Aspects in the construction of Brazil's transcontinental *lusofonia*

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ABSTRACT

Through a marriage between academia (i.e. The Brazilian Institute for Afro-Asian Studies) and the Quadros-Goulart presidencies, Brazil underwent a gradual change in discourse starting in the early 1960's towards the idea that the country, like its African "brethren," had been a victim rather than an extension of its former colonizer Portugal, in a turnaround of Freyrean ideology. This meant a move away from traditional alignments and towards a more autonomous foreign policy involving diversifying partnerships in the South. This paper examines some building blocks of Brazil's anti-colonial current and of the change in Brazil's use of lusofonia (Portuguese language and culture) bonds into a tool to reach Africa – initially hampered, then better able to flourish under later global scenarios.

For decades, a simultaneously romantic and perverse idea of miscegenation and lack of racism in the tropics was used as a geopolitical tool, at one point to argue for Portuguese colonial retention, and at another, or sometimes simultaneously, to defend Brazil's rapprochement with Africa. Most famously through the writings and activism of Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre starting in the 1930's – reinforced and modified by a constellation of other academics and politicians – the picture of a harmonious transcontinental family bred by the Portuguese colonizers along Africa, Asia and Brazil was labeled the "science" of lusotropicalism and progressed to make an indelible mark on the *lusofonia*-related discourse. In Brazil the founding bricks of the political project of *lusofonia*, based on Portuguese language and culture bonds to some extent present and to another constructed for the tropics, can be traced at least as far back as the mid-19th century. Brazil had by then become independent and the divisions between the lusophile and nationalist camps had begun to be defined, with Brazilian elites becoming torn over their Portuguese legacy in a dichotomy that would be perpetuated. [1]

Lusophile Brazilian historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen at that time promoted the idea that the Portuguese had been a civilizing force and that Brazil was a "continuation" of the metropole. This countered the intellectual movement that sought to emphasize the importance of the pre-colonial natives to Brazil's societal formation as opposed to Portuguese influence, as a tool to build Brazilian national identity, according to the Luso-Brazilian history book by Cervo and Magalhães (2000). The idea of aggregating an international "lusophone" bloc – which would change hands between elite camps depending on who was in power in Brazil at the time, and what the main political and economic project was – goes back a bit further, to the Brazilian independence movement and prince Dom Pedro I, heir to the Portuguese throne.[2] He declared the country independent from his father's kingdom in 1822, and although its recognition would take a few years of political tug-of-war and armed battles, it would not require a bloody 14-year independence war like the one Portugal's African and Asian colonies would have to fight a century and a half later (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). The hierarchy had been heavily tilted towards Portugal and Brazil amid their special family relationship and Brazil's centrality to the colonial system, for the extent of the latter's natural resources, economy and political base, unlike the other colonies' marginal extractive position. For a while Rio de Janeiro became the seat of the Portuguese Empire, receiving the royal family as it fled from Napoleon's grip, and being bestowed with the political and social infrastructure that would ironically aid its separation from the metropole (ibid).

Brazil today has climbed higher in the constructed international relations hierarchy. It has replaced the United Kingdom as the world's sixth largest economy (Inman 2012), being internationally portrayed as a "BRIC" country and an "emerging donor."[3] It is among the countries called upon by international organizations to complement traditional (developed) donors' development aid in Africa amid a perceived shift in wealth away from the former colonial powers and the U.S. towards the East and South (OECD 2011; Reisen 2011). A growing tangent of *lusofonia*-related international action by Brazil is technical cooperation, the brunt of which is given to the former Portuguese colonies, the countries known as the PALOPs (African Countries of Portuguese Official Language, or *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*).[4] The official rationale behind it – given by Brazilian diplomats I interviewed in Mozambique in 2012 – is that Brazil feels a historical debt to these countries (due to the slave trade and slaves' contribution to Brazilian society) and therefore compelled to help them develop while sharing techniques it has honed as an emerging economic power. The sharing of cultural traits and language by Brazil, a truly majority Portuguese-speaking country, with the former Portuguese colonies has also been part of Brazil's political discourse,

but actually Portuguese proficiency varies widely among these countries, with ethnic languages or creole being spoken by large groups within their populations (PTC 2011; Medeiros 2006; Lewis and Simons 2013). Still, Portuguese is an official language in each of them – Africa's Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe, and Asia's East Timor – and they are all members of the political and cultural cooperation Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), created in 1996.

Brazilian diplomats have contended that since their country still has some of the problems of a developing country and similarities in (tropical) climate and soil, it can relate well to what the recipient countries need, a discourse largely dating back to a rapprochement with Africa in the 1960's. However, at the start of this paper's analysis, which will focus on Africa, the Brazilian rhetoric towards its "lusophone brethren" was considerably different from what it is today. To understand Brazil's present brand of *lusofonia*-related cooperation, it is useful to look at how such rhetoric evolved to prioritize Africa, a statement clearly made under the Lula da Silva presidency. Brazil, on its quest for a bigger piece of the global capitalist and normative pie, has navigated through different historical moments and national priorities shaping its attitude towards the PALOPs and Africa in general.

Lusophilia and colonialism

In 1960, the year when an additional 17 African countries became independent in the massive on-going decolonization process, the Brazilian government threw a big party. The celebratory theme, however, was not the liberation of fellow former colonies across the Atlantic Ocean: Brazil was marking the inauguration of its new capital, Brasília, a feat of modernist architecture and engineering built in a mere three and a half years. At the time Brazil held a close rhetorical allegiance to its former colonizer which, for the next 14 years, would struggle against the global current and admonitions to hang on to its so-called African and Asian "overseas provinces." As it turns out, the synchronous moment of decolonization could not be stopped, and neither could the end of the decades-long Portuguese dictatorship in 1974. After centuries of what Newitt (1995) characterizes as weak civil society opposition to Portuguese colonialism, the colonial wars abroad would eventually spur discontent domestically in Portugal, which would in turn help lead to the overthrow of the regime and freeing of its remaining colonies. Independence from Portugal after five centuries of colonial rule meant the advent of Marxist regimes in the new states, followed by other struggles such as civil wars in Angola and Mozambique and the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Although the government of President Juscelino Kubitschek (1956-1960) rejected decolonization in favour of Portugal, other Brazilian politicians, along with anticolonial-minded intellectuals, gathered steam to affect a dramatic change in political discourse within the year (Saraiva 2012; Alberto 2011). In his book *Hotel Trópico*, U.S.-based scholar Jerry Dávila traces the internalization of Freyre's lusotropicalism discourse by Brazilian diplomats and intellectuals and how it framed their actions and interactions in African countries amid Brazil's commercial and political rapprochement project in the 60's and 70's (see Dávila 2010). (My own research trajectory has sometimes intersected with Dávila's[5].) But before the change in administration that would bring in that major discourse revision, in April 1960 it was Kubitschek's shining modernist achievement that had the spotlight, with an inauguration ceremony centered on Brazil-Portugal bonds (and their complexity). On the 50th anniversary of Brasília, Brazilian magazine *Veja* recounted that the cardinal chosen to officiate its inauguration was from Portugal, Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira. The magazine described a highly symbolic scene as unfolding during the ceremony: "Above the altar stood the iron cross that, 460 years earlier, had blessed the first mass on Brazilian soil, officiated by Friar Henrique de Coimbra, chaplain of the fleet of Pedro Álvares Cabral. Brought from the Sé museum of Braga, Portugal, the old cross was not the only relic incorporated into the solemnity: Minutes later, in the instant of the Consecration, pealed the bell whose chime had supposedly announced in Vila Rica the execution of Tiradentes on another April 21, the one in 1792" (Veja 2000, translation mine).[6] Then lights went on to unveil and bathe Brasília's government quarter, evoking a tearful display from Kubitschek, whose administration presided over the capital's construction as the flagship of Brazil's developmentalist prerogative after World War II.

While the former part of the scene at the ceremony was a tribute to the first Portuguese fleet to arrive in Brazil on April 22, 1500 – its commander-in-chief Cabral being routinely lauded as the "discoverer" of Brazil and Portuguese colonizers in general discursively glorified in Kubitschek's time – the second part offered a reminder that the Portuguese had executed Tiradentes, who would become Brazil's most celebrated martyr, as he strove for Brazilian independence. Brazil seemed to be using the occasion to recognize, through historical memory, deep religious, cultural and political bonds with Portugal but also to send a message of self-determination and nationalism, with Brasília as physical evidence that Brazil had come on its own as a nation, poised for major development and leadership.

Brasília-based scholar José Flávio Sombra Saraiva (2012) describes Kubitschek's government as dedicated to aligning itself with developed countries to secure international

financing for Brazil's ambitious rapid growth plans, which involved tripling the country's productive capacity under the motto "50 years in five." The scholar analyzes that it had little interest in Africa except for fearing that the country's growth could be hampered by competition from African primary exports entering the European market, under a protectionist scheme of the newly formed European Economic Community. He writes that the logic shaping Brazilian foreign policy then, "almost mistaken for an obsession, sought to enlarge the spaces of Brazil in the Western order, without hurting the special relations with the United States, but seeking a certain margin of autonomy in the interior of dependency by means of the developmentalist project" (Saraiva 2012, 31, translation mine).[7] In the meantime, the Kubitschek administration's support for the Portuguese claim over the colonies was clear, its lusophile rhetoric channeled into political action; this, in Rampinelli's (2006) opinion, represented a big contradiction to Brazil's project of greater autonomy and Latin American regional leadership. But Rampinelli also listed specific political motivations that could explain it, including securing the Portuguese dictatorship's support against communist currents and the electoral support of the large Portuguese community residing in Brazil.

Other, higher ambitions surrounding Brazil-Portugal cooperation during Kubitschek's government manifest themselves through letters, speeches and interviews found in the private archives of Brazilian politician Negrão de Lima, held at Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) in Rio de Janeiro.[8] The documents show a Brazilian rhetoric of seeking to engage in the game of the world powers, expressing a megalomaniac desire to "conquer" together with Portugal on Earth and beyond. Lima had been Minister of Foreign Affairs under Kubitschek in 1958-59, leaving the post to serve as Brazil's ambassador to Portugal under the same president. His ambassadorship managed to survive two changes in administration, until he resigned in 1963 to head the national committee for Kubitschek's (unrealized) reelection (FGV/CPDOC 2013). The two politicians' attitudes regarding Portugal seemed to be in sync, and differed from that of Álvaro Lins, whom Lima replaced as ambassador in Portugal. More critical of the Portuguese stance, Lins had gone so far as to suggest that Brazil support African countries' independence, according to Saraiva (2012). Lins later quit his ambassadorship and cut off relations with Kubitschek over his government's handling of the case of a Portuguese political asylum-seeker Lins had protected, and proceeded to launch a media campaign attacking both the Portuguese and Brazilian governments and their relations (Cervo and Magalhães 2000).

One letter in Lima's archives, from May 1960, features a suggestion by Kubitschek to Portuguese President Américo Tomás that Brazil and Portugal join efforts and resources to create an "Institute of Astronautics, in which the Brazilian and Portuguese generations would

avail themselves in emulating their glorious ancestors in the exploration and conquest of the sidereal spaces... I believe, Mr. President, that in this way... we would make it so that Brazil and Portugal, perfectly up-to-date, would intimately cooperate in the sense of contributing with the faith, the vigor and knowledge of their new generations to the era which interplanetary trips, possibly very soon, will open up for humankind." (Kubitschek 1960, translation mine).[9] Geopolitical aspirations involving an alliance with Portugal were also clear in Lima's eulogy written for his arrival as ambassador there in 1959:

> I arrive in Portugal in a historic moment, when the international conjuncture is characterized by the economic, cultural and political integration of the nations that most identify with each other for their affinities and for whatever exists of essential in their common interests... The precise time has come to reunite our lusiad family. We need to also put ourselves among the conquerors of the future, like our common ancestors were the pioneers in the conquest of the New World, the trail-blazers in the darkness and the ones who unveiled the mystery of the seas. Those of our flock belong to the race of those who are capable of yet another feat, if to this they dedicate themselves with the effort, the tenacity and the genius that they did not lack in dominating the impracticable oceans, discover new spaces for man's physical and spiritual life and create nations of the size and unity of Brazil... I salute the Portuguese motherland. I see it alongside Brazil, marching towards the dawn of this new world that is born and in which we will have to participate to survive with the dignity to which we are entitled. The history, the navigations, the old triumphs and the glorious fights lived impel the Portuguese Nation towards new conquests and towards the full realization of its marvelous destiny. (Lima, 1959, translation mine).[10]

The anti-colonial seed

This lusophile foreign policy carried over from the previous governments of Getúlio Vargas and Café Filho (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). A landmark agreement was the 1953 Treaty of Friendship and Consultation (*Tratado de Amizade e Consulta*), which established that Portugal and Brazil should consult each other on international matters of common interest and that their citizens could freely settle down in and be generally treated as citizens in each other's countries; this, however, excluded the "overseas provinces," as Portuguese politicians would come to refer to the Portuguese colonies, insisting they were not colonies but inseparable parts of the Portuguese nation (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). FGV archival

materials spanning the 1930's to 50's illustrate a strong discursive commitment by the Brazilian ruling elite to strengthening and celebrating relations with Portugal, credited in Brazilian speeches with giving Brazil its civilization and Christian and democratic ideals.[11] The discursive construction of a lusophone community in the world often featured Brazil and Portugal as the agents (the word "Luso-Brazilian" was often used) and the then-colonies as the passive recipients of their influence and decisions, being treated as mere extensions of Portugal and possible containers for the expansion of Brazilian culture and capital.

But this did not go unopposed. Linked to the anti-colonial line of thinking were intellectuals amid the massive black contingent in Brazil, descendants of the several million African slaves trafficked there from the Portuguese colonies until the mid-19th century. Instrumental in building Brazilian society, culture and economy, blacks were nevertheless still treated as second-class citizens (as elsewhere in the Americas) and were demanding greater recognition domestically just as the colonized peoples across the ocean were demanding their independence. Freyre's advancement of the idea of his country as a "racial democracy" predominantly made up of mestizos – while rejecting the then-popular portrayal of darker-skinned people as biologically inferior to whites – would initially fuel blacks' optimism, according to U.S.-based scholar Paulina Alberto (2011). But by denying the existence of racism in Brazilian society, Freyre's work would also propel specific cultural and political manifestations in a "struggle to assert blacks' racial or ethnic difference [that] would lead black thinkers, in one way or another, back to Africa, then in the grip of vast political and cultural transformations," writes Alberto (2011, 198). An important step in addressing racism in Brazilian society was the signing of the Afonso Arinos Law in 1951, which declared it a crime – punishable by imprisonment, fine or loss of position – to deny anyone service, education or employment based on race (Rebouças 2010). The law was written by white Congressman Afonso Arinos, who would go on to condemn colonialism in the 1960's as head of the Brazilian delegation to the United Nations and as Brazil's Minister of Foreign Affairs (FGV/CPDOC 2013). The "racial democracy" card, however, would become an important selling point for Brazil internationally, while social exclusion based on race would remain pervasive, Brazilian politicians being predominantly white to this day.

In the 50's and 60's, as Marxist and Gramscian ideas fueled Africans' postcolonial aspirations, black Brazilians, too, had begun to question the social sciences and call for participation in producing knowledge about race rather than being treated as mere objects or study subjects (Alberto 2011). A landmark of the postcolonial current in Brazil was the foundation, at the University of Bahia in 1959, of the Center for Afro-Oriental Studies

(*Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais*, CEAO). Alberto writes that "the reference to the 'Afro-Oriental' or 'Afro-Asian' world, common to several of the African studies centers that emerged in Brazil in those years, reflected a sense of global politics that issued from the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia, in which colonized nations affirmed their rights to sovereignty and their nonaligned status... From its inception, the CEAO worked to establish ties with other African studies centers around the world and, as they gradually emerged, in Brazil as well" (Alberto 2011, 229-230). The center was founded by George Agostinho da Silva, a Portuguese political exile living in Brazil and an adviser to politician Jânio Quadros, the latter ascending to the Brazilian presidency in 1961 (Pereira 2008; Alberto 2011). Alberto (2011) contends that, through CEAO's work, Silva sought to influence Brazil's political agenda towards updating Africa-related policies to reflect the global decolonization moment and channel Brazil-Africa cultural ties into building Brazilian leadership to eventually surpass Portugal's importance in Portuguese-colonized Africa.

Quadros would certainly catch on to this idea, while also being influenced by Freyrian ideology, as Silva and many other intellectuals and politicians in Brazil also were at the time (ibid). Another important figure to emerge in the *lusofonia* scenario was historian Sergio Buarque de Holanda: His seminal *Raízes do Brasil* from 1936 proposed that "in the roots of Brazil, that is, in the Portuguese legacy, a 'long tradition' was to be found, very much 'alive until today,' capable of nurturing a 'common soul,' which associated the country in America to the old European metropole, for it was 'from there [that] came the present form of our culture'" (Cervo and Magalhães 2000, 233, translation mine).[12] But it was Freyre's highly seductive lusotropicalism that would perhaps become best known as having carved a lasting spot in both Brazilian and Portuguese political discourses, if not self-perception, being exhaustively discussed, refuted and praised over the decades both at home and abroad (Dávila 2010b; Freyre 1933; Glasgow 1972; Saraiva and Gala 2002; Oliveira 2011; Castelo 1998).

The political manipulation of the tropics

Freyre's philosophy was that a harmoniously united lusophone transcontinental community had been built by religious and cultural transfers and widespread miscegenation via sex between the Portuguese male colonizers – described as better able to adapt to the tropics than any other colonizers – and the darker-skinned female colonized, as well as other intimate social interactions between them and later the masters and the slaves. This lusotropical

ideology would take on a life of its own, coming to serve different political purposes over the decades (and even, ironically, the anti-colonial discourse to a certain extent). His ideas have been conveniently malleable, open for interpretation and manipulation by different groups: Freyre has been accused of helping keep racism off the political agenda in Portugal and Brazil by denying its existence in the Portuguese-colonized tropics and being against black empowerment movements (Dávila 2010b; Marques 2007); on the same token, as previously mentioned, black empowerment movements in Brazil had availed themselves of lusotropicalism as a way to provoke social debates on the race taboo (Alberto 2011) Also,UNESCO was using Freyre's image of Brazil as an example of racial harmony and tolerance to be followed in the aftermath of the Holocaust (Amaral Jr. 2002). [13]

At the international relations level, from Dávila's point of view in a journal article, Freyre's work was instrumental in building Brazil's self-esteem and the idea that it had a "special destiny" regarding leadership in Africa: "His philosophy opened up the possibilities for visualizing a greater presence of Brazil in the world, as an essential counterpoint to the racism predominating in other societies (especially the United States). This idea projected Brazilian culture as an alternative to the ideologies in conflict in the Cold War and led Brazilians to believe that their country had a special destiny regarding the recently liberated African countries" (Dávila 2010b, 169, translation mine). [14] At the core of this "special destiny" is the concept of "bestowing" economic development upon other countries – as development became one of the pillars of Brazil's national defense, sovereignty and power-building strategy (Morton 1981). (This was exemplified by Kubitschek's highly ambitious growth enterprise.) Freyre himself had lobbied for greater Brazilian (regional) leadership but also ardently defended colonial retention by Portugal's authoritarian António Salazar regime, in the process serving diplomatic functions surrounding Brazil-Portugal relations. After an initial period of hesitation, the Portuguese regime adopted Freyre's rhetoric so profoundly for its colonial retention purposes – although lusotropicalism valued the mestizo, contrary to the Portuguese rulers' creed – that it changed its colonial decrees to reflect it, according to Portuguese scholar Cláudia Castelo (see Castelo 1998). As a widely reported symbolic gesture, at Salazar's request in 1952 Freyre gave Brazil's then-President Vargas a rare (colonial) silver and gem-studded edition of the classic *Os Lusíadas*, a 1572 epic poem chronicling Portuguese maritime conquests in Africa and Asia – upon returning himself from a Portugal-sponsored tour of its then-colonies (Dávila 2010b; Amaral Jr. 2002; Camões at al 1992).

As the tide turned inexorably against Portugese colonialism, Freyre used his persona andwritten work, such as 1933's *Casa Grande e Senzala* and 1961's *O Luso e o Trópico*,– to defend the image of a fraternal, non-racist transcontinental community of mestizo Portuguese-speakers, and thus the colonial status quo (see Freyre 1933, Freyre 1961, Castelo 1998). His lusotropicalism would become a running thread in Brazil's official political discourse, even while being modified to fit shifting objectives and priorities. It would also prove useful, in a critical moment, to the Portuguese cause at the UN:

> To each criticism by the United Nations, the Portuguese diplomats responded that Portugal was an indivisible nation constituted by the metropolitan provinces and the overseas provinces and that neither discrimination nor racial segregation existed in any of these provinces. Lusotropicalism thus began to make part of the political and diplomatic argumentation by providing it an added value of so-called 'scientific' legitimacy. Gilberto Freyre's international popularity and the image, widely diffused in the 1940's-50s, of Brazil as the most perfect example of a 'racial democracy' played an important role in this appropriation of lusotropicalism. The Brazilian situation, owing to the particularity of Portuguese colonization, should therefore constitute an example to be followed in Africa (Marques 2007, 81-82, translation mine). [15]

Brazilian diplomats at the time also joined in to defend Portuguese colonialism, along similar lusotropical-inspired lines. In July 1955, just months after India and other newly independent countries met in the Bandung Conference, India requested that the Portuguese government – which insisted on territorial claims in the country – withdraw its diplomatic mission from New Delhi. Portugal immediately asked Brazil to take over the representation of Portuguese interests in India, which the Brazilian government agreed to, besides clearly siding with Portugal in the UN (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). In response to a proposition in 1957 by an Iraqi representative that Portugal provide information on its colonies, the Brazilian representative Donatello Grieco firmly and effusively defended Portugal (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). Rampinelli writes that Grieco's affirmation that "touching Portugal was [the same as] touching Brazil," as well as his proclamation of Portugal's "civilizing mission overseas" prompted the Indian delegate, R. Jaipal, to state that he had never heard such a faithful exposition of the Portuguese point-of-view as Grieco's (Rampinelli 2006, 83). Brazil maintained this position, reflected also in much of its voting pattern in the UN, until the end of Kubitschek's presidency, trying to exclude the Portuguese claim from Brazil's own recognition of the principle of self-determination promoted at Bandung and at the UN (Cervo and Magalhães 2000; Dávila 2010).

But an important shift in rhetoric would soon take place in the next change of administration, starting with the election of Quadros in 1960. The following year, chief Brazilian delegate Afonso Arinos would give a very different speech at the UN General Assembly, including both France and Portugal and two major colonial claims in his arguments (also reproduced in Cervo and Magalhães 2000):

> Our fraternal relations with Portugal and our traditional friendship with France do not impede us from taking a clear position on the painful divergences pertaining to African colonialism that have been presenting themselves between the United Nations and those countries, to which we owe so much and with which we still have so much in common. The two European states ought to, in our understanding, ensure the self-determination of Algeria and Angola. Nothing will detain the liberation of Africa. It seems clear that Africa does not desire submission to either of the blocs. It desires to affirm its personality, which is the same as conquering its liberty. Brazil will always help out the African countries in this just effort (Corrêa 2012, 204, translation mine).[16]

The last sentence would not prove true, as Brazilian representatives' subsequent waffling on actual voting at the UN on colonial issues – supporting some resolutions while rejecting or abstaining on others – would soon reveal (Aragon 2010). Perceived support for Portuguese colonialism by Brazil would cause considerable resentment among some African leaders towards the country's government, as Dávila (2010) has written. Still, with Quadros and his successor João Goulart, the counter-current in Brazil had managed to reach the presidency and turn lusotropicalism and other established philosophies around to fit an anti-colonial rhetoric that would progress into actively seeking out new African markets. In Alberto's words, Quadros's election embodied the aspirations of the "small, dissenting group of Brazilian diplomats [who] in the late 1950s began to argue that the emergent independence movements of the Afro-Asian world provided an opportunity for Brazil to break out of its subordinate position in the Cold War order. If Brazil could position itself as a mediator between the colonial and colonized, First and Third World nations, it might secure for itself a more prominent profile in international affairs. Africa in particular, they believed, could provide Brazil with important commercial and diplomatic opportunities" (Alberto 2011, 237).

Scholar Daniel Aragon analyzes that "for Goulart and Quadros, Brazil's interests in Africa were distinctive from other Westerners because Brazil had never been a colonial power in Africa. Hence, Brazilians were not colonists or racists. Furthermore, Brazilians diverged from the eastern bloc nations because they were not communists or totalitarian. They differed from other Western nations because their nation was a developing state, not an industrial

powerhouse. Thus, Brazil represented the best common aims with Africans since the new presidents deemphasized Cold War and colonial dominance" (Aragon 2010, 122). But besides a rapprochement with Africa, the presidents sought to "extend ties" with all those countries Brazil supposedly differed from, pledging "an innovative overhaul of foreign relations that would... move away from sixty-years of foreign policy centered around a strong alliance with the United States" (ibid). This major discursive change would never be completely reversed – even with Brazil's subsequent turn to a right-wing dictatorship that would last two decades – but also would not be fully embraced until long after the Cold War. It represented a trend known as Brazil's "independent foreign policy" (see Dantas 2009).

The transition begins

As he became head of Quadros's Technical Assistance Office in 1961, prominent Brazilian political activist and academic Cândido Mendes recalls seeing in the new president's office portraits of the first prime minister of independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru, and of the first president of independent Indonesia, Sukarno. To Mendes, the portraits Quadros chose to display illustrated what the scholar referred to, during an interview he gave me in March 2013, as "an absolutely emergent and foundational vision with which [Quadros] thought up [Brazil's] independent foreign policy" Mendes said Quadros was preoccupied, above all, with establishing closer political relations with Africa, which prompted Mendes to come up with the idea of founding the Brazilian Institute of Afro-Asian Studies (*Instituto Brasileiro de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, IBEAA).[17] "I thought it up as a way to obtain this other alternative for the country's international vision, departing from two principles: One, that Brazil had a vision considerably different inside Latin America and above all was the only country that massively had an African influence in its formation. This didn't exist in the rest of the continent and this transatlantic protagonism could be done in that moment," said Mendes.[18]

Alberto interprets IBEAA's creation as a response to an attempt by Brazil's Ministry of External Relations (known as Itamaraty) to catch up on gathering Africa-related knowledge "after a century of silence about the continent in foreign policy circles" (Alberto 2011, 239), with its members going on to write the first Brazilian books on Brazil-Africa relations. The new IBEAA sought out intellectuals from the previously mentioned Center for Afro-Oriental Studies in Bahia, whose academic work and contacts, according to Alberto (2011), surpassed that of Itamaraty's; the two institutes then partnered up to bring African students to attend university in Brazil, under a scholarship scheme that included a mandatory Portuguese

language program. Mendes said IBEAA managed to bring about 30 students from Angola and Mozambique before the military coup that turned Brazil into a dictatorship in 1964. Many of these students returned to Angola to occupy important government positions, he added. Mendes said he himself traveled to Africa and met with Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, while Quadros and Goulart sent intellectuals to head Brazil's first embassies in Africa. Dávila (2010) shows that the efforts of the Brazilian diplomatic corps were often haphazard and took place under precarious infrastructure provided by their government. However, Dávila's book also shows how those diplomats displayed notable resilience and courage at times, especially in remaining in conflict-ridden areas such as newly independent Angola. They were met by mixed reactions from African leaders, but an unprecedented line had begun to be established between Brazil and Africa that would evolve into growing trade and development projects.

As Quadros, the governor of the state of São Paulo, assumed the Brazilian presidency in 1961, the government revised its position towards the Portuguese colonial conundrum, while failing to firmly condemn apartheid in South Africa, Brazil's biggest economic partner in Africa at the time (Cervo and Magalhães 2000; Saraiva 2012; Aragon 2010). According to Magalhães, part of his attitude towards Portuguese colonialism was related to the links Quadros had with the Brazil coffee-growing lobby in São Paulo and the fact that Portugal had refused Brazilian coffee-growers' request to enter into association with Angolan coffee-growers amid growing competition from Africa(see Cervo and Magalhães 2000). The idea, according to Saraiva (2012), was for Brazil to be able to negotiate directly with African governments (which would be facilitated by their liberation). Alberto offers a synthesis of Brazil's economic scenario, and attached international motivations, over the previous five years: that

> Pragmatically, Quadros and Goulart's search for new markets responded both to the significant growth in Brazilian industry in the second half of the 1950s under President Kubitschek and to the enormous foreign debt, inflation, and economic crisis that resulted from his ambitious modernization policies. Overtures toward the emerging nations of Africa, the Quadros and Goulart administrations hoped, might result in the sort of South Atlantic influence that could earn Brazil greater economic stability without excessive reliance on the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions dominated by Europe and the United States (Alberto 2011, 237-238).

Brazil under Quadros began distancing itself from its traditional steadfast alignment with Portugal in favor of a policy of alignment with the countries fighting for independence – but without ever completely shunning Portugal in terms of diplomacy. Brazil's revised rhetoric

carried an undertone of superiority and geopolitics: Brazil had reached a level of development that had put it into a position to help other (underdeveloped) countries develop, and it should use its altruism and status as a "racial democracy," as promoted by lusotropicalism, to help lead the world on a similar ideological path. This idea, minus the "racial democracy" emphasis, still now frames the Brazilian discourse on providing technical cooperation, an activity that would grow exponentially during Lula's administration four decades later, as the post-Cold War political climate opened up to the influence and development aid of those deemed emerging powers.

In his tenure as president, Quadros had come to use in his addresses a Freyre-inspired rhetoric of warmth and lack of prejudice by Brazilians towards their other "lusophone brethren" (Glasgow 1972; Aragon 2010). But unlike the use of lusotropicalism in the past, the revised version excluded a partnership with Portugal. In his message to Congress in March 1961, Quadros painted Brazil as a Western Christian democracy whose foreign policy should reflect its racial tolerance, benevolence, and capacity and willingness to help the world fight against social injustice, conflicts, poverty and underdevelopment. He further stated that "we want to help create, in the southern hemisphere, a climate of perfect understanding and comprehension on all levels: political and cultural, a veritable spiritual identity… A prosperous, stable Africa is an essential condition for Brazil's security and development… They and we have the experience of battle in similar ecological environments, which can facilitate the useful exchange of techniques and experiences" (Franco 2007, 55-56, translation mine).[19] Efforts connected to Brazil's new and expanded African policy included creating the Africa Division at Brazil's Ministry of External Relations; opening Brazilian embassies around Sub-Saharan Africa and Brazilian consulates in pre-independence Angola and Mozambique: sending a floating exhibit of Brazilian products aboard the *Custódio de Melo* ship over to various African ports; and sending delegates to the Non-Aligned Movement Summit held in 1961 (Cervo and Magalhães 2000; Aragon 2010).

Despite these actions and grandiose stated goals, Aragon (2010) contends that Quadros and Goulart's strategies towards Africa lacked coherence; Brazilian diplomats were "ambivalent" over implementing them, limited by Portugal's repressive presence, South African apartheid constraints and their own lack of knowledge about the harsh African colonial reality (blinded by the lusotropical equality myth) and of a contact network for relevant African political figures. Using as a platform for rapprochement the argument that Brazil shared economic problems and geographic and cultural traits with Africa, the two Brazilian presidents were overstating similarities with the big, diverse continent, Aragon adds. (This scenario remains

today in the Brazilian discourse, in stating similarities to justify the implementation of for instance domestic agricultural models in African countries.)[20]

A postcolonial approach

Simultaneously, on Brazil's domestic front, the aforementioned IBEAA institute worked to spread postcolonial awareness while promoting Brazilian global leadership. A somewhat paradoxical rhetoric of both commonalities with and superiority to Africa was being produced. Alberto writes that IBEAA director Eduardo Portella "drew on a range of more- or less-clearly expressed similarities with Africa—including a shared past, a shared geopolitical and economic situation, and especially shared racial and cultural traits—to make claims for Brazil's inherent suitability to guide Africa into world trade and politics" (Alberto 2011, 238). One of the central premises being advanced was that Brazil, like the African colonies, had been a victim more than a beneficiary of Portuguese colonialism and thus shared a bond with them – and it seems Brazilian leaders were, for the first time, officially recognizing Portuguese colonialism as something (at least partially) *negative.*

Lectures in the government-founded institute condemned colonialism on strong terms, while Brazilian diplomatic rhetoric tended to be softer when dealing directly with Portuguese politicians, in an apparent balancing act between Brazil's long-term relationship with the "metropole" and nascent interests towards the "periphery." Similarly to author Alberto, Saraiva analyzes that "the birth of the African policy of Brazil" happened with strategic, pragmatic calculations in mind that involved a quest by Brazil to diversify its trade relations to include also socialist countries from Europe and Asia, but without cutting ties with the United States and aiming to "guarantee capitalist expansion coordinated by the state" (Saraiva 2012, 35-36). This view is compatible with ideas the IBEAA advocated for, as shown by a lecture it organized on March 3, 1962. The lecture, entitled *The Economy of Colonialism and of Independence*, was part of the course Introduction to African Reality, and given by academic and government official Jesus Soares Pereira (1962). The text of the lecture, found in Pereira's private archives at FGV, is strikingly different from the romantic rhetoric on colonial conquests that had pervaded Brazil-Portugal political interactions.

Pereira's text referred to the manner Western colonial powers acted as "monstrous" ("*monstruosa*"), with natives being "annihilated" ("*aniquilados*") and blacks brought from Africa as "machines of slave labor" ("*máquinas de trabalho escravo*"), eventually "decimated" ("*dizimadas*") and "replaced in successive batches until the mid-19th century;" it

condemned Portugal specifically ("the most backward colonial camp") and also among others, acknowledging a common plight among the world's colonized: "The fulminating military domination of India in damage to Arabian trade, by the Portuguese, and the gradual and painful occupation of America by the Spanish, Portuguese, English, French and Flemish, as well as disputes over areas of domination, by these peoples, outside of Europe, developed in the shadow of the diffusion of Christianity, in the lustful politico-economic-religious symbiosis [mentioned in an earlier lecture]... The chronicle of the annihilation of the indigenous populations, in America especially, and the submission of the colonized peoples, since the 17th century until today, constitutes, in fact, one of the most somber pages of the history of humankind" (Pereira 1962, 3, translation mine).[21]Further, in an apparent allusion to development aid provided by the Western powers and a clear nod to Marxism and dependency theories, the lecturer explained that "to maintain the increasingly lucrative domination in these areas, normally inhabited by people that find themselves in a retarded sociocultural state, if measured by Western standards, colonialism becomes compelled to provide some instruction destined to improve the technical level of the indigenous manpower and to form black elites interested in the process of spoliation of the submissive masses, similar to those it utilized for this end in the colonies of commercial-industrial exploration and which are very well-known, here in Brazil, as well" (Pereira 1962, 21-22, translation mine).[22] Pereira contended that African freedom-fighters resisting this scenario could not count on the UN but could find an alternative to Western dominance in trying to build a national economy geared towards human development (namely the eradication of poverty, ignorance and curable diseases).

Such an alternative would be cooperation with the rest of the "Third World," where the newly independent countries could seek out "dynamic centers of economic development" that had already established themselves and could represent a platform for many of their plans (Pereira 1962, 28-29). The related concept of "South-South" cooperation would gain momentum over the coming decades and shape the development aid of Brazil and other emerging powers, which underscored the idea of economic development as a route to greater autonomy, as in Pereira's view. Instead of looking to the United States as a model, Pereira suggested "underdeveloped" countries mirror themselves upon socialist states. According to Pereira's text, Brazil had the potential to play a leading role in rapidly defeating economic backwardness in the "Third World," and even a historical duty to do so. But it would have to overcome its own backwardness and dependency on the "Western vanguard" by rerouting much of its trade towards the socialist states and the "underdeveloped" countries of America,

Asia and Africa, while still focusing on accelerated wealth accumulation (Pereira 1962, 29-30). Under Quadros, efforts to build relations with socialist leaders included re-establishing diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union, receiving the visit of Fidel Castro, and decorating Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin with the Order of the Southern Cross, the highest honor given by the Brazilian government to foreigners (Cancian 2011).

The rough-landing

Quadros would resign within less than a year in August 1961, under murky reasons open to speculation, although it is reported that the "independent foreign policy" he adopted had begun to bother the United States and the conservative domestic elites (Cancian 2011). But his vice-president Goulart, whose presidency the Brazilian military and elites would never fully accept, would not abandon the "independent foreign policy" upon assuming the presidential post (Cancian 2011; Cervo and Magalhães 2000). The new balancing act by Brazilian politicians involved continuing to acknowledge deep ties with Portugal and even to praise its cultural influence in Brazil and Africa, while trying to urge its former colonizer to stop fighting against the internationally supported decolonization current. In other words, although colonialism had offered some contributions to the countries' societies, it was unsustainable in the present world order.

Correspondence between the presidents of Portugal and Brazil in 1963, found in Lima's private archives, clearly illustrates this position. One of the great values of Lima's archives is that they offer a snapshot of Brazil's transition away from s staunch rhetorical alignment with Portugal and its colonial claims towards a pro-Africa discourse. After all, Lima was the only one of Kubitschek's close friends allowed to stay in charge of a Brazilian embassy after his presidency (FGV/CPDOC 2013). While his earlier archives (i.e. Lima 1959; Lima 1959b) feature effusive displays of affection and loyalty towards Portugal, later ones (i.e. Lima 1961) feature statements by Brazilian politicians in line with the country's new "independent foreign policy." Lima himself had to cope with this as ambassador of Brazil to Portugal while fielding expressions of outrage from members of the Portuguese society via letters and newspaper articles (also exemplified in the archives).

Portuguese President Tomás (who served under Prime Minister Salazar and later Marcello Caetano), had written pleading with Brazil to defend Portugal in the UN Security Council, He contended that the Portuguese government's position was compatible with the UN Charter and human rights in that it was "inspired by, above any material value, the sacred duty that

belongs to the Portuguese Nation of looking after the dignity, progress and well-being of the populations which under its flag have lived for many centuries... Portuguese action in the African territories puts [the Portuguese] on the vanguard of progress in that continent, at the same time as human societies conscious of their responsibilities are establishing themselves there, without prejudice against race, color or religion" (Lima 1961, translation mine).[23] Goulart's response effectively declines Portugal's plea, arguing that Brazil had to reflect the thoughts of those that elected it to the UN Security Council and also "by force of the principles which it defends, Brazil cannot remain oblivious to the aspirations of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese territories to self-determination and independence, as faculty of choice" (Lima 1961,translation mine).[24] This letter, dated August 7, 1963, offers a good summary of the position Brazilian diplomats were trying to pursue at that moment:

> In a certain sense, no divergence exists between the position of Portugal and that of Brazil. What apparently separates us is the question of knowing which will be the best manner to permit that the spiritual and cultural presence of Portugal continue to be felt in African lands. [ ] Indeed by the force of the generosity which they have inherited from Portugal, the Brazilian people have accompanied with interest and sympathy the emergence of new nations in the African continent. We recognize as one of the historical realities of our days the profound transformation that operated there amid ample application of the principle of people's self-determination. [ ] This is, in our understanding, an irresistible and infectious movement, to which no African populations that still do not have their own governments will be able to remain immune. We know how much Portugal has done for its overseas territories: We agree in that they can be pointed out as examples of orderly and enlightened progress in many sectors. We do not believe, however, that it is possible to maintain unchanged, in the current conjuncture, the present system of political relations. [ ] We think, therefore, that it is no longer possible to deny the peoples of the overseas territories the right to govern themselves. Associated with Portugal, if they wanted it thus, independent even, if they preferred that, such peoples would not be adverse to a continuing cooperation with the old metropole. The human, cultural, linguistic, economic values of Portugal would thus certainly be preserved: The new nations would value, like Brazil, their Portuguese legacy." (*ibid*, translation mine).[25]

Less than a year later, on March 31, 1964, Goulart was removed from office through a military coup supported by some segments of the Brazilian society as well as by the United States government, which feared a communist threat in South America's biggest country. This

took place as a major economic crisis persisted in Brazil (with inflation at more than 100 percent) and as Brazilians found themselves deeply divided in their opinion of Goulart's proposed policies, writes Alberto (2011). Controversial policies included the nationalization of land and oil refineries, universal suffrage (to allow the illiterate to vote) and concessions to labor unions and leftist groups' demands (ibid). In Aragon's view, both Quadros and Goulart failed at communicating "their outreach to Africa," thus failing at getting sufficient support from either the domestic right or the left: "Conservatives thought the presidents' diplomatic readjustment too radical and impractical since Africa offered little clout in international forums and it held the potential to antagonize Europeans and Americans; leftists believed Quadros and Goulart were not pursuing nonaligned policies such as decolonization consistently enough" (Aragon 2010, 122).

Alberto (2011) writes that Brazil's black intellectuals saw the progress they had made in the public dialogue on race halted by military governments that insisted on using the Freyre-inspired "racial democracy" idea. Combined with the threat of the use of force, the new regime to quash anti-racism demonstrations while promoting selective aspects of black folklore to paint a false picture of racial harmony in society. Mendes managed to save the postcolonial-inspired IBEAA institute,moving it to his family's university (*Universidade Cândido Mendes*), where it was renamed Center for Afro-Asian Studies (*Centro de Estudos Afro*-Asiáticos, CEAA) in 1973. It has since become one of Brazil's major academic research institutes (CEAA 2013). Mendes became a major critic of Brazil's authoritarian regime and civil rights activist, working to divulge internationally the military's actions against political dissenters, and remains rector at *Universidade Cândido Mendes* (FGV/CPDOC 2013).

In terms of foreign policy, the Brazilian military regime initially reverted back to supporting Portuguese colonial claims, and moved away from a non-alignment discourse towards a closer alignment with the Western capitalist bloc. Such measures included Brazil's interruption of diplomatic relations with Cuba and deployment of anti-communist troops to the Dominican Republic, as pointed out by Brazilian diplomat Patrícia Soares Leite (see Leite 2011). This rapprochement with Portugal is clearly illustrated by the 1966 FGV archives of Brazil's then-Minister of Foreign Affairs Juracy Magalhães – a powerful political figure who had served as president of Brazilian companies Vale and Petrobrás (FGV/CPDOC 2013). These private archives show speeches and interviews by Magalhães in which he exalts Portugal's name and attributes to it a "civilizing" mission, laments Portugal's "loss" of Goa and Daman, invokes Freyre's lusotropicalism, pledges loyalty to Portugal's objectives, celebrates the removal of barriers to harmonious understanding between Brazil and Portugal,

and promotes the strengthening of a "Luso-Brazilian Community" through pragmatic measures (see Magalhães 1966a). It was during Magalhães's official visit to Portugal in September 1966 that Brazil and Portugal signed accords promising to completely open their markets to each other's companies and treat them like national companies, as well as to fully recognize diplomas conferred to professionals by their respective institutions (Cervo and Magalhães 2000).

Brazil's first military government following the coup –that of Humberto Castelo Branco (1964-1967) – saw the concept of development as "conditioned to the guarantee of security. It was believed that the independent foreign policy [under Quadros-Goulart] had shaken up internal order, bringing the country closer to communism, besides having distanced Brazil from the USA, our main political, economic and military partner," (Leite 2011, 122, translation mine).[26] Still, this did not prevent Castelo Branco from publicly stating that perhaps the solution to the colonial quandary lay in gradually creating an "Afro-Luso-Brazilian Community" with Brazil's presence as its economic pillar (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). This idea had already been suggested during the Goulart government in March 1962 by then-Minister of Foreign Affairs San Tiago Dantas. Despite his government's attempts at an anti-colonial stance and his development of Brazil's "independent foreign policy," Dantas told Portugal's then-Minister of Foreign Trade that perhaps sovereignty could be avoided if the African peoples were consulted as to whether they wanted to be a part of the "Luso-Brazilian Community" and its decision-making process (Cervo and Magalhães 2000).

The return to Africa

Efforts towards a "lusophone" community of sorts – although clearly based on propelling the economic and geopolitical interests of Portugal and Brazil in the colonies, which remained excluded from the benefits and decisions – were discussed by scholar Glasgow in 1972. He analyzed that "essentially, both [Brazil's] military and the previous constitutional government envisioned Great Power status in foreign affairs. [But] while the nationalists had chosen to side with the struggle against racism and colonialism… the new policy was dominated by a fear of communist subversion in Africa, dependence on the United States, and the desire to develop and reinforce close cultural and commercial ties with Portugal and South Africa. [Portuguese leaders even talked about] a military alliance between Brazil, Portugal, and South Africa for the defense of the South Atlantic" (Glasgow 1972, 4-5). This did not materialize, and neither did a project Glasgow mentioned regarding the division of

industrial production among Brazil, Portugal, Mozambique and Angola, in a transoceanic complex where certain facilities would be located in each country and trade barriers would be brought down. He also wrote about how Portugal encouraged Brazilian political and economic involvement in Africa as a partner to try to boost its chances of hanging on to the colonies, allowing Brazilian citizens to purchase real estate in Mozambique and Angola and hold public office in either country. Brazil and Portugal opened bank branches and supermarkets in each other's countries and discussed joint oil exploration possibilities. Meanwhile, Brazilian "trade missions" scouted for new markets in the colonies while banks offered medium to long-term loans to finance Brazilian exports to them (Glasgow 1972).

During the military government of Emílio Garrastazu Médici (1969-1974), Brazil's official position towards decolonization would shift back away from Portugal as Brazil began to assume the identity of an emerging power hungry for partnerships beyond the Western powers, whose Bretton Woods financial system was ailing. Thus, Brazil turned to supporting African countries' self-determination and anti-apartheid efforts and to intensifying diplomatic visits, trade and technical cooperation agreements in the continent (see Leite 2011). But by then, Caetano's government in Portugal and its entire colonial system was collapsing anyway.

Brazil's new political shift reportedly began in earnest as Mario Gibson Barbosa, who had worked directly under Arinos when the latter was Quadros's Minister of Foreign Affairs, assumed the head position at Itamaraty himself at the beginning of the Médici presidency (Cervo and Magalhães 2000; Dávila 2010). Calvet de Magalhães writes that Barbosa also held strong anti-colonial convictions; however, as usual in Brazilian diplomacy, he felt the need to play a balancing act so as to preserve the "friendship" with Portugal and appease the pro-Portuguese lobby in Brazil, which was by the way angered by Barbosa's tour of various African states in the early 70's (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). At the time, Brazil was experiencing record growth in what came to be known as the "economic miracle," and Barbosa "saw [it] as a reason to break away from Portuguese fealty, which had begun to hamper Brazil's economic needs. And Africa seemed to be a potentially rich market for the export of the sorts of industrial consumer goods that Brazil was now producing for its domestic market" (Dávila 2010, 146). Dávila deems Barbosa's trip a success in terms of building rapport with African leaders and signing technical cooperation agreements – "in agriculture, the development of commercial markets, infrastructure engineering, housing, and education" (ibid). But on another count, his Africa-related efforts reportedly did not go so well. Barbosa launched an unsolicited strategy of mediation between the Portuguese government and African revolutionaries, which he kept out of the public eye, according to

Calvet de Magalhães (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). Portugal's Salazar had died by that time and been replaced by Caetano, with whom Barbosa dealt directly and who, according to Barbosa's writings years later, admitted the possibility of granting political autonomy to the colonies while supporting Brazilian mediation on the matter in the UN (see ibid). The author adds that Barbosa spoke to leaders of independent African states about the Portuguese government being open to a ministerial meeting with them, to be held in Brazil, but this fell apart on the Portuguese side when African leaders demanded the presence of revolutionaries from Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Barbosa attempted to convince the Portuguese government that measures towards liberation were urgent, at least concerning Guinea-Bissau, and suggested that if Portugal remained inflexible in the UN, Brazil would seek to apply pressure via voting. Seeing no change, in 1973, as two resolutions condemning Portugal were launched in the UN, Barbosa ordered the Brazilian delegation to be absent from one and abstain from voting on the other, after which Caetano publicly declared he had no interest in Brazil's mediation in the Portuguese colonial issue (Cervo and Magalhães 2000). Barbosa faced political downfall over the matter, according to Calvet de Magalhães, but Caetano's was more dramatic: In 1974, he would be overthrown, and seek and be granted asylum in Brazil. The Portuguese colonial issue would then be closed with the African countries' (official) independence. In 1975, Brazil would become the first country to recognize Angola's independence; four years later, Petrobrás would start operating in Angola, after the company's former president, Ernesto Geisel, had ascended to Brazil's presidency (1974-1979) and begun a liberalization process (see Dávila 2010). By the mid-80's, Brazil had transitioned into a democratic regime.

Lusofonia today

It would not be until after the Cold War and massive liberalization in both Brazil and Africa that the idea of a "lusophone" community would officially be implemented in the political realm. Back in 1966, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Juracy Magalhães had stated that he did not believe that was the moment "a Portuguese language bloc is viable as a force of international equilibrium. But I also do not consider it impossible that, in the moment in which there are, say, 200 million people in the world who speak and write in Portuguese, the lusiad culture will become a ponderable element in the evolution of humankind... Of course Brazil will be a decisive element in the development of this international projection, without ever quitting to remain faithful to its Portuguese roots, basic for our mental life, structural in

our social, religious and intellectual quotidian" (Magalhães 1966b, translation mine).[27] Exactly 30 years later, as the combined population of Brazil, Portugal and the PALOPs in Africa had reached the mark of 200 million, these countries signed a declaration in Lisbon establishing and joining the CPLP community. Under its charter, members declared a commitment to respecting each country's sovereignty while disseminating their "common cultural identity" and Portuguese language; supporting each other's economic and social development and the establishment of a collective political voice; implementing and promoting the liberal discourse of sustainable development and human rights; and welcoming each other's entrepreneurs, technical and educational capacitation projects and student exchanges (CPLP 1996). East Timor, Portugal's former Southeast Asian colony, joined CPLP after it broke away from Indonesian occupiers in 2002.

This initiative, put in motion during previous democratic presidencies in Brazil, managed to find ground amid President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's (1995-2002) simultaneous focus on neoliberal alliances and South American regionalism. His was what Vigevani and Oliveira refer to as "a logic of autonomy through integration [maintaining] that Brazil would be able to confront its problems and secure more control over its future if it actively contributed to elaborating the norms and guidelines of the administration of the global order" (Vigevani and Oliveira 2007, 58). Under Cardoso's successor, President Lula (2003-2010), Leite suggests that Brazil managed to strike a balance between maintaining cordial relations with the developed powers and, with a rhetoric of seeking greater responsibility in building a more multipolar world order, intensifying "relations with the countries of the South, particularly Arabic, African and China, universalizing Brazilian foreign policy, with bilateral and multilateral objectives" (Leite 2011, 169, translation mine).[28] Lula publicly called for a more inclusive, multilateral world order with the BRICs at the forefront, prioritized relations with Africa in the foreign policy discourse, and has been credited with solidifying Brazil's international image as a capable emerging country and one of the leaders of "South-South" cooperation (see i.e. Da Silva 2010). Brazilian scholar Alex Vargem (2008) reports that within a few years Lula nearly doubled the number of Brazilian embassies in African countries to 30 and visited more than 17 of those countries during his first term, quickly acting to elevate their importance in relation to Cardoso's more Mercosul-focused foreign policy.

Discoursing for a new "global architecture" at a 2009 Lisbon seminar, Brazil Foreign Affairs Minister Celso Amorim declared that CPLP had become so important to Brazil that the country created a mission in Lisbon just to deal with related topics (FUNAG 2010). Also,

Brazil has been involved in international peace-keeping operations in conflict-torn member countries such as Guinea-Bissau and East Timor, and has forgiven millions of dollars in debt of the PALOPs and other African countries. Technical cooperation projects, which are centered in the PALOPs, increased twenty-fold to 413 under Lula's presidency, reports the African Development Bank (Ncube, Lufumpa, and Vencatachellum 2011). However, Saraiva (2012) notes that Brazil lacks a solid strategy towards and knowledge about Africa, and that Africans have perceived CPLP as lacking political and economic substance. During a February 2012 interview in Maputo, Brazil's interim ambassador to Mozambique said an overarching African policy was still under construction, and that Brazilian diplomats were more reactive than proactive. [29]

Saraiva (2012) also writes that African diplomats in Brazil as well as members of the Afro-Brazilian community have been critical of the "culturalist" discourse, which he characterizes as evoking "lusophone" affinities and "racial democracy," and its gaping contradiction to the treatment of blacks in Brazil. He assesses Lula and his successor, Dilma Rousseff, as having used CPLP as a platform for political action in the Atlantic region, of which four of the five African members of the community are part. He sees CPLP as the manifestation of what he calls a "pragmatic atlantism," as opposed to the "culturalist" discourse that painted a "romantic" South Atlantic of lusophone culture and bonds forged by a so-called "civilizing destiny" across the tropics (Saraiva 2012, 109). Saraiva – a renowned professor at the University of Brasília, which represents a cross between scholarship and diplomacy – is a strong supporter of such "pragmatic" discourse, involving the repayment of a "historical debt" to Africa, evident especially under Lula. He describes it as having an "altruistic" vein while taking into consideration Brazil's interests ("oil and power") as well as Africa's development priorities (Saraiva 2012). He writes that "the news in the discourse of the redemption of a historical debt is the rupture with the cynicism of the culturalist discourse... This language is a lot more palatable for the African leaders. It is also closer to the quotidian reality of the African descendants in Brazil. The rupture with the culturalist discourse proposes a meeting of equals, horizontal relations between partners, in a common effort of overcoming social and economic difficulties of the most weakened on the two sides of the South Atlantic" (Saraiva 2012, 112,translation mine).[30]

Although portraying their country as a *partner* to the African countries in development, Brazilian leaders do not portray them as *equals* – it is a discourse about Brazil providing *them* with know-how and equipment, the tools to achieve the Western standard of development via Brazilian-modified techniques. This ties into an idea put forth by Brazil's head diplomat in

Mozambique in the aforementioned February 2012 interview. As much as Brazilian politicians/diplomats use the term "cooperation" to describe the country's multiplying development aid to Africa, it is clear that Brazil is positioned in the discourse as the more developed donor – although admittedly still learning the ropes of providing aid and implementing projects – and the African countries as the recipients learning from Brazil's experience on its ascent to the "First World" club:

> The relationship between Brazil and Mozambique is an asymmetrical relationship. This is not a decision or a choice. It is asymmetrical for the size of the country's economy, for our technical capacity… even if the discourse addresses a desire for partnership, and there is a component of return [in what Brazilians working with Mozambique learn in the process]… necessarily, the balance is in favor of Mozambique; we are transferring technology, transferring knowledge and often transferring financial or material resources... The government of Mozambique, the authorities and the people who are thinking up this country look at the world and see Brazil as a source of inspiration; because we have many problems similar to theirs and some solutions we came up with that are more compatible than what they see in other countries.[31]

Lusophone opinion-makers have been engaged in dissecting the construction of common bonds, given the centrality of language and culture in the production of meaning and how *lusofonia* had been turned into a folkloric narrative to attempt to justify enduring Portuguese colonialism . At least two international conferences on aspects surrounding a constructed lusophone identity were held in Portugal this past summer, *Interfaces da Lusofonia* in Braga and *Lusofonia Pós-Colonial* in Lisbon (CECS 2013; ECATI 2012). Also headed from Portuguese academic circles, by the University of Coimbra's Boaventura de Sousa Santos, a project named TOLERACE has been underway, as a historical analysis of views and discourses on race and tolerance in different European countries including Portugal (CES 2013; Almeida 2012). Santos is prominently cited by Portuguese-speaking postcolonial scholars, often for his seminal *Between Prospero and Caliban* (2002) on the particularities of Portuguese colonialism and Portugal's position as a subaltern empire in a British-dominated system, caught between the roles of colonizer and colonized.

Brazilian and Portuguese scholars have presently been collaborating on re-examining the Portuguese Empire and its contemporary ramifications using postcolonial theory and the theme of Santos' work,revisiting slavery and past and present questions of race, miscegenation and migration, according to scholar Júlia Almeida (2012).She also notes ongoing research on the foundation of CPLP and the idea of reconstructing a common

"lusophone identity" as a way to counter globalization effects and Portugal's marginalization in the European Union. Various researchers from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa have been focusing particularly on the imposition of a "lusophone identity" as a phenomenon obscuring national African identities, she added (Almeida 2012)**.** Brazil's Federal University of Espírito Santo organized in 2012 the first *Congresso Nacional de Africanidades e Brasilidades*, where Almeida and scholars such as University of Basel-based Mozambican Elísio Macamo discussed the deconstruction of the idea that the diverse cultures naturally share a common space (ibid)**.**

In the past few years all CPLP members except Angola and Mozambique have agreed to implementing the "orthographic accord," the proposed standardization of the Portuguese language in education and administration across the transcontinental political community (although actual implementation levels vary among them). The language accord had been discussed, elevated, knocked down and resurrected by Portuguese and Brazilian politicians and scholars since the 1930s (ILTEC 2013), previously excluding their African and Asian counterparts from the process. It has elicited popular dissent lasting to this day. For instance a 2012 editorial in the *Jornal de Angola* brought up a lack of affinity between Portuguese and some CPLP members' native languages, and that Angolan officials had shown CPLP leaders some unwillingness to go along with the accord: "The inexistence of a common vocabulary made from other orthographic vocabularies of the Portuguese language of each CPLP member state – developed only by Brazil and Portugal for being older countries with well-established academies – the elevated number of exceptions to the rule and words with double spelling, and the utopic perspective of a unified orthography of the Portuguese language cause, evidently, constraints"[32] (Wa-Zani 2012,translation mine).

Meanwhile, Brazil has moved to address its racial problem domestically, in actions Saraiva (2012) sees as an arm of foreign policy. Another Brazilian scholar, Mapa (2009), writes that Lula notably saw the value of the Afro-Brazilian connection for cultural diplomacy, and sought to promote it: Under Lula, it was "clear how the Afro-Brazilian cultural capital, historically constructed, [had] been used… as much for the enhancement of commercial, cultural, educational and health [cooperation] exchanges as for the strengthening of developing countries in negotiations in multilateral organs through unified claims" (Mapa 2009, 51, translation mine).[33]

Brazilian schools are now required to teach Afro-Brazilian history and culture and universities to adopt quota systems to guarantee spots for black students; in the meantime, theAfro Brazil Museum on African contributions to Brazilian society has opened its doors

(Mapa 2009; Brasil.gov 2011; Presidência 2003). But the number of blacks occupying power positions in Brazilian society is still very low (Sadlier cites 1.8 percent of blacks as high-level executives), and so is the human development index of blacks compared to whites. If measured separately, blacks would have lowered Brazil's HDI rank in recent years from 73rd out of 173 countries to 105th, while whites would have raised it to 44th (Sadlier 2008). The Brazilian government reported in 2011 that, despite efforts to change the situation, still half as many blacks as whites were enrolled at Brazilian universities and 70 percent of the country's illiterates were black or of mixed race (Brasil.gov 2011).

Conclusion

While certain currents in Brazil have coveted leadership of *lusofonia* for decades, the knowledge of ordinary Brazilians about the concerned countries, let alone cultural identification, has been notoriously weak. Arenas writes that "lusofonia [or 'lusophony'] as a collective project is shared varyingly by individuals and elite groups… it is still an open question as to the degree with which Brazilian society, with a relatively insular and self-contained view of itself as a culture, is even fully aware of such project or feels interpellated by it" (Arenas 2005, 12).

Despite strong nationalist currents in Brazil, family has been a running theme in Brazil-Portugal relations, with an "us against them" attitude prevailing in their foreign policy until after the 20th century decolonization movement was well underway. The evolution of *lusofonia* as a political and economic project is intrinsically connected, historically and discursively, and runs parallel to the evolution of (post)colonial perceptions. Although it had for long populated the imagination of certain elites, a "lusophone" political community would not come together until the last years of the 20th century, joined by the sovereign "lusophone" states and their former metropole.

Unlike the African countries, Brazil did not have to violently break with the colonial powers to build its state from scratch, and could therefore afford to harbor geopolitcal ambitions. Sometimes overtly and at other times between the lines, Brazil's kinship with Portugal had often been tinged by nationalist stirrings and a growing sense that Brazil had the potential, and perhaps even the calling, to become a great power. As shown in this paper, Brazil's anti-colonialism would oscillate according to shifting national interests, and in terms of foreign affairs, this was sometimes aided and at other times hampered by the country's position in between the "core" and the "periphery," perhaps similar to Portugal's own dichotomy.[34]

Brazilian leaders would eventually discover the power of portraying their country as one in between the developing and developed worlds and open to diverse partnerships irrespective of ideology, thus being able to serve as a political and economic bridge between different sides of the spectrum, including to countries in Africa. With a discourse based on similarities that has progressed from lusotropicalism to more overtly development-related considerations and distance from Portugal, Brazilian leaders have justified their country's rapprochement with Africa and a project to "bestow" development.

Within a small window in the 1960's, Brazil shifted from colonial defender to anti-colonial activist, being quickly pushed back into a rhetorical alignment with the capitalist powers, before a greater investment in a rapprochement with Africa began to take place largely due to economic considerations. Using archival, interview, government and academic sources, this paper attempted to identify some major milestones of such a process and to zero in on the point where this transition began for Brazil. It also sought to identify some of the major actors in the process – mostly white male Brazilian politicians who flew the flag of "racial democracy" and brotherhood with Africa pertaining to a country that is, to this day, very far from the ideal professed in Freyrean constructions.

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[1] "Lusophile" pertains to the love of things Portuguese.

[2] "Lusophone" pertains to Portuguese language and culture. Quotation marks indicate that the prevalence of Portuguese may be present in discourse but not in practice in the case being referred to.

[3] "BRIC" was a term coined by global investment bank Goldman-Sachs in the early 2000s to encapsulate Brazil, India, Russia and China, viewed as a "bloc" of countries booming with economic development and ensuing political power.

[4] "Technical cooperation" is known as development aid whose stated aim is to improve infrastructure and capacity (trade, productivity, social services, administration, etc.).

[5] i.e. Both Dávila and I have interviewed Brazilian academic Cândido Mendes, identified some of the same key figures and moments in the construction of Brazil-Africa relations, and used some similar archival examples (i.e. pertaining to Juscelino Kubitschek's relationship with Portuguese leaders). Such research of mine had taken place before I read his book, which turns out to be a very useful body of empirical research to draw from to strengthen my ongoing efforts with the topic.

[6] Original quote in Portuguese: "Sobre o altar, erguia-se a cruz de ferro que, 460 anos antes, abençoara a primeira missa em terra brasileira, rezada por frei Henrique de Coimbra, capelão da esquadra de Pedro Álvares Cabral. Trazida do museu da Sé de Braga, em Portugal, a velha cruz não foi a única relíquia incorporada à

solenidade: minutos mais tarde, no instante da Consagração, repicou o sino cujo toque teria anunciado em Vila Rica a execução de Tiradentes em outro 21 de abril, o de 1792."

[7] Original quote in Portuguese "...quase confundida com uma obsessão, procurava ampliar os espaços do Brasil na ordem ocidental, sem ferir os relacionamentos especiais com os Estados Unidos, mas buscando certa margem de autonomia no interior da dependência por meio do projeto desenvolvimentista."

[8] The archives are held in the CPDOC, the foundation's research and historical documentation division (*Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil*).

[9] Original quote in Portuguese, "...Instituto da Astronáutica, em que as gerações brasileiras e portuguêsas se aprestassem a emular com seus gloriosos antepassados na exploração e conquista dos espaços siderais... Acredito, Senhor Presidente, que desta maneira... faríamos com que o Brasil e Portugal, perfeitamente atualizados, cooperassem íntimamente no sentido de contribuir com a fé, o vigor e saber de suas novas gerações para a era que as viagens interplanetárias, possivelmente muito em breve, abrirão para a humanidade."

[10] Original quote in Portuguese: "Chego a Portugal num momento histórico, em que a conjuntura internacional se caracteriza pela integração econômica, cultural e política das nações que mais se identificam pelas suas afinidades e pelo que de essencial existe em seus interesses comuns... Eis a hora precisa de reunir nossa família lusíada. Temos de nos colocar também entre os conquistadores do futuro, como os nossos antepassados comuns foram os pioneiros da conquista do Novo Mundo, os desbravadores das trevas e os que desvendaram o mistério dos mares. Os de nossa grei pertencem à raça dos que são capazes de mais essa proeza, se a isso se aplicarem com esfôrço, a tenacidade e o gênio que não lhes faltaram para dominar os ínvios oceanos, descobrir novos espaços para a vida física e espiritual do homem e criar nações do tamanho e da unidade do Brasil... Saúdo a Pátria portuguêsa. Vejo-a ao lado do Brasil, marchando para a aurora deste mundo novo que nasce e de que teremos que participar para sobreviver com a dignidade a que temos direito. A história, as navegações, os triunfos antigos e as gloriosas lutas vividas impelem a Nação portuguêsa para novas conquistas e para a plena realização de seu maravilhoso destino."

[11] Analysis based on the examination of various private archival collections, i.e. Negrão de Lima, Osvaldo Aranha and Gustavo Capanema.

[12] Original quote in Portuguese: "...nas raízes do Brasil, isto é, na herança portuguesa, encontrava-se 'tradição longa', bastante 'viva até hoje', capaz de nutrir uma 'alma comum', que associava o País na América à antiga metrópole européia, pois foi 'de lá [que] nos veio a forma atual de nossa cultura.'"

[13] UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

[14] Original quote in Portuguese: "...seu pensamento abriu as possibilidades de visualização de uma maior presença do Brasil no mundo, como um contraponto essencial ao racismo predominante em outras sociedades (sobretudo nos Estados Unidos). Essa ideia projetou a cultura brasileira como uma alternativa às ideologias em conflito na Guerra Fria levou os brasileiros a acreditarem que seu país tinha um destino especial no que dizia respeito aos países africanos recém-independentes."

[15] Original quote in French (for *Lusotopie* journal): "À chaque critique des Nations unies, les diplomates portugais répondaient que le Portugal était une nation indivisible constituée par des provinces métropolitaines et par des provinces d'outremer et qu'il n'existait ni discrimination ni ségrégation raciale dans aucune de ces provinces. Le lusotropicalisme commence alors à faire partie de l'argumentaire politique et diplomatique en lui apportant une plus-value de légitimité soidisant 'scientifique.' La popularité internationale de Gilberto Freyre et l'image, très di usée dans les années 1940-50, du Brésil en tant qu'exemple le plus parfait de 'démocratie raciale' ont joué un rôle important dans cette appropriation du lusotropicalisme. La situation brésilienne, due à la particularité de la colonisation portugaise, devrait alors constituer un exemple à suivre en Afrique."

[16] Original quote in Portuguese: "Nossas relações fraternais com Portugal e nossa amizade tradicional com a França não nos impedem de tomar posição clara nas dolorosas divergências que a propósito do colonialismo africano se têm apresentado entre as nações unidas e aqueles países, aos quais tanto devemos e com os quais tanto ainda temos em comum. Os dois Estados europeus devem, no nosso entender, assegurar a autodeterminação da Argélia e de Angola. Nada deterá a libertação da África. Parece claro que a África não deseja submissão a nenhum dos blocos. Deseja afirmar a sua personalidade, o que é o mesmo que conquistar a sua liberdade. O Brasil auxiliará sempre os países africanos nesse justo esforço."

[17] Original quote in Portuguese, translation and recording mine: "Me impressionou desde aquele momento) uma visão absolutamente emergente e fundadora com que ele pensou a política externa independente." From interview conducted in Mendes' office at Cândido Mendes University, Rio de Janeiro, on March 22, 2013.

[18] Original quote in Portuguese, translation and recording mine: "Pensei-o como essa maneira de obter essa outra alternativa para a visão internacional do país, a partir de dois princípios: Um, o de que o Brasil tinha uma visão bastante diferenciada dentro da América Latina e sobretudo era o único país que maciçamente tinha uma influência africana na sua formação. Isso não existia no resto do continente e esse protagonismo transatlântico do Brasil poderia ser feito naquele momento."

[19] Original quote in Portuguese: "...queremos ajudar a criar, no hemisfério sul, um clima de perfeito entendimento e compreensão em todos os planos: político e cultural, uma verdadeira identidade espiritual... Uma África próspera, estável, é condição essencial para a segurança e desenvolvimento do Brasil... temos a vivência – eles e nós – de luta em meios ecológicos semelhantes, que pode propiciar proveitoso intercâmbio de técnicas e experiências."

[20] i.e. Brazil's ProSavana project in Mozambique seeks to implement the agricultural model developed by Japan in Brazil's central *cerrado* region. Diplomats I interviewed in Mozambique in 2012 contended that the soils in Brazil and Mozambique are very similar, a claim contested by longtime Mozambique researcher Joseph Hanlon in a recent conference in Portugal (ECAS 2013).

[21] Original quote in Portuguese: "A fulminante dominação militar da Índia em prejuízo do comércio árabe, pelos portugueses, e a paulatina e dolorosa ocupação da América pelos espanhóis, portugueses, ingleses, franceses e flamengos, bem como as disputas de áreas de dominação, por êsses povos, fora da Europa, processaram-se à sombra da difusão do cristianismo, na cúpida simbiose econômico,político-religiosa que Amoroso Lima tão veementemente profligou na aula inaugural dêste curso. A crônica do aniquilamento das populações indígenas,

da América principalmente, e da submissão dos povos colonizados, desde o século XVII até os nossos dias, constitui, de fato, uma das páginas mais sombrias da história da humanidade."

[22] Original quote in Portuguese: "Para manter a dominação crescentemente lucrativa nessas áreas, normalmente habitadas por povos que se encontram em estágio sócio-cultural retardado, se medido pelos estalões ocidentais, o colonialismo vira-se compelido a proporcionar alguma instrução destinada a melhorar o nível técnico da mão-de-obra indígena e a formar elites negras interessadas no processo de espoliação das massas submetidas, semelhantes àquelas que utilizava para êsse fim nas colônias de exploração mercantil-industrial e que são muito nossas conhecidas, aqui no Brasil, também."

[23] Original quote in Portuguese: ..."(a posição do meu Governo) se inspira, acima de qualquer valor material, no dever sagrado que compete à Nação portuguesa de velar pela dignificação, progresso e bem estar das populações que sob a sua bandeira vivem há muitos séculos... a acção portuguesa nos territórios africanos coloca estes na vanguarda do progresso daquele continente, ao mesmo tempo que neles se vão estabelecendo sociedades humanas conscientes das suas responsabilidades, sem descriminação de raça, de cor ou de religião."

[24] Original quote in Portuguese,: "... por fôrça dos princípios que defende, o Brasil não pode permanecer alheio às aspirações de Angola, Moçambique e outros territórios portuguêses à autodeterminação e à independência, como faculdade de escolha."

[25] Original quote in Portuguese: "Em certo sentido, nenhuma divergência existe entre a posição de Portugal e a do Brasil. O que aparentemente nos separa é a questão de saber qual será a melhor maneira de permitir que continue a fazer-se sentir em terras africanas a presença espiritual e cultural de Portugal. [ ] Por fôrça mesmo da generosidade que de Portugal herdou, o povo brasileiro tem acompanhado com interêsse e simpatia a emergência de novas nações no continente africano. Reconhecemos como uma das realidades históricas de nossos dias a profunda transformação que ali se operou mediante ampla aplicação do princípio da autodeterminação dos povos. [ ] Trata-se, em nosso entender, de movimento irresistível e contagiante, ao qual não poderão ficar imunes quaisquer das populações africanas que não têm ainda govêrno próprio. Sabemos quanto fêz Portugal pelos povos de seus territórios ultramarinos: estamos de acôrdo em que êles podem ser apontados como exemplos de progresso ordeiro e esclarecido em muitos setores. Não acreditamos, todavia, seja possível manter imutado, na atual conjuntura, o presente sistema de relações políticas. [ ] Pensamos, pois, que não é mais possível negar aos povos dos territórios ultramarinos o direito de se governarem a si próprios. Associados a Portugal, se assim o quisessem, independentes mesmo, se o preferissem, não haveriam aquêles povos de ser avessos a uma continuada cooperação com a antiga metrópole. Os valores humanos, culturais, linguísticos, econômicos de Portugal seriam assim certamente preservados: as novas nações valorizariam, como o Brasil, sua herança portuguêsa."

[26] Original quote in Portuguese: "…o conceito de desenvolvimento esteve condicionado à garantia de segurança. Acreditava-se que a política externa independente havia convulsionado a ordem interna, aproximando o país do comunismo, além de ter afastado o Brasil dos EUA, nosso principal parceiro econômico, político e militar."

[27] Original quote in Portuguese: "[Não creio que já estejamos no momento em que] um bloco da língua portuguêsa seja viável como fôrça de equilíbrio internacional. Mas também não considero impossível que, no

momento em que no mundo houver, digamos, 200 milhões de pessoas que falem e escrevam o português, seja a cultura lusíada um elemento ponderável na evolução da humanidade... Claro que o Brasil será elemento decisivo no desenvolvimento dessa projeção internacional, sem nunca deixar de manter-se fiel às suas raízes portuguêsas, básicas para a nossa vida mental, estruturais na nossa convivência social, religiosa e intelectual."

[28] Original quote in Portuguese: "…a aproximação com países do Sul, particularmente árabes e africanos e a China, universalizando a política exterior brasileira, com objetivos bilaterais e multilaterais."

[29] Interview conducted by this author as part of field work in late February 2012.

[30] Original quote in Portuguese: "...a novidade do discurso da recuperação da dívida histórica é a ruptura com o cinismo do discurso culturalista... Essa linguagem é bastante mais palatável para as lideranças africanas. É também mais próxima à realidade cotidiana dos descendentes dos africanos no Brasil. A ruptura com o discurso culturalista propõe um encontro de iguais, relações horizontais entre parceiros, no esforço comum da superação das dificuldades sociais e econômicas dos mais enfraquecidos dos dois lados do Atlântico Sul."

[31] Original quote in Portuguese, my recording and translation: "A relação do Brasil com Moçambique é uma relação assimétrica. Isso não é uma decisão ou uma escolha. Ela é assimétrica pelo tamanho da economia do país, pela nossa capacidade técnica… mesmo que o discurso fale de um desejo de parceria e existe um componente de retorno… necessariamente há um saldo em favor de Moçambique, nós estamos transferindo tecnologia, transferindo conhecimento e muitas vezes transferindo recursos financeiros ou recursos materiais."

[32] Original quote in Portuguese,: "…a inexistência de um Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum feito a partir de outros Vocabulários Ortográficos da Língua Portuguesa de cada Estado membro da CPLP - que, apenas, o Brasil e Portugal os têm, por serem países mais antigos e com Academias já institucionalizadas - o elevado número de excepções à regra e de palavras com dupla grafia, a perspectiva utópica da existência de uma única grafia da Língua Portuguesa, causam, evidentemente, constrangimentos."

[33] Original quote in Portuguese: "…é nítido o uso, tanto externo quanto interno, do capital cultural afro-brasileiro, historicamente constituído… tanto para o incremento de intercâmbios comerciais, culturais, educacionais, de saúde, etc., quanto para o fortalecimento dos países em desenvolvimento nas negociações em órgãos multilaterais através de reivindicações unificadas."

[34] As previously mentioned, some scholars, inspired by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, have been focusing on examining Portugal as a former subaltern imperial power caught between its status of colonizer and colonized.

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