lack some doubt and a certain irony:

They are right, but the dynamism that gives them such enthusiasm and that I can recognize as convenient, is not always made of pure and useful action, but of words and gestures. Between the great reformist measures of a New State – no matter if it is in Italy, Germany or Portugal – there must be intervals, long pauses, especially if it is built on strong foundations and with solid material. Mussolini, and now Hitler, fill those intervals, those dead spaces with fiery speeches, processions, and parties, shouting what has been done and what is to be done. They are right because it is a way of entertaining the natural impatience of the people, the demanding gallery of situations of authority and strength that are always waiting for the difficult and dangerous act, a circus act... We will have to follow that path to an intense, consciously organized propaganda; but it is a pity that the truth needs so much noise, so many bells and drums... exactly the same strategies used to divulge a lie.⁶

In the sequence of this idea, when he inaugurates SPN on the 26th October 1933, Salazar talks about Propaganda, trying to “prevent exalted nationalisms that dominate identical services in other countries and theatrical effects to be taken in the international context” to use his own words. We must concentrate on “our simple case”; and our “simple case” is the “national case”, which is above personal interest. It is the case of a nation that must inform about what is being done because – as he says in a sentence with a certain Maurrasian taste – “politically, it only exists what the public knows to exist”.⁷

By the time of the war (26th February 1940), he makes another speech about Propaganda, always using studied words, so that the Propaganda he defended could not be mistaken with the Propaganda of “totalitarian” States. Salazar did not wish to identify his regime with those states; he rather wished to assert its “originality”, still keeping alive its antidemocratic and anti-liberal dynamic, not to mention its systematic communism. In those careful words, the idea that Propaganda is mainly for Salazar a way of “informing” comes out once again because – as he repeats – “politically, it only exists what is known to exist” and “politically what seems to be, is in fact”. He thus synthesizes his thought:

⁶ Salazar, Oliveira, in: Ferro, António, *Salazar: O homem e a sua obra*, Prefácio de Oliveira Salazar, Lisboa 1933/3^a edição, s.d., p. 181.

⁷ “Propaganda Nacional”, 26th October 1933, in: Salazar, António de Oliveira, *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, 6 vols., Coimbra 1935–1967, vol. I, pp. 258–259.

Every time I have approached this subject, I have related propaganda to the political education of the Portuguese people and I have ascribed it two functions – information in the first place; political formation in the second place.⁸

The “political formation” obviously supposed a process of nationalist education, in the strict context of the New State. Therefore, there was an attempt to consolidate the faith of the believers and convert the unbelievers through simple but suggestive methods. The work *Decálogo do Estado Novo*, published by the recently created SPN in 1934, assumed different versions afterwards (sometimes reduced to pamphlets) and it is one of the most exemplary cases, not only because of its ostentation of religious evocation – the ten commandments of the New State – but also because of its content. In this work, there is a mixture of the fundamental idea that the New State is a kind of synthesis of all positive messages of Tradition and Modernity with the idea that, for the same reason, being against the New State is the same as being against the Nation.

The first commandment says: “The New State represents the harmony and the synthesis of all that is permanent and new, the living traditions of the Nation and its more advanced impulses. In a word, it represents moral, social, and political vanguard”.⁹ In the second commandment, the revelation of the sense of synthesis continues: “The New State is a guarantee of independence and unity of the Nation, the balance of all its organic values, the fruitful alliance of all its creative energies”.¹⁰ In the 10th and last commandment, the circle is closed with the justification of repression: “The enemies of the New State are enemies of the Nation. In the service of the Nation – order, common interest and justice for all – strength can and must be used, since it puts the Nation’s self defense” into practice.¹¹

In this context, “conversion” was one of the states of mind that had a strong presence in the morals and culture of the New State. The great writers of the nineteenth century – *Le Stupide XIXe. Siècle* in the words of Léon Daudet, of the *Action Française* (a thesis that was well assimilated by Lusitanian Integralism, by conservative social Catholicism and by Salazarism, in the sequence of the Portuguese counter-revolutionary doctrines of the last century) – were “converted” to a nationalist social doctrine. It must be emphasized that, during their lives, they gradually or suddenly abandoned the realistic, rationalist, demo-liberal or socialist reveries of their youth. SPN went as far as to give Fernando Pessoa’s *Mensagem* (the poem is one of the monuments of our literature) the poetry prize “Antero Quental” along with the mediocre work

⁸ “Fins e necessidade da Propaganda política”, 26th February 1940, in: Salazar, António de Oliveira, *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, 6 vols., Coimbra 1935–1967, vol. III, p. 195.

⁹ *Decálogo do Estado Novo*, Lisboa 1934, pp. 5 and foll.

¹⁰ *Idem*, pp. 15 and foll.

¹¹ *Idem*, pp. 87 and foll.

A Romaria by the Priest Vasco Reis, which deals with the miracle of a Bolshevik’s conversion through Saint António’s interference.¹²

In this atmosphere where “conversion” occupies a fundamental place – according to its own interpretation, the New State represented the “conversion” of a country, its (re)construction, the “recover of Order”, –it is evident that the cinema of Propaganda would give a special attention to that phenomenon of the spirit.

2. Cinema and Propaganda

In fact, Salazar’s regime considered cinema as an important instrument of Propaganda. Salazar did not have a special sensibility to the aesthetics of the Seventh Art due to his rural and conservative catholic formation.¹³ But Salazar cleverly understood that he could not do without that means to impose his doctrine in terms of Propaganda. In his own words, cinema would be important to “inform” in the first place, and to “form” in the second place. Besides, we cannot forget that the first director of the SPN was an intellectual who soon became interested in the cinematographic phenomenon – António Ferro – and, therefore, should try to mobilize this means of propaganda to the regime.¹⁴ Finally, cinema was skilfully used by the Propaganda of “fascist” States and Portugal could not be an exception, in spite of Salazar’s precaution concerning these states and their action, as it was mentioned above.

Actually, Goebbels’s action is well known as far as cinema is concerned. In 1933, he created Department V, and charged it with the supervision of German cinematographic production. On the other hand, there is a special reference to the exceptional director Leni Riefenstahl nowadays, especially after the projection of Ray Muller’s film about her on television and cinema (*Die Macht der Bilder; Leni Riefenstahl*, whose English version is suggestively, entitled *The Wonderful Horrible Life of Leni Riefenstahl*). Her work at the service of the nazi State became famous for the monumental cinematographic technique of undeniable aesthetical value, from the famous *Triumph des Willens, Triumph of Will* (1934) about the Congress of Nuremberg, to the films about the Olympic Games of Berlin. We must not forget, however, the role of other less interesting filmmakers and some feature films or fiction, which transmitted the nazi message: the anti-Semitism of *Der Ewige Jude, The Eternal Jew* (1940), by

¹²Torgal, Luís Reis, “Literatura oficial no Estado Novo. Os prémios do SPN/SNI”, in: *Revista de História das Ideias*, nº 20, “O livro e a leitura”, Coimbra 1999.

¹³It is important to remind that, despite what has been said, the Church gradually realized the importance of cinema, creating an office to survey and promote it in a moral and social perspective, while in certain catholic intellectual contexts, an anti-cinema position was maintained and cinema was not considered as a form of culture. See: Neves, J. A. da Cruz, *Cinema e Cultura*, Coimbra 1946.

¹⁴Ferro, António, *As grandes trágicas do silêncio*. Conferência de arte realizada no Salão Olimpia, na tarde de 1 de Junho de 1917, H. Antunes Editor, Lisboa 1917; Ferro, António, *Novo mundo, Mundo novo*, Lisboa 1930; Ferro, António, *Hollywood, capital das imagens*, Lisboa 1931;

Ferro, António, *Teatro e Cinema (1936–1949)*, Lisboa 1950.

Fritz Hippler, and *Jud Süß, Suss the Jew* (1940), by Veit Harlan; the sacrifice of nazi youth and anticommunism in *Hitlerjunge Quex, The young Hitlerian Quex* (1933), by H. Steinhoff; or the historical films about Frederick II or Bismarck, seen in the perspective of ultra nationalism and the justification of Power. Pure and simple propaganda emerged, naturally, in the different cinematographic news of Germany, united into a single band in 1939.

A similar phenomenon was taking place in fascist Italy, where in 1925, for instance, the *Istituto LUCE (L'Unione per la Cinematografia Educativa)* was created, taking the monopoly of cinematographic news in 1927 (*Cinegiornale*).¹⁵ Directly dependent from the Presidency of the Counsel and thus from Mussolini, it became dependent of the Ministry of Press and Propaganda in 1936. In the area of feature films, the “novel-documentary” *Camicia Nera, Black Shirt* (1933) by Giovachinno Forzano was its most famous production. *Vecchia Guardia, Old Guard* (1934) by Alessandro Blasetti or the Italian-Spanish production *L'Assedio dell'Alcazar, The Alcazar Assault* (1940) by Augusto Genina – a film about Spanish civil war, the famous attack to Alcazar de Toledo by the “Republican” troops and its defence by those who defended Franco – may be considered as examples of heroic films of fascist propaganda.

In the case of Franco's defence, which deserved the interest of Italian fascist cinema as we have seen before, *Raza* (1942) by José Luis Sáenz de Heredia will become famous. Its argument was written by Francisco Franco Bahamonde – the “caudillo de España por la gracia de Dios” – although he used the pseudonym Jaime de Andrade.¹⁶

Nevertheless, it also seems true that “fascist” regimes did not furiously defend fiction feature films as a way of showing express propaganda, but they defended documentaries as well as educational and informative films. If it happened in Germany and Italy, it certainly should happen in other authoritarian regimes.

However, it is important to say that the “fascist” States were not, obviously, the only ones to be conscious of the importance of cinema as a means of Propaganda. Nor were they the first. If Propaganda in the movies, oriented in a perhaps less aggressive and direct way, was at last understood as important even by democratic countries when everything seemed to turn to the struggle of systems and ideologies, it was particularly important to the regime and to communist parties where Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism pointed to the acquisition and conservation of power. In the Soviet Union, where the film of Propaganda was actually invented, Sergei Eisenstein (not always in a totally peaceful relation with the regime) will always be celebrated as one of the most remarkable cineastes in terms of aesthetics and propaganda. It is significant that he is admired by Goebbels, by Leni Riefenstahl or by Alessandro Sar-

¹⁵ Gili, Jean, *Le cinéma italien à l'ombre des faisceaux*, Perpignan 1990.

¹⁶ Gubern, Román, *Raza: Un ensueño del General Franco*, Madrid 1977.

di, one of the directors of LUCE Institut. In the case of the *Front Populaire* in France (1935-1938), it is important to remember the adventure of communist propaganda by the very important cineaste Jean Renoir, with the film *La Vie est à Nous, Life is Ours* (1936).¹⁷ As far as American capitalistic democracy is concerned, to mention but one of the most celebrated examples, let us recall Frank Capra's cinematography in the thirties, adapted to Roosevelt's *New Deal*; in the field of documentary and in the context of war, I will call your attention to the series of films whose basic title was *Why we fight?*

I will give a special emphasis to the work *Mr. Smith goes to Washington* (1939) because I believe that it transmits the image of what often constitutes this kind of American movie. Instead of rigorously presenting the institutions as pure and worthy of praise, as it happened in the cinema of dictatorships, Frank Capra praises the “American values” of nationalism and the honesty of simple men and *self-made-men*, criticizing the under covered games which take place in institutions with such prestige as the Senate. In this film, a simple senator of a small State (*Mr. Smith*, interpreted by James Stewart) manages to avoid big strategies marked by corruption and by the strength of money and bad political influences almost by himself. Intrinsically, the virtues of democratic institutions are safeguarded as long as they support good men, who must be those in charge of the construction of a “New America”.

3. Propaganda and cinema in the New State – fiction films

Like in other countries, in the New State Propaganda was especially shown through the most “real” channel, documentary, which tried to exalt Salazar's work through “information”, mainly in the field of Public Works (the apple of the eyes of the regime) but also in the field of agrarian and industrial instigation. It also divulged the great acts of civic, political and cultural life, such as presidential visits, demonstrations of support to the regime, military celebrations, commemorations, expositions, etc. Although the scenarios of the New State are not as well prepared and as spectacular as those of Italian fascism and, especially, of nazism, it is true that this extraordinary means of propagation of an ideology marked by the image of “Renewal of the Nation” was not wasted.

António Lopes Ribeiro's documentaries (he was one of the cineastes with a strong relation to the regime and who hardly worked for it as well as Leitão de Barros) left some classical scenes of this kind of cinema, due to its aesthetical qualities, the meaning of propaganda or the events recorded. Here are some examples: *Exposição Histórica da Ocupação, Historical Exhibition of the Occupation* (1937), produced by Agência Geral das Colónias, General Agency of the Colonies, which symbolized the

¹⁷ See: Garçon, François, *De Blum à Pétain. Cinéma et société française (1936–1944)*. Préface de Marc Ferro. Paris 1984.

cinematography of the empire like many other films; *As Festas do Duplo Centenário The Celebration of Double Centenary* (1940), produced by SPN, which deals with one of the most important “cultural” or ideological-cultural events of Salazarism; *Inauguração do Estádio Nacional, the Inauguration of the National Stadium* (1944), produced by SPAC (Sociedade Portuguesa de Actualidades Cinematográficas, Portuguese Society of News-Reels). Although it was controlled by the State, none of these institutions had the monopoly of production of documentaries; it could be done by a society like SPAC, which actually represented the political interest of the regime in cinematographic matters and seemed to be influenced, in certain aspects, by Leni Riefenstahl’s seduction and his films about the Olympics; and, finally, *A Morte e a Vida do Engenheiro Duarte Pacheco, The Death and the Life of Engineer Duarte Pacheco* (1944), also produced by SPAC and one of the most interesting films of propaganda in the developmentist path of the New State (symbolized by the popular Public Work’s Minister, Duarte Pacheco, who prematurely died in a car accident), besides being a film that is greatly built with pieces from other films, a technique which delighted Lopes Ribeiro.

I will leave the documentary for the moment, and concentrate on fiction films. It is not possible to say that the State controlled the production in a direct way. The companies, especially Companhia Portuguesa Tobis Klangfilm or Tobis Portuguesa in 1932, associated to the German company, were formally independent from the political power. Despite their clear technical relation with Germany, also marked by some Portuguese cineastes’ training in that country such as Arthur Duarte, the influence of nazism was not felt, mainly as far as its most aggressive aspect – anti-Semitism – was concerned. On the contrary, several German actors and technicians as well as others from different nationalities came to Portugal and performed in some movies, sometimes in significant numbers, like in *Gado Bravo* (1934) by António Lopes Ribeiro. Portugal became a kind of *Hafen der Hoffnung, Harbour of Hope* (to use the title of Pavel Schnabel’s recent movie about the deportee in Portugal), where after the thirties Jewish with different origins started to arrive, running away from the dangers of the nazi fury, which were becoming more evident every day.

However, it is impossible to deny that the vast majority of our fiction films was not connected to ideology in a more or less direct but perceptible way. It is obvious that censorship would not allow the theme to be distant from the sense of the regime, which intended to develop a real movement of “National Union” (to use the name of the political organization), a kind of “single party” (although this designation was refused), the first statutes of which are dated 1932. In fact, the Inspecção Geral dos Espectáculos even emphasized the “nationalist” mark of at least one movie: *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor, The Pupils of Mr. Priest*, presented in 1935 by Leitão de Barros, one of the cineastes who were strongly connected to the regime and its concern of historical celebration, and based on the romance with the same name, written

in the nineteenth century by Júlio Dinis. Júlio Dinis was a very popular author, who could be interpreted as a passionate of the rural world, of “old Portugal” and also of the conciliation of classes; to Júlio Dinis, social elites had to be based on the values of pure morals and on the virtue of work. In fact, at the beginning of the movie, it was possible to read this note from the Inspeção Geral dos Espectáculos, General Inspection of the Performances:

By showing *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, Inspeção-Geral dos Espectáculos praises Tobis Portuguesa and all those who participated in the making of this film, which will take a beautiful expression of nationalist art to the Portuguese all over the world, firmly joining them into their common NATION.

A similar message would be later divulged in a classic book, with a very diverse collaboration: *Portugal. Breviário da Pátria para os Portugueses Ausentes*.¹⁸

Indirect or contextual ideology is, in fact, obviously present in Portuguese cinema, namely in the thirties and forties and even in the fifties. This was present was felt concerning the theme (for instance, the not very well succeeded experience of the historical film, sometimes with all its epic character), the ambiance (the city, where there was a special emphasis to people’s traditional values, small dramas and small comedies; or the country, which always represented the meeting place of real virtues), the social morals (honest poverty, conciliation of classes, patriotic values, the victory of virtue and the punishment of vices)... The idea of “conversion” is characteristic of many movies at the time. It is evident in Leitão de Barros’s work, *Camões* (1946), particularly in the nationalist message at the end of the movie: after the disaster in Alcácer-Quibir, which our greatest poet (Camões) sees in his dreams and would accompany him to his death, along with his love disappointments, we see the glorious conversion of Portuguese History itself. This conversion is symbolized by the raising of banners among the mist where D. Sebastião was lost (1640 – Restoration; 1810 – symbolic date of the expulsion of French Napoleonic troops; 1895 – war of pacification of Mozambique and date of the legendary battle of Chaimite; and, naturally, to crown this process of redemption; 1940 – the Double Centenary of the Foundation of Nationality and Restoration, of Salazarist commemoration). The social and moral conversion of a young bohemian, born of a respectable family and drowned in the vices of the city, through the love with a simple woman from the country, who had the traditional virtues of the “mountains”, is present in the “popular comedy” by Leitão de Barros, *Maria Papoila* (1937). In Jorge Brum do Canto’s work, *Fátima, Terra de Fé, Fatima, Land of Faith* (1943), we witness the sensational conversion to Faith by a wise professor of Medicine in Coimbra. He was a rationalist, atheist and Voltairian,

¹⁸ *Portugal. Breviário da Pátria para os portugueses ausentes*, Prefácio de António Ferro, Lisboa 1946.

separated from his family but, actually, a good man, and is converted due to a miracle which took place in Fatima and brought his little son – the victim of a horse fall that science could not heal – to life. In Perdigão Queiroga's film, *Sonhar é fácil, To Dream is Easy* (1951), the spectator sees the conversion of the small capitalist, who exploits the poor, but who also "has a heart", in face of the cooperativist but naive idealism of a simple man, who, nevertheless, needs money to put his philanthropic will into practice. We can mention many other examples.

But I have mentioned an "indirect or contextual ideology" of cinema and not of Propaganda movies, which reproduced Salazarist ideology in a direct and assumed way like the one I will refer now. However, it is important to say that, like in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, this genre of fiction films was not the most important. It was a minority. Among around sixty films produced in the thirties and forties — the decades of strong ideological expression of the New State — only two can be thus classified, i.e., 3,5%: *A Revolução de Maio, The Revolution of May* (1937), made during the period of assertion of the New State and anticommunist militancy in face of the "Spanish danger"; and *Feitiço do Império, Fascination of the Empire*, from 1940, the year of commemoration of the Double Centenary of the Foundation of Nationality and Restoration and of the Portuguese World Congress – a time of glory to Salazar's regime and propaganda of Portugal and its Empire. The most significant filmmaker of Salazarism, the great cineaste António Lopes Ribeiro, who died on the 14th April 1995, made them both.

4. *A Revolução de Maio – a bolshevist's conversion to Salazar's regime*

The aim of *A Revolução de Maio* as propaganda is overall evident. In fact, António Ferro explicitly announced in an interview to *Cine-Jornal* published on the 25th November 1935, when talking about the fundamental role of theatre and cinema at the service of Propaganda:

A great film about the present political moment in Portugal is being made. It is probable that the making of a dynamic work, the aims of which are similar to the Italian work "Black Shirts" [*Camicia Nera*] will start next year. It is important to notice that I have mentioned similar aims since not only our politics are different, but our film will be different from "Black Shirts".¹⁹

¹⁹ "From January on, Portuguese news will be projected all over the world!", Entrevista com António Ferro, in: *Cine-Jornal*, ano I, nº 6, 25. 11. 1935.

Conscious of the importance of cinema as a means of Propaganda, António Lopes Ribeiro – an admirer of Eisenstein’s genius²⁰ and connoisseur of German and Italian cinema – will say, however, in an interview to *Cine-Jornal*:

Revolução de Maio will not be a pamphlet and brutal work like Potemkine [Bronenostz Potemkine, The Battleship Potemkine, 1925, by Eisenstein] and A Mãe [Mat, The Mother, 1926, by Pudovkin]. Neither will it have the heroic characters of Camicia Nera. It will not be inspired on Hitlerian films of the same kind.²¹

The idea that our regime is different from other authoritarian regimes and, therefore, its means of propaganda should have a different language is always present in Salazarism. This is a fact, although it is said that many scenes in *A Revolução de Maio* show a kind of Eisensteinian inspiration. In fact, Propaganda is assumed in the film and in Lopes Ribeiro’s work, as I have mentioned before. In an article to the weekly supplement of the newspaper *O Século, Cinéfilo*,²² he considers that the film is oriented by four cardinal points: “to serve Portuguese cinema”, “to serve Portuguese public” (“the Portuguese public in Portugal, Brazil, Overseas colonies, Europe, America and Africa”, “who demands films that are spoken in Portuguese”), “to serve the Propaganda of Portugal” (a “wonderful show” being recorded by the cameras: “the most beautiful landscapes, our best costumes, our great artists, the formidable work of the New State, our Army, our Navy, our Police, and our Air Force”), and, finally, “to serve Salazar’s politics” (“the unique example of what the brain can do when it works together with the arms and the arms work together with the heart.”).

At the beginning of the film, the viewer can read that the argument was written by *Jorge Afonso* and *Baltazar Fernandes* – the pseudonyms of António Ferro and António Lopes Ribeiro (curiously, they chose two names of Portuguese painters from the sixteenth century). It is, in fact, a movie with all the characteristics of an “official film”: sponsored by SPN, it also counted with the “precious help” of the Presidency of Ministers and of the Ministries of Foreign Office, Home Office, Agriculture, Navy and War, and the help of the “União Nacional”, National Union, the party of the regime, and Portuguese International Police. This is “the first great film of nationalist elevation”, as it was possible to read in an advertisement.

It is difficult to narrate the film without seeing it, even for those who have access to the script. It can be followed as a support to those who see the film and are kept in two different versions in Cinemateca Portuguesa: one, the most complete belongs to the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (C.P., 28B); the other, which only contains dialogues, belongs to the Instituto Português de Cinema (C.P., Espólio Arthur Duarte,

²⁰ See the interview to Nuno Rogeiro, *O Diabo*, 22. 9. 1992.

²¹ *Cine-Jornal*, Ano I, nº 18, 17. 2. 1936.

²² “Os quarto pontos cardeais de *A Revolução de Maio*”, in: *O Cinéfilo*, ano 9º, nº 459, 5. 6. 1937.

37C). We thus advise the reader to see this movie. It is not easy to do it, but it is not as difficult as for the German Propaganda films. We had, however, the possibility of seeing some of these German movies in a Seminar oriented by Gerhard Schonberner, and promoted by *Goethe-Institute*. Presented for the last time in RTP2 in 1986, in a retrospective of Portuguese cinema, it provoked some controversy. Therefore, it can only be seen in Cinemateca Portuguesa in special sessions.

As fiction film, *A Revolução de Maio* constitutes the most perfect example of the propaganda of the New State and, to prove this function, a French version was prepared to be projected in Paris Exhibition in 1937. It is important to pay attention to certain aspects that seem very elucidative. José Matos-Cruz has already mentioned some of them in a work about António Lopes Ribeiro.²³

Like the other cases mentioned, this film tells the story of a “conversion”, but this time it is a conversion to Salazar’s regime.

The story takes place at a particularly important time: the days before the tenth anniversary of the 28th May 1926 Revolution. The place is also elucidative: Lisbon (and its tourist surroundings, Estoril and Sintra) and the province, namely the North of the country, Oporto and Leixões port (the symbol of a big work of the New State), and the region of Minho, with its processions and popular feasts (particularly the First of May that, instead of being a day of struggle for the workers is now, in Barcelos, the revival of a popular festivity, also converted into a corporative celebration for the workers and an homage for the regime), ending almost simultaneously in Lisbon and Braga, where Salazar and Carmona headed a big demonstration of celebration and propaganda.

The characters are exemplary as far as the proposed aims are concerned. Among others, I will mention *César Valente*, interpreted by António Martinez. He represents the expatriated revolutionary – a “bolshevist”, as it was normal to say at the time; but, although that identification was clear, he was never referred to as such. He comes back to Portugal from the Baltic (the idea that he came from the Soviet Union is implicit), on a French boat (it was the time of the *Front Populaire*) to organize a revolution that should take place on the 28th May (“to erase that date, to conquer it, to neutralize a commemoration that becomes more significant every day”, in his own words when talking with a friend who took part in the same struggle). In spite of being “lost”, *César* or, clandestinely, the journalist *Manuel Fernandes*, presents moral qualities that will lead to his “conversion”. *Maria Clara* is interpreted by the artist with the same name and represents a nurse, who works in Alfredo da Costa Maternity (“an example of hospital organization that assisted motherhood”). She is *D. Júlia*’s (Emília de Oliveira) daughter and her father was a sergeant who had died during the revolutionary attack in February 1927 against the nationalist Dictatorship that was installed after the 28th May. This simple and virtuous young girl is the “archetype

²³ Matos-Cruz, José, *António Lopes Ribeiro*, Lisboa 1983, pp. 180–183.

of the Portuguese woman”. *César* met her while he was running away, in a party to commemorate the launch of another “ship of the Portuguese navy” and it is possible to hear the speeches that celebrated “national renewal” and made people an appeal to support Salazar. She is one of the causes of his “conversion”. *Barata* (Francisco Ribeiro or “Ribeirinho”, a comic actor who participated in several films at the time and was the brother of the director) is the example of a bad civil servant, who boasts and criticizes the government all the time. To a certain extent, he represents *César*’s opposite in the film for his lack of verticality and coherence, for the ridicule of his role of ardent lover who is not loved back by *Maria Clara*, for his physical and moral weakness of coward rumourmonger. But, without losing that ludicrous attitude, he will also end up praising the virtues of the regime. *Silva, the typographer* (José Gamboa), a friend of *César*, represents a different side; he represents a fix side of the true revolutionary with no character, since he incarnates the violence that usually comes from the “bolshevist” spirit, and does not look at the means to reach its aims. *Chief Moreira* (Alexandre de Azevedo) is the Police inspector of a well-organized but civilized, understanding and human police. He believes in *César*’s “Conversion” until the end.

César’s “conversion” to the regime is, therefore, the fundamental theme of *A Revolução de Maio*. Everything points to that, as it can be clarified even better, if we make reference to other aspects of the plot. The statistics he finds in the National Institute of Statistics, in a “scientific” but also morally “serious” intention of reflecting about the country where revolution should take place, prove to *César Valente* that Portugal has one of the lowest numbers of unemployment in Europe. Other numbers clarify him about the development of Education, about the social work in the New State or about economic progress. And this scene takes place at the same time *Barata* and *Silva, the typographer* were talking in the café – one of the most curious and suggestive scenes because of Ribeirinho’s comical side – where rumours are told and the regime is criticized. During his travel to the North of the country, where *César* is going to negotiate the acquisition of weapons and the conspiracy of the workers in Leixões port, he realizes that they supported the New State now. His meeting with the captain of a Spanish boat in Oporto is symptomatic, since we know that republican Spain was called “communist”, civil war had already erupted there, and Salazarism supported Franco’s “nationalist” troops with discrete military means, but in a decisive way. And the “pilgrimage” goes on: *César* realizes that his mother died because of the grieves he had caused, that his father and his brother were on Salazar’s side and the latter hold a placard in Barcelos where it could be read:

FOR ORDER
FOR WORK
IN FAVOUR OF PORTUGAL

But the “conversion” will take place in Lisbon. He meets with *Maria Clara* again and she confesses her love for him; but, knowing his intentions, she says she cannot see him again:

I cannot accept that you were and still are on the side of those who killed my poor father. You once swore that you were not a criminal. Don't you think that revolution can be worse than a crime? Good-bye Manuel. May the Holly Virgin protect you.

After this meeting, *César Valente* (or *Manuel Fernandes*) observes the happiness on children's faces from S. Pedro de Alcântara terrace. Actually, he is already at the end of the path to “conversion”. Regret accompanies him all the time, under the expectant eye of *Chefe Moreira* and *Agente Sobral* (Luís de Campos). To the *Moreira*, *César* “has head and heart”, “he is only a man who makes mistakes like many others”. And, when *César's* comrades are imprisoned in the dark cellar of “Tipografia Liberdade”, where the tasks of the revolutionaries were distributed and even the sad song of the Russian *Dimoff* (Eliezer Kamenesky) was present, the viewer finally sees *César's* “conversion”. He had to raise the red banner in one of the highest places of the city on the 28th May 1936. However, after a slow and difficult climbing to Lisbon hill, where *César* is assaulted by remorse and listens to the voices of the regime and the voices of his conscience – “Tudo pela Nação. Nada contra a Nação”, “All for the Nation. Nothing against the Nation” –, he finally finds himself, respectfully, as a good compatriot, while raising the national banner. This act would be complemented by Salazar's speech in Braga two days before, during the commemorations of the tenth year of the “National Revolution”, which contained words of “conversion”. The documentary of the event, which is suggested by the article in the newspaper where the useless red banner was wrapped, is then projected. Here is an excerpt of Salazar's speech:

To the soul's dilacerated by doubt and by the negativism of the century, we tried to give back the comfort of big certainties. We do not discuss God and virtue; we do not discuss Nation and its History; we do not discuss authority and its prestige; we do not discuss family and its morals; we do not discuss the glory of work and its duty. [...].

Right at the end, we witness the meeting of *Manuel* (“*César* died” in his own words) with *Maria Clara*, to whom he says in face of the fear of being made prisoner and to justify the repression of the regime: “If they arrest me... they are only doing their duty. They are right”. Meanwhile, in the café, *Barata* speaks about the purchase of more ships: “We are going to buy more ships. We have already bought 14 and they are all in a rank. And when we want more, we buy more!” Or the image of Portugal would not be that of a “country of sailor men”...

It is, in drama of propaganda, the “conversion” of a revolutionary that follow the “conversion” of Portugal itself by the act of “National Revolution” of the New State. Otherwise, the credits of the film has a great suggestive power: a “balbúrdia sanguinolenta”, the bloody mess (to use an expression that was very common in the regime to summarize the image of anarchy and violence of the Republic and the “republicans”, suggested in the film by the revolution against the Dictatorship, with the black colours of the civil war, death, women’s screams, in a truly Eisensteinian image). This bloody mess is transformed into peace, recorded in paradise images of flowers, birds singing and the happy landscape of Lisbon. In the end of the film and once again, *César* observes this contrast from Senhora do Monte terrace before his final “conversion”.

5. *Feitiço do Império*

Feitiço do Império, *Fascination of the Empire*, is another fictionist film of propaganda made at the time of the New State. Matos-Cruz has left us some fundamental notes about it.²⁴ And, more important than that, he published the “plans and dialogues of *Feitiço do Império* – exactly as they were made in the first manuscript”.²⁵ It is only through the reading of this text that the eventual watching of the film in Cinemateca has effect, since the sound disappeared and about 400m were mysteriously lost (15 minutes) in this official film produced by Agência Geral das Colónias, which was considered by Lopes Ribeiro as his best movie.²⁶ For the same reason, and because it was considered lost for some time until a copy was found, it is nowadays little known of the public, even those who were interested in the cinematographic phenomenon, not only for aesthetical reasons but also for reasons of cinema analysis as “agent and source of History” in Marc Ferro’s words.²⁷

This is also a movie where fiction is crossed with the “real” image of the regime, through the documentary caught in the photos of Isy Goldberger and Manuel Luís Vieira. It is a film made by António Lopes Ribeiro, who technically directed the “Cinegraphic Mission to the Colonies in Africa” to Agência-Geral das Colónias. This mission takes place from February to October 1938 and it is led by Major Carlos Afonso dos Santos, who wrote at the service of several Salazarist companies under the pseudonym Carlos Selvagem. But, let us put aside these documentaries, which include the visit of the President of the Republic to Angola, and concentrate only on the dramatic plot, the argument of which was written by Lopes Ribeiro and was inspired in a very different text by the winner of the contest prepared by Agência

²⁴ Idem, pp. 184–188.

²⁵ Idem, pp. 185 and 338–392.

²⁶ Idem, p. 185.

²⁷ Ferro, Marc, *Cinéma et Histoire. Le cinéma agent et source de l’Histoire*, Paris 1977/1993.

Geral das Colónias for that purpose – Joaquim Pereira Mota Júnior, the journalist and novelist from Oporto, born in 1909.²⁸

5. 1. *A film about the “conversion” to the nationalist ideal of Portuguese colonialism*

In fact, *Feitiço do Império* is another example of “conversion” – the “conversion” of a Luso-American to the virtues of Portugal and its empire. Presented in 1940, during a period of national commemoration and World War II, it seems undeniable that, besides being a means of Propaganda of Portugal and its Colonial Empire, it aimed at stimulating emigration of Portuguese people to Africa – which always took place in a scarce, slow, and careful way – thus avoiding emigration to foreign countries, namely the United States and even Brazil.

I will analyse the way the Empire “fascinates” that Luso-American.

The history begins in Boston, where a wealthy and happy Portuguese couple living in America, *Francisco Morais* (interpreted by Alves da Cunha) and *Emília* (Emília de Oliveira), show their concern for the fact that their son, *Luís* (Luís de Campos, who had interpreted *agent Sobral* in *A Revolução de Maio*) was “Americanised”. To make things worse, he intended to marry an American woman who had divorced twice – fact that shocked Portuguese mentality, which saw the family as an indestructible cell. This woman was *Fay Gordon* (Madalena Sotto) and she tried to convince Luís to become naturalized American, in order to make the union between the two firms easier.

At first, *Luís* compared America, a country of success, to the poor Portuguese land, and he did not pay attention to his desolated father. But, his father manages to convince him to go hunting in Angola – “an old province we discovered a long time ago” –, where *Luís* had an uncle, after visiting Portugal. By the time he was leaving, his father told him, describing Portugal in a colorful way:

Finally, you are going to know your country. You will see how beautiful it is. It is the land of sunshine, the land of the eternal Spring!... [...] And, when you see a Portuguese thing that impresses or moves you, open this case and see what is inside.

Obviously, we will not reveal what was in the case or the end of the film for the moment because we would be taking the interest away from the reader, the viewer, or the imaginary viewer.

Luís disembarks in Lisbon, where a nice taxi driver accompanies him, *Chico do Austin* (Francisco Ribeiro or “Ribeirinho”, who had interpreted the role of *Barata* in *A Revolução de Maio*), the typical Lisbon citizen, who even has in the jacket the symbol of a popular soccer club, Benfica. It is, however, a visit without success.

²⁸ See: Mota Junior, Joaquim Pereira, *O Feitiço do Império*, Lisboa 1940.

Nothing pleases *Luís*, especially the “national song” – “fado”. He listens to it in a displeased way everywhere he goes, including in the voice of the young Alfredo Marceneiro. Nothing but the memory of the American music can still enthusiasm him.

The journey to Angola is illustrated by “postcards” and historical evocations. The comparison between Portuguese colonisation and foreign colonisation begins and the advantage of the former is evident. In Guinea (Lopes Ribeiro made the documentary *Guiné, Berço do Império, Guinea, the Cradle of the Empire*, 1940) he gets especially in touch with the Portuguese “reality” of the colonies, and the process of “conversion” begins.

In Angola, he is received by his uncle *Alberto* (the popular actor António Silva, one of the most noticeable Portuguese comedians), bully and ridiculous, who actually represents the “bad settler”. “It is not that I don’t like Portugal. – he said – I like it so much that I even dressed my employees in the Alentejo fashion. What I do not like is the colonies! The richest heirs in the surroundings are the daughters of the chiefs of the tribes, and they even have less cattle than me”. In this dichotomised simplism of presenting good and evil (which is not that evil after all), there is also the “good settler”. It is symbolized by *Ernesto Vitorino* (Estêvão Amarante), known as *Vitorino da Umbala*, as he presents himself, who gives shelter to *Luís*, when he is wounded by a lion and helped by a “courageous and dedicated black man” (the image of “Portuguese colonisation” contains a subtle racism, appropriate to the idea of missionary and civilizing crusade). Besides, *Vitorino*, who lives a harsh but good life as a farmer and tavern-keeper, has a young, beautiful daughter, who dedicates her life to teaching the little black boys and girls to read Portuguese with the help of *Cartilha Maternal* (the famous didactic book of João de Deus) and the catholic catechism – the idealized woman appears as one of the means in the service of “conversion”. In her father’s words, she “prefers the jungle to the most beautiful city in the world”.

The fatal comparison is made between the image of the simple Portuguese woman, uninhibited but with a severe moral, *Mariazinha* (Isabel Tovar, Mary Mota’s artistic name) and the frivolous and intolerant American, *Fay*, who sent a telegram to *Luís* from Mozambique. *Mariazinha*, who fell in love with the Luso-American, contributes to this comparison. *Luís* told her once, when he tried to steal a kiss from her without success: “You, Portuguese women, are terrible! You complicate the simplest things in the world!... In America, a kiss is something with no importance!...” In a different scene, perhaps taken from the stereotyped images of *cow-boys* or *gangsters*, when *Mariazinha* is remembering what happened, she will tell him: “In America, a shot is probably even less important than a kiss”.

In Mozambique, more precisely in the emblematic place of Marracuene, famous for the triumphant campaigns during the occupation at the end of the nineteenth century, and near Lourenço Marques, the capital city then – where *Luís* was taken by *Fay* and where she protested against the city, which she found “unbearable” –, they

see an African dance. *Luís* is seduced by Africa and by Portuguese colonisation. His words are significant as far as the official message of the sense of that colonisation is concerned – tolerance in face of “barbarism”, shown by the superior Portuguese civilisation represented, instead of the “Americanisation” of the blacks. It is interesting to follow the dialogue. In face of the show of an African dance, *Luís* says to the colonial Administrator: “It is truly amazing to see the collaboration between such different races as I have witnessed in every colony. In these barbarian festivities we can better evaluate the distance that separate these two races and, therefore, the difficulty and the reach of that collaboration”. *Fay* answers: “Definitely, I prefer the blacks in Harlem”.

The “fascination of the Empire” (“*Feitiço do Império*”) impregnates *Luís*’s sensitiveness, who confesses that he does not want to become naturalized American any more, and it puts him far from *Fay* and nearer from *Mariazinha* when he goes back to Angola. Separated from *Fay Gordon*, he makes the comparison between Portuguese and American colonization:

You cannot imagine, *Fay*, the new world I found in Africa! What fascinated me the most in your country was the strength of half a dozen men who managed to build a great nation by themselves with courage and perseverance. It is true that they lacked in scruples what they had in resources. But, was that important? Imagine what I felt when I realized that the people I belong to scrupulously built a great Empire, defying all covetousness, and that, to their even greater glory, they built it and kept it without any kind of resources.

“Conversion” had finally taken place as well as the comparison between Portugal and America. In 1939, one year before the exhibition of *Feitiço do Império*, in a documentary in SPN about New York Exhibition (“Portugal, escola de exposições”), *Luís Nunes* commented that the message transmitted by the Portuguese pavilion was “the answer to the excessively materialized American conception of the future”.

Luís’s “conversion” will be even more complete when he goes back to Lisbon, in his way to Boston. Meeting the popular *Chico do Austin*, he seems anxious to listen to “fado”, which he had already listened to with pleasure in Mozambique. *Luís* was even converted to the traditional “Portuguese song”. When he arrives to Lisbon, he finally opens the case his father had given to him, revealing his mysterious content to *Mariazinha*:

Do you want to hear something rather strange? This morning when I got up, I found a little case that my father gave me when I left Boston, telling me not to open it until I found a Portuguese thing that impressed me much. Many of our things have impressed me, but I have to confess that only today I felt the temptation of opening it. I climbed to the deck, and I saw Lisbon, more beautiful than ever. Now that I

know our Africa, it seemed bigger, more important. I opened the case. I found a little book inside: “Os Lusíadas”! And do you know which verses came to my eyes immediately when I opened it?

[...]

Here it is, almost above the head
Of all Europe, the Lusitanian Kingdom
Where the land finishes, and the sea begins

Lisbon, the capital of the Portuguese Empire, “almost above the head of Europe”, as in the verses of Canto III in *Os Lusíadas*, is the Empire that had enchanted Luís, taking him to the path of a strong national feeling.

Meanwhile, as a true settler, *Mariazinha*’s father, *Vitorino*, was back to Angola taking his old mother. At the end, we have a message encouraging people to immigrate to the colonies. *Vitorino* says to his mother:

You will see that you are going to like it and be happy there. The Portuguese are very close to the sea. Being in Africa is like being in Beira or Alentejo.

“Portugal, from Minho to Timor” – this was the message conveyed, in the last analysis. Or, more precisely, Portugal should be wherever a Portuguese was, no matter if it was in the Lusitanian Brazil or even... in America, so far from us due to the “empire of the machine”, the customs of the population and even the ethics of the American people. It was possible to be Portuguese even in that universe that, perhaps *contra natura*, seemed to attract the Portuguese. After all, it was “the land of success”, which had sheltered *Francisco Morais* “like a son”. Some Portuguese had not been “gentle” with him, but it was not Portugal’s fault. He was still a Portuguese there, and so was his wife, *Emília*. They lived in “a perfect harmony” there, and it was possible to foresee that the same would happen to *Luís* and *Mariazinha*. Certainly, one day *Luís* would say, like his father had said at the beginning of the story: “how I am proud of being Portuguese!” If *A Revolução de Maio* is a film about the New State, *Feitiço do Império* is a film about Portuguese nationalism, supposedly defended, improved and represented by the New State.

5. 2. *The book and the script of the film*

Like I have already mentioned, and the book itself openly states (it was published by Agência Geral das Colónias with the authorization of the Minister of the Colonies in the same year the film was presented), the novel by Joaquim Pereira Mota Júnior is very different from the film by Lopes Ribeiro, the author of the script. As it was possible to read on the cover, the film and the book “have little in common not only concerning the plot, but also concerning the characters”. However, it will be worthy

to concentrate on that evidence for a while, to conclude about the way coincidences, and especially alterations, are significant. In other words, are there any strong reasons for the fact that *Feitiço do Império* (the winner of the contest organized by Agência Geral das Colónias with the aim of selecting the best script) would result in such a different film?

It is obvious that a film is never the pure and simple transposition of a book, or even of a text that has been written with the aim of being adapted to cinema. The truth is that cinema has its own language and, naturally, the director enjoys dominating or even appropriating the script of the film he is creating. But, I am not questioning that. I am dealing with a deep transformation of the text by Mota Júnior, to such an extent that it is only possible to talk about a relation of mere “inspiration”.

I will analyze the sense of the “plot” and the “characters” of the book in general traits:

Guida and *João Carraca*, both natural of the Azores (Santa Maria island), emigrate to America with their son *Dadinho* in their arms, looking for a better life and thinking about the future of their child. Their first destiny is Fall River. *João* gets a job in a ship company, and starts serving on packet-boats. Due to his capacity for work and to his Portuguese education, he becomes the representative of a Company of Atlantic Navigation from Boston in New York, and afterwards, he becomes its administrator after buying its shares. With the help of the young *Eduardo Carraca* (*Dadinho*), the Company becomes *The Carraca Navigation Company*.

This Luso-American young man, *Eduardo* – like *Luís Morais* in the film – will be in the center of the plot. He also felt more American than Portuguese. He is an engineering student; then he becomes an engineer and a famous pilot all over the world, and he owes the record in height. *Edward Carracours* (Americanization of his name) was the example of the man of success, who grows up in a new country and manages to succeed in a land with a civilization that is different from the Portuguese one, where the machine is the most important thing. He is thus characterized in the book: “if it were not for his father, whom he avoids displeasing, nobody would say he was Portuguese”.²⁹ He will also make a “pilgrimage” to the Portuguese Empire, which will give him back the conscience of his true nationality. The way, full of adventure, is more or less the same as in the film: Guinea, Prince, São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique, and Lisbon.

Despite this similarity, there is – as it has been mentioned – a great difference between the story of the film and the story of the book. The plot (re)created by António Lopes Ribeiro has a more linear and direct plan of intrigue and it presents a lower number of characters. The book has a more complicated plot and the discourse is more rhetoric. But, in particular, there is a very significant difference in the way America is faced in both kinds of fiction. Curiously, in the book by Mota Júnior

²⁹ *Idem*, p. 57.

– contrarily to what happens in the film with *Fay Gordon* – *Eduardo’s* American girlfriend, whom he will marry, is the one who will help him to find his true nationality. Contrarily to *Fay*, *Gail Dorland* shows many moral qualities. She is an actress, but this profession is not seen inconsiderately – the artist’s life is not seen as an easy thing, but as a hard job, especially for those who, like her, build their projects for life without the help of a personal fortune.

Going a little deeper inside the story, in the professional field *Eduardo* is going to start his experience as a hydrographic engineer working with a famous Brazilian ethnologist, *Dr. Aniceto Mira*, who will lead a scientific mission. His wife, *D. Celeste*, and his daughter *Berta* (an “adorable little Brazilian girl”), will accompany him. They will make a trip to Portuguese Africa, where they had relatives. But this time – contrarily to what will happen to *Luís* and *Fay* – the young *Eduardo* will show his virtues of faithfulness in the love sphere, managing to overcome the seduction of *Berta*, who actually had a boyfriend, the young doctor, *Rolando*, who had stayed in Brazil.

Gail’s role is thus similar to *Mariazinha’s* in the film by Lopes Ribeiro, except for the differences in personality and sense of discourse. In fact, if *Gail* is surprised – like *Fay* – by the fact that the “African aborigine” has not become “civilized”, taking Brazil as the term of comparison and bearing in mind that Portugal was one “of the main pioneers of modern civilization”³⁰, that does not mean that she does not admire Portuguese colonization and does not feel attracted by its qualities and “beautiful nature”³¹. Therefore, she considers it very important to know if *Eduardo* really feels Portuguese in order to understand her love for him.³² And, actually, this is what is going to happen as he feels more enthusiastic about the “grandiosity” of Africa. *Gail* herself, who claims to be American and the daughter and granddaughter of Americans, seems to wish to have a Latin ascendancy.³³ On the contrary, *Eduardo* – the only one of the exploiters of *Brazilian Arcadia Mission* to be called “white man” by the natives in respect for the Portuguese, fact that surprises *Drake*³⁴, a dramatic English adventurer – recognizes the benefic American influence: “Portuguese blood moderated by American discipline”³⁵.

The question of “race” or, at it is said in the book, the “blood” that “oppresses” and imposes its qualities and its faults, is much more important in the book than in the film. There is, in the book, an ideological discourse that is heavier and more elaborated. *Drake* is impulsive because he has Spanish origins, and discipline is a

³⁰ *Idem*, p. 136.

³¹ *Idem*, p. 193.

³² *Idem*, p. 154.

³³ *Idem*, p. 194.

³⁴ *Idem*, p. 149.

³⁵ *Idem*, p. 190.

virtue of American and English temperament³⁶, as kindness is a natural virtue of the Portuguese. However, the “sovereignty” of “blood” has its “limits” and the human being can be formed by education: in *Eduardo’s* case, it is the disciplined education of the American.³⁷ However, the Portuguese case is obviously the most relevant and, therefore, the most analyzed in the conversations between *Gail* and *Eduardo*. These reflections make us think in the sense, or in the senses, of the “Portuguese Empire”.

Eduardo realizes this now, while thinking about the Portuguese he has met during the adventure that takes him finally to Mozambique, by plane, in order to transport an amphora found by the Brazilian mission, which has to be analyzed by the *Portuguese Archaeological Mission*. And he realizes it, afterwards, in Lisbon with *Gail*. The book ends near Jerónimos Monastery, where the couple wants to do the wedding ceremony. *Eduardo* says: “It is curious that those who live side by side with the Portuguese yield to their influence. Dr. Aniceto Mira, for instance, is Portuguese in his obsession, his stubbornness, and his purity. Portuguese like his wife. His daughter Berta, pretentious and simple at the same time, impetuous and indolent, imaginative, delirious, but soon defeated, a poor thing like every one of us”.³⁸ With *Gail*, he also remembers the case of the settler *Custódio de Lima*, whom he had joined in a religious mission to search for his natural son – the little black boy *Pópó* – he wanted to recognize as his descendent.

Portuguese, Brazilian, Luso-Brazilian, Luso-American, and Luso-African... – in fact, they all had the same substratum, the same moral strength, which made of the Portuguese Empire more than a territorial Empire. In the words of *Edward Carracours*, who is *Eduardo Carraca* after all, to *Gail Dorland*:

Portugal has not one empire, but two. You saw the colonial empire, the lands that Portugal owns, manages and rules. But there is another empire, the moral Empire, constituted by that legion of Portuguese who live in North America, South America, and all over Europe... everywhere. And this Empire is also worthy of mentioning: it is valuable because it maintains the virtues of the race inbred; it dominates the environment; it conquers and commands. It would also need a central direction. But, even without it, it grows, spreads, it reached you [*Gail*], and you are mine inside the Portuguese orbit without being Portuguese.³⁹

Here is the American. Not only the Luso-American, who is influenced by the Portuguese Empire; despite his “blood” qualities, the Portuguese is influenced by the benefic presence of American education. Obviously, the book shows a strong nationalist feeling, which was accepted as the political spirit of the time; but it also showed a pro-Americanism which was unacceptable at the time. Lopes Ribeiro would

³⁶ *Idem*, pp. 193–194.

³⁷ *Idem*, p. 194.

³⁸ *Idem*, pp. 191–192.

³⁹ *Idem*, p. 191.

transform this tendency into the opposite one, i.e., a possible anti-Americanism. He sprinkled the script with Salazarist documentaries, enough to give the nationalism he captured (more simple and less rhetoric than the book by Mota Júnior) the political tone necessary to transform the film into a document of soft propaganda. This way, it would be easier and more efficient to convert the unbelievers...

6. The “conversion of the unbelievers”...

The “conversion of the unbelievers”... – this is how we can call this kind of propaganda, explicitly conveyed by António Lopes Ribeiro’s cinema. I have mentioned the word “propaganda” because there is, in these films, like in every act of Propaganda – independently from the technical and aesthetical quality of the films on the one hand; different from its public acceptance, i.e., its efficacy, on the other hand – a militant intention, which is deliberate and thought in a methodical way to make the reproduction of an ideology (a unique methodology in that case, an ideology of the State). But, without assuming that role, other films were vehicles of ideology.

With the exception of a contextual ideology that is generally present in Portuguese cinema at the time, it is possible to say that a direct ideology is present in other films, namely in historical cinema. It is present in films such as *Camões* (1946) by Leitão de Barros, about our great epic, and even in the fifties, when the Portuguese Empire starts to be questioned, *Chaimite* by Jorge Brum do Canto. However, there won’t be evident Propaganda in the cinema of fiction presented in the New State any longer, although it will be vividly present in documentaries. And, if in the fifties (true or false) “neo-realism” already takes the viewer to a dramatic world of fiction, which is far from the thematic analysis of the regime, in the sixties (the time of the colonial war) the “new cinema” will emerge, with all its ambiguities and despair that characterize Portuguese cinema today, but where it is possible to notice in certain obvious cases understood as “opposition”.

After the Revolution of the 25th April, Propaganda will return to the screen, trying to divulge ideas of Marxist revolution. Besides this cinema, usually of a low quality and simple documentary value, other kind of cinema will emerge, where the ideologies and messages conveyed are the opposite to the messages of Salazar’s regime. Certain fiction films will discuss the Empire and all its disgrace, or will convey the bitter image of a society that dies slowly. This will happen in *Um Adeus Português* (1985) by João Botelho, which brings the suggestion of despair at the time of the war; or in the film called, perhaps disputably, the “anti-*Chaimite*” (a case of counter-memory of History and memory of Cinema); *Aqui d’El Rei* (1989) by António Pedro de Vasconcelos, or *Non ou a Vã Glória de Mandar* (1990) by Manoel de Oliveira, which seems to be a good example of “official anti-history”, a suggestion of a different way of seeing the history of Portugal, different from the history told by the regime to the children and to the people.

Резиме

Luís Reis Torgal

Пропаганда, идеологија и филм у Салазаровој „Новој Држави“: „Преобраћање неверујућих”

У чланку се анализирају начин и циљеви пропагандне употребе филма у Португалији у време режима „Нове Државе“ (“Estado Novo”) **Антонија Салазара**. Посебна пажња је посвећена играним филмовима у којима се снажно пропагирала идеја „преобраћања“ из „большевизма“ ка „салазаризму“ и из припадности „неверујућим“ међу оне који „верују“ у националистички идеал португалског колонијализма. Главну улогу у конципирању пропагандне стратегије и циљева одиграо је први директор Националног секретаријата за пропаганду, Антонио Феро. Као и у другим „фашистичким“ режимима, са којима се праве поређења, тако је и у салазаристичком број играних филмова у којима је садржана „индиректна и контекстуална пропаганда“ био врло мали. Током тридесетих и четрдесетих година такви филмови су чинили 3,5% продукције, или свега два филма: „Мајска револуција“ („A Revolução de Maio“) из 1937. године и „Фасцинација Империјом“ („Feitiço do Império“) из 1940. године. Оба је режирао велики синеста Антонио Лопез Рибейро (António Lopes Ribeiro) и они су у чланку посебно детаљно анализирани.

Филм „Мајска револуција“ је посвећен преобраћању „большевика“ Цезара Валентеа, који се у време шпанског грађанског рата „са Балтика“ враћа у Португалију, да би у домовини организовао револуцију. Међутим, захваљујући врлинама које поседује сам главни јунак, и уз помоћ једне „архетипске португалске жене“ и добронамерног и мудрог полицијског инспектора, он стиже до свог „преобраћења“ и прихватања „салазаризма“. У филму „Фасцинација Империјом“ тема је „преобраћење“ сина једног португалског емигранта у Америци, који се приликом боравка у португалској колонији Анголи упознаје са врлинама тамошњих португалских насељеника. У филму се контраст прави односом главног јунака према његовој супрузи Американки и вредностима које она заступа („американизам“) и португалске жене из колоније која представља идеале португалског традиционалног друштва. Он на крају филма бива „преобраћен“ и спознаје вредности и величину португалске империје у којој се живи „у савршеној хармонији“. Први филм је посвећен вредностима Нове Државе, а други португалском национализму у њеном тумачењу.